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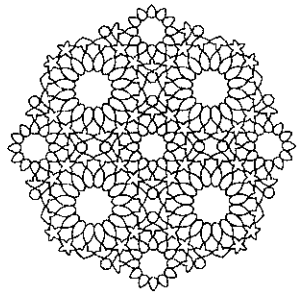

The Culture of the Mughal Capital Cities: 1556 to 1658

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Under the third Mughal emperor, Akbar, a change took place in the imperial outlook. Whereas the first two emperors, Babur and Humayun, remained largely aloof from their Indian environment, Akbar recruited Indians – Muslims, and significantly, Hindus, into his nobility and to all levels of government. Indians were also employed in large numbers in the arts, bringing with them local styles of painting and music. At the same time, Akbar, through his marriages with the daughters of Hindu Rajput rulers bound the prominent royal families of the Rajputs to the Mughal imperial family. With the birth of his son Salīm, the future emperor Jahangir, by a Rajput wife, the bond became one of blood. Jahangir's son, Khurram, the future emperor Shah Jahan, was also born of a Rajput mother. These two emperors continued Akbar's outlook towards the Indian environment.

Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, and Delhi were the capitals of the Mughal empire at various times during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, spanning the years 1556 to 1658. As these were the cities where the emperor and his court resided they were the setting for the fruit borne by this change in imperial outlook – the creation of a new and prolific school of painting, the continued synthesis from Delhi Sultanate times of local and foreign musical traditions, and even changes to dress under Indian influences in contrast to the Central Asian attire of Babur and Humayun's courts, to cite some examples. At the same time the physical appearances of these cities changed with the construction of forts, mansions, tombs, *ḥammāms*, and caravanserais, built on an unprecedented scale.

Within these capital cities, the common people led a very different life from the emperor and his nobles. Some were positively affected by the changes initiated by Akbar, through

patronage in the arts, and through employment either within the government or in the case of artisans and labourers in large state projects such as in the construction of forts, tombs and other buildings. Nevertheless, a wide gulf persisted throughout the period in the standard of living between the emperor, princes and nobles, and wealthy merchants on the one hand, and the majority of the urban population on the other.

For the purpose of exploring and reconstructing the culture of a cross section of the population of the capital cities during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, this thesis utilises extensively visual sources in the form of Mughal miniature paintings, which contain information on the common people that is largely absent from the Indian written sources with their heavy emphasis on the activities of the emperor and his court.

Acknowledgements

I must begin by thanking my supervisor, Prof Soumyendra Nath Mukherjee. His advice, and his encouragement and patience, ensured that the PhD was always an enjoyable experience for me. Although I had approached Prof Mukherjee with the intention of doing a thesis on Mughal India, he suggested the topic of urban culture during the period, and I must thank him for this as well, for it has been a most interesting topic of research.

I am also grateful to Professors Irfan Habib, Shireen Moosvi, and Som Prakash Verma, and the late Dr Iqbal Ghani Khan, at the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University. During my two months there in 2000, they always made time for my many questions despite their own busy schedules. I am similarly grateful to my Persian language teacher, Dr Sayyed Mohammed Torabi, at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, Australian National University, Canberra. Over the years he has been a source of information for me on the history and language of Iran – subjects of the greatest relevance for anyone studying Mughal India. I also wish to thank Prof Barun De, for his kind help during my recent visit to Calcutta in 2004, and Dr Peter Oldmeadow, Head of the Department of Indian Subcontinental Studies, University of Sydney, who has been very accommodating whenever I have needed to see him.

As there are only three Indian texts from the period available in Australian libraries in their original Persian, and still only a small number of Mughal miniature paintings in museums here, I have for the most part relied on translations for my Indian written sources, and have visited various museums and libraries overseas for the purpose of viewing their Mughal miniature collections. At the museums and libraries - local and overseas, that I have used during the course of the PhD, I wish to thank: Mr Nicholas Barnard at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Dr Jennifer Howes at the India

Office Library (British Library), London; Ms Alice Livingstone at the Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney; Ms Lisa Cargill at the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra; Mrs S R Vaswani at the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Mumbai; Mr Arshad Ali and the staff at the Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, and at the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University; and Mr John Spencer and Mr Peter Wright at the Schaeffer Fine Arts Library, University of Sydney, in whose quiet library this thesis was completed. I am also grateful to the Faculty of Arts, University of Sydney, for financing part of my trip to London in 2003, and my department, Indian Subcontinental Studies, for looking after the expenses of the printing of the colour reproductions of paintings and drawings in this thesis.

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Finally, I wish to thank my father, Dr Ahmed Ali, who funded me throughout the duration of the PhD.

Lamine Hashim Ali
Glebe
31 March 2005

Note on Transliteration

For Persian/Arabic names and terms I have used the system devised by Steingass in his celebrated Persian dictionary.[1] Steingass' system was based on Persian used in India, and although now over a century old, is better suited for the Persian of Mughal India than the systems employed in more recent Persian to English dictionaries, which universally adhere to the forms of pronunciation in modern-day Iran.

Indian names and terms have been transliterated according to Platts' system of transliteration used in his similarly celebrated Urdu/Classical Hindi dictionary.[2]

Names of many of the principal figures, of the occasional building, and some terms, in Mughal history, such as the first six emperors, Taj Mahal, Rajput, and Mughal, are familiar to English readers and therefore have been transliterated (based on Steingass' system for the Persian, and Platts for the Hindi) but without diacritics, and where a spelling of a placename has become established in English, I have adhered to the form in common use. Thus Delhi and Lahore, and not Dillī, Dehlī, or Dihlī, and Lāhawr.

In the footnotes and bibliography, the names of books from the period under review and their authors, are all transliterated with diacritics.

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[1] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 1892; reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1996

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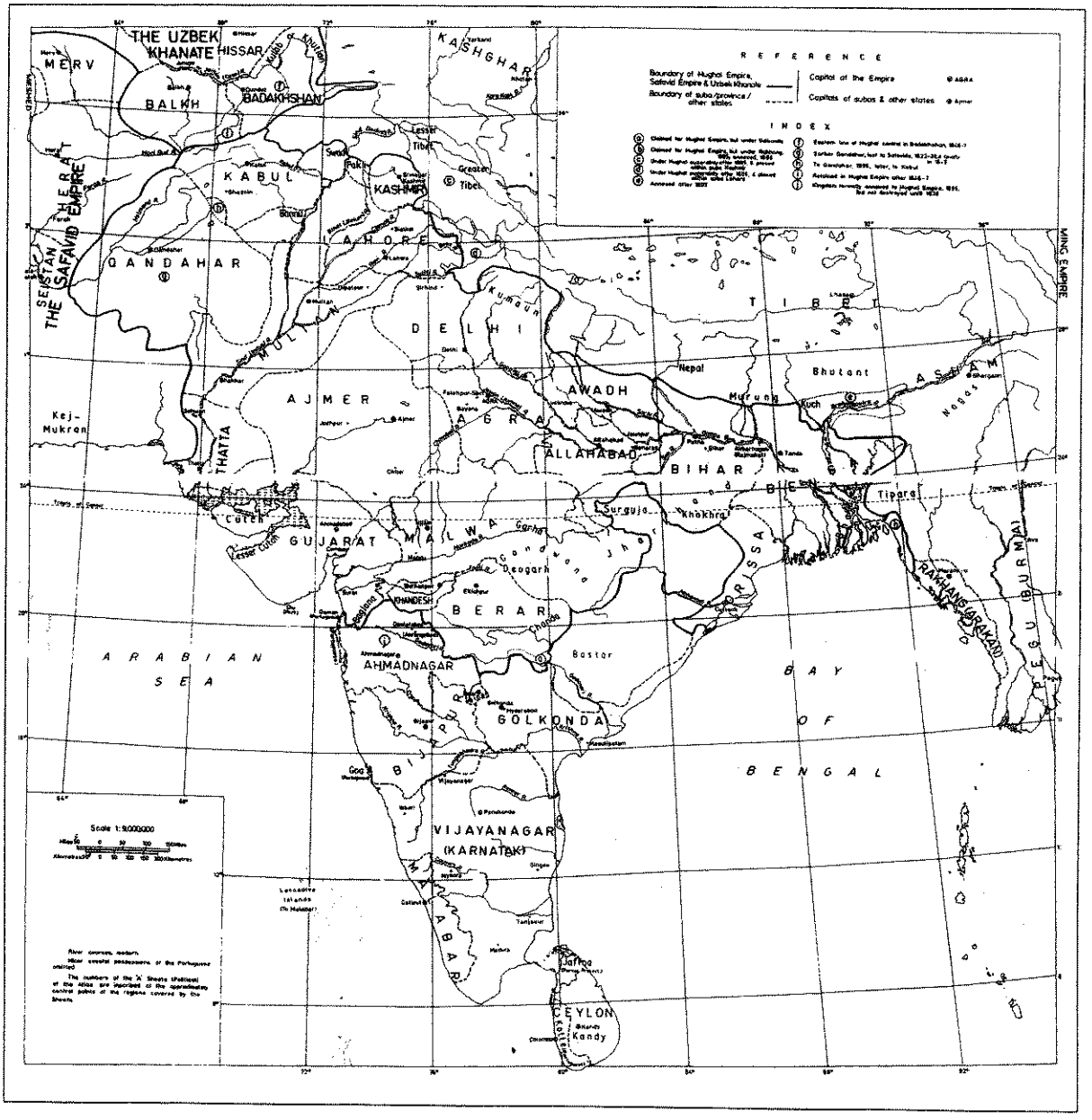

* Source: Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1982, Sheet OA

Chapter One: Introduction

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was rapid urbanization in the Mughal empire in India. The Mughals, who first entered India from Kabul under Babur in 1519, became rulers of a land with a long urban tradition.[1] Under Babur's descendants, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb, urbanization was taken to new heights in India with 'the expansion in the size of pre-exiting cities and towns and a proliferation of new foundations' throughout the empire.[2] This was largely due to the establishment of political stability over a large part of the Indian subcontinent under the centralized rule of the Mughal emperor. This followed the turbulent years of the decline of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal conquest in the 1520s, and reconquest following the Sūr interregnum. From the third emperor Akbar to the sixth emperor Aurangzeb, the cities of Agra, Lahore, and Delhi, which predated the Mughal Empire, underwent further development and expansion, and cities such as Fatehpur Sikri, and Allahabad, were founded.[3]

At the same time, within the Mughal capital cities – Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, and Lahore, imperial patronage resulted in major developments in painting, music, dress, architecture, and in numerous other fields. The Mughal school of miniature painting, an eclectic distillation of Indian, Persian, and European styles was born during this period, distinct in appearance from the contemporary painting schools of neighbouring Safavid

[1] Babur's victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of the Delhi Sultanate at the Battle of Panipat in 1526 was the culmination of five invasions of northern India beginning in 1519. Babur writes, 'we led the army to Hindustan five times within seven or eight years. The fifth time, God through his great grace vanquished and reduced a foe like Sultan Ibrahim and made possible for us a realm like Hindustan.' Ẓahīr ud-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Oxford University Press, New York, 1996, p. 329

[2] Gavin R. G. Hambly, 'Towns and Cities: Mughal India' in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. I, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, p. 436

Persia and of Ottoman Turkey. Classical music, which first saw a blend of Indian and foreign music traditions during the Delhi Sultanate, continued along the same path with renewed vigour under Akbar, who summoned to his court Tansen, the greatest Indian musician of his day. Poetry, histories and memoirs flourished, written in Persian, the language of the Mughal court and bureaucracy, by local authors, and by those who had come to the capital cities from all over the Persian speaking world, while at the same time works from Sanskrit were being translated into Persian. Clothing worn at court, initially Central Asian during the reigns of Babur and Humayun, evolved under Indian influences. Even the appearance of the capital cities themselves was transformed, with the construction of forts in Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and Fatehpur Sikri, in addition to mansions, caravanserais, gardens, mosques, and tombs, all built on an unprecedented scale in these cities.

As a result, European travellers to the capital cities of the Mughal empire during this period were impressed by the wealth and refinement of the emperor and his courtiers, and the beauty and scale of the many monuments and buildings fascinated them. These travellers considered the Mughal emperor far richer than the monarchs of Europe, and being more familiar with the Ottoman Turks who occupied part of their continent, considered him richer than the combined wealth of his two Muslim contemporaries, the Ottoman Sultan and the Safavid Shah.[4] Even the Frenchman Francois Bernier, who had a strong tendency to compare everything he encountered in Mughal India unfavourably to that of his native Paris, found in Agra something more 'bold and majestic':

> The last time I visited *Tage Mehale's* mausoleum I was in the company of a French merchant, who, as well as myself, thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted by my long residence in the *Indies*; and as my companion was come recently from *France*, it was quite a relief

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[3] Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India: 1556-1803*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, p. 9

[4] Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, translated by A. Constable & revised by V. A. Smith, 1934; reprint, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1997, p. 222; Thomas Coryat in William Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India: 1583 – 1619*, 1921; reprint, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1985, p. 246; William Hawkins, in Ibid., p. 106; Nicholas Withington, in Ibid., p. 225

> to my mind to hear him say that he had seen nothing in *Europe* so bold and majestic.[5]

Bernier, as well as other travellers from Europe however, were also aware of a different world that existed beyond the walls of the imperial palace and the mansions of the nobility. In fact, apart from what was connected to the emperor and his nobles in some way - their monuments, mansions and clothes for instance, they appear not to have been impressed by the cities in general, and although the common person's plight was hardly different from that in the Europe they had left, they noticed that the majority of the population led a very different life from the emperor and the nobles. Writing some forty years earlier than Bernier, Francisco Pelsaert, a Dutch visitor contrasts the lifestyles of the rich and poor in no uncertain terms:

> This is a short sketch of these poor wretches who, in their submissive bondage, may be compared to poor, contemptible earthworms, or to little fishes, which, however closely they may conceal themselves, are swallowed up by the great monsters of a wild sea. Now we shall write a little of the manner of life of the great and rich, but in order to do so, we must entirely change our tune; for the pen which has described bitter poverty, clothed with the woeful garment of sighs, the foe of love, friendship and happiness, but the friend of loneliness wet with the daily dew of tears, - that pen must entirely change its style, and tell that in the palaces of these lords dwells all the wealth there is, wealth which glitters indeed, but is borrowed, wrung from the sweat of the poor.[6]

Such accounts serve to remind us that despite the splendour that we have come to associate with the Mughal period, the majority of the urban population led a different lifestyle from those for whom the forts and tombs still standing today were built, and for whom the miniature paintings, now in museum and library collections around the world were made. This is easy to overlook, considering that the Mughal court histories and memoirs of the emperors, are overwhelmingly concerned with the activities of the emperor and the nobles. In contrast, literary information about the lives of the ordinary inhabitants of the Mughal cities, must mostly be gleaned from the occasional descriptions or comments about them contained in European travellers' accounts.

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[5] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 295

The ordinary inhabitants of these cities aside, urban history in Mughal India is a neglected subject, to quote Narayani Gupta writing on nineteenth and early twentieth century Delhi; "The books written on the history of London could fill the best part of a small library. Delhi has a long way to go in this respect".[7] To date, the little work that has been carried out on the cities of Mughal India such as Delhi, has largely been concerned with their economic history, and by virtue of their political importance, cities such as Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and Fatehpur Sikri do feature prominently in most political histories on Mughal India, but few attempts have been made to write on the culture of these cities. Admittedly, certain aspects of urban culture during the Mughal period, such as painting, classical music, and monumental architecture, have been the subjects of much academic study. These subjects, however, are usually studied in isolation, removing them from any shared social context, while other aspects of urban culture from the period, such as housing, dress, and cuisine, have received little attention from scholars.

Another shortcoming of these works is the frequent exclusion of the ordinary people from the picture, the worst offenders being the numerous books, popular and academic on Mughal architecture. Monumental building complexes like that of the Taj Mahal in Agra, and the forts and mosques in the capital cities are dealt with time and time again, but almost never the housing of the urban poor or of the merchants and traders for instance, even though domestic architecture would have been numerically the dominant form in the cities. The reason for this one-sided coverage of the Mughal period is no doubt due to the fact that the information contained within the written primary sources for the period available to scholars is overwhelmingly weighted in favour of the urban elite.

In light of this, there exists a need for a study which looks at various aspects of the culture of the inhabitants of the Mughal capital cities – their housing, food, dress, and their art, from which comparisons may be made, and common themes or patterns may be

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[6] Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, translated by W. H. Moreland, & P. Geyl, 1925; reprint, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, New Delhi, 1972, p. 64

discerned, and encompassing not just the emperor in the imperial fort or the nobles in their mansions but beyond into the city quarters where ordinary people such as painters, musicians, poets, merchants, traders, common soldiers, and skilled and unskilled workers lived and worked. This thesis is an attempt in the direction of this need, and is focused on the four cities that were capitals of the Mughal empire at different times during the period from 1556 to 1658 (the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan), namely Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, and Delhi. Agra was Akbar's capital from 1558 to 1571, Fatehpur Sikri from 1571 to 1585, Lahore from 1586 to 1598, and then Agra again from 1598, through the reign of Jahangir (although Lahore served sometimes as his capital), and up to 1648 during the reign of Shah Jahan. For the remainder of the period under review, i.e. from 1648 to 1658, Delhi (Shahjahanabad) was the capital of the empire.

For this purpose, I have compensated for the shortcomings of the written sources by extensively using the Mughal miniature paintings. During the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, there were thousands of miniatures painted by the artists of the imperial atelier as illustrations to histories, memoirs, and literary works, and as single miniatures to be pasted in albums. The *Ḥamzanāma* alone for example, the largest project undertaken by the atelier, had over a thousand paintings. Admittedly, other projects were considerably smaller, but these still consisted of many dozens to hundreds of miniatures (and this is not taking into account that often multiple copies of the same work might be illustrated). Added to this number, were numerous single miniatures for pasting in albums called *muraqqa'*, which came into predominance during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Even though many miniatures have not survived, an uncountable number, certainly in excess of a thousand have been preserved in museums, libraries and in private collections, so Mughal miniatures are a vast source to draw from.

What is important is that these miniatures contain information on the ordinary people of the cities that the court histories or memoirs omit. Although both were produced within the same courtly environment (and thus the miniatures like the histories and memoirs are overwhelmingly focused on the same people, i.e. the emperor and his nobles), for the

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[7] Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Empires: 1803 – 1931*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1981, p. ix

sake of realism, non-courtiers were not excluded from scenes depicted by the painter, whereas in the text the writer assumed that the reader would know that such people as servants, labourers and artisans were involved and hence there was no need for him to go into such details as to what they wore or the tools that they worked with. The construction of the fort at Fatehpur is one example (Figures 31 and 37), vividly depicted in the miniatures of the *Akbarnāma*, the history of Akbar's reign. We see unskilled labourers scantily dressed; whereas the masons - skilled artisans, are dressed more fully together with leather shoes, which the unskilled and lower paid labourers are without. Then there are the supervisors with long staves dressed in a similar fashion to Mughal courtiers and at the bottom left corner (Figure 37) holding the reins of horse is an imperial herald perhaps bearing new instructions for the supervisors. We also see male and female labourers toiling side by side. When compared to what the text of the *Akbarnāma* has to say about the construction of the same fort, one is easily able to see that valuable information contained in the miniatures is taken for granted and thus omitted in the text:

> Inasmuch as his exalted sons had taken their birth in Sīkrī and the God-knowing spirit of Shaikh Salīm had taken possession thereof, his holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot which possessed spiritual grandeur. Now that his standards had arrived at this place, his former design was pressed forward, and an order was issued that the superintendents of affairs should erect lofty buildings for the special use of the Shāhinshāh. All the grades of officers, and the public generally made dwellings for themselves, and a high wall of stone and lime was placed round the place. In a short time there was a great city, and there were charming palaces. Benevolent institutions, such as khānqās, schools and baths, were also constructed, and a large stone bazaar was built. Beautiful gardens were made in the vicinity. A great place of concourse was brought together such as might move the envy of the world. His Majesty gave it the name of Fatḥabād, and this by common use was made into Fatḥpūr.[8]

The miniatures in manuscripts are therefore an invaluable source for the purpose of this thesis. The single miniatures intended for pasting in *muraqqa'* are equally useful in the same regard. Indeed, with single miniatures, the artist did not find himself tied to the

[8] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, translated by H. Beveridge, 1902; reprint, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1998, p. 531

subject matter of a text and as a result single miniatures occasionally have as their main subject matter common people (Figure 91 for example) and cover an even greater range of subjects than the miniatures prepared as illustrations for manuscripts. They include depictions of musicians and singers, men of religion - Hindu and Muslim, animals, and plants, in addition to portraits of the emperor, princes, and nobles, and even the occasional self-portrait.

I have also taken the step of using extensively the memoirs of Banārasīdās whose life spanned the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan.[9] Amongst the court histories like the *Akbarnāma* quoted above and the memoirs of the Mughal emperors, Banārasīdās' memoirs stand out as an oddity - written not by someone who was part of the Mughal court, but by an ordinary person living in the capital city – a petty trader who hawked in the bazaars of Agra and other cities and towns, and who only later in life attained commercial success. Consequently, the focus of his writings is not on court life to which he had no access (and about which the court histories supply us with ample information anyway), but on his own daily doings in a social context far removed from the Mughal court.

Banārasīdās' memoirs also provide a feel for daily life not captured by European travellers' accounts, despite the invaluable descriptions of the life of the common people contained in such accounts. European travellers describe the daily life of inhabitants from a distance, for their own experiences - attending court and meeting with the emperor and his nobles and sight-seeing, were different from the likes of Banārasīdās. Banārasīdās' life, on the other hand was spent within the houses described from the outside by Bernier, or at the receiving end of Mughal justice, described in only general terms by Pelsaert. Of all the written sources, his is thus, best able to provide a real feel or flavour of what it was like for an ordinary person in the cities to live under the rule of the Mughal authorities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Episodes from his memoirs therefore, such as his relief at the successful accession to the Mughal throne by

[9] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, translated by Mukund Lath, Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, Jaipur, 1981

Jahangir, after days of uncertainty following Akbar's death, and the fear he felt while in the custody of the Mughal authorities, as well as the rather dismissive way with which he was treated when visiting a much wealthier merchant, impart to us an insight into the daily life of ordinary city dwellers missing from other accounts.

I will deal more fully with the written and visual primary sources that I have used later. As the title of this thesis indicates, this thesis is about the 'culture' of the Mughal capital cities, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, and Lahore, from 1556 to 1658 the years spanning the reigns of the emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. I should therefore first explain the sense in which the term 'culture' is used in this thesis. The considerable debate during the twentieth century over the meaning of the term 'culture' has resulted in the word changing in definition during the last one hundred years, and Raymond Williams (1921 – 90) one of the prominent figures in this debate has rightly commented that it is one of two or three of the most complicated words in the English language[10] (indeed, the monumental 1952 monograph of A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn comprises of over two hundred different definitions of the word[11]). The narrow and elitist concept of culture favoured in the late nineteenth century, that it represented excellence in the arts, literature and in personal perfection, is no longer valid today. Today, 'culture' can be used to refer to 'a whole way of life'. Under this expanded definition, everyday activities such as dressing for work and hosting a dinner are as valid examples of culture, as painting and literature are.

All of these have a symbolic significance. The type of clothes worn for work for instance, communicate to us more information than simply that they are to shield the wearer from the elements en route to his or her place of work. Similarly, a particular dish served by a host to dinner guests conveys much more than that it has been prepared to satisfy the hunger of the host and guests. In the case of the clothes for example, they might tell us about the person's economic status, or even his religion – as in the case of

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[10] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, 1976; reprint, Fontana Press, London, 1988, p. 87

[11] A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, 1952; reprint, Vintage Books, New York, 1963

the tunic worn at the Mughal court which differentiated Muslims from non-Muslims, based on the side on which it was bound, - and from Safavid Persian dignitaries to the Mughal court for instance (see Figure 27. Note the Persian ambassador and his young companion's distinctive Safavid turbans, white and round, tied around a tall and thin cap that terminates in a point.[12] See also the four similarly turbaned Persians standing behind them, who together are distinguishable from the entire Mughal court with their flat turbans). In the case of food, the wealth of the host, and the religion of the host/guests might be gleaned from the ingredients used.

K. M. Ashraf's *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*,[13] written in the 1930s dealt with the everyday activities of people of different classes in the Delhi Sultanate period up to the eve of Akbar's reign. Included in the wide range of subjects covered in this work was clothing worn publicly and privately by the Sultan, as well as the institution of *khil'at*, which entailed the presentation of robes of honour, music and dancing, housing, food, and even personal hygiene. My own approach, in terms of the range covered in this thesis is similar to that of Ashraf's (who incidentally, does not once use the term 'culture', which in the 1930s was still used in a much more restricted sense). However, whereas Ashraf covers the entire Delhi Sultanate and early Mughal empire, i.e. both rural and urban centres, capital cities and otherwise, this thesis is confined to the capital cities of the Mughal empire during the reigns of three emperors.

In Chapter Two, I try to give a sense of what it was like to live in the capital cities by describing these cities – their principal buildings and natural features and by looking at factors that affected everyday life such as personal safety and freedom of religion. I also look at a cross section of their inhabitants – the emperor, nobles, merchants and traders, professionals, and labourers, and their daily routine where possible, and their wages - important in regard to the subjects of later chapters. Chapter Three deals with housing, and life for men and women inside them, and the *maḥalla* or quarters of the capital cities into which the capital cities were divided, as well as the fort in which the emperor, his

[12] On the Safavid turban, see Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, Bookking International, Geneva, 1995, p. 130

young children and various female relatives resided. Chapter Four looks at male and female dress as well as the institution of *khil'at*, the bestowal of robes of honour by the emperor, princes and nobles, with no restrictions on the social rank of the recipient. Chapter Five looks at cuisine, including beverages and narcotics that were available to the cities' inhabitants. Chapter Six is concerned with the arts. I look first at painting and artists, then music and musicians, and finally the languages of the capital cities, poetry, and poets. In the final chapter, Chapter Seven, conclusions are drawn.

This thesis covers the years 1556 to 1658. This period of a little over a century begins with Akbar's coronation in 1556, covers the reign of Jahangir from 1605 to 1627, and ends with Shah Jahan's deposition in 1658. As the subject matter of this thesis is not limited to the emperor, it might appear strange then that the scope of this thesis time-wise has rigidly been determined by reigns. The reason for this is due to the important role that the Mughal emperor played in many aspects of urban culture such as the arts, not only through his direct patronage, but also by being openly copied by his nobles, as the art historian Pratapaditya Pal writes:

> As a matter of fact, because of the Imperial interest in painting, most rulers, whether Muslim or Rajput, who came under the political influence of the Mughals, emulated their Imperial overlords in patronizing artists in their own courts. Mughal rulers had a profound impact on most aspects of Indian culture and until they were replaced by the British in the eighteenth century, the Mughal court, even during the twilight of the empire, remained directly or indirectly the trend-setters of artistic taste on the subcontinent.[14]

Beyond the court circle, just how much of an impact if any, all of this had on the lives of ordinary people in the capital cities during the period under review is one of the concerns of this thesis.

For the study of urban culture in the subcontinent, the first two Mughal emperors, both born in Central Asia, Zahir ud-Din Muhammad Babur and Nasir ud-Din Muhammad

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[13] Kanwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, 1935; reprint: Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1988

Humayun have little importance, compared to their three successors. The reasons for this lie in the political situation in India during the reigns of these first two emperors, as well as the nature of Mughal rule under them. The reigns of Babur (who ruled from 1526 to 1530) and Humayun (who ruled from 1530 to 40, and 1555) over their empire in India were comparatively short (fifteen years in total), and were characterized by constant warfare against opponents within the subcontinent whose armies were numerically equal if not superior to theirs. Unlike the later emperors, who, given the larger number of soldiers and commanders at their disposal, did not have to participate personally in campaigns, Babur and Humayun had relatively small armies, which more often than not they led in person into battle. Moreover, given the relatively small size of their army, defeat might mean, as in the case of Humayun in 1540, withdrawing from the subcontinent altogether. Thus, due to the precarious nature of their position in India, and the necessity of regular warfare as a result, coupled with the relative brevity of their reigns, Babur and Humayun had less time than their successors to devote to activities such as building and the patronage of the arts. Also, the comparatively small size of their empire without Gujarat, Kashmir, Bihar, Bengal, and parts of Rajasthan (all part of the empire under later emperors), the politically unsettled condition of the countryside, coupled with the fairly haphazard methods of revenue collection (predating the revenue reforms under Sher Shāh Sūr, and Akbar), did not provide them with the resources to engage in projects on anywhere of the scale of their descendants. Thus, for example, Humayun's atelier of six painters was increased to over two hundred and fifty painters during his son, Akbar's reign.[15]

Babur's life in India in the lead up to the Battle of Panipat and in the years after, as in Central Asia following his father's death, was characterized by almost constant warfare. His victory at Panipat in 1526 over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of the Delhi Sultanate, which marks the beginning of the Mughal conquest of northern India, was just the first of a number of major military engagements. A more daunting challenge for Babur and his

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[14] Pratapaditya Pal, 'Muslim Patrons and Painting in India', in *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 17, No. 6, Arts of Asia Publications, Hong Kong, 1987, p.114

[15] Som Prakash Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work: A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1994, p. 24

army, as the *Bāburnāma* reveals came from a Rajput confederation under Rāna Sānga of Mewar.[16] In 1527, close to what would later become Akbar's capital of Fatehpur Sikri, Babur defeated Rāna Sānga, and in the following year captured the Rajput bastion of Chanderi.[17] Two years later in 1530, and a mere four years after Panipat, Babur died at the age of forty-seven,[18] leaving an empire still in its embryonic stage.

Babur's eldest son Humayun, who came to the throne in 1530, although emperor for twenty-six years, in effect ruled in India for just ten of these years. At the start of his reign, the large numbers of Afghans dispossessed since the Mughal conquest posed a continued threat to the empire, and Humayun turned his attention first to them, in spite of his brothers Kāmrān and Askāri seizing the Punjab and the Mughal territories in Afghanistan shortly after Babur's death. However, before any decisive action could be taken against the Afghans, Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat invaded Malwa. A hasty truce was drawn up with the Bihar-based Afghan leader Sher Khān Sūr (later Sher Shāh Sūr), freeing Humayun to march against Gujarat. The campaign against Gujarat beginning in 1534, during which Humayun displayed much personal bravery, was nevertheless equally an exhibition of procrastination on his part and ended in stalemate in 1537. Humayun's return to the Afghan issue found him against a much strengthened opponent, and in 1539, he was defeated by Sher Khān at Chausa, and fled with his army back to Agra.[19] A second showdown between the Mughals and the Afghans took place the following year at Kanauj, and which similarly ended in defeat for Humayun.[20] For the next fifteen years, Humayun remained first in flight and then in exile until 1555, when he returned to defeat Sikandar Shāh, Sher Shāh's grandson at Sirhind.[21] Certainly, an important outcome of Humayun's period of exile in Iran was the arrival of several leading painters from Isfahan whom he had invited to join his atelier, but as Humayun was to die only seven months

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[16] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 369-87
[17] Ibid., pp. 396-8
[18] Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī*, translated by E. Denison Ross, Sampson Low, Marston and Company Ltd., London, 1895, p. 402; Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, translated by Annette S. Beveridge, 1900; reprint, Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1989, p. 109
[19] 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *Tarīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, Persian text, edited by S. M. Imam al-Din, University of Dacca, 1964, pp. 135-9
[20] Ibid., pp. 147-8

after returning to Delhi,[22] the impact of these Persian painters on Mughal miniature painting falls within the reign of Akbar.

The second reason lies in the nature of Mughal rule during the reigns of these first two emperors. Babur and Humayun were Central Asian-born monarchs whose court consisted mostly of Turks, and Persians, who came from beyond the Sulaiman Mountains that divide the Indian subcontinent from the Asian landmass. Unlike the Mughal court in later years, they did not make an effort to enrol local aristocrats into the nobility, and thus the Mughals in this respect resembled earlier Central Asian raiding expeditions into India, except in that they had decided to stay. Consequently they were seen as foreign invaders whose presence in the subcontinent was viewed by many as an intrusion from outside.[23] In fact, the evidence suggests that the Mughals at the time viewed themselves in this light. Babur in his memoirs clearly misses Central Asia and Kabul, and tells us of the widespread dissatisfaction within the Mughal army after the Battle of Panipat at the prospect of remaining in India, and of the departure of one of his highest nobles, Khwāja Kalān:

> I [Babur] said, "...Shall we go back to Kabul and remain poverty stricken? Let no one who supports me say such things hence forth. Let no one who cannot endure and is bound to leave be dissuaded from leaving." ...
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> Since Khwaja Kalan did not have the heart to stay, it was decided that he who had many retainers, would take gifts and go. ...Since Khwaja Kalan hated Hindustan,

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[21] Jauhar Aftābchī, *Tazkirat ul-Wāqi'at*, translated by Charles Stewart, 1832; reprint, Susil Gupta, Santiago de Compostela, undated, p. 116

[22] Ibid., p. 120; The Ottoman admiral Sidī 'Alī Reis, who was at the Mughal court at the time of Humayun's death writes, 'Humayun had given audience on Friday evening, when upon leaving his castle of pleasure, the Muezzin announced the Ezan just as he was descending the staircase. It was his wont, whereever he heard the summons, to bow the knee in holy reverence. He did so now, but unfortunately fell down several steps, and received great injuries to his head and arm. Truly the proverb rightly says, "there is no guarding against fate."' In Sidī 'Alī Reis, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, translated by A Vambery, 1899; reprint, Al-Biruni, Lahore, 1975, p. 55

[23] Thus 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī writes: 'Sher Khan often said in the councils of the Afghans, "If luck aids me and fortune befriends me, I will expel the Mughals from the country of India with ease."... Shaikh Ibrahim said, "It is inconceivable that the country of India will fall into the hands of the Afghans again, and that the Mughals will be expelled from India." Sher Khan said, "Shaikh Muḥammad be the eye-witness for [this conversation between] Shaikh Ibrāhīm and me: If I am given the chance, in a short matter of time, I will expel the Mughals from India."' [My translation], Sarwānī, *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, p. 55

he wrote the following line of poetry on the wall of his quarters in Delhi when he left:

> If I cross the Indus in safety, may my face turn black if ever I desire to see Hindustan again.[24]

Later, in a letter to the same noble, Babur speaks of his own desire to leave India for Kabul:

> Our concern for going there [Kabul] is limitless and overwhelming. Affairs in Hindustan are getting into shape. It is hoped from God Almighty that soon, by God's grace, things will be consolidated. Immediately upon completion of this affair, if God brings it to fruition, I will set out. How can one forget the pleasures of that country? Especially when abstaining from drinking, how can one allow oneself to forget a licit pleasure like melons and grapes? Recently a melon was brought, and as I cut it and ate it I was oddly affected. I wept the whole time I was eating.[25]

Thus, in their fifteen years of rule in India, the first two Mughal emperors had neither the inclination, time nor the resources that their descendants enjoyed to engage in projects and patronage on the scale of later emperors, or to recruit significant numbers of Indians into the nobility. As a result, not only did the court remain free of Indian influence, but the capital cities of their empire, Agra and Delhi, compared to later reigns were little changed by their presence.

During the reign of the third emperor Jalal ud-Din Muhammad Akbar (who ruled from 1556 to 1605), a profound shift took place in imperial attitudes towards the Indian environment. The Mughal miniatures provide proof that this change began very early in the reign of Akbar. In the dress of the characters depicted in the *Ḥamzanāma*, the first illustration project undertaken by the Mughal atelier around 1560, an Indian style of dress is shown worn, mirroring the dress adopted by the emperor and his court in place of Central Asian dress, a process which Abu l-Fazl later describes in detail. The style in which these paintings were executed is itself proof of this change, reflecting the large numbers of Indian painters who were being recruited into the atelier (in contrast to

[24] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 354-5

Humayun's Persian dominated atelier), and who brought with them pre-Mughal Indian styles of painting. Simultaneously in the field of music, we read in the *Akbarnāma* of the arrival at the Mughal court in 1562 from Gwalior of the greatest Indian musician of his day, Tansen, at the invitation of Akbar. The *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* reveals that Tansen was just one of many Indian musicians recruited to join the ranks of the musicians at the Mughal court, and miniatures from the 1590s onwards feature Indian musical instruments prominently at the court alongside Central Asian and Persian ones. Similarly, the construction of Akbar's new capital at Fatehpur Sikri taking place at the same time and completed in 1571, and the setting of many scenes depicted in miniatures, was a blend of Indian and Islamic architectural styles.

Akbar's immediate willingness to draw from his Indian environment, unlike Babur and Humayun, may have had something to do with the fact that he, unlike his father and grandfather had been born in India, and that his only taste of Mughal territories outside of India had not been the Timurid heartland of Central Asia, but Afghanistan without Herat, a relative backwater by Timurid standards. As a result he may not have had the degree of attachment towards Central Asia that the first two emperors had, which in the case of Babur at least, made him view India as something of a consolation prize. Whatever the reasons were, it is important not to simplify matters by attributing Akbar's enthusiasm for local music, art, dress, and architecture, at this point in his reign, to his liberal stance on religion. The young emperor's ideas on religion were yet to mature, and so for instance, on the one hand we read of him in 1563 abolishing the tax on Hindu pilgrims gathered on festive occasions and allowing Hindus to build new temples and repair old ones,[26] yet we also read that in 1568 he proclaimed his capture of the great Rajput bastion of Chitor as a victory of Islam over infidels in the strongest and most intolerant language,[27] and that afterwards he set off on a pilgrimage by foot from Agra to the Chishtī shrine in Ajmir to

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[25] Ibid., p. 423

[26] John F. Richards, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Mughal Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, p. 38

[27] Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy', in *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1968, p. 32

give thanks for this victory.[28] Indeed, Akbar's intense exploration of religion culminating in his final abolition of the *jizya* (tax on non-Muslims) in 1579 was not to take place until the late 1570s in Fatehpur Sikri, and only after he had abolished the tax in 1564 and reintroduced it in 1575.

In spite of this, from very early on in his reign imperial service was opened to all irrespective of their religious beliefs. In 1561, Bharāmāl, the Kachwāhā ruler of Amber offered his daughter in marriage to Akbar which the emperor accepted, and consequently Bharāmāl, and his sons entered Mughal service, and Bharāmāl retained his position as ruler of Amber.[29] Other Rajput chiefs followed, offering their daughters in marriage to the Mughal emperor, but only after Mughal campaigns in Rajasthan. Akbar's capture of Chitor in 1568, however, vividly illustrated in the *Akbarnāma*, marks a milestone in Mughal-Rajput relations. The resounding defeat of the most prestigious Rajput ruler, Uday Singh, at Chitor, whose ancestor was Rāna Sānga (the head of the Rajput confederacy that opposed Babur forty-years earlier), and the capture of his fort, was a spectacular display of Mughal might, with the result that with the exception of the Kachwāhās who had submitted earlier, all the important Rajput chiefs now entered the imperial service[30] which, to quote Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'would suggest that factors which induced the Rajputs to join Mughal service were anything but their appreciation of Akbar's attitude towards the non-Muslims.'[31] Nevertheless, by 1595, Hindus alone, accounted for 22 out of the 98 *manṣabdārs* holding 500 *ẕāt* and above.[32]

Along with Hindu Rajputs, large numbers of Persians were also admitted into the Mughal nobility. Together with Indian Muslims, they reduced the relative numbers of Central Asian Turks in the Mughal nobility. While the admission of Rajputs was necessary to ensure their support for the empire, the recruitment of Persians (in addition to those who

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[28] 'Abd ul-Qādir Badāunī, *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. II, translated by T. Wolseley Haig, 1899; reprint, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, New Delhi, 1973, p. 108

[29] Kunwar Refaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, Kitab Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 10-11

[30] Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar', p. 32

[31] Ibid., pp. 32-3

had accompanied Humayun back to India) from the 1560s in such numbers was necessitated by the rebellious behaviour of the Turks in the nobility.

The empire inherited by the young Akbar in 1556 had been guided for the first four years under the regency of Bairam Khan, an Īrānī (Persian) noble.[33] In 1560, Akbar impatient to rule in his own right and acting under the influence of his Tūrānī (Turkish)[34] foster relatives known collectively as the Atka Khail, resentful of the regent's power,[35] had dismissed Bairam Khan. For much of the decade that followed, Akbar remained in a precarious position from a series of challenges to his authority brought on from within his own nobility. Akbar dealt successfully first with the brazenly insubordinate Adham Khan, a leading member of the Atka Khail.[36] Much more serious was a unified rebellion by Uzbek nobles beginning in 1564 under the leadership of the brothers 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, and then an invasion of the Punjab and attempted conquest of Lahore by Akbar's half-brother based in Kabul, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm in 1566.[37] Whilst Akbar was engaged in repulsing his brother from the Punjab, the still defiant Uzbek rebels proclaimed their support for Mirzā Ḥakīm by having the *khutba* read in the name of Mirzā Ḥakīm in the territories under their control.[38] Around the same time, another group of Tūrānī nobles, the Mirzās,[39] rebelled and made an unsuccessful attempt on Delhi. They sought an alliance with the rebellious Uzbeks but nothing came of this, 'for everyone in his folly wanted to rule', Abu l-Fazl writes.[40] Akbar dealt first with his brother's invasion, forcing Mirzā Ḥakīm to withdraw to Kabul.[41] From the Punjab,

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[32] M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997, p. 31. The term *zāt* indicated the rank of the *manṣabdār*.

[33] Īrānī was used as a term for nobles of Persian descent who overwhelmingly were Shiite Muslims.

[34] The term Tūrānī denoted nobles of Central Asian Turkish. Almost all Tūrānīs were Sunnis, adding a sectarian dimension to the ethnic distinction between Īrānī and Tūrānī nobles.

[35] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 141

[36] Ibid., p. 214, pp. 217-21, 268-75

[37] Ibid., pp. 401-12

[38] Ibid., p. 420

[39] As Timur used the title Amīr (Amir Timur), Mirzā (from amīr, meaning commander, and zāda meaning son) came to denote male decendants of Timur. I have placed the title before the name following Indian convention as opposed to that of Central Asia where it came after the name, for instance, Kāmrān Mirzā.

[40] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 414

[41] Ibid., p. 411

Akbar marched east and defeated the Uzbek rebels,[42] before defeating the Mirzās, and forcing them to seek refuge in Gujarat.[43]

What is significant, is that all of these challenges to the emperor's authority were initiated by his Tūrānī nobles, who were used to a more egalitarian style of rule, and therefore particularly turbulent and difficult to control for any monarch wishing to stamp his authority. These challenges taught the young emperor the uncertainty and dangers of relying upon them, and thus as the empire expanded and the practical need for more nobles arose, Akbar began recruiting more Persians, and Indian Muslims, and Hindu Rajputs, effectively reducing the proportion of Tūrānī nobles or *manṣabdārs*.[44]

With the various Tūrānī rebellions successfully dealt with and with the conquest of Chitor behind him, Akbar moved his capital from Agra to the newly built Fatehpur Sikri,[45] where he would remain until 1585 when the capital was transferred to Lahore due to an Uzbek threat to Kabul. More secure in his position than during his first decade as emperor, it was in Fatehpur Sikri that Akbar was truly able to begin to indulge in the patronage of the arts on an unprecedented scale and satisfy 'those creative, aesthetic impulses typical of the Timurids.'[46]. Within the eclectic architectural setting of his new capital, music under Tansen's leadership and painting with its large Indian contingent flourished. Akbar's atelier was now the largest of any Muslim monarch in history numbering painters in the hundreds from India, Iran and Central Asia. The period also coincides with the arrival of European paintings and book engravings which the emperor delighted in viewing and which helped shape the Mughal School of painting, blending with Indian and Persian influences. In literature and poetry there was also much productivity. Poets were sought from all over the vast Persian-speaking world and invited to the Mughal court, while many came of their own accord, where in this Persian speaking court they felt at home. Translations were also made of Indian literary works

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[42] Ibid., pp. 426-34
[43] Ibid., p. 462
[44] All nobles in the Mughal empire held a *manṣab* ('rank' in Persian), hence the term *manṣabdār* meaning 'rank-holder'.
[45] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, pp. 530-1
[46] Richards, *New Cambridge History*, pp. 29-30

such as the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* into Persian, and history was written on an unprecedented scale at the instigation of the emperor, of his own reign and of past monarchs, Mughal and non-Mughal such as 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī's history of Sher Shāh Sūr, Akbar's father's nemesis. Thus Gulbadan begins her history with 'There had been an order issued, 'Write down whatever you know of the doings of *Firdaus-makānī* [Babur] and *Jannat-āshyānī* [Humayun].''[47] And indeed, Akbar's reign, due largely to the work of Abu l-Fazl completed in Lahore, must be considered as one of the best documented reigns in history.

At the same time, innovations took place in court rituals, and here too, the emperor looked to his Indian environment. The emperor following an Indian custom, faithfully presented himself for viewing to his subjects each sunrise from a window of the fort known as the *jharokā darshan*, overlooking an area outside the fort where crowds gathered awaiting his appearance. Similarly, on the emperor's birthday and that of his sons, a custom practised in Hindu courts was performed. The emperor on his birthday or the princes on theirs would be weighed against gold and silver, and other precious items, which would be distributed to charity.

Nur ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir (who ruled from 1605 to 27), born of a Rajput mother in 1569, ascended the throne in 1605, following the death of his father Akbar. Unlike Akbar in 1556, Jahangir inherited a stable empire, and in comparison, his reign is relatively uneventful from a military perspective. Although not an energetic general like Akbar, Jahangir did inherit his father's catholicity and love for the arts. As a result, the arts patronized by Akbar continued to receive imperial support. Notably, painting which the emperor was especially passionate about, continued to flourish, and the miniatures produced by Jahangir's atelier are considered by many art historians today to represent the peak of the Mughal school of painting with the artists of the atelier as reaching a level of technical skill unattained during Akbar's reign, and penetrating and capturing the personality of their subjects lost during the subsequent reign of Shah Jahan. This improved quality of painting was perhaps due to the emperor's streamlining of the atelier

[47] Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 83

to include only the best artists in the empire, and his great personal attention to their work, evident in his memoirs. Jahangir has this to say for example, about two of his leading painters:

> On this day Abū-l-Ḥasan, the painter, who has been honoured with the title of Nādiru-z-zamān, drew the picture of my accession as the frontpiece to the Jahāngīr-nāma, and brought it to me. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the age. At present he has no rival or equal. ...Also Ustād Manṣūr has become such a master in painting that he has the title of Nādiru-l-Aṣr, and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation. In my father's reign and my own these two have had no third.[48]

And of his own connoisseurship of the art:

> As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows.[49]

Jahangir's aesthetic interests, however, extended to other fields as well. Muṭribī Samarqandī, a poet from Samarqand, who visited the Mughal court when it was in Lahore, records meetings with Jahangir, in which he and the emperor composed poetry and in which the emperor also comes across as being extremely knowledgeable about a wide range of subjects including the technicalities of music.[50] In matters of dress, too, Jahangir was responsible for a number of new items of attire of his own design entering the imperial wardrobe. In the field of architecture, although his reign is not noteworthy compared to that of Akbar or especially that of his son, Shah Jahan, a large tomb complex was built for his father, Akbar, close to Agra and various additions within Akbar's forts

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[48] Nūr ud-Dīn Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Vol II, translated by A. Rogers, 1914; reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1978, p. 20

[49] Ibid., pp. 20-1

[50] Muṭribī Samarqandī, *Conversations with Emperor Jahangir*, translated by W. Foltz, Bibliotheca Iranica, Costa Mesa, 1998, pp. 62-3

made. In addition, new caravanserais, some financed by his wife Nur Jahan were constructed, and Jahangir, reflecting his deep interest in nature (evident in his memoirs and in the miniatures of animals and plants he ordered his artists to paint) was very energetic with the planning and laying-out of outdoor gardens in Kashmir and Lahore, which he favoured to Agra and Delhi for their cooler climates.

Jahangir's son, the fifth emperor Shihab ud-Din Muhammad Shah Jahan (who ruled from 1628 to 58), born also of a Rajput mother, has come to represent the peak of Mughal splendour for us today, through the construction of buildings on a scale never seen before in India such as the Taj Mahal and the fort at Delhi. Shah Jahan came to the throne in 1628, a few months after the death of Jahangir in 1627. Far more energetic than his opium addicted and alcoholic father, Shah Jahan had in his years as a prince endured 'long years of military campaigning, diplomatic negotiation, and political manoeuvring'.[51] As a result, during the thirty years that Shah Jahan reigned, the empire successfully expanded within the Indian subcontinent in the direction of the Deccan. Outside however, the Mughals met with failure. Qandahar, traditionally disputed by the Mughals and the neighbouring Safavids, was lost permanently to the Persians in 1649,[52] and the invasion and occupation of Balkh, in 1645 under the emperor's youngest son, Murād,[53] and in 1647 under his replacement, the emperor's third son, Aurangzeb,[54] with the romantic goal of recovering the ancestral Timurid homelands ended in a stalemate at great cost to human lives in the Mughal camp, particularly during their retreat to Kabul in the winter of 1647.

Shah Jahan's achievements in architecture have tended to overshadow his interest in other areas such as in painting where the Mughal school continued with unabated productivity. The celebrated Taj Mahal, the most famous Mughal, and indeed Indian building, was completed in 1648 after seventeen years of construction. Shah Jahan's most ambitious project, however, was the construction of his new capital Shahjahanabad

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[51] Richards, *New Cambridge History*, p. 119

[52] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, translated by A. R. Fuller and edited by W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 417-21

[53] Ibid., pp. 335-70

at Delhi, begun in 1639, and completed in 1645. In addition, within the forts of Agra and Lahore, the setting for viewing the emperor and for court ceremonies was made even grander with the construction of large halls of public audience, and the number of musicians who performed there increased, based on paintings of court scenes.

Following the defeat in 1658 of the heir apparent Dara Shikoh in a war of succession, and Shah Jahan's subsequent imprisonment, Shah Jahan's third son Muin ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb (ruled from 1658 to 1707, as 'Ālamgīr), ascended the throne as the sixth Mughal emperor. During Aurangzeb's reign, a complete transformation at court took place in line with his austere interpretation of Islam. Although there was an increase in Hindu *manṣabdārs*,[55] court musicians were dismissed and thus court patronage of classical music came to a halt.[56] Similarly, the position of poet laureate was abolished and poets gave up expecting any generosity from this emperor.[57] The imperial atelier although not disbanded, suffered from the emperor's increasing indifference to painting and consequently many of the artists sought employment at other Indian courts. While the patronage of the arts was resumed under later Mughal emperors, Aurangzeb's reign nevertheless marks a definite break in the tradition of imperial patronage. The tradition of court chronicles too came to an end, with the emperor halting the writing of the *'Ālamgīrnāma* after his tenth regnal year.[58] Court ceremonies were also changed. The *darshan* (daily appearance) performed at the *jharokā* (window) begun by Akbar was discontinued on the grounds that it was un-Islamic, and the celebration of the Persian New Year, the *Nauroz* with its pre-Islamic roots was abolished on similar grounds. In the field of architecture, with the sole exception of the impressive Jami Masjid in Lahore, few other significant buildings were constructed by Aurangzeb. As a result of the profound transformation of culture at the court level during Aurangzeb's long reign

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[54] Ibid., pp. 370-403

[55] Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, pp. 104-5

[56] Sāqī Musta'idd Khān, *Ma'aṣir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, translated by Jadu Nath Sarkar, 1947; reprint, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1990, p. 45; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, translated by William Irvine, 1908; reprint, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 5-6;

[57] Aziz Ahmad, 'Safawid Poets and India', in *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, Vol. XIV, The British Institute of Persian Studies, London, 1976, p. 125

[58] Richards, *New Cambridge History*, p. 173

(lasting forty-nine years) and moreover the fact that most of it was spent in the Deccan, the southern half of the subcontinent - and thus away from the cities looked at here, I believe that Aurangzeb's reign warrants a separate study, and has therefore not been included in this thesis.

The four cities covered in this thesis – Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, and Delhi, were each capitals of the Mughal empire at various times during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. Beginning with Agra (although strictly speaking the period under review commences with Delhi as the Mughal capital city, as this was the capital at the time of Humayun's sudden death and Akbar's coronation in 1556), after the recapture of Delhi from the Afghans, the newly crowned Akbar and his regent Bairam Khan established Agra as their capital in 1558, which had been Babur and Humayun's capital before and that of the last Delhi Sultanate dynasty, the Lodis.[59] Agra remained Akbar's capital even after Bairam Khan's dismissal in 1560, and in 1565 work commenced on a large fort in the city, 'which by position is the centre of Hindustan', to quote Abu l-Fazl on the construction of the fort. The possible reasons behind Akbar's choice of Agra as his capital over his father's old capital at Delhi are various. It is possible that Delhi contained unpleasant memories for the young emperor. It was where Humayun had fallen to his death, and had been captured by the Sūrs in 1556, and contained Sher Shāh's buildings on the site of Humayun's. It is also likely that Akbar wished to found his own imperial city in keeping with Timurid familial traditions. Whatever the reasons were, his decision could only have been reinforced by an assassination attempt on his life in the streets of Delhi in 1564 during which he was wounded.[60]

Following the transfer of the capital from Agra to Akbar's newly built capital, Fatehpur Sikri in 1571, Agra, maintained its vibrancy despite the absence of the imperial court. Father Monserrate, who visited Agra during the time Fatehpur Sikri was the capital, presents a favourable picture of the city, stating the availability of all 'the necessaries and

[59] Although Humayun ascended the throne in Agra in 1530, he shifted the capital to Delhi where he built his imperial capital called Dīn Panāh, demolished by Sher Shah. Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1982. p. 37

conveniences of human life' including articles imported from Europe.[61] He adds: "There are great numbers of artisans, iron-workers and gold-smiths. ...Indeed the city is flooded with vast quantities of every type of commodity. Hence Agara is seldom visited by dearth of food supplies".[62] Likewise, in a letter written in 1584, the Englishman, Ralph Fitch, also provides a favourable picture of Agra.[63]

In 1598, following Akbar's return from Lahore (the capital from 1585 to 1598) the imperial capital reverted to Agra. In 1605, Jahangir ascended the throne, and throughout his reign Agra remained his capital, although he regularly stayed in Lahore. Travellers' descriptions of Agra, during this period all comment on the large size of the city, and the beauty of the fort built by Akbar as well as that of the mansions of the nobility.

In 1628 following the death of Jahangir near Lahore, Shah Jahan became the emperor. Shah Jahan retained Agra as the capital until 1648 when the new capital of Shahjahanabad was completed in Delhi. Like Akbar, Shah Jahan was a keen builder, and during the twenty years that Agra was his capital he renovated Akbar's fort retaining the walls of the fort, but replacing many of the structures within. His most celebrated building in Agra, however, was the Taj Mahal, the tomb of his late wife, completed in 1648.

It is evident that even after the transfer of the capital to Shahjahanabad in 1648, Agra remained a large city. Writing in 1663, Bernier has this to say:

> ...it [Agra] surpasses *Dehli* in extent, in the multitude of residences belonging to *Omrahs* and *Rajas*, and of good stone or brick houses inhabited by private individuals, and in the number and conveniency of its *Karuans-Serrahs*. ...it is, however, without walls and inferior in some respects to the other capital; for not

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[60] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 313; Muḥammad 'Arif Qandahārī, *Tarīkh-i Akbarī*, translated by Tasneem Ahmed, Pragati Publications, New Delhi, 1993, p. 111; Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 60-1

[61] Antony Monserrate, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate*, translated by J. S. Hoyland, 1922; reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1992, p. 35

[62] Ibid., p.36

[63] Ralph Fitch's account in J. Courtenay Locke (ed.), *The First Englishmen in India*, 1930; reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1997, p. 102

> having been constructed after any settled design, it wants the uniform and wide streets that so eminently distinguish *Dehli.*[64]

Under the Mughals, Delhi, which had been the capital of the Delhi Sultanate and of the two Rajput dynasties before it, lost the status of capital city for almost a century. Delhi had been Humayun's capital, but following Akbar's ascendancy to the throne in 1556, the city fell to the Sūrs, was recaptured by the Mughals, and then lost the status of capital in 1558, when the regent Bairam Khan with the young Akbar, moved the court to Agra. It was not until almost a century later in 1648 following the completion of Shah Jahan's new capital, Shahjahanabad, that Delhi became the capital again. However, given its long history prior to the Mughal period, Delhi had by the time of Akbar become an established, large and prosperous city connected to other major urban centres by roads and by the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Therefore, Delhi remained a thriving city throughout the period leading up to its re-establishment as the capital in 1648. In addition, because of its long history as a capital, Delhi was of symbolic importance much in the same way that Samarqand was to the Timurids, for no ruler could legitimately claim to be the emperor of India without holding Delhi, something that even a European traveller like Finch appears to have been aware of when he comments, 'The Kings of India are here [Delhi] crowned, or else held to be usurpers.'[65] For these two reasons Delhi never declined nor was neglected in the way that Fatehpur Sikri was following the transfer of the capital to Lahore in 1598, and the continued construction of buildings in Delhi even when it was not the capital is alone proof of its importance during the period when the capital was in Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, and Lahore.[66]

Travellers' accounts also attest to Delhi's continued prosperity during the period that the capital of the empire was elsewhere. Visiting Delhi in the early 1580s, Father Monserrate, a member of the first Jesuit mission to the Mughal court, praises Delhi:

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[64] Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 284-5
[65] William Finch, in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 156
[66] Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India: Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 46-7

> Delinum is noteworthy for its public buildings, its remarkable fort (built by Emaumus), its walls, and a number of mosques ...Delinum is inhabited by substantial and wealthy Brachmanae, and of course by a Mongol garrison. Hence its many fine private mansions add considerably to the magnificence of the city. ...the streets of the city are more imposing and impressive than in other Musalman towns. ...Time fails me to describe the lovely parks and the many residential districts on both sides of the Jomanis, which passes close by the city on the east.[67]

In 1639 during the reign of Shah Jahan, construction began in Delhi on a new capital named Shahjahanabad. Shah Jahan's decision to build a new capital in Delhi may simply have been motivated by the intolerable heat of the Agra summer as claimed by Bernier,[68] but it is more likely that Shah Jahan was following and even attempting to improve on the example of Akbar, and of earlier rulers of India, in building a new city that would reflect his and the empire's wealth and power. Competing with his Safavid neighbours, may also have played a part, for according to the *Ma'aṣir ul-Umarā'*, Shah Jahan had examined maps of Isfahan and Baghdad,[69] and through the Persian ambassadors to the Mughal court and his own ambassadors to the Safavid court, Shah Jahan would certainly have become aware of Shah Abbas I's major construction program in Isfahan.

With the completion of Shahjahanabad in 1648, the capital reverted from Agra to Delhi. The most imposing structures in the new city were the Red Fort and the Jami Masjid. Also notable, was the Chandi Chauk bazaar in front of the Red Fort built by the emperor's eldest daughter Jahanara. Niccolao Manucci, an Italian who was in India from 1656 writes of the city, now completed:

> The said city [Shahjahanabad] is on the bank of the river Jamnah, in a large plain of great circumference, and it is in the shape of an imperfect half-moon. It has twelve gates and ancient Dihli forms a suburb, as also do several other villages. The walls of the city are built one half of brick and the rest of stone. ...Within the city are large and well-built bazars, where are sold things of every kind. The chief bazars are those that correspond with the streets leading to the fortress, and

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[67] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, pp. 97-8

[68] Of the heat in Agra, Bernier writes: "Here[Delhi] he[Shah Jahan] resolved to fix his court, alleging as the reason for its removal from Agra, that the excessive heat to which the city is exposed during summer rendered it unfit for the residence of a monarch". Bernier, *Travels*, p. 241

[69] Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'aṣir ul-Umarā'*, Vol. I, translated by H. Beveridge, & B. Prashad, 1941; reprint, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p. 270

> end with the two above-named gates. There are also in Dihli fine palaces for the nobles; a great number of the other houses have thatched roofs, but are highly decorated and commodious inside. ...In one corner of the city, on the northern side, is the royal fortress, facing to the east. ...Opposite to the fortress, on the west side, is the royal mosque, where the king goes once every week to say his prayers.[70]

For the Mughals and for earlier rulers of northern India, Lahore's importance lay in its location. From Lahore rather than from Agra or Delhi, it was easier for the Mughal emperor to take swift action at the head of an army, or direct affairs based here, against any incursions into his Afghan territories by the Uzbeks or the Persians, or in response to any problems that might come from the Mughals in Kabul. Local uprising in the northern-most parts of the subcontinent too, such as amongst the troublesome Afghan tribes, could also be dealt with more efficiently from here. In addition to its strategic advantages, Lahore's northerly location made it an important centre of overland trade with Central Asia and the Middle East. Thus, well before Akbar moved his court to Lahore in 1585, the city was large and thriving. Father Monserrate who accompanied the imperial camp on its way to Kabul in 1582, thought the city to be larger and wealthier than any city in Asia or Europe (and thus even Agra, Delhi and Fatehpur Sikri which he had visited). He writes:

> The city is second to none, either in Asia or in Europe, with regard to size and wealth. It is crowded with merchants, who foregather there from all over Asia. In all these respects it excels other cities, as also in the huge quantity of every kind of merchandise which is imported. Moreover there is no art or craft useful to human life which is not practised there. The population is so large that men jostle each other in the streets.[71]

From 1585 to 1598, Lahore became the capital of the Mughal empire due to a number of problems and concerns regarding the northern part of the Mughal empire, chief of which was possible conflict with the Shaibanid ruler Abdullah Khan, under whom the Uzbeks were experiencing a period of revived strength. Abu l-Fazl writes:

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[70] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol. I, translated by W. Irvine, 1908; reprint, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 177-8

> His [Akbar's] sole thought was that he would stay for a while in the Panjab, and would give peace to the Zābulī land [Afghānistān], cleanse Swad and Bajaur of the stain of rebellion, uproot the thorn of the Tārīkīān [the Raushānīs] from Tīrah and Bangash, seize the garden of Kashmīr, and bring the populous country of Tatta (Scind) within the empire. Furthermore, should the ruler [Abdullah Khan] of Tūrān remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a glorious army thither, and follow it up in person. With these profound views he resolved to spend some time in Lahore the capital.[72]

Akbar's thirteen year stay in his new capital of Lahore benefited the city greatly. In addition to strengthening its fort, the city was beautified through new building projects and gardens. William Finch who visited the city in 1611, a little over a decade after the capital had returned south, tells us:

> Lahore is one of the greatest cities of the East... The castle or towne is inclosed with a strong brick wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, nine by land and three openings to the river; the streets faire and well paved... The buildings are fair and high.[73]

And visiting Lahore a few years later, the English traveller Thomas Coryat writes:

> ...the goodly city of Lahore in India, one of the largest cities of the whole universe, for it containeth at the least xvi. miles in compasse and exceedeth Constantinople itself in greatnesse.[74]

With the northern part of the empire stable and the Uzbek threat following Abdullah Khan II's death in 1585 diminished, Akbar felt free to relocate his capital back south to Agra in the same year. Like Delhi, and Agra, Lahore did not experience a major decline in its fortunes the way Fatehpur Sikri did when it was no longer the capital of the empire. Descriptions of the city after the move back to Agra, and then Delhi, still paint a picture of a thriving city with merchants still flocking to it from the northern most parts of the subcontinent, and from outside from Central Asia and the Middle East.[75] The most

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[71] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, pp.159-60
[72] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 748
[73] William Finch's account in Foster, *Early Travels*, p.161
[74] Thomas Coryat's account in Ibid., p. 243
[75] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 174; John Albrecht Von Mandelslo, *The Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo*, translated by John Davies, J. Starkey and T. Basset, 1669; microfilm, State Library of New

damning description of the former capital comes from Pelsaert in the 1620s who described its trade as 'dead' and its khattris as living 'on what was left of their old profits'.[76] One gets the impression however, when he writes that, 'The trade of Lahore may in fact be called dead, for exports are limited to the requirements of Persia and Turkey, because the profits cannot stand the great costs of overland transit compared to those of our sea-carriage.'[77] that his criticism was motivated by Lahore's ability to thrive in a sphere completely outside of the maritime trade routes that had come to be dominated by the Dutch and other European powers.

Compared to the three other capital cities during the period, Fatehpur Sikri represents an oddity. Unlike Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, prior to becoming the capital, Fatehpur Sikri (then known just as 'Sikri') was a mere village, important only as a pilgrim destination for followers of the Chishtīs, an order of Sufis. In fact it was because of the resident Shaikh, Salīm Chishtī's successful prediction of the birth of three sons to Akbar that the impressed emperor decided to build his new capital there.[78]

Without time to become an established commercial base like the other three capitals, with no strategic advantages for military purposes unlike Lahore, and without the centuries old prestige of Delhi as a seat of government, Fatehpur Sikri's survival as a city depended solely on the presence of the imperial camp. Thus not surprisingly with the departure of the imperial camp for Lahore in 1585, Fatehpur Sikri's fortunes declined rapidly, and it returned to being chiefly a pilgrimage destination for the followers of the Chishtīs, albeit within grander surroundings. Visiting Fatehpur Sikri in 1610 just fifteen years after it had ceased to be the capital of the empire, William Finch saw that much of the residential areas were already in a state of dilapidation and ruin:

South Wales, Sydney, 1974, p. 45; Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique 1629 – 1643*, Vol. II, translated by the Itinerario de las Missiones Orientales, The Hakluyt Society, Oxford, 1927, pp. 191-2; 'Henry Bornford's account of his journey from Agra to Tatta [March. 1639]', in William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1639-1641*, Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1912, p. 135

[76] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, pp. 30-1; A khattri was a member of the vaishya or merchant caste in Hinduism.

[77] Ibid., pp. 30-1

[78] The third predicted son, Dāniyāl, was born in 1572 in Ajmer, after construction on the new capital had commenced. Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, pp. 531, 542-3

> 'In the middest it [Fatehpur Sikri] is all ruinate, lying like a waste desart, and very dangerous to pass through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground being now converted to gardens, and much sowed with nill and other graine, that a man standing there would little thinke he were in the midst of a citie. To the entrance of the gate from Agra, some course in length upon a stony ascent, lie the ruins of the suburbs; as also without the southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground'.[79]

I turn now to the primary sources used for this thesis - visual and written, and beginning first with the visual sources. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, thousands of miniatures were painted during the period under review by the imperial atelier. Although the majority have been lost over the centuries, Mughal miniatures that are in museums, libraries, and in private collections today, must still number in excess of a thousand. Unfortunately, for research purposes, these miniatures are scattered around the world. This not only applies to miniatures removed from albums, but also to most manuscripts which have literally been pulled apart, and folios that once faced each other are now housed in collections in different continents (the *Jahāngīrnāma* being a particularly good example of a now dispersed manuscript). For the researcher this means that one must rely to a certain extent on colour reproductions of miniatures in museum and library catalogues, books on art both academic and popular, and in single volume publications of all known surviving folios from a single manuscript. This is not as great a problem as it might first appear to be, for in the case of Mughal miniatures, we are dealing with small paintings and not large paintings on canvas as in the European manner. Reproductions of Mughal miniatures are therefore almost always not on a vastly different scale from the original and in fact sometimes on the same scale. However, reproduced miniatures represent a fraction of the total number of existing miniatures, and moreover are often selected for reproduction simply on aesthetic grounds – leaving miniatures that might be richer in content for research purposes hidden away. Thus, for serious scholarship it is essential for one to examine at least some of the major collections in person, in addition to reproductions in books. The miniatures used for this thesis, and discussed below, have therefore been examined either in their original or reproduced form.

As Chapter Six of this thesis looks at Mughal miniature painting during the period under review, here I will limit myself to the matter of the miniatures as a primary source for this thesis (and will leave such topics as the organisation of the atelier and the recruitment of artists for that chapter). Mughal miniatures were paintings done on paper[80] in gouache (opaque watercolour) by painters in the imperial atelier, employed in the hundreds during Akbar's reign, but in smaller numbers during Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns. These paintings are of varying size, the largest being those of the *Ḥamzanāma* where on average they measure some half by three-quarters of a metre, and the smallest being closer in dimensions to what would be regarded as miniatures in the European tradition, measuring less than 10 x 10cms.[81]

Mughal miniatures were either: (i) mounted within albums alongside other miniatures, sometimes with more than one to a single page; or (ii) mounted as illustrations to a manuscript which was either a work of history or a memoir, such as the *Akbarnāma,* and the *Jahāngīrnāma,* or a work of literature, such as the *Mahābhārata* (*Razmnāma*), the *Rāmāyana* (*Rāmayān*), and the *Khamsa* of Nizami. With the possible sole exception of the *Ḥamzanāma*, all Mughal miniature paintings were thus viewed on pages within books during the period. [82] It should be mentioned that not all paintings during the period were miniature paintings. Wall paintings too were in existence.[83] However, despite the abundance of European travellers' references to them, little has survived and for this reason have not been used here as a primary source.

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[79] William Finch's account in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 149

[80] The sole exception being the *Ḥamzanāma* which was done on cloth.

[81] This is based on the smallest miniature that I have seen. Chitarman's portrait of Prince Dara Shikoh, c. 1640, Johnson Album 24, no. 12, India Office Library, London, measuring 5.5cm x 4.5cm.

[82] Given the large size of the paintings of the *Ḥamzanāma* and that they are on cloth with the painting on one side and the text on the back, it has been suggested that the large paintings of the *Ḥamzanāma* were held up to the audience at court while someone read aloud from the text on the back. John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Story Telling in Mughal India*, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M Sackler Gallery, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 41-2

[83] See Ebba Koch, 'Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore', in Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 12-37

Fortunately for the purpose of this thesis, Mughal miniature paintings produced in the imperial atelier under Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, were executed with a high degree of emphasis on realism and detail. In this, works of European art in the form of paintings and book engravings that began arriving at the Mughal court in increasing quantity from mid-way into the reign of Akbar after the completion of the *Ḥamzanāma*, but before the outburst of manuscript production in the 1590s, were influential. These works introduced to the artists of the imperial atelier new techniques such as perspective, colour gradation, light and shading, that revolutionised their treatment of the human form, dress and other inanimate objects, as well as landscape and buildings. If one takes into account that this new level of realism was coupled with an ever-increasing obsession for detail that reached excessive proportions under Shah Jahan, one can even say that the Mughal style lends itself well to record-keeping. Moreover (and fortunately for this thesis) the miniature paintings intended as illustrations and those for pasting in albums cover together a vast range of subjects, such as celebrations held at court, court sessions, military campaigns and hunting scenes, portraits of the emperor, princes, and nobles, musicians, painters (self-portraits), construction work on imperial projects, and scenes from nature (animals and plants - local and exotic), etc..

In spite of this, the use of Mughal miniature paintings as a primary source is a complicated issue, and it is essential to be aware of the conditions under which these paintings were made, if they are to be used effectively. For a start (before looking at single miniatures for albums and then manuscript illustrations), the artists of the imperial atelier in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries painted the miniatures for a specific audience at that time - and certainly not for the use of scholars in centuries to come. That audience was the emperor, and the women of his harem, as well as the princes and nobles, for even though the imperial atelier was the emperor's own personal atelier, miniatures produced by the atelier for him, were also presented by the emperor to his sons and nobles, and set on display during celebrations for the perusal by guests - princes and nobles and other members of the elite. While the enjoyment of paintings by this audience cannot be doubted based on written accounts, Indian and foreign, and this was certainly the main incentive for the patronage of painting by the emperor, many

miniatures, in particular those for illustrating court histories and memoirs, and portraits of the emperor, also served the purpose of propaganda aimed at this elite audience.

Through such miniature paintings, viewers such as the nobles, were repeatedly reminded of their emperor's various deeds at court, in battle, and on hunting expeditions, as well as of his most impressive of pedigrees, through the illustrations to works on the lives of his ancestors, Amir Timur and Genghis Khan, as well as the founder of the dynasty in India, Babur. In some cases the nobles were reminded of the continuing service of their own families to the Timurids, through the depiction of their ancestors in scenes of earlier emperors. At the same time, unfortunate events in the lives of the emperors were never illustrated, such as Babur's loss of Samarqand to the Uzbeks and Humayun's defeats at the hands of the Afghans and subsequent flight from India, deemed no doubt, unsuitable topics to highlight in painted form, while the scale of other events was exaggerated. Thus for instance, Prince Salīm's birth - the future Jahangir, is set within grand surroundings (Figure 66), when we know from various written accounts that he was born in the humble house of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, where his mother had been sent by the emperor Akbar for the birth, and which was in fact the reason for the capital of Fatehpur Sikri being built later on at Sikri. Based on this miniature, however, one would think that the new capital had preceded Salīm to Sikri and not the other way round!

Nevertheless, from the miniature of Salīm's birth, to take an extreme example, we still get a good idea of the secluded nature of the imperial harem, through the absence in the painting of males in the company of the harem women save those of the imperial family (the child Salīm in this case) and from the high and imposing walls that block entry into it and cut it off from outside view (and which moreover are guarded), and from the placement of all males who are not a part of the imperial family, outside of these walls.[84] The dress of females and males at the time that this painting was made, as well as musical instruments, can also be learnt from the painting. Thus this painting contains invaluable

[84] Similarly, 'The dogs in Dutch churches or libraries or in Loggan prints of Oxford and Cambridge colleges would hardly have been represented if they were not commonly to be found in these places, and so they have been used to support an argument about the omnipresence of animals in everyday life at this

information about harem life in the fort and much else (dress, etc), and should not be rejected as a source due simply to discrepancies between it and written accounts of the event being illustrated. To quote one historian:

> Now, those relationships [representation and reality] are never straight-forward – to think that they are simple mirrorings of reality would indeed be naive. We know perfectly well that every representation is constructed in accordance with a predetermined code – to gain access to historical reality (or reality itself, for that matter) is impossible, by definition. To infer from this fact, however, that reality is unknowable is to fall into a lazily radical form of scepticism'.[85]

I begin now with the miniatures intended for mounting within albums, used here. These were produced simultaneously with the illustrations for works of history and literature during the reign of Akbar, but came to far outnumber the illustrations during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. As a result of not having their subject matter determined by a text, miniatures for albums cover a much wider range of subjects: in addition to portraits of the emperor, princes and nobles, there are many of people outside of the court circle – painters (usually self portraits), musicians, scholars, religious figures, clerks, and many scenes from nature (particularly from Jahangir's reign onwards). Importantly for our purposes, many of these single miniatures seem to have been drawn and/or painted from real life, this is based on the fact that they are often portraits, but also based on the written sources, which contain numerous references to artists working from real life. Jahangir tells us that he sent Bishandās with the Mughal embassy to the Safavid court for instance, to draw a likeness of the Persian monarch, and on another occasion had an artist draw the Mughal noble 'Ināyat Khān in bed in his close-to-death state (Figure 85). Before this, Akbar had sat for his 'likeness, and also ordered to have likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed,' Abu l-Fazl tells us, and 'those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them.'[86]

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time.' Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Reaktion Books, London, 2001, p. 99

[85] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Judge and the Historian: Marginal Notes on a Late-Twentieth-Century Miscarriage of Justice*, translated by Antony Shugaar, Verso, New York, 1999, p. 17

[86] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Vol. I, translated by H. Blochmann, 1873; reprint, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1993, p. 115

While numerous portraits for albums - and manuscript illustrations from Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns, appear to have been painted directly from real life, what has been said earlier about representations not being 'simple mirrorings of reality' still applies in such cases. Although not mentioned in the written sources, it is likely that in the case of portraits, sitters dressed in their best clothes, perhaps even in robes presented to them by the emperor, and were on their best behaviour (not drunk – in the case of the portrait of Prince Dāniyāl, Figure 49).[87] Bearing this in mind, we can still glean invaluable information about material possessions of the time from such paintings – clothes, weaponry, musical instruments, books, etc., but at another level, 'additions' to these paintings that we can identify (based on the fact that they could not have been present or could not be seen by the painter), such as the halo in portraits of the emperor and some of his sons, and the painter himself in scenes alongside the main subject matter of the painting, are also important. For example, the artist is not likely to have dared include himself in a painted scene of the emperor, let alone show himself seated close to the emperor and amongst nobles, if painting had been despised as a profession at court. At this level then, the painting sheds light on attitudes at the time.

In spite of numerous paintings of men being painted from real life, this was quite the opposite with paintings of women of rank, as the artists of the atelier had no access to unveiled women of the imperial harem, although the detail and consistency with which styles of women's dress are depicted seem to indicate that they knew how such women dressed within the harem. Moreover, it is not likely that they erred in such matters, as the emperors would certainly have found it unacceptable to have their womenfolk depicted in bizarre forms of dress that they did not ever wear. While not seeing the actual women of the harem, artists may have seen the physical environment of the harem during its building stages or when the emperor and the harem had moved city leaving it empty, and thus been able to provide a real setting for harem scenes even if the women placed in these scenes were not themselves painted from real life.

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[87] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 26

Lack of accessibility aside, as miniatures were for the viewing of not just the emperor but also males outside of the imperial family, it would not have been deemed appropriate to depict such women unveiled, and for this reason, the suggestion by one scholar that portraits of prominent women in the harem were perhaps painted by female artists seems unlikely.[88] The only paintings of unveiled women of rank then, were set in the distant past and thus not painted from real life, such as of Ḥamīda Bānū marrying Humayun, painted during Akbar's reign, and of Jahangir's mother at Jahangir's birth painted many decades afterwards when Jahangir was emperor. With female singers, dancers, and servants, who appeared unveiled in public, no such restrictions existed, so such women were painted from real life, to quote Manucci:

> I do not bring forward any portraits of queens and princesses, for it is impossible to see them, thanks to their being always concealed. If any one has produced such portraits, they should not be accepted, being only likenesses of concubines and dancing-girls, etc., which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy.[89]

Thus, despite the tendency by many art historians today to attribute an identity to an unnamed portrait of a woman, most commonly Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal, or Shah Jahan's eldest daughter Jahanara, I have not done so here.

Of the numerous single miniatures from Jahangir's reign intended for albums, I have used the so-called Minto Album at the Victoria and Albert Museum, in addition to reproductions from other collections. Single miniatures from Jahangir's reign cover a diverse range of subjects, including portraits of the emperor and of his nobles, and the emperor engaged in various activities, such as meeting with his sons and with religious figures, animals and plants, and many miscellaneous paintings such as of holy men, musicians, and the Safavid Emperor, and scenes copied from European religious art. To this list can be added allegorical paintings unique to this emperor's reign, such as that of Jahangir shooting in the head his chief irritant and adversary in the Deccan, Malik

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[88] Asok Kumar Das makes this suggestion in regard to possible portraits of Nur Jahan and other members of the harem. Asok Kumar Das, 'The Problem of Authentic Portraits of Nur Jahan', in Ahsan Jan Qaisar and Som Prakash Verma (eds.), *Art and Culture: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Professor S. Nurul Hasan*, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, 1993, p. 44

[89] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. liii

Āmbar,[90] and giving preference to a shaikh over the monarchs of England and Turkey (Figure 86).

The surviving single paintings intended for albums from Shah Jahan's reign far outnumber the forty-four from the *Pādshāhnāma*, the official history of this emperor's reign. These, like those from Jahangir's reign are dispersed globally. Nevertheless, the so-called Minto Album, (21 miniatures of which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the remaining 19 are in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin - I have relied on reproductions for the latter), contain portraits of Shah Jahan as emperor and prince, his sons, high-ranking nobles, adversaries such as Malik Āmbar of Ahmadnagar and Sultan Muḥammad Qutb Shāh of Golconda. I have also used the so-called Johnson Albums at the India Office Library, British Library, in addition to reproductions of Shah Jahan period miniatures in collections elsewhere.

In using manuscript illustrations, I have treated them as belonging to two categories: (i) works of literature such as the *Ḥamzanāma* and the *Khamsa* of Nizami which the artist based on his contemporary environment, e.g. the buildings, and the dress of the people around him; or (ii) histories/memoirs that might: (a) be drawn and painted directly from real life by artists who were present at events for the purpose of painting them (and thus were eye-witnesses), such as in the case of many of the miniatures from the *Jahāngīrnāma* and *Pādshāhnāma*; or (b) based on the memory of others (eye-witnesses who described details to the painters, and the details contained within the text itself) and possibly from surviving miniature paintings of people from the period such as in the case of the miniatures of Humayun early in the *Akbarnāma* which match depictions of Humayun painted from life; or (c) based on the artist's contemporary environment but used as illustrations for earlier events as in the case of the miniatures of the *Akbarnāma*, and thus anachronistic to the text.

[90] Ind. 7A. I5, Minto Album, signed by Abū l-Ḥasan, c. 1616 in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, which is similar to Jahangir triumphing over poverty by shooting in the head a withered and naked old man. M.75.4.28, c. 1625 in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles.

Beginning in chronological order (according to the manuscript's date of commencement), I have used the *Ḥamzanāma*, the largest and first project (although smaller manuscripts were illustrated simultaneously) of the newly created imperial atelier. The *Ḥamzanāma* is a collection of fantastic tales of Iranian derivation, on the life of the Prophet Muhammad's uncle Ḥamza. Based on contemporary literary references to it by Qandahārī, Abu l-Fazl, and Badauni (relatively plentiful due to the scale of the project) and the recent discovery by John Seyller of the date '972' (August 1564 – July 1565) inscribed on the seventy-second folio of volume 6 of the *Ḥamzanāma* we are now able to compute the dates of its production with greater certainty. Seyller suggests the dates 1556 to 1558 for its commencement, to its completion in 1572 to 73.[91] While the written sources disagree over the exact number of volumes (see Chapter Six: The Arts), of the surviving paintings, the largest concentration of sixty-one folios is in the Museum fur Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, and the second largest of twenty-four folios and three fragments is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[92] Other folios are dispersed in Europe, India, and the United States. I have been fortunate that in addition to the folios I have seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a recent publication reproduces for the first time all one hundred and seventy-nine known surviving *Ḥamzanāma* miniatures from all over the world.

With the paintings of the *Ḥamzanāma* and with other illustrated works of literature, the artists of the atelier combined imagination with what they saw around them. Ḥamza himself and his deeds were obviously not seen by any of them, but the clothes given to Ḥamza and those of everyone else around him by the painters fits the description of the dress in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* that Akbar changed, and is shown worn by a few courtiers in portraits of nobles that post-date the *Ḥamzanāma*. The value of the *Ḥamzanāma* as a source for the first two decades of Akbar's reign is much increased by the fact that there are no painted depictions of the Mughal court contemporaneous to it.

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[91] Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza*, pp. 38-9

[92] Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the Book 1560-1660*, Victoria & Albert Publications, London, 2002, p. 17

The earliest illustrated historical work that I have used is the *Bāburnāma* of which several copies were made during Akbar's reign. The *Bāburnāma* is the memoirs of Akbar's grandfather, Babur, written and revised by him during his lifetime up to his death in 1530. I have used two manuscripts of the *Bāburnāma* in particular. Of the first, I have seen twenty folios of what is considered to be the first *Bāburnāma* manuscript to be produced, dated to 1590 in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The other *Bāburnāma* used here is in the British Library, dated to 1598 and for which I have relied on reproductions.

Since the human figures in the *Ḥamzanāma*, *Khamsa* of Nizami (see below) and other works of literature set outside India and during an earlier period are clothed in contemporary Mughal attire, one might question the wisdom of relying on miniatures depicting Babur in the *Bāburnāma*. There is a difference, however, between works of fantasy and near contemporary historical works (only twenty-five years separates the first from the third Mughal emperors). From Humayun's reign there are today a few surviving miniatures (which would have been in greater numbers no doubt during the period under review) of the emperor and his brothers which the artists of the later period could base their depictions of Humayun's reign on. Although no miniatures have survived from Babur's reign, it is possible that there were miniatures from his reign accessible to the artists of Akbar's atelier, as Babur reveals himself in his memoirs to be a connoisseur of painting and may have thus had an atelier of his own, if not portraits of himself. Articles of clothing from this period might also have survived into Akbar's reign, although there is no proof for this. There may have been eyewitnesses to Babur's reign (although if still alive at the time would have been like Gulbadan, very young at the time), called upon to guide the artists of the atelier. We know that this method was employed from the account of Muṭribī, a Central Asian traveller who visited Jahangir's court in 1627 and who was called upon by the emperor to assist with the portraits of two Shaibanid rulers who had ruled in the previous century from Muṭribī's home city of Samarqand. He writes:

> The Emperor [Jahangir] had a miniature painting in his hand and was studying it. He called me forward, and told me,

"Look at this painting. Do you know whose portrait it is?"

When I looked I saw that one was a portrait of 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek[93] and another was of 'Abd al-Mu'min Khan.[94]

Are these good likenesses," he asked me, "or do you have comments to make? If you do, then tell me."

"The portrait of 'Abdullah Khan is too fleshy, and his chin was not straight as it's shown here," I replied. "In fact he was rather thin, and had a crooked chin."

"Was it crooked on the right side, or the left?" he asked.

"On the left," I said.

A painter was called out to correct the portrait, and whatever I said he was ordered to make the appropriate changes. Then the Emperor asked, "What about the portrait of 'Abd al-Mu'min Khan?"

"He's painted very greenish here," I said. "He wasn't like that; in fact he was more white than green, and he wore his turban a little more to the front, as neatly as possible."

"Take off your turban," he said, "and show me how he did it."

I took off my turban and showed him. The Emperor said to the painter, "Paint it this way."

The next day the painter brought out the paintings just the way I had said they should be. His Majesty was very pleased.[95]

The end result of all of this in the case of the miniatures of the *Bāburnāma* is that they depict a blend of contemporary Mughal life with elements from Babur's reign such as in regard to the emperor's dress. Babur's turban for instance is Central Asian, large and bulbous, unlike Akbar's smaller and flatter style of Indian derivation, but Babur is frequently depicted in scenes from Central Asia before his invasions of India with a Rajput dagger tucked into his waist – a feature of Mughal court dress only adopted during Akbar's reign, and frequently shown within buildings of red stone – a feature of Mughal architecture dating to Akbar's reign.

Around the same time that the *Bāburnāma* was being illustrated, paintings were being prepared for the history of Akbar's reign, the *Akbarnāma*, which the historian Abu l-Fazl had been ordered by Akbar to write. Based on stylistic grounds the Victoria and Albert

[93] Ruled from 1583 to 1598. This Uzbek ruler is mentioned earlier in this Chapter in relation to Akbar's decision to relocate the Mughal capital from Fatehpur Sikri to Lahore in 1586.
[94] Ruled from 1598 to 1599
[95] Mutribī, *Conversations*, 1998, pp. 76-8

Museum's manuscript has been dated to 1590, a date now widely accepted by scholars.[96] By the year of the presentation of the *Akbarnāma* in 1595, the paintings were probably all done, as Abu l-Fazl in his brief list of manuscripts illustrated by the atelier in *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, the third volume of the *Akbarnāma*, includes 'this book' – meaning the *Akbarnāma*.[97] Also, strong evidence that the miniatures of this particular manuscript had been prepared earlier than the date of presentation is the pasting over of the calligraphied text in all the miniatures with a new text, suggesting that the miniatures were initially accompanied by text from an earlier version of the *Akbarnāma* - and we do know that Abu l-Fazl had written five versions and was into his sixth, before Akbar insisted he bring it for presentation in 1595.

The Victoria and Albert Museum's *Akbarnāma* manuscript that I have used extensively for Akbar's reign comprises 273 folios, of which 116 have miniature paintings and one an illuminated frontispiece. They are in an excellent state of preservation, and cover the events in the emperor's life from his journey from the Punjab to Agra in 1560 up to 1577 with the sighting of a comet during a march from Ajmir to the Punjab, when they end abruptly. The miniatures cover a wide range of subjects such as battles, the royal hunt, the emperor and his army on the move, and more useful for the purposes of this thesis, numerous court and palace scenes, and detailed paintings of work at construction sites at Agra Fort and the new capital of Fatehpur Sikri.

Admittedly, all the miniatures are of events that took place prior to the manuscript's completion in 1595. As we are not dealing with the distant past like the *Bāburnāma*, but some two to three decades, many of the artists of the atelier were alive during the time that these events took place and some may even have been eyewitnesses, but none of these miniatures were painted at the time of these events. This, however, does not mean that the paintings of the *Akbarnāma* are of no use to us. Based on comparisons with contemporaneous single miniatures pasted in albums, the miniatures of the *Akbarnāma* are of the artists' world of the 1590s when the illustrations were being made, and not of

[96] Stronge, *Painting*, p. 42
[97] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 115

the years of Akbar's reign up to 1577, the last regnal year illustrated in the Victoria and Albert's *Akbarnāma.*

I have also used the British Library's *Khamsa* of Nizami dated to 1595. The *Khamsa* is a classic of Persian literature by the poet Nizami who lived in Iran in the twelve and thirteenth centuries. The *Khamsa* (meaning 'five' in Arabic) consists of four romances, and a didactic story. Unlike the *Ḥamzanāma*, it has survived in its entirety and in a superb state of preservation, with thirty-seven folios bearing thirty-six miniature paintings in the British Library, London, and the remaining five folios, each with a miniature painting, in the Walter Art Gallery, Baltimore. This manuscript has a colophon dating it to 1595, although the painting surrounding it was added later with a partially readable date 102(-) equivalent to 1611 to 20. Like the *Ḥamzanāma*, the setting of the text of the *Khamsa* is not in India, but the dress and musical instruments, weaponry, tools, and architecture are, and are contemporaneous to the text's illustration - the last decade of the sixteenth century in this case.

For the reign of Jahangir, no bound copy of an illustrated *Jahāngīrnāma* has survived, although there are miniatures depicting scenes from it, now dispersed, in various collections around the world. The emphasis during Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns was not on illustrated manuscripts as had been the case under Akbar, but on single miniature paintings for the purpose of pasting in albums. Hence, although many miniatures have survived from Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns, only two major manuscripts were illustrated for them: the *Jahāngīrnama* for Jahangir, and the *Pādshāhnāma* for Shah Jahan. This stands in contrast to Akbar's reign when multiple copies of the many manuscripts produced were made. (It should be remembered that single miniatures were still made for Akbar simultaneously, especially portraits of his nobles).

Because the *Jahāngīrnāma* miniatures are so thoroughly dispersed, it has been necessary for me to rely on reproductions. Of the surviving miniatures from the *Jahāngīrnāma*, two categories are discernible: in one category miniatures are, to quote Asok Kumar Das, 'lavishly produced with particular attention to details of the incident, to persons actually

present, and to surroundings of the place' – in this category are scenes depicting celebrations and other court scenes, as well as outdoor scenes involving Jahangir, and in the other, 'the painter just illustrate the object which attracted the emperor's fancy or portray the person who arrived at court at a certain time and place'.[98] Many of these in both cases appear to have been painted from real life by the artists of the atelier. Thus we see in one miniature from the *Jahāngīrnāma* of Rana Amar Singh's submission to Khurram (Figure 67), the painter Nānhā working near the emperor with small bowls of paint shown in front of him.

While the *Jahāngīrnāma* is amongst the most dispersed of all major Mughal illustrated manuscripts, quite the opposite is the case with the *Pādshāhnāma*. This was, for the reign of Shah Jahan, the only major manuscript to be illustrated, written by the historian 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, of which the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, has the only known version.[99] According to Milo Beach, this version is complete with all of its text, and 'an illustration is found at every point where an illustration was intended'[100] – in other words it is not missing any of its folios. Nevertheless, it represents only a third of the entire narrative of the *Pādshāhnāma*, ending at the conclusion of the first decade of Shah Jahan's reign. The miniatures in the manuscript span from Shah Jahan as a prince (then Khurram) during Jahangir's reign, through to his accession in 1628, and up to 1637, when the last miniature shows him hunting at Burhanpur.

In total, the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnāma* consists of 239 folios of which 44 bear illustrations. A colophon on the last folio gives the date AH 1067, equivalent to 1657-8, although when the miniatures were mounted and bound into their present form is not known. Signed works, and contemporary attributions, not to mention stylistic differences, all reveal the miniatures to have been painted at various times throughout the reign from as early as 1630 (unlike Akbar's atelier when illustration for a specific manuscript was undertaken as a single project), and therefore likely to have been from

[98] Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting during Jahangir's Time*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1978, p. 137
[99] Milo Cleveland Beach & Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Padshahnama*, Azimuth Editions, London, 1997, p. 15
[100] Ibid., p. 15

real life. In fact, as Lāhorī was not commissioned to write the *Pādshāhnāma* until 1639, the original purpose of early miniatures, may not have been for inclusion in a single work of history and may have been for pasting in albums.

The paintings of the *Pādshāhnāma* are in an excellent state of preservation, and every minor detail is discernible. This is fortunate, for the miniatures of the manuscript pay an almost obsessive attention to detail, a characteristic of painting under Shah Jahan. This feature is frequently criticised on aesthetic grounds,[101] but a boon for anyone studying the culture of the period, to quote Ebba Koch, 'the *Pādshāhnāma* paintings provide, in miniature format, the most detailed pictorial records of Mughal court culture ever produced, a congenial visual equivalent to the detailed literary account in Abu l-Fazl's earlier *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*.'[102] The miniatures of the *Pādshāhnāma* are exclusively focused on the activities of the emperor, his sons, and nobles, painted from real life, depicting in the greatest of detail, court activities, battles and celebrations. Despite covering a far narrower range of subjects than the *Akbarnāma*, or particularly the *Bāburnāma* and *Jahāngīrnāma*, they are, by virtue of Shah Jahan's artists' great concern for detail, invaluable in regard to the city beyond the palace walls. In the backgrounds of two folios for instance (Figures 124 and 131), despite the subject being members of the imperial family we catch a rare glimpse of the riverfront at Agra with buildings and walls alongside it.

Finally, I have endeavoured to include colour reproductions of all the miniatures that I have referred to in the text, as a footnote with a manuscript and folio number, and the name of the collection that it is in, even if accompanied by the artist's name and a description of the subject matter is far less useful to the reader than a reproduction, unless

[101] For instance, Dye writes, 'Psychological depth and human individuality are on the whole neither deeply explored nor lovingly emphasized. Instead, people are largely defined in terms of externals – clothing, jewelry, and so forth. ... Shah Jahani painting is full of richly woven textiles, marble, and glimmering jewels, all rendered with an unearthly and, at times, almost eerie perfection.' Joseph M Dye, in Pratapaditya Pal, *The Romance of the Taj Mahal*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1989, p. 90. Similarly, Leach writes, 'He [Shah Jahan] seems to have viewed painting purely as a decorative art and therefore did not require the same expressiveness from his miniaturists as did Jahangir.' Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, Vol. I, Scorpion Cavendish Ltd., London, 1995, p. 354.

the reader has access to or is familiar with the exact miniature being referred to. Those miniatures that I have used, and have reproduced here, are referred to within the text and footnotes preceded by 'Figure'; while those not reproduced here, are cited in the footnotes with their folio, manuscript and museum/library details.

Also, many of the miniatures reproduced here are given without the name of the artist(s) responsible. This is because numerous works were done without the artist's signature or were not ascribed (the practice whereby artist or artists who worked on the painting are named by their supervisor below the bottom frame of the painting). Despite the common practice nowadays by modern cataloguers in libraries and museums and by art historians of 'attributing' a painting to an artist, it is in my opinion safest to leave such paintings as anonymous works. Such attributions are based on two factors, firstly stylistic similarities contained in signed works with the work in question. This is particularly fraught with difficulties especially when more than one, and often three artists have worked on a single painting. The second factor is that of subject matter. A painter with signed works to his name of paintings of a particular subject, might find many unsigned paintings attributed to him today simply because they share the same subject. Som Prakash Verma, makes this point in the case of the artist Manṣūr, 'Of various unascribed bird and animal drawings, twenty-nine have been attributed to Manṣūr, simply because he is otherwise known as the master of this genre.'[103] Having said all of this, fortunately, for the purpose of this thesis, not knowing who the artist or artists were for a particular painting is not a major issue, as the miniatures are utilized here primarily for their content.

What is more crucial for this thesis is the dating of miniatures. In the case of manuscripts (as opposed to single miniatures for pasting in albums) we are fortunate that some have colophons. However, after the date on the colophon marking the manuscript's completion, a miniature or miniatures might still for a few years more be added to the manuscript, as in the case of the *Khamsa* of Nizami in the British Museum. In the case of

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[102] Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 161

[103] Som Prakash Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work: A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, p. 17

undated single miniatures and manuscripts missing their colophons we can still work out a rough date for them by a number of methods. Dated manuscripts and miniatures produced by the imperial atelier show us a clear evolution in style over the period under review (discussed in Chapter Six), and from them one can discern differences in style between miniatures painted in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. There are, of course, grey areas, so that for instance while a late Shah Jahani miniature as seen in the later miniatures of the *Pādshāhnāma* in Windsor Castle might be easily discerned from a miniature from Jahangir's reign, an early Shah Jahani miniature painted soon after accession in 1627 is not easily distinguished from a late Jahangiri miniature. Nevertheless, when faced with an undated miniature, we can on the basis of style place it roughly in time. There are other clues too: there are sometimes references in the literary sources to the manuscripts being produced or already produced in the imperial atelier such as in the case of the *Ḥamzanāma*, referred to by Badauni, Abu l-Fazl and Qandahārī who were present at court during the time of its production. The work of individual artists on a specific painting might also be referred to (although much more rarely) as in the case of the first miniature of the *Jahāngīrnāma* painted by Abū l-Ḥasan. Also useful are signed and contemporaneously ascribed paintings, which although undated can be roughly dated based on when the artist(s) were active. Undated miniatures can therefore be placed in time even if with a slight margin for error.[104]

The written primary sources used for this thesis fall into two categories: Indian, and foreign travellers' accounts. The Indian accounts were, with the exception of the *Ardhakathānaka*, written by authors from within the court circle, and their histories and the memoir of Jahangir are focused on this circle. They thus provide us with an excellent picture of the elite, although for the purpose of the urban culture of the period, a very incomplete one, leaving out the majority of the population who had no connection to the Mughal court. Another shortcoming is that they are concerned overwhelmingly with the public life of the emperors and his nobles. Thus, for example, we read much about the

[104] This is not to say that there are no fake 'Mughal' miniatures in circulation. Judging by various debates over the authenticity of certain miniatures, the miniatures in question are all single miniatures for albums, and not manuscript illustrations. Moreover, these miniatures are mostly studies of animals – thus not useful in any case for the study of urban culture.

emperor holding court in the private and public halls of audience or about the campaigns of his nobles, but little about how they lived their lives outside of the gaze of other courtiers and the public, within the confines of the private areas of the palace or of their mansions. Consequently, those who shared their private lives – their womenfolk, are also largely absent from the Indian histories of the period. Gulbadan's *Humāyūn-nāma* (written by a woman) and the memoirs of the emperors are slightly better in this respect. The absence of information on the women of the imperial household from the official histories is itself informative, telling us something about the secluded life of the women of the imperial and noble families, whose activities it was not considered appropriate to record for public audience, even if, like Nur Jahan, and to a lesser extent Jahanara, they wielded much power themselves. For example in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Abu l-Fazl, provides biographical details about nobles, poets, musicians, artists, and physicians, but makes no mention of the wives of the emperor, except in regard to their marriage to the emperor.

The second category of written sources, travellers' accounts, are an excellent supplement, providing much that is not to be found in Indian written sources. While the accounts of most European visitors tend to be judgemental, at a purely descriptive level they are invaluable, providing details of the capital cities and of life within them that the Indian writer of the period would have found too familiar or mundane to record. Moreover, they deal with a cross section of Indian society – for both the emperor and a servant were equally exotic to the traveller and thus both worthy of entry into their journals and letters - whereas as mentioned, the Indian sources are focused on the elite. However, like the histories written by courtiers, they provide only limited information on the private lives of people they encountered, due no doubt to reasons of accessibility.

Beginning first with Indian written sources, as the period under review cannot be studied isolated in time, for the preceding reign of Akbar's father, Humayun, I have relied on three works: Khwāndamīr's *Qānūn-i Humāyūnī*, Gulbadan's *Humāyūnnāma*, and Jauhar Aftābchī's *Tazkirat ul-Wāqi'āt*. In fact, Gulbadan and Jauhar wrote their histories of Humayun during Akbar's reign. Gulbadan, who was Humayun's sister and Akbar's paternal aunt wrote in response to an order from Akbar requesting that recollections of

the reigns of Babur and Humayun be committed to writing for the purpose of Abu l-Fazl's colossal *Akbarnāma*.[105] Gulbadan's work is unique in that it was written by a woman. Although she deals with political events (up to Mirzā Kāmrān's blinding in 1553), fortunately for us through descriptions of social visits and festivities, Gulbadan also gives us a unique picture of the life of the women of the imperial harem. Writing around the same time in 1586-7 was Jauhar Aftābchī. Jauhar was Humayun's ewer-bearer before and during the emperor's wanderings and exile, and his account thus while including graphic descriptions of the many battles and wanderings of his emperor also includes details about the emperor's everyday life which as ewer-bearer he was especially well placed to observe. We are thus afforded some insight into the emperor's food, drink and clothes.[106] The third work on Humayun's reign that I have used is the *Qānūn-i Humāyūnī*. Unlike Jauhar and Gulbadan, its author Khwāndamīr wrote during Humayun's reign in the years 1533 to 1534. Although on an infinitely smaller scale than Abu l-Fazl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, the *Qānūn* is in many respects a precursor to the more famous *Ā'īn* in some of what it omits and what it covers. It does not deal with military campaigns involving the emperor, his sons or his nobles, but with such subjects as the division of the days of the week by the emperor to give audience to different classes, court rituals and inventions in dress by the emperor, as well as festivities to mark the emperor's accession, birthday and the New Year.

About an even earlier reign yet also important, is the *Bāburnāma*, the memoirs of Akbar's grandfather, Babur, which, although completed some two and half decades before the period under review was translated from Turkish into Persian during Akbar's reign. While its descriptions of battles and of the political manoeuvrings of his nobles are not relevant here, where it is useful is in the parts that read like a traveller's account (and understandably so, as India was as new to him as it was to later European travellers) with descriptions of the ordinary people, and the flora and fauna of his new Indian empire as

[105] Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 83

[106] In fact, in the absence of Humayun's own memoirs, Jauhar's account written by someone who was almost constantly with the emperor and sensitive to his moods, is the closest that we can get to an insight into this emperor's personality.

well as references to institutions like the *khil'at* (robes of honour) and the *naubat* (musical ensemble) that were to endure throughout the period under review.

I have found indispensable for the reign of Akbar and indeed for later reigns, the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* of Abu l-Fazl. As it forms the third volume of the *Akbarnāma*, I will deal firstly with the first two volumes, which comprise the history section of this colossal work. Abu l-Fazl commenced work in 1589 on the orders of Akbar.[107] The entire work including the *Ā'īn* took him seven years and was formally presented to the emperor in 1595 having already been revised five times.[108] Being a perfectionist, Abu l-Fazl continued to make adjustments to it for several years afterwards, apparent in references to regnal years after 1595 and in referring in one instance to the death of Prince Murād, which as we know from other sources, took place in 1599.[109]

The *Akbarnāma*'s first two volumes whilst primarily a history of Akbar's reign, also include substantial histories of the reigns of Babur and Humayun, the part of the *Akbarnāma* for which accounts like Gulbadan's were intended. The histories cover battles, campaigns under the command of Akbar or his nobles, celebrations at court, bestowals, imperial decrees such as the abolition of the *jizya*, and appointments to office. In short it offers an excellent picture of the public activities of the emperor and to a lesser extent that of his nobles, for this reign.

The third volume of the *Akbarnāma*, has been known from the seventeenth century onwards by the separate title of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. This volume is an invaluable source for the purpose of studying the culture during the period under review as a short description of some of its contents will reveal. Its value is increased because of its uniqueness amongst the historians and memoirs of the period, to quote Shireen Moosvi, 'The work is unique in a number of ways: its author deals with aspects that for other historians did not

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[107] Abū l-Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. I, translated by H. Beveridge, 1902; reprint, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 27-8

[108] Shireen Moosvi, 'Making and Recording History – Akbar and the *Akbar-nama*' in Iqtidar Alam Khan (ed.), *Akbar and his Age*, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 1999, p. 185

[109] See Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c. 1595*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 7-8

merit even passing notice; he revels in offering us quantitative data, an unusual trait for the period, and even more unexpected in a writer of so notably majestic a literary style.'[110] The *Ā'īn* is divided into five books. For my purposes the first two books have been the most useful. The first book deals with the imperial 'household'. In it I have found useful the descriptions of musical instruments, the recipes of the imperial kitchen, prices of raw produce, descriptions of different types of clothing kept in the imperial wardrobe, the imperial atelier (where the Mughal miniature paintings were produced), the wages of skilled and unskilled labourers, and the description on 'how His Majesty spends time.' The second book deals with the military, civil administration, and servants, and includes a large informative section providing biographical details on the nobles of the empire, physicians, and poets, as well as a short but useful section on musicians. The third book deals with economic matters such as taxation and revenue. The fourth book deals with aspects of Indian culture such as Hindu philosophy, and science, of which I have found the most useful part to be the section on Indian music. The fifth and last book is a collection of quotations from the emperor Akbar.

For the reign of Akbar, I have also used the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, written by Muḥammad 'Arif Qandahārī who was entrusted with the task by the Mughal noble, Muzzafar Khān.[111] This history while covering mainly battles, and appointments to office and occasionally celebrations is valuable in that it was not used by Abu l-Fazl in his *Akbarnāma*, despite being the earliest history of Akbar's reign (completed in 1580) allowing us to corroborate statements found in Abu l-Fazl's work. I have found the passage on the organization of the imperial atelier for the *Ḥamzanāma* project to be particularly helpful for my chapter on art.

I have found extremely useful Abd ul-Qadir Badauni's *Muntakhāb ut-Tawārīkh*. This is a secret history of Akbar's reign (the history begins with the Ghaznavid period) written in the 1590s, and published later in Jahangir's reign after the death of both Akbar and the author. Badauni, who was Abu l-Fazl's contemporary, writes without the need to flatter a

[110] Ibid, p. 3
[111] Qandahārī, *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, p. 18

patron and hence his is a sometimes disapproving account of Akbar's conduct as emperor. For my purpose, this is an excellent account of daily life at the palace by someone who was not employed in a military capacity. As a theologian at court who was appointed to various tasks, such as an imam, and as a translator of the *Mahābhārata* and later the *Rāmāyana*, we get more than the usual descriptions of battles and appointments that dominate official histories but also a picture of the life of men of letters at court through Badauni's descriptions of his colleagues' doings and misdoings, and also in the snippets throughout the history of his own affairs at court and his life in general. Equally valuable is the biographical accounts of theologians, scholars, physicians and poets (many of whom were engaged in other fields of employment as well) that form a sizable third of the history. This gives us some idea of the lives of professionals, many of whom were not permanently part of the court circle but who only occasionally visited the court, or else were on the fringe of the court circle like Badauni who complains of his low income and the cost of regular attendance.[112]

For the reign of Jahangir, I have used the emperor Jahangir's memoirs, the *Jahāngīrnāma*, written by him from 1605 the year of his accession until 1622, and thereafter until 1624 written by his personal secretary but edited and corrected by him. Jahangir's memoirs were inspired by his great grandfather Babur's, and cover an equal if not greater range of subjects such as battles and military campaigns, appointments to office, hunting, celebrations and flora and fauna, painting and architecture. In addition to providing a great deal about the emperor's daily activities they also tell us much about the activities of the nobles, as well as a little about the women of the harem, sometimes invited to accompany the emperor on excursions. As a local, unlike Babur, we are only provided with descriptions of parts of the capital cities that were part of his world, such as their gardens and monumental architecture and we only really get a picture of the lives of the common people when Jahangir travels out of the cities to distant regions of his empire like Kashmir and the Suleiman Mountains, which no doubt were exotic to him. Nevertheless, Jahangir's memoirs are all the more important in the absence of histories for his reign apart from the brief *Iqbālnāma* which in any case is based on the memoirs,

[112] Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 283-4

to quote Wheeler M. Thackston, a recent translator of the memoirs into English, 'Jahangir's memoirs are really *the* history of his reign since, unlike his predecessors and successors, he did not engage or commission professional historians but took it upon himself to record for posterity what he considered to be significant events of his reign.'[113]

For Shah Jahan's reign I have used 'Ināyat Khān's history of the reign, the *Shāh Jahān-nāma*. This history although lengthy, is an abridgement of the *Pādshāhnāma*, a much lengthier history covering thirty years of this emperor's reign written by 'Abd ul-Hamīd Lāhorī who wrote about twenty-six of the thirty years and Muḥammad Wāriṣ who wrote about the remainder. 'Ināyat Khān was the superintendent or *dārogha* of the royal library and undertook this task on his own accord in order to prepare a more wieldy history.[114] Like the histories of previous reigns it covers much the same range of subjects, battles and campaigns, appointments to office and celebrations and other public events at court.

In addition to histories and memoirs I have also used imperial decrees. In regard to religion this gives a more honest picture of Mughal rule than the court histories, where the image of the Mughal emperor, especially in the case of Shah Jahan, reflects the religious prejudices of the author rather than the actual doings of the emperor.[115] Thus while 'Ināyat Khān tells us that recently built temples were ordered to be destroyed throughout the breath of the empire,[116] decrees show land being granted for temple building by the emperor at the same time.

I have mentioned earlier in this chapter the *Ardhakathānaka* and its value to this thesis due to it being the memoirs of an ordinary person not connected in any way to the Mughal court, thus unique amongst the court histories, and memoirs written by emperors. Its author, Banārasīdās, was a Jain merchant who completed his memoirs in 1641 at the age of fifty-five. He had therefore lived during the lifetimes of three Mughal emperors,

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[113] Wheeler M. Thackston, 'Introduction' to Nūr ud-dīn Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, p. xxi
[114] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, pp. 2-3
[115] S. A. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents (AD 1628 – 59)*, Vol. II, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 11-12
[116] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 90

whose reigns his memoirs span. Banārasīdās, however, mentions only the emperors Akbar and Jahangir, and not Shah Jahan, as he is mostly concerned in his memoirs with the events of his youth and middle age, during which these two emperors reigned. Adding to the usefulness of the memoirs to this thesis is the fact that Banārasīdās lived and worked in Agra and Fatehpur Sikri and provides accounts of some of his experiences in these cities. Near the end of his memoirs he mentions passing through Delhi, although he furnishes no account of his brief visit to the city.

Looking now at travellers' accounts, although without doubt many more Asian travellers came to the Mughal empire than Europeans, only two accounts by them have come down to us from the period under review - one by Sidī 'Alī Reis and the other by Muṭribī Samarqandī. The earlier of the two is by Sidī 'Alī Reis, an Ottoman admiral whose battle depleted fleet was forced by storm to moor at Gujarat in 1552, and from where he and his men slowly made their way to Humayun's recently re-established court at Delhi. Sidī 'Alī was present at the time of Humayun's untimely death, and unfortunately for our purposes departed immediately afterwards while Bairam Khan and the young Akbar were still on their way to the capital. Sidī 'Alī's account nevertheless yields information on poetry and language at the Mughal court, where we see that the composition and recitation of poetry, and significantly in Turkish, was a regular event, as was competency in composition – a feature of later courts as well.

For the reign of Akbar I have found most useful, the account by Father Antony Monserrate, one of three Jesuit priests sent to the Mughal court from Goa at the request of Akbar. The three priests formed what is now referred to as the First Jesuit Mission lasting from 1580 until 1583, when the last remaining of the three Fathers returned to Goa (Monserrate left in 1582), there being two other missions to the Mughal court that followed later. The three priests reached Akbar's court in 1580 when the capital was at Fatehpur Sikri, and fortunately for the purpose of this thesis, Monserrate accompanied Akbar on his campaign in 1582 into the Punjab, and in the process visited Delhi and Lahore of which he provides descriptions in addition to those of Fatehpur Sikri where he was based for two years, and Agra. As the Fathers were granted accommodation within

the fort, the account also provides a good picture of daily activities in the fort, such as Akbar's nightly discussions with the Jesuits and clergy from other religions, the emperor's public and private audiences, and of the workshops within the fort. An excellent supplement to Monserrate's account is a recently published compilation of letters by the three Fathers at the Mughal court to their superiors in Goa authored jointly and separately, providing additional material on much the same subjects covered by Monserrate's account.[117]

I have also used for this reign, the account of Ralph Fitch, the earliest English travellers' account. Fitch was an English merchant captured in Hurmuz (Ormuz) by the Portuguese along with two other English merchants and brought to Goa in captivity in 1583, from whence the three escaped and made their way to the Mughal Empire via Bijapur and Golconda. He provides brief descriptions of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, and the busy market that flanked the road all the way between the two cities, which he passed through in 1584 en route to the east coast of India.

Of more limited use is John Mildenhall's brief account of his stay in Agra. Mildenhall was in Agra from 1603 and probably left by late 1605 as he makes no mention of Akbar's death. As an English merchant who attended court hoping to gain trade concessions for his country from the Mughal emperor, against opposition from the Jesuits at court, Mildenhall's account though short does provide some additional information about court life.

For the reign of Jahangir, I have used the account of the merchant William Hawkins, the self-styled English ambassador bearing letters from James I requesting trade concessions for his country. He was in Agra from 1609 to 1611, and made this trip as an employee of the recently established East India Company. Hawkins made a very favourable impression on Jahangir initially, in no small part due to his proficiency in Turkish with which he was able to converse with the emperor and was even granted a starting *manṣab*

[117] John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Letters from the Mughal Court: The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar (1580-1583)*, Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay, 1980

of four hundred, and hence required to attend court. Hawkins thus provides a good picture of court life - the court rituals and protocol, as well as the daily programme of the emperor all of which he was able to witness from close-up.

Amongst the merchants of the East India Company who accompanied William Hawkins to India was William Finch. He remained in Surat in 1608 when Hawkins left for Agra, but followed him the next year to the Mughal capital. Shortly after his arrival in Agra he left for Bayana to procure indigo and visited the former capital Fatehpur Sikri en route. After returning to Agra he then left for Lahore in 1611 to sell the indigo, visiting Delhi on the way. From Lahore he began his journey home by land in the same year. I have drawn much from Finch's account, which is amongst the most useful of all travellers' accounts because of its very detailed descriptions of the cities he visited including their forts and houses.

I have also used the account of John Jourdain, an East India Company merchant, who was directed to come to Agra from Surat by William Hawkins. Jourdain spent half a year in Agra from 1610 – 11, and wrote a brief description of the city, which includes some useful observations of the city's housing.

Also useful has been the account by Nicholas Withington who arrived in 1612 aboard a ship carrying merchants of the East India Company. He was sent by the Company to Ahmadabad and then to Agra which he reached in 1614, and where he stayed until the following year when he was apprehended by a party of his countrymen on the charge of defrauding the company and sent back in captivity to London. His account includes a brief description of Agra.

For an invaluable account of court life during the reign of Jahangir, is the journal of Sir Thomas Roe, James I of England's first ambassador to the Mughal court. Roe arrived in the Mughal empire in 1615 and departed in 1619, having spent most of his time with the court at Ajmir and then Mandu. Nevertheless, the journal is relevant because it is an account of daily life at the court, which would not have differed had the journal been set

elsewhere in Agra or Delhi for instance. Roe's account is particularly important in that as an ambassador he was regularly invited to join in activities that other European travellers of more junior rank did not have access to, such as birthday celebrations, discussions and drinking sessions with the emperor at night, and the occasional feast hosted by a noble. At the same time, as an ambassador he was also treated to many of the things that Mughal nobles were also treated to, such as a gift of the emperor's portrait, gifts of food, and robes of honour and became aware of their symbolic significance. Roe's account also tells us much about etiquette and protocol at the court, which he was ever conscious of, such as where he stood at court in relation to the Persian and other ambassadors, and the *sijda* (prostration) which he considered demeaning to his position and was thus exempted from performing by Jahangir. Moreover, having had by far the most contact with Jahangir of all Europeans, his is the fullest and most intimate portrait of all European travellers' accounts of this emperor.

I have also used the account of Thomas Coryat, an eccentric English traveller, who refreshingly did not come to India in 1615 for the purpose of trade, and was in India at the same time as Roe. As one who had travelled to India by land from Europe, Coryat provides a good description of the road between the cities of Lahore and Agra. He also provides a description of Jahangir's daily programme, which he observed during his fourteen months in Ajmir where he resided with Roe.

Also useful is Edward Terry's account. Terry was Roe's chaplain from 1617 (having reached Surat by ship in 1616) and returned to England with Roe the following year. Although Terry never saw any of the Mughal capital cities himself and only visited parts of Malwa and Gujarat, he provides a good account of food, drink, and tobacco, and gives us a picture of religious tolerance in the Mughal empire.

I have used extensively the *Remonstrantie* ('Report') of Francisco Pelsaert, an employee of the Dutch East India Company, better known in Australia as the Commander of the ill-fated ship, the *Batavia*, shipwrecked off the west coast of Australia in 1629. Pelsaert was before this, stationed in Jahangir's capital, Agra, from 1621 until 1627, having reached

India in 1620. His report is a commercial document designed to inform his employers of the Indian market for their goods, as well as the products/produce of India from different parts of the country that he visited. Doubtless, as part of an education for future employees of the Company to be sent to India, Pelsaert also provides in his report a good description of the city of Agra, his home for six years, and of the lives of people of different classes in the empire including such details as their housing and their food, all of which I have found extremely useful for this thesis.

Useful for information on court life during Jahangir's reign is the account by the other Asian traveller (in addition to Sidī 'Alī Reis, that is), Muṭribī Samarqandī, a poet from Samarqand who visited Jahangir's court in Lahore for two months in 1627, the final year of the emperor's reign. As a regular participant at Jahangir's nightly gatherings in the private audience hall, Muṭribī provides us with the most intimate picture of the activities at this exclusive gathering - more so than in accounts by European attendees, who were unable to participate as fully as Mutribī for linguistic reasons. Muṭribī on the other hand, in addition to his many conversations with Jahangir, which he records in verbatim, frequently recited poetry, helped out on one occasion with two miniature paintings, and on another occasion sang at the emperor's request.

For the reign of Shah Jahan, I have used extensively Peter Mundy's account. Mundy was an employee of the East India Company and was in India from the years 1628 to 1634, three years of which (1631 to 1633) were spent based in Agra, still Shah Jahan's capital at the time. I have found his account to be one of the most useful travellers' accounts for the period under review, with descriptions of a wide range of subjects taken down in the greatest of detail. Mundy's drawings are also useful (some of which are reproduced in Appendix B). These drawings would not be useful if they were solely of monumental architecture (as some of them are), but are also of men and women engaged in various activities, for instance riding on horseback or walking (Figure 137), worshipping in a mandir (Figure 135), and diners seated at a banquet (Figure 136). They are thus a useful supplement to Mughal miniatures.

For the same reign, I have also used the account by the German traveller Johan Albrecht Von Mandelslo. Mandelslo briefly visited Agra and Lahore in 1638, and wrote about these two cities including the most detailed descriptions of their *ḥammām̄s* by a traveller.

Useful for the chapter on food in particular, is the account of the Portuguese Augustinian Fray Sebastien Manrique, who in returning by land from his mission to China and the Philippines passed through India from Orissa westwards to Qandahar from 1640 to 1641. He visited en route Agra, Delhi, and Lahore where the court was at the time of his visit, and of which he provides descriptions. In regard to his visit to Lahore, he provides the best description of any travellers' account of commercially available cooked food, and of a banquet, hosted by Āṣaf Khān for his son-in-law Shah Jahan which he observed in secret.

Also useful is the account by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, a French jewel-merchant who made six voyages from Europe to Asia from 1636 to 1667. On two of these, he visited the Mughal capital cities – Agra in 1640 when Shah Jahan was emperor, and Delhi in 1665 during Aurangzeb's reign. He provides good descriptions of these two cities.

I have also used the account by the Venetian, Niccolao Manucci. Manucci arrived in Sind as a teenager in 1656 and at his death in Madras in 1717 had been in India for 61 years. Manucci had a varied and colourful career in India, which included being an artilleryman in Dara Shikoh's army and doctor in various cities including Delhi and Lahore. Although for the period under review only the first two of the fifty years covered by him need concern us the most, Manucci's long and often rambling account includes some useful descriptions and comments on dress, food, and Shah Jahan's court, and his own movements between cities for the sake of his livelihood is itself informative about the movement of urban professionals within the empire.

Much more useful is the account by Francois Bernier, a French physician who arrived in Surat in 1658 at the tail end of Shah Jahan's reign during the war of succession between the emperor's sons. Bernier, who was initially employed in Prince Dara Shikoh's camp,

was for the decade afterwards based in Delhi as a physician to the household of the high ranking Mughal noble, Dānishmand Khān. His account, exceptionally judgemental even by the standards of seventeenth century European travellers' accounts, resembles a treatise on statesmanship, warning the French monarch to whom the work is dedicated, of the dangers of misrule exemplified in the Mughal system of government. Nevertheless, it contains one of the most detailed descriptions of Delhi where he was based, as well as descriptions of Agra and Lahore, which he visited, and is most useful in this respect.

Chapter Two: Everyday Life

Relative to the size of the Mughal empire, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, and Lahore, were geographically situated close to each other (see Map, p. xxv). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, roads and rivers linked these cities to each other,[1] and to the rest of the empire and beyond. For those travelling by road, it took about fifteen to twenty days from Lahore to Agra,[2] and from Agra to Delhi about six days.[3] Thus the journey from Lahore to Delhi would have been around nine to thirteen days. Fatehpur Sikri and Agra neighboured each other and the journey between them would not have taken much more than a day. Due to the efforts of Sher Shāh Sūr in building a highway across northern India, lining it with trees to provide shade, and digging wells and constructing inns en route for the convenience of travellers, and the efforts of the Mughal emperors (including Jahangir's wife, Nur Jahan) and nobles who maintained and added to what had been started by Sher Shāh, the journey between these cities was made as comfortable as possible.[4] No one in the seventeenth century was perhaps better qualified to judge roads than the eccentric Englishman, Thomas Coryat, who had undertaken an extensive walking tour of Western Europe earlier and then had travelled overland from Europe to Agra. He writes in 1615:

> From the famous citie of Lahore I had twentie daies journey to another goodly citie, called Agra, through such a delicate and even tract of ground as I never saw

[1] Agra and Delhi were linked to each other by the River Jumna, but not to Fatehpur Sikri, which did not have a river, nor to Lahore, which was next to the River Ravi.

[2] It took fifteen days according to Bernier. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 358; Thomas Coryat took twenty days. Coryat in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 24

[3] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 180

[4] Sarwānī, *Tarīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, pp. 170-1; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 115; Nūr ud-Dīn Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Vol. II, translated by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge, 1909; reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 7 –8; Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 100; between Lahore and Agra, the ruins of more than twenty Mughal period serais still stand today. Wayne E. Begley, 'Four Mughal Caravanserais Built During the Reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan', in *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, Vol. I, Yale University Press, North Haven, 1983

> before, and doubt whether the like bee to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world. Another thing also in this way beeing no lesse memorable then the plainesse of the ground; a row of trees on each side of this way where people doe travell, extending it selfe from the townes end of Lahore to the townes end of Agra; the most incomparable shew of that kinde that my eies survaied.[5]

And regarding the road between Agra to Fatehpur, much shorter in comparison, another Englishman, Ralph Fitch writes in the 1580s:

> Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatepore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were in market.[6]

As the capital cities of the empire, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and Fatehpur Sikri, all shared certain features. Some of which were in keeping with urban design prevalent in parts of the Muslim world, such as formal gardens, public *ḥammām̄s* (baths), mosques, and tombs, and the positioning of the main bazaar next to the fort, and which, with the possible exception of public baths and formal gardens, had already been introduced during the earlier Delhi Sultanate period. Other features, such as the construction of a fort, which served as a residence for the ruler, and a defensive wall around the city, as well as the division of the city into residential neighbourhoods, were common to both pre-Islamic Indian cities and cities in the Middle East and Central Asia. Apart from the bazaars contained within the forts in Lahore and later Delhi, the absence in the cities of a large bazaar covered and contained within a single structure was, however, certainly not in keeping with trends in the Muslim world at the time.

The forts in each of these cities was surrounded by a large moat on its landward side and on the other by a river, except for the fort in Fatehpur Sikri which had an artificial lake on one side and the downward slope of steep hill on the other. When viewed from the

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[5] Coryat in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 244; Similarly, Tavernier writes, 'it should be remarked that nearly all the way from Lahore to Delhi, and from Delhi to Agra, is like a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides, which is very pleasant to view'. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol. I, translated by V. Ball, 1925; reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1995, p. 78

[6] Fitch in Locke, *The First Englishmen*, p. 103

outside today, these forts are still imposing in their scale, but Fray Manrique, who came to Agra during the reign of Shah Jahan, gives us some idea of the impact that they might have had on a sixteenth or seventeenth century visitor. He writes, 'It [Agra fort] is a stupendous work, which while it strikes pleasantly on the senses, standing at rest before one, on the other hand fills one with dread and awe when seen mirrored, as it were moving, in the deep moat, full of dark black waters'.[7] Manrique's mixed reaction to what he saw, would certainly have been the intention of its builder, Akbar, for in addition to its various functions as residence and workplace, these forts, large in scale, were a statement about Mughal wealth and power, aimed not just at foreigners like Manrique and particularly those from neighbouring states like Safavid Persia, but also directed at the subjects of the Mughal empire. Abu l-Fazl makes this point clearly:

> [M]ighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious, and please the obedient. Delightful villas, and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which is so necessary for worldly power.[8]

With their high and heavily guarded walls and gates, these forts also provided the emperor and his family with the necessary security and privacy during their residence in these cities. The fort was also where he worked, engaged in the day-to-day running of the empire, and was the workplace for numerous others as well. It was where the nobility gathered daily to attend court, as well as the workplace for bureaucrats, and for a multitude of artists and craftsmen who had their *kārkhāna* or workshop there, not to mention for the musicians who turned up to perform everyday, and for a large number of servants employed in a multitude of tasks, and soldiers for its defence.[9] In the case of Akbar's fort in Lahore and Shah Jahan's in Delhi, it even had a covered bazaar, where customers, traders and merchants flocked. Thus, in addition to their function as 'focal

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[7] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 158

[8] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn* Vol. I, p. 232

[9] To quote William Finch, 'Here every day, betweene three and foure a clocke, the King comes forth [to the Hall of Public Audience] and many thousands resort to doe their duties, each taking place according to his degree.' Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 184-5

points for imperial control and regional administration',[10] much other activities took place within these forts, and one European visitor's description of his visit to the Agra fort 'as [being] in a cittie' seems most apt.[11]

Also dominating the cities' skyline at Agra and Delhi, in addition to the forts, and equally statements about Mughal wealth, were tombs. In Agra, the tomb of Itimād ud-Daula built in Jahangir's reign by his daughter Nur Jahan, and the Taj Mahal of Mumtaz Mahal built by Shah Jahan, were both structures of exquisite beauty and workmanship, not to mention great scale in the case of the latter. In Delhi, by far the largest tomb, dwarfing the nearby Lodi tombs, was that of Humayun, built during the reign of Akbar by two of Humayun's widows, Hājjī Begam, and Ḥamīda Bānū, Akbar's mother.[12] In Fatehpur Sikri, the main mosque with a spectacular gateway (known as the Buland darwāza), built by Akbar perched beside the fort on the hill and which contained the tomb of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, was at least as imposing as the fort next to it. However, as the Mughals were the latest dynasty in a long series of great builders, one must not imagine that all the large structures in the Mughal capital cities were theirs. This was especially the case in Delhi, where successive Sultans and dynasties had ruled large parts of northern India from, and where Shah Jahan's new city at Delhi, named Shahjahanabad after the emperor, had already been preceded by five cities before it. The inhabitants of Delhi during the period under review thus lived in an environment of many monumental structures – Mughal and Delhi Sultanate.[13]

The capital cities also had numerous bazaars that were a hive of activity, frequented by locals and visiting merchants from all over India, as well as from Iran and Central Asia. Monserrate found in the bazaar in Fatehpur Sikri for instance, 'countless people, who are

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[10] Hambly, 'Towns and Cities' in Raychaudhuri & Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic*, Vol. I, p. 439

[11] John Jourdain, *The Journal of John Jourdain*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905, p. 163

[12] Gavin Hambly, *Cities of Mughul India: Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri*, Elek Books, London, 1968, p. 41

[13] Thus Monserrate observed in the 1580s, that 'The ruined towers and half-fallen walls of old Delinum may still be seen.' Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 98; Pelsaert similarly notes,, 'even the noble buildings – gardens, tombs, or palaces,-which, in and near every city, one cannot contemplate because of their ruined state.' Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 56

always there in dense crowds',[14] and Mundy experienced the same in Agra, where 'in the Bazare ordinarilye there is such a throng that men can hardly passe without much trouble.'[15] The range of merchandise on sale, local and imported also astounded visitors. Monserrate writes of Fatehpur Sikri's crowded bazaar that it was 'filled with an astonishing quantity of every description of merchandise'[16] and that in Agra '[a]ll 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. ...Indeed the city is flooded with every type of commodity.'[17] Similarly, Bernier comments that Delhi, as the capital, was 'where an infinite quantity of the richest commodities is necessarily collected.'[18]

The main bazaars of the Mughal capital cities, with the exception during Akbar's reign of the bazaar in the Lahore fort and during Shah Jahan's of one in the fort in Delhi, were not contained within large covered structures, as major bazaars were in the Ottoman and Safavid empires.[19] Instead, they consisted of shops that lined either side of an open street that began at each of these forts and bisected a large square such as the famous Chandni Chowk in Shah Jahan's Delhi.[20] From this street, other smaller streets radiated out in all directions that were likewise lined on either side with shops. One similarity between the main bazaars of the Mughal capitals and those of the Middle East and Central Asia,

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[14] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 31

[15] Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, In Europe and Asia, 1608 – 1667*, Vol. II, The Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, p. 207

[16] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 31

[17] Ibid., pp. 35-6

[18] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 248

[19] Monserrate writes, 'Within this citadel [Lahore Fort] is a bazaar which is protected against the sun in summer and the rain in winter by a high-pitched wooden roof – a design whose clever execution and practical utility should call for imitation.' Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 160; it appears that the bazaar described so by Monserrate was not around half a century later during Shah Jahan's reign because Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's comments regarding the construction of the bazaar in the fort in Delhi indicate that a bazaar built in this manner was a novelty. Ṣāliḥ writes, 'A building like the covered bazar which the people of Hindustan had never before seen, was a new idea produced by the ruler of the seven lands with effortless attention and unique building talent.' Translation taken from, K. K. Mohammed, '*Bazars* in Mughal India: An Essay in Architectural Study and Interpretation', in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. LXIII, No. 3, The Islamic Culture Board, Hyderabad, 1989, pp. 64-5

[20] Chandni Chowk was not actually square in shape, but octagonal and with a pool in the middle, which reflected the moon - hence the name Chandni Chowk, meaning 'moonlight square' or 'silver square'. Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India 1637 – 1739*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, p. 56

however, was that shops were grouped according to their trade, and a whole street or indeed streets could be devoted to a specific product.[21] In the Chandni Chowk bazaar for example, one street contained only jewellers' shops, another street specialized in perfumes, another in weaponry, and yet another in glassware,[22] and in Agra, Fray Manrique wandering through the city's main bazaar was startled to come across 'entire streets' dedicated to selling nothing but sweets.[23] In addition to the sprawling main bazaar in each of these cities, were smaller bazaars located in the suburbs catering for the basic needs of the suburb's residents.

Despite the hustle and bustle of the main bazaar, and the presence of a large fort, tombs, and residential areas, the capital cities were also lush with vegetation, which in the case of Jahangir's Agra, led one visitor, the Dutchman, Pelseart to conclude that it resembled more 'a royal park than a city'.[24] Father Monserrate, described Delhi similarly:

> Time fails me to describe the lovely parks ... on both sides of the Jomanis [Jumna], which passes close by the city on the east. The parks and gardens are filled with a rich profusion of fruit and flowers; for the climate is mild, and the land around Delinum is very rich and fertile.[25]

From those miniatures offering us a glimpse of the city outside of the imperial fort we can easily see how Pelsaert arrived at this conclusion (Figures 26, 124, and 131). The Mughal emperors and nobles, beginning with Babur took great pains to plant and maintain gardens as places for their relaxation and for the purpose of supplying their own kitchens with local and exotic fruit, and the many scenes in the Mughal miniatures set outdoors amongst trees, fountains, streams and pools attest to their importance to the

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[21] A. Raymond, 'Madina', in P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel & W. P. Heinrichs (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Supplement, Fascicules 7-8, Brill, Leiden, 2003, pp. 551-2

[22] S. Nurul Hasan, 'The Morphology of a Mediaeval Indian City: A Case Study of Shahjahanabad in the 18th and early 19th Century', in *Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress*, University of Delhi, New Delhi, 1985, p. 310

[23] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 156

[24] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 1; Although Edward Terry did not visit Agra, his description of Indian cities in general is similar to Pelsaert's and indicates that cities in India, and not just the Mughal capital cities were well vegetated. He writes, 'Both in their villages and cities are usually many faire trees among their houses, which are a great defence against the violence of the sunne. They commonly stand so thicke that, if a man behold a citie or towne from some conspicuous place, it will seeme a wood rather than a citie.' Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 301

urban elite. In fact, one of Babur's first acts after the conquest was to lay out a garden in Agra, the lack of which he laments amongst his list of complaints about the Indian environment.[26] It should be noted, however, that Babur was bemoaning the absence in India of a particular type of garden common in his native Central Asia and elsewhere in the Islamic world, a *chahār bāgh*, and not an absence of gardens per se.[27] This was a private, orderly and symmetrically laid-out garden and with a combination of features such as fountains and streams that divided the garden into four (hence *chahār bāgh*, meaning 'four garden'), and shade-casting trees, symbolic of the Islamic gardens of paradise.[28] The situation was certainly rectified by his descendants, as under Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, both the emperor and their nobles planted and maintained private gardens in this style,[29] and in doing so were firmly in keeping with practices across the Muslim World. In the Mughal capitals outside of these gardens, trees were planted by the state along some of the streets[30] (just as they were along the main highway leading to them), and by ordinary people within their own properties (Figure 73). One must also add that the Mughal tombs in these cities, such as those of Itimād ud-Daula, Mumtaz Mahal (the Taj Mahal) were situated at the end of gardens, and Humayun's tomb was set in the midst of a large garden, and that the forts also contained within them gardens, such as the Anguri Bāgh in the fort at Delhi, as did the mansions of the nobility.[31] All of which successfully combined to give the Mughal capital cities a 'royal park'-like appearance.

Another feature of nature that these cities had in common was that they were next to a major river (Figures 26, 97, 123, and 124), except Fatehpur Sikri, which was next to a

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[25] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, pp. 97-8

[26] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 359 - 60

[27] Thus Babur writes, 'Thus, in unpleasant and inharmonious India, marvelously regular and geometric gardens were introduced. ...Since the people of India had never seen such planned or regular spaces, they nicknamed the side of the Jumna on which these structures stood, "Kabul."' Ibid., pp. 359-60

[28] Emma Clark, *Underneath which Rivers Flow: The Symbolism of the Islamic Garden*, The Prince of Wales Institute of Architecture, London, 1996, pp. 16-23

[29] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 98; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 130, 178; Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 214-6; Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2

[30] On the streets of Delhi Monserrate writes, 'They are planted down the middle with beautiful trees which cast a grateful shade.' Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 97

[31] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 285

large artificial lake.[32] In each city, the imperial fort was by the river, or the lake in the case of Fatehpur Sikri. Situating the imperial fort next to a large body of water was no doubt for defensive purposes, making one side of the fort impenetrable from a land-based attack (hence the private section of the fort which contained the imperial harem was on this side in Agra, Delhi, and Lahore), but comfort and aesthetic benefits were also to be derived from this location as well - providing a view of the water and the opposite bank, and in the intense heat of an Indian summer, a cool-breeze as the wind blew across the water in the direction of the fort.[33] Alongside these rivers and close to the fort were also to be found a major concentration of mansions belonging to the princes and nobility.[34] In the case of Fatehpur Sikri, the equivalent may have been to the north of the fort where the ruins of some mansions are located, and which although overlooking the dry bed of the lake today, may not have afforded views of the lake when the area was built up with housing during the city's heyday.[35]

Also common to the capital cities were numerous *ḥammāms* and caravanserais, features shared in common with the cities of the Middle East and Central Asia. The German traveller, Mandelslo, who bathed in a Lahore *ḥammām* out of curiosity, tells us that in Agra alone there were over eight hundred *ḥammāms*, where 'there passes not a day, but that these places are frequented by an infinite number of persons.'[36] Although this figure cannot be accepted at face value, as Mandelslo was certainly not there long enough to count the *ḥammāms*, it probably does reflect something of the frequency with which he encountered them during his stay in Agra. Also found throughout the capital cities were many caravanserais.[37] These provided safe accommodation for foreign merchants and travellers, as well as secure storage for their merchandise, and were to be found not just in the capital cities but all over the empire, built by the emperor and members of his

[32] According to Bernier, the river Ravi had changed so that the fort at Lahore 'is no longer seated on its banks'. Ibid., p. 384
[33] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 31
[34] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 205; Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 1; Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 182
[35] Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi & Vincent John Adams Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, Taraporevala, Bombay, 1975, pp. 17-8
[36] Mandelslo, *The Voyages*, pp. 35, 45

family (such as the impressive Serai Nur Mahal, en route to Lahore, built by Nur Jahan) and by nobles.[38] Thus, the majority of the European travellers who have left us accounts, mention staying in a caravanserai at some point during their visit to the empire, and one of them, Bernier comments, 'If in *Paris* we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging.'[39]

The capital cities were also walled. These walls provided one line of defence (a second line of defence was provided by the walls of the fort within the city) against outside attack during times of conflict, and during times of peace enabled the authorities to observe who and what entered the city through the walls' various gates. The walls, however, did not mark the outer-limits of the city, as in each case the city had spread beyond them. In the case of Agra this appears to have already happened by late in the reign of Jahangir, for Pelsaert who was there in 1621 considered the city to be 'unwalled'.[40] Indeed, that the siege of Shah Jahan by his sons Aurangzeb and Murād at the close of the period under review began at the Agra fort and not at the walls of the city is further proof that the wall built by Akbar had at the very least ceased to function as it had been intended. In the case of Lahore, Manrique encountered a large and thriving bazaar at night even before entering the city contained within the walls, and in the case of Shah Jahan's Delhi, the majority of the city's population were estimated by Bernier to reside beyond the city walls.[41]

This brings us to the issue of the population of these cities. Unfortunately, no census figures are provided in the Indian written sources for the period under review, and while European travellers in their mention of the crowds that they encountered in the Mughal capitals certainly provide us with an impression of heavily populated cities, the issue of population is usually addressed by them with vague comparisons between the populations

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[37] In Agra, Mandelslo says that there were 'fourscore' caravanserais, Ibid., p. 35; Manrique estimated ninety in Agra, Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. ...; Finch, in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 167

[38] Edward Terry writes, 'For their workes of charitie many rich men build Sarraas [caravanserais]'. Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 325

[39] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 281

[40] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 1

of these cities and contemporary European cities and without any mention of figures. On Akbar's Lahore, Monserrate writes for instance that, 'This city [Lahore] is second to none, either in Asia or in Europe, with regard to size, population, and wealth.'[42] On Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in the same reign, Ralph Fitch comments that they were 'much greater than London and very populous',[43] and on Shah Jahan's Delhi, Francois Bernier writes that 'if the number of souls be not as large in the latter city [Delhi] as in our own capital [Paris], it cannot be greatly less.'[44] Only Fray Manrique provides us with figures: 660,000 for Delhi during Shah Jahan's reign, but this figure can not be accepted with certainty as Manrique does not name his sources save that the figure was 'commonly accepted opinion'.[45]

What we do know about the population of the capital cities is that they included the imperial camp when the emperor was present, and that the presence of the imperial camp boosted the population of these cities. This is evident in Abu l-Fazl's mention of the increase in prices in Lahore upon the arrival of the imperial army there, and its return to previous levels upon its departure (and the adjustment of taxation on land accordingly).[46] What needs clarifying, however, is that the entire population of these cities did not depart with the imperial camp, which Bernier asserts.[47] Foreign accounts alone provide us with proof of continued activity in these cities when the emperor and his army were not present, including Bernier himself.[48] Agra, Lahore, and Delhi, were important and well-established commercial centres due to their regional economic base as well as the trade routes that connected them to the rest of the empire and beyond, and so while the traders, craftsmen, and artisans of these cities would have benefited from the presence of the imperial camp, not all of them would have considered it profitable or necessary for their economic survival to follow the imperial camp wherever it went. In fact, for some

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[41] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 242
[42] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 159
[43] Fitch in Locke, *The First Englishmen*, p. 102
[44] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 282
[45] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 151-2
[46] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, translated by H. Beveridge, 1921; reprint, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1998 pp. 1116-7
[47] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 381
[48] Ibid., pp. 284 - 99

craftsmen uprooting themselves from their local suppliers of raw materials and from local merchants would have meant their commercial ruin.[49] Secondly, as commercial and administrative centres of the empire, some part of the bureaucracy would have remained, as well as a sizable army for its defence – for instance we read of Lahore's successful defence against Khusrau's siege ahead of the arrival of the imperial army under Jahangir.[50]

Whether or not the emperor was present in person in the city with the imperial camp, the people of the cities went about their everyday lives during the period enjoying an unprecedented level of safety. The menace of Mongol raids, at one time occurring annually into the subcontinent during the Delhi Sultanate period and which had resulted in the destruction and loss of Lahore to the Mongols in 1241, had ceased.[51] And the last massacre in any of these cities had taken place a century and half before Akbar's reign when Delhi was captured and large numbers of its population killed or carried off by force by the ancestor of the Mughal royal family, Amir Timur, invading from Central Asia in 1398. Only after the period under review were such scenes of bloodshed repeated with the invasion of Nadir Shah from Persia in 1739 and those of Ahmad Shah Durrani from Afghanistan shortly afterwards.[52] Foreign invaders aside, these cities were also free during the period from the raids of local warlords – a far cry from the situation in Delhi during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when even the Mughal emperor and his family were not safe from physical attack.[53] The safety of the inhabitants of these cities

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[49] Shireen Moosvi, 'Changing Economic Structures and Demographic Profile of the Indian City: c.1660-c.1900', Paper presented at the 'Conference: Living in the City', International Commission for Historical Demography, Rome, 1999, p. 3

[50] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, pp. 53-5

[51] Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, p. 89

[52] Between 9am and 2pm on 11 March, 1739, an estimated 20,000 people in Delhi were killed by the Persian army under Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah stayed a total of two months in Delhi systematically plundering it. Ahmad Shah Durrani invaded the Mughal Empire in 1748, but was repulsed. He returned in January 1757 and plundered it as thoroughly as Nadir Shah. Again in January 1760 before the Third Battle of Panipat, the Afghans mercilessly plundered Delhi. For a vivid eyewitness account of the Afghans and their Rohilla allies in Delhi in 1760 in the lead up to Panipat see, Mīr Muḥammad Taqī 'Mīr', *Zikr-i Mīr*, translated by C. M. Naim, 1999; reprint, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 83-6

[53] I refer here to the blinding of Shāh 'Ālam II by a Rohilla warlord, Ghulām Qādir in August, 1788, retold in Jonathan Scott's letter of 1789 to Warren Hastings, in Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in Late Mughal Delhi*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 27-8

can be attributed to the strength of the imperial army stationed within them, and elsewhere in the empire, that acted as a deterrent to any would-be foreign invaders and local warlords.

The few attacks on these cities during the period that did threaten the safety of its inhabitants then, were brought on not by foreigners or local warlords, but by the empire's own forces – rebellious Mughal princes and nobles. It is difficult to estimate the extent of the loss to life and property suffered by the residents of the capital cities in each case, as the written sources provide us with no such details. While it appears unlikely that significant civilian casualties took place, as these would have been reported by court historians in order to highlight the rebels' misdeeds, or by European travellers who have mentioned these attacks in their accounts, it is likely that the properties of those residing outside of the city walls were affected during the siege. What is certain, is that the normal flow of life in these cities was severely disrupted until the threat had abated. Banārasīdās' description of the preparations to defend Jaunpur against the rebellious Prince Salīm (later the emperor Jahangir) provides us with some idea of what cities underwent in preparation against an attack, and the disruption to everyday life:

> Nuram [the governor] immediately declared an emergency in Jaunpur and his army took over the city. All roads leading to Jaunpur were blockaded and a complete halt put to all boats plying on the Gomti. With its gates securely closed, the fortified city began to make ready for battle: cavalry and infantry could be seen deployed everywhere in large numbers, battalions of guards were stationed at every quarter and artillery was positioned on the city ramparts, girt for immediate action.[54]

In such cases, the civilian population of the city might assist voluntarily in the city's defence, as when Khusrau attacked Lahore in 1606,[55] or simply be coerced into doing so. William Finch in 1609 observed for instance, that during preparations undertaken by the Mughal army to defend Surat against a possible attack from Bahādur, the son of Muzaffar

[54] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, p. 23
[55] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 53

II, the last Sultan of Gujarat 'the Banians [merchants and traders] were forced to labour to barricado all the streets of the citie'.[56]

The first threat to any of these cities during the reign of Akbar, came from his half-brother based in Kabul, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who with his army in 1566 arrived outside the walls of the fort at Lahore. A constant barrage of his positions by cannons and muskets fired by the fort's defenders prevented him from making any headway and news of the approach of the imperial army under Akbar caused him to withdraw hastily in the direction of Kabul. At around the same time, the rebellion of the Mirzās, during Akbar's absence from the capital Delhi, and while he was on his way to deal with Mirzā Hakim, threatened Delhi. One of the Mirzās, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain even arrived in the vicinity of Delhi, but finding it well defended, and with an imperial army closing in on him, moved on. It is unlikely that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain was seen as a serious threat to these cities as Badauni estimates his army at a mere 300 men,[57] having come 'to this neighbourhood [Delhi] with a small party of horse'.[58] Moreover, Akbar's decision to deal firstly with Mirzā Ḥakīm, tells us that he considered the Mirzās to be a less urgent threat than his half-brother's invasion from Kabul. Another attempt by Mirzā Ḥakīm was made in 1581 to take Lahore, but after a brief siege of the city lasting some three weeks he withdrew towards Kabul once again before the arrival of the imperial army under Akbar. Abu l-Fazl tells us that despite repeated assaults on the city gates by the besiegers during this second attempt on Lahore, no breach of the city walls was made.[59]

At the beginning of Jahangir's reign, his son Khusrau with his own hopes of succeeding Akbar, attempted to take Lahore and laid siege to it in 1606. Regarding the preparations for the defence of the city, Jahangir writes that, 'The people of the city too helped out in all loyalty.'[60] After a nine day siege, during which just one of the city gates had been set

[56] Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 133
[57] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 154
[58] Ibid., p. 157
[59] Ibid., pp. 299-301; Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, pp. 506-8
[60] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 53

ablaze by the besiegers, the arrival of the imperial army under Jahangir, forced Khusrau to do battle outside Lahore where he was decisively defeated and captured.[61]

During the reign of Shah Jahan, armies under the command of his sons Aurangzeb and Murād following their defeat of their eldest brother and heir apparent Dara Shikoh at the Battle of Samugarh, occupied Agra and laid siege to the emperor Shah Jahan in the Agra Fort. Their successful siege of the fort, after just two days, followed by Shah Jahan's abdication in 1658, marks the end of the period covered by this thesis.

Mirzā Ḥakīm's and Khusrau's failed attempts on Lahore, and Aurangzeb and Murād's successful siege of Agra, were all contests over succession. Violent power struggles characterized dynastic succession amongst the Mughals, and the population in the capital cities and other major cities, learnt to brace themselves for the worst following the death of the emperor. Thus, even in the absence of the arrival of a hostile army under the command of a contender for the throne (such as in the case of Khusrau), people were extremely apprehensive until the issue of succession had been resolved. The merchant Banārasīdās' account of the panic amongst the inhabitants of the northern Indian city of Jaunpur upon hearing of the death of Akbar, and their relief upon the accession of Jahangir, provides a good indication of the uncertainty and fear that the issue of succession generated amongst the common people. He tells us that when Akbar died, shops were shut, valuables hidden away and that the well-off took to dressing plainly in public so as to conceal their status. Finally, '[t]he commotion subsided after ten days, when a letter arrived from Agra bearing news that all was well in the capital. ...This news came as a great relief and people heartily hailed the new king,' he writes.[62]

In addition to these political factors that affected everyday life in the capital cities, there were several natural disasters during the period, which almost certainly resulted in much greater casualties than the few unsuccessful attempts to take these cities. In fact, the

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[61] Ibid., pp. 53-8

[62] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, pp. 38-40; Likewise Manucci on the illness of Shah Jahan, which sparked the war of succession between his four sons, writes that, 'This illness produced great confusion in the city of Dihli and throughout the empire.' Niccolao Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 231

period covered by this thesis commences at the end of one famine, and ends at the commencement of another. By Akbar's accession in 1556, a severe famine, which had only just subsided, affected the countryside around Agra and Delhi, including these two cities. It was witnessed by Abu l-Fazl who writes of starving people being forced to commit acts of cannibalism.[63] Some of the other famines that took place in the empire later during this period such as that around Sirhind in the early 1570s, and a particularly severe one which struck Gujarat and the Deccan in 1630-2, did not affect the Mughal capital cities. However, in 1636-7, and in 1642, famines struck the Punjab causing an influx of refugees into Lahore. And in 1658, at the end of the period under review, four to five years of scarcity began in northern India felt particularly around Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, possibly brought on by the violent and disruptive war of succession between Shah Jahan's four sons.

Another type of natural disaster to befall a capital city during the period was a plague, striking Agra late in 1616 and continuing into early the following year. This plague, from the contemporary descriptions of its symptoms, was bubonic,[64] and appears to have been severe, for Jahangir felt it necessary to temporarily relocate the court to Fatehpur Sikri,[65] and describes it in his memoirs as 'spread to all the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Agra.'[66] The total number who died from it appears to have been high, for Jahangir writing in December 1616 states that approximately one hundred people died daily from it[67] and Thomas Roe, in a letter dated January 1617 says that the plague was now subsiding and that the number of daily deaths had fallen to one hundred, although Roe was possibly echoing Jahangir's number.[68]

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[63] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 57

[64] For instance, Jahangir writes, 'Under the armpits, or in the groin, or below the throat, buboes formed, and they died.' Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 65; Similarly Banārasīdās writes, 'A mortal disease, called the disease of the clot (gamthi ka rog), spread rapidly over the city. Its distinctive symptom was the appearance of a clot on the body, an invariable sign of instant death.' Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, p. 82

[65] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 65

[66] Ibid., p. 65

[67] Ibid., p. 65

[68] Thomas Roe, *The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe*, 1873; reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1993, p. 336

Agra was also affected by a major fire during the period. According to Finch, in May and June of 1610, the city was 'much vexed with fires night and day, flaming in one part or other, whereby many thousands of houses were consumed, besides men, women, children and cattell'.[69] Monsoonal rains also caused regular havoc, especially to the houses of the poor, being constructed of less sturdy materials.[70]

Apart from these political and natural disruptions to everyday life during the hundred year period covered by this thesis, the capital cities were peaceful. The officer responsible for ensuring this peace was the *kotwāl*, a title that has been translated variously as City Governor, Prefect, and Chief Police Officer, because of the wide-ranging duties of the position. These duties, listed by Abu l-Fazl, included ensuring the safety of the streets through the deployment of patrols, espionage, prohibiting people from entering and leaving the city at night, catching thieves and recovering stolen property, ensuring that weights and measurements adhered to a fixed standard, and maintaining the supply to public watercourses.[71] The *kotwāl* and his staff alone were not responsible for the safety of the city, and in each of the city's quarters, known as a *maḥalla*, a resident was appointed by the *kotwāl* to the following duties:

> To keep a close watch on every one who came in or out, of whatever degree he might be, whether merchant, soldier or otherwise. Not to allow troublesome, and disorderly fellows, or thieves to take up their abode in the city. That if he saw any one whose expenditure was greater than his receipts, he should follow the matter up, and represent to the Emperor through the chief of Police [i.e. the *kotwāl*] of all rejoicings and feasts, and mourning, and lamentation which might take place, especially marriages, births, feasts and such like. That he should have continually in his employ in every street, and lane, and bazar, and at every ford of the river a person, whom he could trust, to keep him informed of everything that went on, whether good or bad. And that he would so manage the roads, that no one who had lost his way, or who was a fugitive should be able without an order to take away a horse, nor to bring in a pack from Hindustan.[72]

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[69] Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 146

[70] Bernier mentions that many of the houses in Lahore, which he considered to be sturdier than the houses of Delhi and Agra, 'have been totally destroyed and have buried many of their inhabitants under their ruins, in consequence of the heavy rains which have prevailed of late years.' Bernier, *Travels*, p. 384

[71] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. II, translated by H. S. Jarrett and revised by Jadu Nath Sarkar, 1949; reprint, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1993, pp. 43-5

[72] Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 404

The duties of the Mughal *kotwāl* were remarkably similar to those of the same position in Kauṭilīya's *Arthśāstra* of the fourth century BC.[73] The position with the same name, also existed during the Delhi Sultanate, and the appointment of a *kotwāl* by Akbar was thus a continuation of a much earlier practice dating back to ancient Hindu kingdoms. Akbar's decision later on to hold the *kotwāl* personally responsible for any property stolen,[74] appears also to have had a precedent, as under Sher Shāh, the *muqaddam* (village head), for the first time, was obliged by the state to compensate those robbed in the vicinity of their village or villages, and the Mughal emperor may have drawn his inspiration from this.[75]

Whilst we have no figures on the rate of crime in the Mughal capitals, one gets the distinct impression from travellers' accounts that the capital cities compared to the countryside were relatively safe – at least for travellers. This can perhaps be attributed to the fact that the Mughal authorities were concentrated in a smaller area, thus ensuring that the capitals enjoyed a higher degree of security than along roads that ran through the countryside, which, judging by numerous accounts of armed bands of robbers by foreign travellers and by Banārasīdās, was fraught with danger.[76] Quite in contrast, none of the authors of these accounts make mention of any such problems during their stay in the Mughal capital cities, which they are likely to have done so considering their mention of the dangers faced and their loss of property en route to these cities. One means by which the authorities prevented crime, was through the use of fear, based on Banārasīdās' account of his arrest by the *kotwāl*. Although Banārasīdās and his companions were given a fair trial and eventually released, and at no point physically harmed while being questioned, they were throughout the ordeal in the greatest fear for their physical safety

[73] See Kauṭilīya, *Arthaśāstra*, Part II, translated by R. P. Kangle, University of Bombay, 1972, pp. 185-9
[74] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. II, p. 44
[75] Sarwānī, *Tarīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, pp. 220-1
[76] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, pp. 60-2; Also see Withington, in Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 213-5; Monserrate and his company narrowly escaped being ambushed by robbers, though, 'Glimpses could be caught of them through the bushes which almost blocked the road.' Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 187

with the prospect of torture looming over their heads, something that the *kotwāl* and his staff deliberately ensured.[77]

In regard to religious freedom for the people of capital cities, due to Akbar's newfound enlightened views on religion, the Mughal empire from the 1570s onwards was exceedingly tolerant by the standards of the time. This is something that European visitors such as Edward Terry, an Anglican Chaplin, noted. In his account of Thomas Coryat's anti-Muslim behaviour in Jahangir's capital, Agra, for instance, he credited the religious tolerance of the Mughal empire solely for his countryman's survival:

> Which words [the call to prayer] Master Coryat often hearing in Agra, upon a certaine time got up into a turret, over against the priest, and contradicted him thus in a loude voyce: *La Alla, illa Alla, Hazaret-Eesa Ebn-Alla*: No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne of God; and further added that Mahomet was an imposter; which bold attempt in many other parts of Asia, where Mahomet is more zealously professed, had forfetted his life with as much torture as tyrannie could invent. But here every man hath libertie to professe his owne religion freely and, for any restriction I ever observed, to dispute against theirs with impunitie.[78]

And in Thomas Coryat's own words about his survival on a different occasion:

> If I had spoken thus much in Turky or Persia against Mahomet, they would have rosted me upon a spitt; but in the Mogols dominions a Christian may speake much more freely than hee can in any other Mahometan country in the world.[79]

In the Mughal empire, non-Muslims, that is Hindus and Christians, were permitted to openly proselytize and convert (or re-convert in the case of Muslim converts from Hinduism)[80] anyone to their religion including Muslims.[81] The Jesuit Fathers even received a pension from the emperor to assist them in their missionary work,[82] about

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[77] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, pp. 73-6
[78] Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 315
[79] Coryat, in Ibid., p. 271
[80] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 405
[81] Ibid., p. 406; A *farmān* (imperial decree) was issued in 1603 by Akbar permitting the Jesuits to convert Indians - Muslims and Hindus alike, to Christianity. Sri Ram Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperor*, 1940; reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, p. 21
[82] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 286

which one Englishman visiting during Jahangir's reign observed, 'They have license to turne as manye to Christianitie as they can'.[83] Similarly, non-Muslims were permitted to construct their houses of worship, and to repair those that were aging, to quote a disapproving Badauni, 'If any of the infidels chose to build a church, or synagogue, or idol-temple, or Pārsī "tower of silence," no one was to hinder him.'[84] In a 1597 *farmān* for instance, issued by Akbar, the Officer-in-Charge of the city of Kambayat is informed of the Jesuit fathers' desire to construct a church in Kambayat, and ordered not to obstruct them from doing so.[85]

Admittedly, the histories written at the Mughal court do mention the extensive destruction of Hindu temples during the reign of Shah Jahan. Such claims however, appear grossly exaggerated, as they contradict imperial decrees granting land for the construction of temples at the same time.[86] When the destruction of non-Muslim houses of worship did take place, it was within the territories of rebellious rajas during military campaigns, so this is something that the Mughal capital cities were always spared.[87] The only exception to this in the Mughal capitals, were the churches of the Jesuits. This appears not to have been motivated by religion, but as a means of sending a clear message of displeasure back to the Jesuits' countrymen in Goa and Hugli at times of political conflict with the Portuguese. At the very most Jahangir seems to have been

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[83] Withington in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 223; Similarly Terry observed,' The Jesuits have not only admittance into his presence but incouragements from him by many gifts, with libertie of converting to them; and to the subject, to be without losse of favour converted.' Terry in Ibid., p. 331

[84] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 406

[85] *Farmān* of Akbar, dated 29 Āzar, Ilāhī 42/ 10 December 1597AD, in S. A. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents (1526-1627)*, Vol. I, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 72-3

[86] Compare for instance what 'Ināyat Khān has to say about the destruction of temples in Benares in 1632 with the grants of land given to Hindus for the construction of temples mentioned on page ... of this chapter. 'Ināyat Khān writes, 'It has been previously represented that there were some of the finest Hindu temples at Banaras. In former reigns, the foundations of many new ones had been laid, some of which had been completed, while others still remained in an imperfect state; and these the opulent among the pagans were desirous of seeing finished. The infidel-consuming monarch, who is the guardian of true religion, had therefore commanded that at Banaras and throughout the entire imperial dominions, wheresoever idol-temples had been recently built, they should be razed to the ground. Accordingly, in these days it was reported from the province of Allahabad that 70 had been demolished at Banaras alone.' *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 90

[87] For instance, 'Ināyat Khān writes, of Shah Jahan's campaign in Bundela country against Jūjhār Singh, the son of Bīr Singh Deo, 'the environs of Orchha became the site of the royal standards, an ordinance was issued authorizing the demolition of the idol temple, which Bir Singh Deo had erected at a great expense by the side of his private palace, and also of the idols in it'. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 161

content with closing the churches for a short period of time in 1614, which he did in retaliation for goods destined for the Mughal court being seized by the Portuguese at Surat.[88] Shah Jahan appears to have been more severe. Before his campaign in 1632 against the Portuguese at Hugli, he is said to have deprived the Jesuit priests of the pension allotted to them by Akbar, and 'destroyed the church at *Lahor* and the greater part of that of *Agra*, totally demolishing the steeple'.[89] Apart from these churches, in these two instances, no damage is reported as being done to any other places of worship in the capital cities throughout the period under review.

Significantly, employment could also be gained at all levels of government regardless of whether one was a Hindu or Muslim, or in the case of Muslims, whether a Shiite or a Sunni. Certainly, there are earlier instances before Akbar's time, such as that of Hīmū, a Hindu employed by the Sūrs to lead their army, but Hīmū's case represents an oddity, whereas under Akbar the admission of Hindus to imperial service and to positions of importance, became a routine matter. Hindus such as Raja Man Singh and Raja Birbal for instance, held important positions in the empire and were placed in charge of armies with both Muslim and Hindu soldiers under their command. Outside of the military, large numbers of Hindus educated in the Persian language from the Khattri and Kayastha communities were also recruited into the bureaucracy, where promotion to all positions was based solely on merit, such as in the case of Raja Todar Mal, a Hindu Khattri.

The same was the case for artists seeking employment at the court. Tansen, a Hindu, was invited to the Mughal court by Akbar where he became the leading musician and exercised great influence on the future course of music at court. Similarly in painting, talent alone determined entry into the imperial atelier, and thus for instance, the Persian literary classic the *Khamsa* of Nizami, was painted by twenty Hindu and one Muslim artist of the imperial atelier.[90]

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[88] Withington in Foster, p. 223

[89] Bernier, *Travels*, pp.176-7, 287; See Gauvin Bailey, 'The Catholic Shrines of Agra', in *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Hong Kong, 1993, p. 134

[90] Barbara Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizami*, The British Library, London, p. 66

Moreover, the *madad-i ma'āsh*, grants of land traditionally reserved for Muslims were given to learned and religious men of all religions from Akbar's reign onwards. For example under the emperor Shah Jahan, at Banaras, in 1629, a *farmān* bestowed 280 *bīghas*[91] of land in *mauza* Qasur, *paragana* Banaras upon Malik Arjun Jangam of the Shaivate *math* (monastery) of Banaras.[92] Similarly, in a *farmān* of 1632, Shah Jahan made a tax-free grant of 89 *bīghas* 9 *biswas* in *mauza* Rajpur, *pargana* Mathura in favour of Gosaindās, the successor to the deceased Srichand, *sevak* of Madan Mohan temple.[93] This is followed in 1633 by a *parwana* of Khān Jahān ordering compliance with a *farmān* granting 135 *bīghas* of land to those connected with the temple of Madan Mohan.[94]

Hindus also had one less tax to pay, from the reign of Akbar. In 1579, Akbar abolished the *jizya*, the tax on non-Muslims, which was only reinstituted after the period under review during Aurangzeb's reign. This meant not only the removal of a financial burden from Hindus, especially the poorest taxpayers, but it did away with the symbolically unequal position of Muslims and non-Muslims within the Mughal empire'.[95]

Under such conditions then, people went about their daily lives in the Mughal capital cities. For the emperors this entailed adhering rigidly to a daily schedule that remained virtually unchanged from the reign of Akbar (who had devised it). This schedule did not differ from city to city, as all of the forts had buildings for the same functions even if there was some variation to the fort's layout - in the same way that on the march, the encampment that preceded the emperor and awaited his arrival contained tents with exactly the same functions as those in the encampment that the emperor was in.[96] Indeed, the interior of the imperial forts were very much a product of the Mughal's Turco-Mongol heritage - not only in terms of there being separate forts stationed in each of these cities with structures within them sharing identical functions to those in the other

[91] Irfan Habib computes the *bīgha* (i.e. *bīgha-i Ilāhī*, employed for *madad-i ma'āsh*, as opposed to the *bīgha-i daftarī*) to be 0.59 acres. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India: 1556-1707*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 406-419

[92] S. A. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents (AD 1628 – 59)*, Vol. II, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 38

[93] Ibid., p. 49

[94] Ibid., p. 53

[95] Sharma, *The Religious Policy*, p. 19

forts, but in the fact that like tents in an encampment these were free standing structures, some even set amidst greenery, and all contained within a large encircling wall, to quote one scholar in regard to this shared feature with Safavid palace architecture, 'They are so to speak, a translation of the tented Turco-Mongol culture into more durable materials. Nor was this concept of palace life confined to the Safavid shahs. To the east and the west alike, the same period saw very similar ideas find local expression in the Topkapi Saray in Ottoman Istanbul and in the Mughal palaces of Agra, Delhi and Lahore.'[97]

For all three emperors their day began at the *jharokā darshan*, a window of the fort that looked out of it, and was visible to the crowd that gathered outside daily to see the emperor seated at this window. This practice was borrowed by Akbar from a Hindu custom,[98] and it enabled subjects of all classes to view their ruler in person, and theoretically to put forward their grievances directly to him 'without any molestation from the mace-bearers'.[99] Miniatures from the reigns of Jahangir (Figure 68) and Shah Jahan (Figure 113) depict the scene outside the fort when the emperor first appeared in the morning, and support Abu l-Fazl's claim that, 'a diverse crowd, of 'soldiers, merchants, peasants, trades people, and other professions gather round the palace ... patiently waiting to catch a glimpse of His Majesty.'[100] While the stick-wielding guard in Figure 68 beating a member of the crowd however, suggests that Abu l-Fazl's claim that the public could bring forward their grievances to the emperor 'without molestation',

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[96] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 49; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 359-60

[97] Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2000, p. 433; For a good description of the magnificent tents in the Turco-Mongol camps see Chapter Two of Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002

[98] See Richard Lannoy, *The Speaking Tree: A Study of Indian Culture and Society*, 1971; reprint, Oxford University Press, London, 1980, p. 366

[99] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 165

[100] Ibid., p. 164; Similarly, De Laet writes that after sunrise Jahangir appeared at a 'window called Jarneo [jarokha]...he is then greeted by the people with the cry *Padsha Salament*, i.e. Long Live the King. ...the king looks down into this everyday [the bank of the river] when the sun rises, and himself greets the sun: the nobles gather here to greet the king, and take their stand on some rising ground" the other Hadys, i.e. horsemen, and the common people.' Joannes De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated by John S. Hoyland, 1928; reprint, Oriental Books Reprint, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 94 – 7; See also Figure 72 of Jahangir's *jharokā* which shows a diverse crowd. Lāhorī's description of Shah Jahan at the *jharokā* is similar (see Figure 118). And according to Lāhorī, upon Shah Jahan's appearance, 'the assembled masses in the plain beneath the window perform their obeisance.' Lāhorī, in 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 567

may not have been without exaggeration, the fact that the emperor could be seen daily in person by any of his subjects was an innovation on Akbar's part.

Moreover, the Mughal emperors for their part, always - and punctually, kept their appointment with their subjects. Even Jahangir, despite his regular drinking bouts late into the night, never failed to show-up, no matter how poorly he felt, come the next morning:

> For the sake of administering justice, I sate there for two or three sidereal hours and listened to the cries for redress, and ordered punishments on the oppressors according to their faults and crimes. Even in the time of weakness I have gone every day to the *jharokā*, though in great pain and sorrow, according to my fixed custom, and have looked on ease of body as something unlawful (*ḥarām*) for me.[101]

The emperors' next public appearance after the *jharokā darshan* was at the *dīwān-i 'ām*, the hall of public audience. For Akbar this was in the early afternoon,[102] although sometimes he would delay this, until the late afternoon, or at night.[103] In all cases the loud music of the musical ensemble stationed in *naqqārkhāna*, the gate that led to the grounds of the *dīwan-i 'ām*, would inform all that the emperor was ready to take his place at this hall of audience.[104] Like his appearance at the *jharokā*, the emperor could be viewed here by people of all classes.[105] However, here the common people were expected to be spectators and not participants and thus could not bring grievances to the emperor's attention, and moreover stood at the greatest distance away from the emperor, as everyone here stood according to their status. At the *dīwān-i 'ām*, Akbar attended to routine matters of state. Reports or requests were presented by nobles to the emperor, who would instruct them in the course of action that they should take.[106] At this hall, the emperor might also view performances organized for his enjoyment such as gladiatorial and wrestling contests, musical performances, and other forms of entertainment.

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[101] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 14
[102] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 165
[103] Ibid., p. 165
[104] Ibid., p. 166
[105] Ibid., p. 165
[106] Ibid., p. 165

Jahangir held audience at the *dīwān-i 'ām* similarly in the afternoon.[107] Once again as with Akbar's reign, the public were allowed inside the fort (see crowd behind the railing, Figure 64) to view the emperor presiding in the *dīwān-i 'ām*, where all present took 'their position according to their dignity and precedence. He stays here till evening hearing cases and listening to dispatches from the various provinces, which the Wazir reads to him.'[108] Shah Jahan on the other hand, appears to have had a more compact schedule and went to the public audience hall immediately upon leaving the *jharokā darshan*. His appearance in this hall was thus in the morning unlike his predecessors.[109] Here Shah Jahan would hold court for some four to five *ghaṛīs*.[110] Like under the previous two emperors, all could attend this court, standing according to rank, with the public standing at the greatest distance from the emperor.

All three emperors held court again later in the day at a private hall of audience, the *dīwān-i khāṣ*, to which the public were excluded. To this exclusive assembly, only the highest nobles, and invitees such as ambassadors, scholars, and foreign travellers who had sparked the emperor's curiosity, were admitted. Here, with all three emperors, the subjects discussed differed from the routine matters of state dealt with in the *dīwān-i 'ām*, in that they were deemed confidential, and moreover could, if the emperor so desired, be matters of purely personal interest to him. Thus, in this venue, Akbar discussed religion with the Jesuit Fathers,[111] and Mutribī, a poet visiting from Samarqand, took part here in the presence of Jahangir, in discussions on poetry, painting, and music. For Jahangir these meetings could also double as drinking sessions. Of this, much has been said by European visitors, to quote just one reference to these sessions by Sir Thomas Roe, 'At

[107] De Laet, *The Empire*, pp. 98-9; Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 184-5
[108] De Laet, *The Empire*, p. 99
[109] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 87-9
[110] Lāhorī, in 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 569; A *ghaṛi* was equal to twenty-four minutes – the sixtieth part of a twenty-four hour day, to quote Babur, 'The people of India divide the day and night into sixty parts, each of which is called a ghari.' Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 349; Qaisar, *The Indian Response*, pp. 67-8
[111] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 180; Father Rudolf Acquaviva of the First Jesuit Mission, in a letter dated 24 July, 1582, to Father Rui Vicente, the Father Provincial in Goa, writes, 'At present we have frequent discussions on divine law so that we have them at least once a week, till midnight and at times

night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich Plate. I was invited to that, but told, I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, drust not stay to venture my health.'[112] In the case of Shah Jahan, he would be shown works of art that had been made in the imperial *kārkhānas*, as well as architectural plans for building projects.[113] Attendance for those of the nobility senior enough to attend, appears to have been compulsory based on Bernier's comments. He writes, 'Every *Omrah* incurs the same pecuniary penalty for omitting to attend this assembly in the evening as for failing to be present at the *Am-Kas* in the morning'.[114]

In the hierarchy of the Mughal empire (and hence, in the capital cities) next in importance to the emperor came the princes and the nobles. They were in the service of the emperor throughout the provinces of empire, but their greatest single concentration was with the Mughal emperor in the capital city. Significantly, just as appointments to the nobility were made by the emperor without regard to religious, caste, or ethnic backgrounds, so too were all nobles present in the city irrespective of their backgrounds, rigidly expected to turn-up daily to court, and to comply with the same rules of behaviour there, which would be enforced by guards if necessary. Not only did this 'emphasize the distance between ruler and even the grandest of his subjects',[115] but amongst a nobility of diverse backgrounds, it had another equally important effect - by treating them as a homogenize body, it reminded them that being in the service of the Mughal emperor as his nobles, transcended religious and racial distinctions. No one could expect preferential treatment, even if they shared the same ethnicity or religion with the emperor.[116] For Hindu nobles,

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beyond that. ...The topics are both the Christian religion and their own'. John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Letters*, 1980, p. 110

[112] Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 68-9, 87, 93 105; Hawkins in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 116

[113] Lāhorī, in 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, Ibid.,p. 570

[114] Ibid., p. 265

[115] Richards, *New Cambridge History*, pp. 48-9

[116] Although not occurring in the capital city, the case of Shāh Abū l-Ma'ālī is a good example of a prominent Tūrānī noble from Humayun's time, daring to act in a familiar manner with the new emperor, Akbar. Badāunī writes, 'He [Abū l-Ma'alī] rode proudly up to him [Akbar], this was the cause for his being imprisoned', and on a later occasion, 'At this halting place Shāh 'Abū-l-ma'ālī, who had come to pay his respects to the emperor [Akbar], wished, in the madness of his brain, to overtake his majesty on horseback. The Emperor had him arrested and given in charge of Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān.' Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 4, 33

particularly new recruits, this would have been a reassuring message - that they would not be treated as second-class nobles, but were on par with everyone else at court.

Each day then, from their mansions, the princes and the nobles made their way to the fort, in what struck European spectators as a show of magnificence. For many of them, this would not have been a long journey, for in each of the cities, there was a concentration of mansions close to the fort. Bernier describes them on the move as follows:

> They... are never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horseback, and not unfrequently in a Paleky attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks; to carry the picquedent or spitoon, water to allay the *Omrah's* [noble's] thirst, and sometimes account-books and other papers.[117]

If they had not turned up early in the morning for the emperor's appearance at the *jharokā* (which does not appear to have been compulsory judging by the small numbers of nobles present, Figures 68, 113), they first saw the emperor at the public audience hall instead. Arriving before he did, nobles waited patiently for his appearance. When the emperor arrived, they along with all others present, saluted him with the *kurnish*, which entailed placing the palm of the right hand upon the forehead with the head bent downwards.[118] While for those nobles stationed within the Mughal capital city, attendance was compulsory, for those stationed outside, regular visits to the capital to attend were. This extended from 1593 onwards even to nobles serving along the frontiers of the empire.[119] Failure to attend for those outside of the capital could result in some sort of monetary punishment. For instance one noble, A'ẓam Khān, who had neglected to attend court for six years was ordered to do so and had Junagarh 'which he had conquered' taken away from him and given to Rājā Rāi Singh by way of punishment for his prolonged absence from court.[120] It was extremely rare for a noble to be exempted

[117] Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 213-4
[118] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 167-8
[119] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 400
[120] Ibid., p. 400

from attending court, as Bernier states, 'The only grandee whose daily attendance is dispensed with is my Agah, *Danechmend-Kan*, who enjoys this exemption in consequence of his being a man of letters, and of the time he necessarily devotes to his studies or to foreign affairs'.[121]

Given the compulsory nature of attendance, miniatures of the hall of public audience in session show how crowded the halls of audience could get. Figure 27 of Akbar at his *dīwān-i 'ām*, Figure 69 of Jahangir's, and Figure 119 of Shah Jahan's all show crowded scenes. Certainly, the size of the grounds and the surviving *dīwān-i 'āms* in Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri, and in the Agra and Lahore forts built by Shah Jahan that replaced earlier structures, and in the more recent Delhi fort, appear designed to accommodate large numbers of attendees.

At court, only the emperor was permitted to sit during court sessions and all miniatures show the nobles standing at court (see for instance Figures 38, 69, and 119). Roe, when he visited Shah Jahan's second son Prince Parvēz witnessed the same, and although his description is of the prince's audience hall and not that of the prince's father's, it is worth quoting here as a good example of the strictness with which etiquette was enforced at the Mughal court, and which extended even to visitors such as Roe:

> I told him, being an Embassador from the King of England to his father and passing by, I could not but in honour visite him: he replyed I was very welcome, and asked me many questions of the King, to which I replyed as I thought fit: but standing in that manner below, I demanded licence to come up and stand by him. He answered, If the King of Persia or the Great Turke were there, it might not be admitted. I replyed that I must be excused, for I doubted not hee would come downe and meete them at his gate; but I desired no more priviledge then the Embassadors of such Princes had, to whom I held myselfe equall: he protested that I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chaire, but I was answered no man ever sate in that place: but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease myselfe against a pillar, covered above with silver, that held up his Canopie.[122]

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[121] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 265

[122] Roe, *The Journal*, p. 18; see also Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 200

In contrast to the loud clashing of cymbals and drums, and trumpets of the ensemble that announced the emperor's arrival at the court, attendees also had to maintain absolute silence throughout proceedings – only the emperor could speak aloud at will. Manucci describing Shah Jahan's court, found that 'The silence preserved was astonishing, and the order devoid of confusion.' Manucci goes on to tell us that officials with 'sticks' were present to ensure 'that throughout the court nothing was done which could displease the king.'[123] Also, those with ailments that might disturb the silence were not to attend, as Muṭribī who visited the court of Jahangir when it was in Lahore writes, 'I've been troubled with colds, coughing, sneezing and yawning, and since during royal gatherings His Highness forbade these things, the heart was more inclined to ask permission to return home.'[124]

Similar strictness was involved in approaching the person of the emperor, which entailed observing a fixed set of salutations. Under Akbar three *taslīms* were performed. A *taslīm* entailed the placing of the back of one's right hand on the ground, and then raising the hand slowly until the palm touched the forehead as one stood erect.[125] In order to perform this, the body had to be inclined in the direction of the emperor (see Figure 25). This mode of salutation was inherited from Humayun's court. However, in 1591, a new form was added to the three *taslīms* by Akbar. This was the *sijda*, entailing prostration with the forehead and palms of hands touching the ground.[126] As the performance of the *sijda* was a contentious issue (as it resembled one stage in the Muslim prayer and was hence found objectionable by some Muslims), it was not to be performed in the public audience hall but in the private audience hall.[127] In this more exclusive hall, while it was still not compulsory, verbal pressure might be exerted to make one perform it and the emperor might also appear visibly displeased if one did not do so.[128]

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[123] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 89
[124] Muṭribī, *Conversations*, p. 89
[125] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 167
[126] Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 311; Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 167
[127] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn* Vol. I, p. 168
[128] For example, Badāūnī writes about his refusal to perform it, 'The Emperor gave Mirzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad five months' leave of absence. And when the aforementioned Mīrzā represented that my mother was dead, and asked leave for me to go and comfort my brothers and kindred, the Emperor reluctantly gave me permission. And when the Ṣadr Jahān repeatedly told me to do *sijdah*, and I did not do so, the Emperor

During Jahangir's reign, the three *taslīms* for the public audience hall (see Figure 69) and the three *taslīms* with the optional *sijda* for the private audience hall were retained. Thus Sir Thomas Roe records that the Persian ambassador at the private audience hall in the evening performed three *taslīms* followed by a *sijda.*[129]

Under Shah Jahan, the mode of saluting the emperor when approaching him in the hall of public audience changed. One of the first acts of Shah Jahan upon his accession in 1628 was to prohibit the *sijda* altogether and replace it with the *zamīnbos.* The *zamīnbos* also entailed prostrating the body, but unlike the *sijda*, one's head did not come into contact with the ground but with the back of one's hands, which were placed between the forehead and the ground. However, as this resembled the *sijda* (and thus resembled the Muslim prayer) this too was abolished and replaced with an extra *taslīm* in 1637. Thus four *taslīms* in total were performed when approaching Shah Jahan.[130]

All attendees were also made to stand according to rank and importance (Figure 119), hence as mentioned earlier, the common people at the court sessions stood at the greatest distance from the emperor. Those present were thus highly conscious of where they stood relative to the throne. Even visitors to the court, were also made aware of this, as they too were made to stand according to their status. Roe, who comes across in his journal as not a little envious of the attention showered on the Persian ambassador by Jahangir, thus notes that 'he [the Persian ambassador] returned with antike trickes to his

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said: 'Get along then.' So he was vexed with me and gave me nothing.' Badāuni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 389. And about Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī's refusal to perform it, Badāunī writes, 'At that time an imperial order was issued summoning Shaikh Ḥasan 'Alī to the imperial presence, and he accordingly came to Lahor, but when he paid his respects at court Nizām ud-dīn Aḥmad directed him to perform the *sijdah* (instead of the *kūrnish*), which so displeased him that he made his release from the obligation of performing the ceremony a condition of his attendance'. 'Abd ul-Qādir Badāuni, *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III, translated by T. Wolseley Haig, 1899; reprint, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, New Delhi, 1973, p. 193, see also pp. 137-8 & Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 309

[129] Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 62-3; Roe himself was pressured to perform it, 'some Officers called mee to Size-da, but the King answered no, no, in Persian. So with many gracious words sent, I returned to my place, you may judge the Kings liberalitie', Ibid., p. 214

[130] Manucci at his first appearance at court and introduction to Shah Jahan, thus observed 'when the secretary reached the place where is the railing, he made one bow... then when close to the throne, he made three bows'. Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 87-8

place farre inferiour to that allowed me, which was alone and above all subjects, which at first Asaph Chan would have put me by, but I maintayned it as my due' and on another occasion, 'I went to the Durbar to observe the Ambassador of Persia, I found him standing in his ranke, and often removed and set lower as great men came in.'[131]

In order to physically - and visually, separate attendees according to their rank and importance, a system of railings was also employed. Railings do not appear in miniatures from the reign of Akbar, but they do from Jahangir's reign (Figure 64), and in his memoirs, Jahangir provides a good description of the function of the railings at the court, and of his decision to use colour to further distinguish between the two in 1613:

> In the public audience hall there were two railings (*mahjar*) of wood. Inside the first, Amirs, ambassadors, and people of honour sat, and no one entered the circle without an order. Within the second railing, which is broader than the first, the mansabdars of inferior rank, ahadis, and those who had work to do are admitted. Outside this railing stand the servants of the Amirs and all the people who may enter the Diwankhana. As there was no difference between the first and second railings, it occurred to me that I should decorate the first with silver.[132]

Hawkins who was in Agra from 1609 to 1611 and provides us with the earliest traveller's description of the system of railings, tells us that those within the first railing closest to the emperor were placed there by 'his Lieutenant-General' and those within the second by 'officers'. These 'officers' or guards were present to enforce the system if necessary (see guards with staves threatening attendees behind the red rail, Figure 64), as Hawkins writes, 'At these rayles there are many doores kept by porters [guards], who have white rods to keepe men in order.'[133] Indeed, Hawkins was well aware of this, having been demoted from standing within the first railing during his time in Agra, and on a later occasion evicted from the court altogether after being discovered by one of the guards to have consumed alcohol prior to his arrival.[134]

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[131] Thomas Roe, *The Journal*, p. 67
[132] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 242
[133] Hawkins in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 115
[134] Ibid., p. 91; John Jourdain, *The Journal*, pp. 156-7; Another Englishman fared far worse at the hands of the guards in 1615. According to Nicholas Withington, William Edwards, an employee of the Company and in charge of their affairs in India, 'was kicked and spurned by the King's porters out of the courte-gates, to the unrecoverable disgrace of our Kinge and nation' for inappropriate behaviour. Nicholas

Finally on the subject of court attendance for the nobility, during the reign of Shah Jahan, the halls of public audience used by Akbar and Jahangir, and to which Jahangir had added railings were replaced by pillared halls open on three sides, called in Persian a *chihal-sitūn* (lit. forty-pillars). The system of railings was maintained by Shah Jahan except now, the most important attendees were shielded from the elements by a permanent structure, as 'Ināyat Khān writes, '...during the reigns of the late Emperors Akbar and Jahangir, no coverings had existed over the area reserved for those standing in the royal presence; and accordingly many had to bear the hardship of rain in the monsoon, and heat in the summer. To alleviate this, His Majesty [Shah Jahan] ordered a spacious Forty-Pillared Hall [*chihal-sitūn*] to be built [in the Agra Fort]. ...Orders were issued that a similar hall should be built in front of the balcony at the Lahore capital..'.[135] Thus, both the Lahore and Agra public audience halls, and the one built later in the Red Fort at Delhi closely resembled each other.[136] The *chihal-sitūn* in affording protection against the elements for some, provided a further visual division between ranks, for now attendees were not only divided according to importance by the two railings, but the forty-pillared hall meant that some - the most important that is, stood inside it undercover within the first set of railings, whilst those within the second railing stood outside of it in the courtyard as did those further away still, beyond the second railing (see Figure 138, note that the second railing is in the courtyard).

When not at court, all nobles took turns to mount guard at the fort, which was essential for the security of the emperor and his family, and thus an important duty, reflected in the fact that Abu l-Fazl devotes a whole chapter to it in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. It also ensured that *manṣabdārs* outside of the capital had to pay a visit to the capital at some point for their

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Withington, in Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 229-30; Indians too were subjected to similar treatment from the guards, as Manucci comments regarding their treatment of a musician, 'This musician was worried by the palace gate-keepers, who are exceedingly rude to anyone who requires entrance to court. They will not permit anyone's entrance or exit without some douceur, excepting the officials, to whom they can say nothing for fear of beating.' Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, pp. 182-3

[135] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 25

[136] For a comparison of ground and elevation plans of the Halls of Public Audience in Agra, Delhi, and Lahore see Ebba Koch, 'Diwan-i Amm and Chihil Sutun: The Audience Halls of Shah Jahan', in *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, Vol. 11, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1994, pp. 151-2

turn, although those with armies engaged in campaign or at the frontiers of the empire were exempt from mounting guard.[137] Tavernier provides a clear description of the routine involved for those mounting guard, 'The principal nobles mount guard every Monday, each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of the week. Some of these nobles command 5,000 or 6,000 horses and encamp under their tents around the town'.[138] Later he writes, 'The first room is, as I have elsewhere said, surrounded by porticoes with small rooms connected with them, and here it is that the Omarahs stay while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the Omarahs mounts guard every week. He disposes, both in the Court as also about the Emperor's palace or tent when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, and many elephants. The best of these Omrahs command 2,000 horses, but when a prince of the blood royal is on guard, he commands up to 6,000.'[139]

No exceptions were made, and Bernier's 'Agah' or employer, exempted from daily attendance at court for the reasons mentioned, was nevertheless 'on Wednesdays, the day of the week on which he mounts guard, he attends in the same manner as other *Omrahs.*' Absence without a proper excuse according to Abu l-Fazl, would result in a fine of one week's pay.[140] The mounting of the guard was supposed to be considered an honourable duty by those whose turn it was, giving them, in Abu l-Fazl's words, 'an opportunity to come to court, to partake of the liberality of His Majesty.'[141] The emperor inspected the guards in person,[142] and the nobles while on duty might also receive their meals sent from the table of the emperor,[143]considered a great honour (see Chapter Five: Cuisine).

These Mughal nobles and princes were all part of the same system of graded ranks – the *manṣabdārī* system. In the Mughal empire, '[a]lmost the whole nobility, the bureaucracy as well as the military hierarchy, held *manṣabs.*'[144] The only exception to this out of the

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[137] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol I, p. 267
[138] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 126
[139] Ibid., p. 302-3; Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 184
[140] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 267
[141] Ibid., p. 267
[142] Ibid., p. 267
[143] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. .II, p. 310
[144] Ali, *Mughal Nobility*, p. 7

whole range of government was the judiciary, which was run by non-*manṣab* holding maulvis and qazis.[145] The princes held the highest *manṣabs*, and the nobles, *manṣabs* of a thousand and more, below them and not considered nobles were *manṣab* holders of hundreds down to ten. This system, with ranks indicated by decimals called *ẕāt* was a continuation of the Turco-Mongolian system of military ranks and organization.[146] Under Akbar and his successors another number was added called *sawār* related to the number of horsemen that the *manṣab* holder had to provide. Within the *sawār* there were a further three grades indicating the number of horses (including spares) that each of these horsemen was required to bring.

The majority of nobles were not paid a cash salary by the emperor, but were given, as Percival Spear writes, 'an assignment on the land revenue of a given area. It was not, in fact, as well as in theory, a landed estate or a permanent property, but merely a lien on the revenue of that area in lieu of a cash salary.'[147] From the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* we do have salary figures for the year 1595 of Akbar's reign, a sample of which is provided in Table 1 below. These salaries were meant to provide the *manṣabdār* with the means to maintain himself, his family, and his personal establishment, while the expense of maintaining the horsemen demanded by his *sawār* rank was met by separate payments he received specifically for this purpose.[148] They stand in sharp contrast to the wages of skilled and unskilled labourers provided in Table 2:

Table 1: Salaries for *Manṣabdārs* from Abu l-Fazl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (c. 1595)

Zat	**Class**[149]	**Monthly Salary (in Rupees)**

[145] Percival Spear, 'The Mughal 'Mansabdari' System', in Edmund Leach and S. N. Mukherjee (eds.), *Elites in South Asia*, Cambridge University Press, London, p. 11

[146] Ibid., p. 3; see also Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, p. 77

[147] Percival Spear in Leach and Mukherjee (eds.), *Elites*, p. 4

[148] Ali, *Mughal Nobility*, p. 44

[149] Class here, is an indication of three *sawar* numbers relative to the *ẕāt*, to quote Abu l-Fazl, 'An officer whose contingent comes up to his *manṣab*, is put into the first class of his rank; if his contingent is half and

10,000 (Prince Salīm)	-	60,000
8,000 (Prince Murād)	-	50,000
7,000 (Prince Dāniyāl)	-	45,000
5,000	I	30,000
5,000	II	29,000
5,000	III	28,000
3,000	I	17,000
3,000	II	16,800
3,000	III	16,700
1,000	I	8,200
1,000	II	8,100
1,000	III	8,000

For the salaries after the time of the *Ā'īn*, i.e. 1595, Irfan Habib in his study of the *manṣab* salaries during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, states that 'The *dhat* [*zāt*] pay scales of 1595 (the *Ā'īn*) and 1605 continued in effect until 1638' and that 'Under the new schedules of 1638/1641 there was a net reduction of less than 10% on *dhat* pay'.[150] *Manṣab* salaries then, fell slightly over the hundred-year period covered by this thesis.

Given that the capital cities were also important commercial centres a vast number of traders and merchants congregated there, not only from amongst the local population of the city, but many like Banārasīdās from elsewhere in the empire, as well as from abroad, to quote Monserrate on Lahore, 'It is crowded with merchants, who foregather there from all over Asia',[151] and Bernier on a caravanserai in Delhi, 'This place is the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Uzbek, and other foreign merchants'.[152] Banārasīdās' description of his own life provides us with an idea of the life of a trader in the bazaars of the capital cities.

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upwards of the fixed number, he is put into the second class; the third class contains those contingents which are still less'. Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 248

[150] Irfan Habib, 'Mansab Salary Scales under Jahangir and Shah Jahan', in *Islamic Culture*, vol. LIX, no. 2, 1985, pp. 227-8

[151] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 159

[152] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 281

In Agra, Banārasīdās' business consisted of selling in the bazaars, jewellery and sometimes cloth which he had purchased for resale from his hometown of Jaunpur. From his account we get a picture of the hard work involved, to quote him describing a two year partnership in Agra, 'We were busy from morning to night walking up and down the Agra bazaar, ever on lookout for profitable deals. Gradually we set up a brisk trade in rubies, manis and the dust of precious stones',[153] and later during six months in Varanasi, 'We toiled hard, shunning all rest. We did not even take time off for our midday meal, always postponing it till late in the day'[154]and later 'We remained in Patna for over six months. But business did not turn out the way we had hoped. We had to work long and hard for petty insignificant deals'.[155]

Banārasīdās' activities in the bazaar place were essentially those of a young trader starting out in life. His account of his dealings with Sahu Sabal Singh, a wealthy Agra merchant, on the other hand, provides us with a brief, although invaluable, insight into the life of a merchant at the other end of the wealth scale from Banārasīdās. For business purposes, Banārasīdās had to turn up at the house of Sahu Singh daily, who held court and received visitors in the manner of a Mughal noble, accompanied by musicians and singers. Unlike Banārasīdās, for whom business meant frequenting the bazaar places in person, we see that Sahu Singh, as a wealthy merchant, could deal with business matters from the comfort of his luxurious home, to which the likes of Banārasīdās would flock.

Banārasīdās' account is also informative of the relative ease with which traders and merchants with their goods moved from one urban centre to another in pursuit of business (in his case, between the cities of Jaunpur, Agra, Varanasi and Patna), which a unified and stable empire like that of the Mughals no doubt facilitated. The scale of Banārasīdās' business in his early days is also informative if we compare his capital to that of the wages of nobles and various types of labourers. The stock of jewels, cloth and oil purchased for him by his father for his first trading trip to Agra in 1610 cost 200

[153] Ibid., p. 51
[154] Ibid., pp. 64-5
[155] Ibid., p. 66

rupees.[156] According to Banārasīdās he made no profit from this trip.[157] In 1613, at the end of a partnership in Agra with a fellow Jain merchant, Banārasīdās mentions that over a two year period he had made over 200 rupees but 'which had all been consumed in expenses, and at the end I had no earnings left.'[158] Unfortunately, Banārsīdās does not tell us how he went from a petty trader to the successful merchant that he claims he is at the end of his autobiography, considering it an inappropriate topic to dwell on, so larger sums of money are not ever mentioned.

Also present in the cities were many professionals. Members of some of these professions like physicians might gain a living through attachment to a noble. The number of such cases, however, is likely to have been representative of only a minority of the total number in each profession. Those few attached to nobles, as in the medical profession, tended to be more prosperous, and in addition, enjoyed greater social prestige.[159] In fact, they might even become nobles themselves, such as Ḥakīm Muzaffar Ardastānī, who under Jahangir became a *manṣabdār* with the rank of '3,000 personal and 1,000 horse',[160] and Ḥakīm Fatḥu'llāh who was promoted to the rank of 1000 personal and 300 horse.[161] The most successful example is Muqarrab Khān, a surgeon who pursued his profession even after attaining high *manṣabs*. He was a favourite of Jahangir who refers to him at various times in his memoirs as 'one of my confidential old servants' and who promoted him to the rank of 5,000/2,500,[162] and then in later years to the governorships of Gujarat,[163] Bihar,[164]and Agra.[165]

Nevertheless, for a doctor, the large populations of the major cities made it possible to earn a successful living in private practice without resorting to such employment under a

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[156] Ibid., pp. 42-3
[157] Ibid., p. 48
[158] Ibid., p. 52
[159] Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire', from the proceedings of the 36th session of the *Indian History Congress*, 1975, p. 128
[160] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol I, p. 79; Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, p. 237
[161] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 71; Badāuni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, p. 237
[162] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 303
[163] Ibid., p. 331
[164] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 38
[165] Ibid., p. 285

noble, as Niccolao Manucci's case seems to indicate. Manucci, who had set up a private practice in Lahore where he treated nobles and their families and others, appears to have earned in excess of what he could hope to earn in the employ of a noble. Thus when approached by Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the governor of Lahore, to enter his service as a physician, he declined the offer for, 'by God's blessing my practice was successful', he writes.[166] That Manucci, moved from Agra to Lahore to set up shop as a doctor because of the absence a sizable European population there who might discover him for a charlatan, is like Banārasīdās, further proof of the ease with which people moved from city to city in the empire in pursuit of their livelihood.

For scholars too there existed the opportunity to gain employment at court. Once again only a small minority were employed at the court and of these an even smaller number were successful enough to join the ranks of the nobility. Nevertheless, the opportunity did exist. One example is the historian Abu l-Fazl during the reign of Akbar. In fact, Abu l-Fazl was so successful and influential at court, that Salīm, the future emperor Jahangir, considered it beneficial for hopes of succeeding Akbar to have him killed.[167]

The vast majority of scholars however, had to settle for more modest success, such as Abu l-Fazl's colleague Badauni. He records, that upon entering the service of the court both he and Abu l-Fazl received *manṣabs* of twenty. Yet according to Badauni, while Abu l-Fazl rose to become a *manṣab* of two thousand, 'and the dignity of *Wazir*', he [Badauni] could not manage to continue in the service'.[168] Badauni's hopes then lay in securing a *madad-i maʿāsh* (grant of land, see above) but owing to 'the unfriendly disposition' of the *ṣadr* was granted 1000 *bīgahs* of land which he likened to a *manṣab* of twenty.[169] He writes, 'I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be always in attendance on the Court, to which the Emperor[Akbar] replied that he would also give me subsidies and presents during marches. ...As for the presents which I was

[166] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 167
[167] Jahāngir, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 32
[168] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 209
[169] Ibid., p. 209

promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice'.[170]

Perhaps the largest part of the population of the capital cities was made up of craftsmen, skilled and unskilled labourers, and servants. The vastness and the diversity of this section of the urban population had struck Babur:

> Another nice thing [about India] is the unlimited numbers of craftsmen and practitioners of every trade. For every labor and every product there is an established group who have been practicing the craft or professing that trade for generations. For instance in the *Zafarnama*, Mulla Sharaf writes eloquently that during Temur Beg's building of the stone mosque two hundred stonemasons from Azerbaijan, Fars, Hindustan, and other places were employed on it daily. In Agra alone there were 680 stonemasons at work on my building every day. Aside from that, in Agra, Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Koil, 1,491 stonemasons were laboring on my buildings. There are similar vast numbers of every type of craftsman and laborers of every description in Hindustan.[171]

The state projects in Agra, Lahore, and Delhi, which were to increase sharply in number and scale since Babur and Humayun's reigns, were places where skilled and unskilled labourers could be found employed in large numbers for long periods of time in the capital cities. Abu l-Fazl in the *Akbarnāma*, states that three to four thousand builders and labourers worked on the construction of Akbar's Agra Fort.[172] Muḥammad 'Arif Qandahārī, Abu l-Fazl's contemporary, provides a useful breakdown of the work-force at the same construction site, stating that 'two thousand stone-cutters and the same number of sculptors and masons were engaged for the work. Besides them, eight thousand labourers were employed to bring stones for its construction in time.'[173] In the reign of Shah Jahan, Tavernier who claims to have been in Agra for the commencement and completion of work on the Taj Mahal, tells us that it took twenty thousand men working

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[170] Ibid., p. 210

[171] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 351-2; Likewise, Father Monserrate who visited India during the reign of Akbar writes of Lahore that 'there is no art or craft useful to human life which is not practiced there.' Monserrate, *The Commentary*, pp. 159-60

[172] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 373

[173] Qandahārī, *Tarīkh*, p. 181

incessantly twenty-two years to complete.[174] Miniatures showing construction work on such projects (Figures 30, 31, and 37) in the Mughal capital cities depict male labourers engaged in a wide variety of skilled, and unskilled tasks, as well as unskilled female labourers working alongside them on the construction sites.

In addition to large projects like tombs and the forts, public works - the construction and upkeep of roads, and water channels/tanks by the state for the residents of the city, would also have been a source of employment for many. So would the construction of housing, such as the mansions of the nobility - an extreme example being the Lahore mansion of the noble Āṣaf Khān, Shah Jahan's father-in-law, which took ten years to build at a cost of two million rupees according to the *Shāh Jahān-nāma*.[175]

We must not forget the *kārkhānas* or imperial workshops located in the fort, which also employed 'all sorts of craftsmen', to quote Monserrate, paid by the state and which produced a wide variety of products – perfume, armour, weaponry, clothes, etc.[176] Many others were employed in the fort as servants and for the upkeep of horses, camels, and elephants. The majority of craftsmen in the capital cities did not work in the imperial *kārkhānas*, however, but were home-based instead.[177] Tools and equipment such as potter's wheels or the Indian style of loom were generally not cumbersome or complex devices, and thus could easily be operated in a domestic environment, operated by members of the same family.[178]

For the reign of Akbar mention of wages for skilled and unskilled workers is to be found dispersed through the first volume of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. Unfortunately for skilled labour, in most cases the wage per unit of completed work is provided, making comparison difficult with the wages of unskilled labour for whom wages are provided per unit of

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[174] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 91
[175] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 122
[176] Letter from Father Monserrate to the Father Provincial Goa, cc. March-April, 1580, in John Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, p. 37; Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 58
[177] Neelam Chaudhary, *Labour in Mughal India*, Aravali Books International, New Delhi, 1998, p. 2
[178] A *Razmnāma* miniature, c. 1600 shows laundrymen working at home. Or. 12076, folio 48a, British Museum, London.

time, either daily or monthly. The table below is a sample drawn from professions for which the daily or monthly wage has been provided (where only the monthly wage is provided by Abu l-Fazl, I have divided it by thirty to arrive at an approximate daily rate, similarly where only the daily wage has been provided, I have multiplied it by thirty. Such cases I have marked with an asterisk):

Table 2: Sample of wages per day/month for skilled and unskilled workers mentioned in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (c. 1595)

Occupation	Daily Wage	Monthly Wage
Bamboo cutter	2 *dāms*[179]	60 *dāms**
Thatcher	3 *d*	90 *d**
Water carrier (on building-site)	2 *d*	60 *d**
(The following are occupations in the Royal Stables)		
Mahout (Mast Elephant)	6.66 *d**	200 *d*
Camel Driver (First Class)	13.33 *d**	400 *d*
Sweeper (horse stable)	2.16 *d**	65 *d*
Water carrier (horse stable)	3.33 *d**	100 *d*

Those employed in the fort may have received more (for instance compare the wages of a water carrier in the Royal Stables with those of a water carrier on a building site) than those employed outside, and there was also a chance of receiving a reward, as in the case of those working in the stables when the emperor took mount of a horse or elephant.[180] There were some employed in the fort nevertheless who earned particularly low wages, such as the *bho'ī* (stable hand) of a female elephant who earned a mere 50 *dāms* a month (1.67d a day), and the lowest paid *chelā* (slave) 1*d* a day.[181]

[179] 'A *dām* was computed at 40 to a rupee in Akbar's time around 1595, but had risen in value to 30 towards the end of Jahangir's reign. By the 1660s, it had gone up further to 16 for a rupee.' Satish Chandra, 'Standard of Living: Mughal India', in Raychaudhuri & Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic*, Vol. I, p. 464

[180] Abū l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 150

[181] Ibid., p. 264

The following table is a sample of wages for skilled workers provided in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. They are paid per *gaz*.[182] While it is not possible to compare wages paid per unit of measure for skilled workers with those paid per unit of time for unskilled workers, when viewed next to the wages of the nobility provided above they give us a good idea of the vast gulf in income between the Mughal nobility and servants, skilled and unskilled workers, who formed perhaps the bulk of the urban population.

Table 3: Sample of wages per *gaz* for skilled workers mentioned in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (c. 1595)

Bricklayer, if employed for building fortresses with battlements	4 *dām* per *gaz*
Bricklayer, if employed for laying foundations	2 *d* per *gaz*
Bricklayer, if employed for all other walls	2 *d* per *gaz*
Stone Mason, for plain work	5 *d* per *gaz*
Arra-kash (one who saws beams), for job work	2 *d* per *gaz*

In conclusion, the inhabitants of the Mughal capital cities went about their everyday activities during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, in relative peace, free from foreign invaders, and successfully defended from the few attacks by rebellious Mughal princes and nobles, except for the siege of Agra by Aurangzeb and Murād at the end of the period under review (which in any case appears not to have been a bloody affair for the city's inhabitants). People were also allowed to worship and proselytize, free of threat from religious persecution, and in the case of non-Muslims without the obligation of paying the *jizya*, due to its abolishment by Akbar midway through his reign. At the same time employment at all levels of government was possible, irrespective of religious beliefs, and non-Muslims, unlike the Delhi Sultanate period and during Babur and Humayun's reigns, held many of the most important positions in the empire. This

[182] The *gaz* of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* is equivalent to 41 *angushts* or finger-breadths. Unfortunately, we are not supplied with the measurement for a finger-breadth by Abu l-Fazl. Irfan Habib from his study of the sources computes the measurement of Robert Hughs in 160-21 to be 32.33 or 32.125 inches, and that of Pelsaert six years later at 32.126 inches. Habib, *The Agrarian*, pp. 406-419

was the case not just with government positions, but also in the arts, where painters and musicians were employed in large numbers by the emperor based on their ability alone. Even charitable grants, the *madad-i ma'āsh*, traditionally reserved for Muslims, were awarded irrespective of religious beliefs.

In addition, from Akbar's reign and throughout the period, building projects on an unprecedented scale, such as the construction of imperial forts, tombs, mosques, mansions, and roads and water tanks and their upkeep, were a constant source of employment for many in the capital cities. However, and significantly, from what little we know of the wages provided in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* for skilled and unskilled labourers and for the Mughal nobility, there appears to have been a vast difference in wealth between the small group at the top of the empire's hierarchy, on the one hand, and what was perhaps the bulk of the urban population on the other. There were, of course, many in between, such as professionals, and traders and merchants.

At the same time, within the imperial fort, arguably the most imposing structure in each of these cities, the Mughal emperors when present, adhered uncompromisingly to a daily schedule devised by Akbar, and expected their nobles in the city to attend and behave at court in a certain manner. This meant a public and daily display of obedience by the nobles – firstly by obeying the order to attend, and when present, complying with the strict rules of attendance - performing obeisance when approaching the emperor, standing throughout in an allocated spot, and remaining silent. Like the appointments to office made by the emperor, the strict and uncompromising enforcement of attendance and court etiquette paid no heed to caste, religious and ethnic distinctions that the noble might deem himself as belonging to, thereby playing a homogenizing role amongst a nobility recruited from diverse backgrounds.

Chapter Three: Housing

In the preceding chapter, some of the most visually prominent structures in the capital cities were mentioned, such as the imperial fort in each of these cities, tombs in Agra and Delhi, and the main mosque in Fatehpur Sikri. These were examples of monumental architecture, and were thus representative of only a tiny fraction of the total number of buildings in the Mughal capital cities, where the vast majority of buildings were in fact forms of domestic architecture - whether they were the large and luxurious mansions of the nobility and of wealthy nobles, or small huts belonging to servants, labourers, foot soldiers and others. To this list, we must also add the imperial fort, for amongst its various functions was that of residence for the emperor and his family, who lived in the private section of the fort, segregated from its public section, where the nobles met with the emperor daily, and where a multitude of people employed in various capacities in the fort turned up each day for work.

Our knowledge of housing in the Mughal capital cities and life within them must mostly be derived from written sources and from Mughal miniature paintings. This is because only a few very incomplete examples of domestic architecture have survived in Fatehpur Sikri, and as the remnants of mansions, cannot be considered representative of housing in general. In fact, in this lies the reason for their survival, as the housing of the common people tended to be constructed from cheaper and less durable materials. For our purpose, the situation concerning the fort is only marginally better, for despite the existence today of the imperial forts in each of the former capital cities, they are essentially shells of their former selves, unadorned by carpets and ornaments, and entire buildings in their interiors have changed since. Shah Jahan replaced many of the structures built by his predecessors with his own, and of many of Shah Jahan's own structures, much damage was inflicted in the nineteenth century. For example, in the Red

Fort today, walls that once divided the interior into a series of quadrangles or courtyards (shown in Figure 138) no longer exist.[1] In addition, decorative features that were a part of some of these buildings such as wall paintings and gilded ceilings have either been removed or have been considerably defaced.

Various Mughal miniatures on the other hand, depict activities within the private sections of the imperial forts and within mansions. We can see in these paintings, women in the harem, and a noble entertaining visitors in his *dīwānkhāna* or sitting-room for instance. None of these details can be gleaned from empty buildings and ruins. In addition, the housing of the common people, which has not survived, is shown in several miniatures. It should be noted, however, that although depictions of houses in the distance occur in the miniatures more frequently than those in the foreground, these must be treated with extreme caution because of the possibility that the Mughal artist in emulating European methods of perspective may also have incorporated elements of a European cityscape (see Figure 101, for one such instance).

Equally useful are the written sources. Although detailed descriptions of houses and the activities of residents within them appear to have been too familiar and mundane a subject for the Indian writer of the day to concern himself with, European travellers to India were less discriminating. This is because Indian housing of all sorts, and life within them – whether of the rich or poor, were all exotic to them, and therefore equally worthy of description or at least a brief mention. For life within the private section of the fort to which Europeans had no access, Abu l-Fazl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, contains the most information, and Banārasīdās' account offers the most information on life in the dwellings of merchants and traders.

Amongst the various functions of the imperial forts in each of the Mughal capital cities was that of residence for the Mughal emperor, his wives, young sons (adult princes resided separately in mansions of their own or were posted away from the capital city), daughters, and other female relatives – mothers, sisters, and aunts. The part of the fort

[1] Asher, *The New Cambridge*, p. 194

where they lived was segregated from the public section. This private section of the fort was the *ḥaram sarā*, or harem. In Agra, Lahore, and Delhi, it was located at the far end of the fort - away from the main entrance that is, on the side overlooking the river. In Fatehpur, although there was no river, the private area was similarly away from the main entrance to the fort that led directly to the grounds of the *dīwān-i 'ām*.

While nobles and those employed at the fort in various capacities such as in the workshops and stables, flocked to the public section of the fort each day, the private section in contrast, and in keeping with Islamic practices, was a strictly restricted part of the fort and thus heavily guarded, and any attempt to enter this section by most of those who had been permitted entry into the public section would certainly have been blocked by force. The only males depicted in Mughal miniatures within this section and amongst the women folk who resided here, are the emperor and his sons (for instance, see Figure 84) – no other male is ever shown in this exclusive environment, and with only a few exceptions no male visitors save those of the imperial family are mentioned in the written sources as being permitted entry.[2] Wives of nobles and other women were on the other hand, permitted to visit, but even this was strictly monitored. Potential female visitors had first to notify the servants of the harem of their wish to visit. Their request was then passed on to the officers of the palace, and those eligible would be allowed entry. Abu l-Fazl states that 'some women of rank obtain permission to remain there for a whole month'.[3]

We know much about the organization and running of the harem from the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, where Abu l-Fazl has devoted a chapter to the subject. According to Abu l-Fazl, each of the women of the harem was housed in separate apartments. They were then divided into sections and 'kept attentive to their duties', although we are not told what their specific duties were. Each section was placed under the charge of a female *dārogha* (supervisor), one of whom was selected for the duties of a clerk.[4] In addition to gifts from the emperor,

[2] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 278, 351
[3] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 47
[4] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 46

the women of the harem also received a salary. During the reign of Akbar, the highest rank received 1028 to 1610 rupees per month, and at the other end of the scale, women who were employed in the harem as servants received 20 to 51 rupees and others 2 to 40 rupees.[5] If one of the women of the harem wanted something that was within the limits of her salary, she applied to one of the *taḥwīldārs* (treasurers) of the harem. The *taḥwīldār* then sent a memorandum to the clerk of the Private Hall of Audience who was in charge of the expenditure of the harem. After checking it, the clerk made the payment in cash.[6] However, such an allowance from the emperor, as mentioned by Abu l-Fazl in the case of Akbar, was supplemented from sources outside of the harem. Many of the women married into the harem were from important and wealthy families who would probably have sent them gifts regularly. In the case of Jahangir's mother, Jodhbai,[7] and his wife, Nur Jahan, we know that a large income was also derived from engaging in trade, not just inland but also overseas, which they managed from the imperial harem.[8]

Indeed, even though the harem was a restricted area and the women of the harem could not be seen by males outside of the imperial family, they still had the ability to interact and affect the world outside of the harem, and through screened windows they were afforded a view of proceedings at court, and thus they could see and hear for themselves all of the principal players in the running of the empire (rather than merely base their judgement on anecdotes recounted to them by the emperor and princes). For example, Muṭribī, tells us that upon his first visit to the Mughal court at Lahore from Samarqand, he was sent five hundred rupees by Nur Jahan by way of her slave-girls,[9] and writing during the same reign, Roe makes mention of being observed by two women, although it would not have been possible for him to know that they were Jahangir's 'wives', in spite of Roe identifying them so:

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[5] Ibid., p. 46
[6] Ibid., p. 46
[7] Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 129-30, Withington, in Foster, p. 203
[8] Ellison Banks Findly, *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1993, p. 110
[9] Muṭribī, *Conversations*, pp. 19-20

> [a]t one side in a window were his two principall wives, whose curiositie made them breake little holes in a grate of Reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close, now one eye, now another; sometime I could discerne the full proportion. They were indifferently white, blacke haire smoothed up, but if I had had no other light, their Diamonds and Pearles had sufficed, to shew them.[10]

As the harem was the residence of the emperor and his family, its security was obviously of the highest priority. Abu l-Fazl tells us that stationed inside the harem were female guards (*urdū begī*), and that outside eunuchs stood guard (such as Ni'amāt, who bolted the door of the harem from the inside to prevent the armed Ādham Khān entering while Akbar napped[11]).[12] Guarding at a distance further away we are told there were Rajputs and at the gates of the fort more guards were stationed, besides the usual contingent of nobles and their soldiers, whose turn it was to guard the fort.[13] A miniature depicting the birth of Salīm (Jahangir) in Akbar's harem to Jodhbai provides us with a good idea of the harem's restricted nature (Figure 66). A wall separates the harem from the crowd of men gathered outside, consisting of astrologers and servants bearing trays. At the entrance to the harem, behind a red cloth sheet, a female guard stands slightly obscured with the palms of her hands resting on a staff. Within the harem amongst the crowd of women that has gathered to witness the birth, another female guard larger than those immediately around her, surveys the scene holding in her right hand a fan and a staff. Her facial features are Mongoloid, which cannot be attributed to artistic conventions, as she alone bears such facial features just as the Rajput mother of the newly born Salīm is depicted with a complexion darker than the majority of the women in the picture. Indeed, the female guards, the *urdū begī*, stationed inside of the harem were Central Asians, recruited for their strong physique.[14] To her right, another female guard takes in the scene with her hand resting on a staff. Outside of the harem, the miniature shows a sole male guard with a sheathed sword nestled in his arms. From the left side on which his tunic is bound (see

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[10] Roe, *The Journal*, p. 72
[11] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 270
[12] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 46-7
[13] Ibid., pp. 45-6
[14] R. Nath, *Private Life of the Mughals*, The Historical Research Documentation Programme, Jaipur, 1996, p. 7; Figure 89 of Jahangir and Khurram inside the harem similarly shows two women holding staffs, on either side of the activities taking place in the centre of the painting.

Chapter Four: Dress), the guard can be identified as a Hindu, and therefore presumably a Rajput guard as mentioned by Abu l-Fazl.

Beyond the fort that was the residence of emperor and his family, people lived throughout the capital city in quarters, into which the city was divided. This also included the bazaars, where some shopkeepers and their families resided above their shops, and thus as Nurul Hasan points out, there was in these cities no strict division of quarters into commercial and residential.[15] The city's quarters were not just contained within the city walls, but had spread outside of it as well.[16] Such 'suburbs' or quarters, known as *maḥalla* during and before the period, had arisen in various ways in these cities. They might be formed by people settling around the shrine of a holy man to whom they owed allegiance, such as in the case of the Chiragh-Delhi and Nizamuddin quarters in Delhi dating back to the Delhi Sultanate period, or they might be the result of people of the same caste or religious sect settling in the same area. This is evident in Banārasīdās' autobiography, where he tells us that upon reaching Fatehpur Sikri, he sought out that part of the city where his fellow Oswal Jains lived.[17] They might also arise from a cluster of mansions belonging to the nobility, which provided a livelihood to those who had come and made their dwellings around the walls of the mansion.[18] This is something that Jourdain observed about Agra, 'round aboute his howse [mansion] lyeth all his servannts, every one in his owne howse, with their horses',[19] and Bernier visiting Delhi half a century later similarly noted, '[i]ntermixed with these different houses [mansions] is an immense number of smaller ones, built of mud and thatched straw, in which lodge the common troopers, and all that vast multitude of servants'.[20]

Due to the predominance of one community, e.g. Oswal Jains, nobility, etc., each quarter had a distinct character of its own, which was further reinforced by the fact that 'the

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[15] S. Nurul Hasan, 'The Morphology of a Mediaval Indian City: A Case Study of Shahajahanabad in the 18th and early 19th Century', in *Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress 1984*, University of Delhi, Delhi, 1985, pp. 308-9
[16] Jourdain, *The Journal*, pp. 163-4
[17] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, p. 22
[18] Hambly, 'Towns and Cities', in Raychaudhuri & Habib, *The Cambridge Economic*, Vol. I, p. 438
[19] Jourdain, *The Journal*, pp. 162-3
[20] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 246

mahalla, was walled off from its neighbours, with gates which could be closed at night or during periods of disorder and insecurity.'[21] When compared with the *maḥalla* of the cities of the Middle East and Central Asia, the *maḥalla* of the Mughal capital cities did not differ in this respect.[22] City quarters were, however, also a feature of ancient Indian cities prior to the advent of Islam in the Indian subcontinent, and any common origin for this shared urban characteristic would certainly be of great antiquity.[23]

The most prestigious quarter in Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, was located close to the imperial fort and by the banks of the river. In this scenic setting, a concentration of mansions belonging to nobles was to be found, even though there were other mansions scattered throughout the capital city.[24] This appears to have been the case at least from the reign of Jahangir, for Pelsaert observed that 'because everyone has tried to be close to the river bank....the water front is occupied by costly palaces of all famous lords which make it appear very gay and magnificent and extend for a distance of 6 *kos* or 3 _ Holland miles.'[25] Pelsaert goes on to provide us with a list of twenty-seven residences belonging to members of the imperial family and other nobles situated along the Jumna.[26] Likewise, along Lahore's Ravi, 'nobles also built here very pleasing and pleasant buildings'.[27] And regarding Delhi, Bernier too mentions the mansions of the nobility built along the banks of the river Jumna.[28] In the case of Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri, although the ruins of mansions are not situated by the bank of the lake (today a dry bed), they are in the half of the walled city closest to the lake.

European travellers whilst lamenting what they considered to be a low standard of housing in the capital cities in general, were on the other hand impressed with the scale

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[21] Hambly, 'Towns and Cities', in Raychaudhuri & Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History*, Vol. I, p. 448
[22] See Guy T. Petherbridge, 'The House and Society', in George Mitchell (ed.), *Architecture of the Muslim World: Its History and Social Meaning*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2002, pp. 193-208
[23] For example, Kauṭilīya provides instructions for the segregation of different professions in the establishment of a new city. Kauṭilīya, *Arthaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 68 - 70
[24] Jourdain, *The Journal*, pp. 162-3; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 245-8
[25] Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p.2
[26] Ibid., p.2; Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 182; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 130
[27] Translation of 'Alī ud-Dīn, ''Ibratnāma' in M. Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present*, 1952; reprint, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1996, p. 306
[28] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 247

and beauty of these mansions. Monserrate for example, commented that Delhi had 'many fine private mansions... and the rich construct for themselves well-built, lofty and handsomely decorated' houses,[29] and Bernier writing in defence of Indian housing against European criticism almost a century later by arguing that it was perfectly suited for the climate, says that in order for a house to be considered beautiful in India it had to be 'capacious...'airy and exposed on all sides to the wind, especially to the northern breezes. A good house has its courtyards, gardens, trees, basins of water, small *jets d'eau* in the hall or at the entrance, and handsome subterraneous apartments which are furnished with large fans'.[30] Indeed, so grand were some of the mansions of the nobility, that the emperor himself might even visit for a brief stay, such as in the case of Āṣaf Khān's mansion,[31] which reputedly cost (in a rare instance of a house price being provided by the written sources) two million rupees to build and was completed in 1634 after having been under construction for a decade.[32] That expensive mansions of this magnitude were to be found in the capital cities can be believed, for the Mughal ruling class, received the bulk of the empire's *jama'* or revenue and was thus extremely and disproportionately wealthy (as Table one, Chapter Two shows), and was also almost entirely urban-based.[33]

Unlike the majority of the population, the nobility could afford sturdy materials - stone, brick, and mortar, to build their mansions with,[34] in contrast to the cheaper – and flimsier materials that most of the common people used in building their houses. The remains of mansions at Fatehpur Sikri are made of stone, also employed in the construction of the imperial fort (which was then faced with a facade of red stone). In the case of Lahore, it

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[29] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 97

[30] Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 245-9

[31] For instance, 'Ināyat Khān writes of Shah Jahan, 'His Imperial Majesty, in company with her Majesty the Queen and the Princes and Princesses of high descent, remained in the house of Yamin al-Daula as guests for three days and two nights, and returned to the palace on the fourth day.', 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 26, see also pp. 32, 122, 254

[32] Ibid., p. 122

[33] According to Habib, in 1647, the highest ranking 445 *manṣabdārs* of the empire received 61.5% of the total income of the empire, Irfan Habib, *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception*, Tulika, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 96-7; Moosvi, *The Economy*, p. 299

[34] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 246; Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 185; A passage in 'Ināyat Khān in relation to housing in Kashmir tells us what materials the mansions of the Mughal elite were not made of, 'All the dwellings and buildings of this enchanting valley, with the exception of those belonging to the Emperor, the illustrious Princes and nobles, and also the opulent inhabitants of the country, are formed entirely of timber and planks. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 125

is quite possible that a greater proportion of the mansions of the nobility were made of brick, and not of stone, due to brick being a common building material of the Punjab. The walls of the Lahore fort built by Akbar for instance, were constructed of brick unlike the stone walls of the Agra, Delhi, and Fatehpur Sikri forts, due probably to the greater availability of brick over stone in Lahore as opposed to the other three cities which were located in the midst of sources of stone. This is not to say that stone was not used in Lahore at all. The structures within the interior of the Lahore fort, like those of the other imperial forts were made from stone, and the highest-ranking nobles would certainly have had the means to afford the expense of stone imported from the Delhi-Agra area in the construction of their mansions if the two million rupees spent by Āṣaf Khān on his Lahore mansion is anything to go by.

Like the domestic architecture of the Middle East and Central Asia, little or none of the mansion was revealed to the observer from the street, and it was from within the walls of the compound,[35] that the scale and decorative architectural features of the structures standing inside were best observed. This was also in keeping with established Indian architectural practices, where from as early as the Indus Valley civilization, urban houses of the rich and middle class in the subcontinent, opened inwards onto a courtyard and not outwards onto the street.[36] Thus, Monserrate writes of a rich hidden world:

> 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 lay down promenades paved with brickwork or marble. Yet such houses will show nothing of their facades or entrances by which the eye of the passer-by might be attracted, and nothing by which it might be known that inside is anything out of the ordinary.[37]

The Mughal miniatures certainly provide us with a sense of a walled compound through the obscured glimpse of a small section of the outer wall viewed from the inside of the

[35] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 245-8
[36] Basham, *The Wonder*, p. 16
[37] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 219

compound (Figures 42, 51, and 60), and based also on travellers' accounts it would appear that all who could afford to wall their property certainly did so. However, in spite of Monserrate's comments, while the wall hid the structures in the compound, the fact that it was a large and well-built wall would itself have reflected something of the wealth of the household within, and even if the wall was hidden by neighbouring structures, the main gate along this wall, appears in some cases to have been intended to impress the viewer from the street. Rizvi and Flynn's survey of the ruins of Fatehpur Sikri provides us with some idea of a main gate to the compound of a mansion, one which was domed and would have impressed onlookers by its sheer scale even if the decoration on the inside of the dome could only be viewed from within the gate:

> [the] most striking of these remains is a fine vaulted and domed gateway, faced with red and yellow stone.... It appears to have been the door of a fortified enclosure. High up on the ridge, it dominates the surroundings... None of these buildings was seen alone, as they would have been surrounded by enclosure walls and by other structures; *the only view of this gate would have been from a narrow approach lane*, like the southern gate of the Rang Mahal. Inside, the pendentives of the dome are finely but plainly decorated, and a most beautiful cut plaster medallion, in an elaborate floral pattern picked out with vermilion, adorns the centre of the dome. The surviving stucco in this gateway is in places excellently preserved looking fresh and new. The medallion is particularly remarkable; its richly foliated texture with delicate leaves and stems merging swiftly into each other is worked with the greatest precision and analytical ingenuity.'[38]

In addition to the walls and a gate, like the imperial fort mansions consisted of multiple structures within a walled compound, and thus we are not dealing with a single large multi-storey building in the European sense of a mansion. In addition, in both the fort and the mansions, there was a strict division into public and private sections. The principal structure within the public section was the *dīwānkhāna* or sitting room, which had the same function as the *dīwān-i 'ām* and the *dīwān-i khāṣ* at the fort. Here the noble met with visitors and attended to matters of state, just as the emperor did in his halls of audience. The private section, or harem, like that of the fort consisted of the living

[38] (Emphasis added). Rizvi and Flynn are referring here to the gateway that leads to what is popularly known as the palace of 'Abd ur-Raḥīm, Khān-i Khānān. Rizvi and Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, p. 17; Similarly, Pelsaert says of Agra, 'The streets and houses are built without any regular plan. There are, indeed, many

quarters for the noble and his family. In addition, for both the fort and the mansion a similar spatial arrangement was followed - just as the public areas of the fort such as the *dīwān-i 'ām* were closer to and accessible directly from the main entrance whilst the private area or harem was located further away, so too was the mansion's *dīwānkhāna* more accessible from the main entrance than was its private section. Such similarities between these mansions and fort, however, were not a simple case of the nobles copying the design of the fort. The division of the house (and the fort) into a public and a less accessible private area was completely in keeping with Islamic practices, and Hindus in the Mughal nobility similarly secluded their women and kept them out of the sight of male visitors, as they had done since Sultanate times.[39]

Like with the fort, security was similarly tight, and entry from the street into the public area of the mansion was through a guarded gate,[40] which might be grand and ornamented such as the one described by Rizvi and Flynn at Fatehpur Sikri.[41] In the case of Āṣaf Khān's mansion in Lahore, after passing through the first gate, this brought one into a small courtyard at the end of which stood a second gate that was similarly guarded,[42] and which might also be ornamented.[43] Once through this second gate one entered a large garden that led to the *dīwānkhāna*. Such gardens, at least by Shah Jahan's reign appear to have been an essential part of a mansion. Bernier writes, 'They consider that a house to be greatly admired ought to be situated in a large flower-garden',[44] and similarly, but in more detail, Manrique describes the garden he passed through in order to reach the *dīwānkhāna* in its centre, where Āṣaf Khān received him:

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palaces belonging to great princes and lords, but they are hidden away in alleys and corners.' Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 1

[39] Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: From Sultanat to the Mughals (Delhi Sultanat 1206-1526)*, 1997, Reprint, Har-Anand Publications, 2003, p. 173

[40] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 207

[41] Rizvi and Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, p. 17

[42] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 207

[43] See the photograph of an inner gate, popularly known as 'Paṭhān kī Ḥawelī', Fatehpur Sikri, in K. K. Mohammed, 'The Houses of the Nobility in Mughal India', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. LX, No. 3, The Islamic Culture Board, Hyderabad, 1986, p. 103

[44] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 247

> [W]e entered into a lovely and pleasant garden, where art vied with nature, the first proving the greatness of the owner and the latter how favoured it was by the variety of natural trees in it, many unknown in our Europe, favoured alike by the great King of Nature as also by his life-supporting sister Phebea. These two seemed to vie in rivalry with each other, each instilling its virtues both into the fruit-bearing trees, loading them with fine, luscious fruit; and also into the flowering plants, covered with blossoms of many colours and kinds, lovely to look on and pleasing also, by their gentle fragrance, to the sense of smell. No less were these two senses satisfied by the many odoriferous herbs, covered with flowers, which were scattered over the ground so as almost to resemble the richest and most beautiful Persian carpet.
>
> This most lovely park was watered by sweet, clear water brought by numerous open channels communicating with various reservoirs and fountains. Of these some made attractive bathing-places, being enclosed in gilded and painted houses.[45]

The garden could be more than just the setting for the *dīwānkhāna*, and as Manrique's description indicates, might contain other structures too. Similarly, a miniature by Bichitr from Shah Jahan's reign (Figure 99) depicts a young unidentified prince flanked on either side by scholars, musicians and servants in his garden. In the background a servant is shown preparing a bed under an open canopy in the middle of a garden. A more elaborate structure that was to be found in the garden was the *khaskhāna*, a refuge from the summer heat placed 'commonly in the middle of a parterre'.[46] These were small houses made of *khās*, a fragrant plant, the walls of which would be continually moistened with water by servants so that the air temperature inside would be lowered and become scented.[47]

In the *dīwānkhāna* itself, we are told by Pelsaert, that the 'lord' of the house 'takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, whatever it is and here all his subordinates come to salaam him. ... If strangers desire admittance, their names are first announced,

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[45] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 207; Similarly Monserrate writes, 'the rich... 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 lay down promenades paved with brickwork or marble. Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 219; On the trees in these gardens Bernier writes, 'the grandees... always made it a point to plant trees in their gardens and courts for the sake of shade'. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 285

[46] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 247;

[47] Ibid., p. 247; Peter Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 191; see also Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 234

and they are then introduced. After saluting, they take seats appropriate to their position in a row on each side of their host, ...There is a certain gravity in their mode of speaking; they make no loud noise, and do not shout or use gestures. If they talk secrets, which they do not wish to be heard by everybody, they hold a handkerchief, or their girdle, before their mouths, so that neither speaker shall be touched by the other's breath. Everyone leaves as soon as he has obtained an answer to his request, but friends, acquaintances, and persons of position remain until the lord retires into the house, or unless the audience is prolonged until mealtime, though there are no fixed hours for meals.'[48]

A *dīwānkhāna* scene in a miniature (Figure 110) of Zafar Khān, a high ranking Mughal noble under Shah Jahan supports Pelsaert's description. As Pelsaert writes, the host Zafar Khān, is flanked by a row seated on either side of him. Zafar Khān does not appear to be attending to matters of state in this scene from the predominance of men of letters in the assembly, and together with the presence of musicians, and a painter (perhaps a self-portrait), it appears rather to be that time of the day described by Pelsaert as when 'friends, acquaintances, and persons of position remain until the lord retires into the house'. Judging by the men of letters, identified by their round turbans (see Chapter Four: Dress) and their books, and the fact that Zafar Khān was a prolific poet and that this miniature was mounted as an illustration to a collection of Zafar Khān's poems, this appears to be a gathering of poets.

As can be seen in the painting of Zafar Khān, the *dīwānkhāna* in appearance, was a lavishly ornamented room.[49] This was the main room or indeed the only room which a visitor to the house might get to see, and therefore it afforded the greatest opportunity for the owner of the house to display his wealth through rich ornamental features such as the intricately painted walls in Figure 110, and in Figure 51 which an artist is giving the

[48] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 67

[49] Manrique describes Āṣaf Khān's *dīwānkhāna* so, 'a rich and curious building, well lighted and extremely attractive, as it was lighted all around by a series of casements fitted with windows of glass of different colours, and secondly because, wherever there was no window, it was replaced by an ornament of different kinds of branches and flowers encased on the walls in glittering silver, which thus served as a fixed hanging.' Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 208

finishing touches to. In addition, were numerous niches filled with ornaments, to quote Bernier, 'Five or six feet from the floor, the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain and flower-pots.'[50] In Figure 51, we therefore see that above the painter at work a goblet is displayed in a niche and above the niche another with a flask. Such niches, like the painted walls, were a feature shared with the imperial palace, and countless miniatures (such as in Figures 46 and 85) show niches with flasks, vases, cups and other ornaments displayed within.[51] The ceiling of the *dīwānkhāna* might also be ornamented with gilt and paintings.[52]

In terms of its furnishing, the floor of the *dīwānkhāna* was covered entirely by magnificent carpets[53] and had at least one large cushion for the host to recline against, as shown in the miniature of Zafar Khān, and sometimes cushions for the use of visitors as well.[54] The cream coloured and patterned rectangle on which Zafar Khān is seated together with one of his guests facing him, who is probably the chief guest as he alone shares the mattress with Zafar Khān and is seated closest to him, appears to be a mattress (and not a carpet, for if it were a carpet is likely to be multi-coloured), matching Bernier's description, 'At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses, with fine coverings quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, interspersed with gold and silver. These are intended for the master of the house, or any person of quality who may happen to call.' [55]

Like the emperors, many nobles and other courtiers were also fond of collecting books, and staffed personal libraries were thus also to be found in their mansions (see Chapter Six). Although there are no depictions of libraries in the miniatures, we do know from

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[50] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 248

[51] For a brief discussion of niches, see Rizvi and Flynn, *Fathpur*, p. 106; Figure 100 shows empty niches up close.

[52] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 248

[53] Pelsaert, *the Remonstrantie*, p. 67; Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 208; According to Bernier below the carpets was a cotton mattress: 'The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mattress four inches in thickness, over which a fine cloth is spread during the summer, and a silk carpet in the winter.' Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 247-8

[54] Francois Bernier, *Travels*, p. 248

the written sources that some book collections could be large. Shaikh Faizi, Abu l-Fazl's brother, and Akbar's poet laureate, had for instance, accumulated by the time of his death four thousand six hundred books on a wide range of subjects such as philosophy, astronomy, music, and of course poetry.[56] Such collections were housed in a separate structure also located in the public section.[57]

Brief descriptions of the private section of the mansion give us the impression that it was as comfortable as the public section. Pelsaert, describes it as 'noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air.'[58] It is noteworthy that Pelsaert's description, and that of other Europeans are focused on the upper levels of the private section of the mansion, and are not on its ground level or on the grounds of the harem. This is most probably because as males not related to the household, they were not allowed into the private section, but from the grounds of the public section or perhaps the *dīwānkhāna* were able to glimpse over walls and trees, the top of the private section.

The 'flat roof on which to enjoy the evening air', noted by Pelsaert and other European travellers,[59] is shown in Mughal miniatures, with a roofed room in its centre (for example Figures 42 and 51). This room on the roof maybe Bernier's 'large chamber' when he writes that 'no handsome dwelling is ever seen without terraces on which the family may sleep during the night. They always open into a large chamber into which the bedstead is easily moved in case of rain, when thick clouds of dust arise, [and] when the cold air is felt at the break of day'.[60] This practice of sleeping outside was necessitated by the heat in summer and was not just a feature of life in these mansions but common to all classes, as Bernier notes earlier, 'For more than six months, everybody lies in the open air without covering - the common people in the streets, the merchants and persons of

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[55] Ibid., p. 248
[56] Badāuni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, p. 421; see also S. A. Zafar Nadvi, 'Libraries during the Muslim Rule in India', in *Islamic Culture: Hyderabad Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIX, 1945, reprint, Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York, 1971
[57] Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, pp. 46-8
[58] Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, p. 66
[59] Ibid., p. 67; Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 185; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 240-7
[60] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 247

condition sometimes in their courts or gardens, and sometimes on their terraces'.[61] The bed being prepared for the prince in Figure 99 mentioned above is also outside.

An essential part of the private area was the *ḥammām* or bathhouse, and toilets. Public *ḥammāms* were common throughout the Muslim world, and in addition to a mosque and a market, were considered essential to any claims of pre-eminence by an urban community.[62] These private ones in the mansions were similar to the public ones, with the only differences between them being in their size and degree of decoration.[63] Both had a single entrance to shield the interior from the sun or wind, thick walls to ensure insulation, water supplied to pools through exposed water-channels or concealed pipes, and a furnace for heating the water.[64] Toilets were often also a part of the *ḥammām* building,[65] or otherwise located in a separate block.[66] Each toilet (as there were usually multiple, arranged in a row) consisted of a finely cut rectangular slab of stone as a seat, with a rectangular hole in the middle. The base of the hole was sloped to allow the waste to pass into a covered drain that led to a concealed pit.

Unfortunately, and in contrast to the Middle East, the sources yield no information on the social aspect of private and public *ḥammāms* in India during the period. Manrique's description of Āṣaf Khān's garden, mentions 'attractive bathing-places being enclosed in gilded and painted houses', and it may well be that *ḥammāms* such as these located in the public section of the mansion and within sight of the *diwānkhāna*, as opposed to those in the private area, provided an additional venue for the host and selected visitors to discuss

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[61] Ibid., pp. 240-1, 245
[62] A. Louis, 'Hammam', in B. Lewis, V. L. Menage, Ch. Pellat & J. Schacht (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1971, p. 139
[63] Ibid., p. 141
[64] R. Nath, 'Mughal Hammam and the Institution of Ghusal Khana', in R. Nath, *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 42-1
[65] Such as in the Principal Court Baths, and in the *ḥammām* in the *daulatkhāna* (popularly known as the 'Turkish Sultana's baths'), in Fatehpur Sikri, in Rizvi and Flynn, *Fathpur Sikri*, p. 93, 121; as well as in the Ḥammām-i Shāh in Lahore Fort. Kamil Khan Mumtaz, *Architecture in Pakistan*, Concept Media, London, p. 62
[66] R. Nath, *Private Life*, p. 3

perhaps confidential matters or were simply a retreat in the heat of summer,[67] but we cannot be sure, due to the complete absence of information on the use of Indian *ḥammāms*.

This brings us to the issue of water supply to the mansion, essential to the *ḥammām's* functioning, as well as for the consumption of its occupants. According to Pelsaert, there were tanks inside the house that were refilled daily with water drawn from wells by oxen. He states that the 'water is drawn or sometimes raised by a wheel, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a fountain.'[68] Such wells mentioned by Pelsaert, may have been within the compound of the mansion. Figure 42, a painting from Akbar's reign by Basāwan depicts a well in front of the *dīwānkhāna* of a house, and thus in the public section of the mansion (which would thus explain how Pelsaert saw it).

Due to the frequent comments and always with alarm by European travellers that the mansions of the nobility became the property of the emperor upon their owner's death, it is necessary to say something about the issue of ownership. Even though the emperor did have the power to confiscate the property of deceased nobles - and the living for that matter, there is no evidence from the period of the emperor depriving the deceased's family of their house. Moreover, it appears unlikely that large sums of money would have been spent by the nobility on building magnificent mansions as we know they did, if they were to be confiscated by the emperor upon the builder's death. On the other hand, there is evidence that the right to own property was recognized by the emperor. For instance, we know that Raja Man Singh's descendant Raja Jai Singh was compensated by Shah Jahan for his property along the riverfront in Agra, chosen as the site for the proposed tomb of Mumtaz Mahal, with four mansions elsewhere in the city.[69]

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[67] Babur's comments come to mind, 'We suffered from three things in Hindustan. One was the heat, another the biting wind, and the third the dust. The bathhouse was a refuge from all three. Of course, a bathhouse has no dust or wind, and in the hot weather it is so cool that one almost feels chill.' Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 360

[68] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 66

[69] Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, p. 50

From the little that we know of the housing of those not a part of the court, it appears as though wealthy merchants lived in similar luxury to the nobility. For a start, their houses, like those of the nobility were built out of brick and stone according to European travellers' descriptions.[70] Banārasīdās' account of his daily visits to the house of Sabal Singh, an Agra merchant certainly gives us the impression that the wealthy merchants lived like Mughal nobles, and the following description by him could almost be of the miniature of the noble Zafar Khān holding court in his *dīwānkhāna* (Figure 110):

> I went in the evening to the house of Sahu Sabal Singh Mothiya to meet him and confer with him about the settling of our business accounts. It proved to be the first of many futile visits. Every day, unfailingly, I visited him at his house but never found the Sahu in a mood to discuss accounts.... Whenever I went to him I saw him surrounded by musicians. Famous singers sang before him with wonderful art while skilled players on string instruments displayed their virtuosity to the accompaniment of sonorous pakhawaj drums. He was always sitting in court like a prince distributing bounty and gifts. Poets, bards and minstrels stood before him reciting eulogies in his praise. From morning till evening he was in the midst of a dazzling exhibition of affluence.[71]

The occasional and brief comments by Banārasīdās about his own accommodation, shed some light on that of a trader, one much less wealthy than Sabal Singh. He tells us that he kept his merchandise of cloth with him at the place he rented in Agra during his first stay in the city.[72] During his return to Agra, following the financial failure of his first visit there, he lived at his father-in-law's trading establishment in the bazaar place,[73] which matches what Bernier has to say about merchants' dwellings in Delhi:

> The houses of the merchants are built over these warehouses, at the back of the arcades: they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious within; they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and communicate with the terrace-roofs over the shops, on which the inhabitants sleep at night; the

[70] Finch writes of Agra, 'The noble mens houses and merchants built with bricke and stone, flat roofed; the common sort, of mudde walls, covered with thatch'. Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 185; Of the same city, Bernier writes, 'the lofty stone houses of Banyanes or Gentile merchants have the appearance of old castles'. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 285; Of Delhi, Bernier, does not mention 'merchants' specifically but writes, '[Agra] surpasses Dehli in extent, in the multitude of residences belonging to Omrahs and Rajas, and of the good stone or brick houses inhabited by private individuals'. Ibid., p. 284

[71] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, p. 79

[72] Ibid., p. 46

[73] Ibid., p. 55

> houses however, are not continued the whole length of the streets. A few, and only a few, other parts of the city have good houses raised on terraces, the buildings over the shops being often too low to be seen from the street. The rich merchants have their dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire after the hours of business.[74]

Houses made of similar materials, although substantially smaller in scale than the mansions of the nobility, are also depicted in Mughal miniatures. One painting (Figure 73) from Jahangir's reign, is of Shaikh Phūl, 'living in Agra', as the Persian inscription in the middle of this painting tells us, that is set in an Agra neighbourhood. The domed bricked white plastered structure in the centre of the painting appears to be the Shaikh's abode. To the right of the crouching Shaikh we see a lane, with three bricked houses visible along it. They are flat roofed and on one of them we see a roofed room like in the houses of mansions. It is impossible to tell whether these houses or that of the Shaikh's, have courtyards. The trees however, are in keeping with traveller's descriptions of the lushness of the Mughal capital cities, in particular of Agra. Another painting (Figure 52) is of an imaginary scene of a poet enjoying domestic bliss. This house too has white plaster and the structure underneath it may similarly be of brick. That the activities are taking place beside the house, in full view of a person on the road, suggests that the house is without a courtyard unlike the mansions of the nobility. The well immediately next to the house, is unlikely to be private due to it being located outside of the poet's property and especially with a stray dog asleep beside it. These houses, however, represent a better type of housing in the capital cities, as the vast majority of houses, were smaller and made of more perishable materials.

Except in the case of Lahore, where bricks were relatively plentiful and therefore cheaper, visitors to the Mughal capital cities lamented the profusion of small houses made of mud with straw, or of bamboo thatch, and what Babur had observed of the housing of the common people in 1526, that 'They simply make huts from the plentiful straw and innumerable trees, and instantly a village or city is born'[75]is echoed in these travellers' descriptions of cities throughout the period under review. Monserrate writing

[74] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 245
[75] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 334

of Indian cities in general during Akbar's reign, observed that, 'The common people live in lowly huts and tiny cottages: and hence if a traveller has seen one of these cities; he has seen them all.'[76] Monserrate does not actually mention the materials of these 'huts', but Fitch writing of Agra during the first few years of Jahangir's reign and two decades after Monserrate, describes the housing of 'the common sort' as consisting of 'mudde walls, covered with thatch',[77] and Pelsaert of the same city in the last years of this same emperor's reign describes their houses identically, 'Their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs.'[78] Similarly, Bernier and Tavernier's descriptions of the housing of the common people in Delhi from the following reign mention the same building materials, which in Bernier's opinion gave the city more of the appearance of a collection of villages rather than that of a city.[79] Mughal miniatures provide no examples of such housing in an urban environment, but Figure 7, and Figures 100 and 103 of rural scenes, show housing made of the same materials that these travellers observed in the Mughal capital cities.[80]

These European travellers considered life within these mud and thatch houses to be extremely difficult. As the poor were without high walls around their compounds for privacy, it is very possible that such European travellers' descriptions of their living conditions were based on frequent observation and are therefore accurate. Pelsaert writes:

> Furniture there is little or none, except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking, and two beds, one for the man, the other for his wife; for here man and wife do not sleep together, but the man calls his wife when he wants her in the night, and when he has finished she goes back to her own place or bed. Their bedclothes are scanty, merely a sheet, or perhaps two, serving both as under and over-sheet; this is sufficient in hot weather, but the bitter cold nights are miserable indeed, and they try to keep warm over little cow dung fires which are lit outside the doors, because the houses have no fire-places or chimneys; the smoke from

[76] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 219
[77] Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 185
[78] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 61
[79] Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 227, 246-7; Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 78
[80] For housing in the rural areas see Chandra, 'Standard of Living', in Raychaudhuri and Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic*, Vol. I, pp. 460-1

> these fires all over the city is so great that the eyes run, and the throat seems to be choked.[81]

In addition, these houses had none of the conveniences that the residents of the mansions would have taken for granted. They did not have a *ḥammām*, and for bathing (and drinking) purposes, water brought back from a communal well or one of the water tanks in these cities,[82] or from the river that bordered these cities had to suffice, as Pelsaert observed, 'The common people go to a river or running water, while the rich bathe at home.'[83] The numerous public *ḥammāms* in the capital cities, noted by European travellers, were also an option for them, although we have no information about how they were organized for the separate use of men and women, or in fact anything at all about their use in Mughal India.[84]

Pelsaert's description, though bleak, was however, of life within these huts at the best of times. When natural disasters struck, all property was likely to be lost, not to mention lives. Finch in the case of Agra, and Bernier in regard to Delhi, both noted that the natural materials from which these houses were constructed, made them extremely hazardous to fire.[85] Monsoonal rain must similarly have wreaked havoc. Bernier in his description of Lahore noted the destruction to housing there caused by heavy rain.[86] One can safely assume then, that in the case of Delhi and Agra where a greater proportion of houses were made out of mud as opposed to brick (in the case of Lahore), that the damage to housing during heavy rains was much worse than in Lahore.

In conclusion, there was in the Mughal capital cities a stark contrast between the luxurious residences of the emperor, nobility, and those of wealthy merchants, on the one hand, and the small houses made of mud and thatch (and brick in the case of Lahore) on

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[81] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 61
[82] Terry, in Foster, pp. 299-300
[83] Pelsaert, *The Remonstratie*, p. 76
[84] In the Middle East a sheet of cloth was hung over the entrance to indicate that it was the time of the day when only women were allowed its use. K. K. Mohammed, '*Hammams* (Baths) in Medieval India', in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. LXII, No. 4, The Islamic Culture Board, Hyderabad, 1988, pp. 49-50
[85] Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 185; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 246-7
[86] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 384

the other, which was the form of housing for the poorest inhabitants of the Mughal capital cities. While the Mughal miniatures contain no depictions of the housing of the poor set in an urban environment, the consistency in European travellers' descriptions of such houses throughout the period under review is proof that there was no change to the standard of housing for the urban poor.

Chapter Four: Dress

In the Mughal capital cities, dress communicated information about the wearer, in the way that the building materials of a house or a large gate leading to a mansion might about the family that resided within. Francois Bernier, observed for instance that the Mughal nobility were 'never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel',[1] but that of the people of 'Dehli, for two or three who wear decent apparel, there may always be reckoned seven or eight poor, ragged, and miserable beings'.[2]

Of the dress of the period, very few actual cloth garments have survived, although many more ornamented weapons and jewellery have, worn by the Mughal emperors, princes, and nobles. Fortunately, due to the wide range of subjects covered by the Mughal miniatures, the dress of a cross section of urban society throughout the period is depicted. One might also add that as there was no tradition of depicting the 'nude' by the artists of the atelier, all Mughal miniatures show dress of some sort. Nevertheless, almost without exception Mughal miniatures show public dress, and not private dress worn within the home. Peter Burke talking about European portraiture says, 'Sitters generally put on their best clothes to be painted, so that historians would be ill advised to treat portraits as everyday costume.'[3] This comment is valid for Mughal portraiture also.

In addition to the miniatures, Abu l-Fazl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* is particularly informative, providing a list and description of the main garments worn at Akbar's court. Not only does this enable us to put names to the items of dress that we can see in the miniatures for Akbar and later emperors' reigns, but in the case of the tunic worn by the nobility, Abu l-Fazl describes its evolution, providing us with a 'missing link', so to speak, between the

[1] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 213
[2] Ibid., p. 282

Central Asian tunic of Humayun's court with the Indian-derived tunic of Akbar's court. The *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* and numerous other written sources, Indian and foreign, are also informative in regard to the prevalent and symbolically pregnant institution of *khil'at*, the presentation of robes of honour by the emperor, his wife (documented in the case of Nur Jahan[4]), princes, and nobles.

What is immediately noticeable about the few surviving miniatures from the reign of Humayun (Figure 1[5]), all produced during his period of exile in Kabul, and the miniatures from the period under review, is how differently the human figures depicted in Humayun's reign are dressed compared to those of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan's reigns. This is something that happens relatively suddenly, as the miniatures from Humayun's reign are from the early 1550s, and the earliest of Akbar's reign which show an altogether different form of dress are in the *Ḥamzanāma*, which was commenced from 1556 to 1558 at the earliest or in the early 1560s at the latest (see Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6). The *Ṭūṭīnāma* (Figure 9), one of the first completed manuscripts of the atelier, and painted simultaneously with the *Ḥamzanāma*, and completed between 1570 and 1575, also shows the same clothing as that of the *Ḥamzanāma*.

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[3] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 26

[4] There are two recorded instances of a wife of the emperor presenting robes of honour, both of Nur Jahan, and mentioned in Jahangir's memoirs. The first is of the bestowal of a robe on Karan in 1615, the son of the ruler of Mewar, Rāna Amar Singh who had recently submitted. The second, and more significantly is of the bestowal of a robe of honour on Prince Khurram (later Shah Jahan) upon his return to court in 1617 for his successful campaign in the Deccan. Jahangir writes, 'Nur Jahan ... conferred on him dresses of honour of great price, with a *nādirī* [waistcoat] with embroidered flowers, adorned with rich pearls, a sarpich [turban ornament] decorated with rare gems, a turban with a fringe of pearls, a waistbelt studded with pearls ... In the same way she gave his children and his ladies dresses of honour, tuquz [nine pieces] of cloth with all sorts of gold ornaments, and to his chief servants as presents a horse, a dress of honour, and a jeweled dagger.' Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 278, 396-7; Due to the paucity of information on the activities of women in the written sources, it is difficult to guage whether the bestowal of robes was a regular act by women of the harem which no one apart from Jahangir recorded, or whether Nur Jahan alone amongst the women of the harem presented robes, and which thus is a reflection of her immense power at the time. Nevertheless, the fact that Nur Jahan could present Khurram, the heir apparant at the time, with a robe of honour, is indicative of the high regard in which the women of imperial family were held by its male members, as robes were only presented by those of a superior rank to those lower than them.

[5] The other painting that I am referring to, is of the Mughal emperors from Humayun to Jahangir (with Prince Khurram) seated in a garden. The emperors after Humayun, were added by Jahangir's atelier. British Museum, London [1913.2-8.1] c. 1550-55

Also noticeable is how uniformly dressed the Mughal emperor and his courtiers are in Humayun's reign, as well as for the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. In the case of these three later emperors from whose reigns we have many more miniatures than Humayun's, we can see that this also extended beyond the nobility to those employed in the fort in non-menial professions, such as the painters and musicians, and beyond still to the common people outside of the imperial forts. This new 'uniform' from Akbar's reign, is traceable to the dress of the characters in these two early illustrated works, the *Ḥamzanāma* and the *Ṭūṭīnāma*. While both are works of fiction, the form of the tunic shown worn by their male characters, except for the side on which the tunic is tied, matches Abu l-Fazl's description in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* of the 'Indian' tunic[6] altered by Akbar to produce the tunic worn at court:

> The *ṭakauchiya* is a robe of Indian form. In previous times the robe's skirt was slit and it [the robe] was bound on the left. His Majesty made the skirt round and bound [the robe] on the right.[7]

There are no paintings of Akbar and his court contemporaneous with the paintings of the *Ḥamzanāma* and *Ṭūṭīnāma* to indicate whether the tunic in its original unaltered form was worn by the Mughal court, or to tell us exactly when the new tunic altered to Akbar's specifications was first worn. The earliest depictions that I have found of the new tunic in the Mughal miniatures date to the 1580s (Figures 10 and 11). It may be that before the

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[6] The Indian tunic had its roots in Central Asia. It had evolved in India for at least a millennium by the time that it was adopted at Akbar's court. Central Asian elements in Indian clothing had begun with the waves of invasions of northern India during the first millennium AD by nomadic people from Central Asia such as the Kushans, and the White Huns (from whom the Rajputs are thought to be descended). The evidence for the existence of Central Asian clothing in northern India prior to the advent of the Mughals and earlier Central Asian Turkish dynasties of the Sultanate period, comes from images of Central Asian monarchs on coins, and statues such as that of the Kushan emperor, Kanishka at Mathura, and from the numerous wall paintings in the Ajanta cave complex, clearly depicting people dressed in both the unstitched indigenous style and the more recent tunic and trousers of Central Asian derivation. (For instance, a section of the ceiling decoration of Cave 2 depicts two men in tunics and trousers consuming a beverage, possibly alcoholic out of a shared bowl, and a section of the ceiling decoration of Cave 1 shows a man drinking dressed in a tunic and trousers and surrounded by attendants. Reproduced in A. Ghosh, *Ajanta Murals: An Album of Eighty-Five Reproductions in Colour*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1967, plates xli, xliii) Further proof is in the seventh century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang's description of North Indian clothing. He writes, 'In North India, where the air is cold, they wear short and close fitting garments like the Hu people [Central Asian Turks].' Hiuen Tsiang, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, translated by Samuel Beal, 1884; reprint, Routledge, London, 2000, pp. 75-6

1580s, the tunic at court changed gradually in steps, for in the *Ḥamzanāma*, the characters all wear their tunics bound to the right, of what is otherwise an unaltered garment, and this half-altered tunic appears again in several miniatures worn by Mughal courtiers late in Akbar's reign (Figures 48 and 49). Whichever was the case, by the time the *Akbarnāma* was illustrated in 1590, we see that the tunic altered by Akbar and described five years later in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* by Abu l-Fazl, was by far the dominant form of tunic worn at the Mughal court. This was to remain the case throughout the period under review, with no change to its form, except that it becomes increasingly more patterned during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Based on the miniatures from Akbar's reign, two other types of tunics are shown worn by courtiers contemporaneously, but most infrequently. The original Indian tunic, but half-altered by being bound to the right appears in miniatures late into Akbar's reign as mentioned, but by Jahangir's reign it disappears completely from the miniatures. Also shown worn contemporaneously at the court is a second type of tunic, the *peshwāz* (Figures 18, 25, and 33), which like the original Indian tunic disappears from the miniatures by Jahangir's reign. The *peshwāz* is described by Abu l-Fazl as being identical to the *ṭakauchiya* except that it is bound in the front with strings, although 'sometimes it is made without strings [and thus permanently open in front].'[8] Front opening tunics, although buttoned and not tied, are depicted in Figure 1 from Humayun's reign but not to be found in the paintings of the *Ḥamzanāma* or the *Ṭūṭīnāma*, and as far as I am aware, a tunic matching Abu l-Fazl's description appears in the miniatures for the first time around 1590 (Figure 18). The description of the tunic presented to the Jesuits at court in the 1580s, however, appears to be that of a *peshwāz*.[9] The front opening tunic may have been a continuation from the buttoned tunic worn during Humayun's reign, or (and which would explain its disappearance from the miniatures for thirty-years) it may

[7] [My translation] Abū l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, Persian text edited by H. Blochmann, 1872; reprint, Biblio Verlag, Osnabruck, 1985, p. 101
[8] Abū l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 94
[9] Du Jarric, *Akbar*, p. 165

have more recently been inspired by contemporary Safavid dress as front opening tunics, although buttoned, are commonly depicted in Safavid miniatures.

One seemingly minor detail mentioned by Abu l-Fazl regarding the *ṭakauchiya*, that Akbar changed the side on which it was bound,[10] is noteworthy because in spite of the fact that the *ṭakauchiya* became the dominant tunic at court, the side on which it was bound depended on the wearer's religion. The 'right-side' to which it was to be tied at Akbar's order, applied only to Muslims (see depictions of the Mughal emperors for instance, note that their tunic is always bound to their right). On the other hand, Hindus, bound theirs on the other side of the body (see for instance Raja Man Singh, a high ranking Hindu Rajput noble, with his tunic bound to his left in Figure 19, and in Figure 38, standing in the centre of the painting wearing a white turban and green tunic), which Abu l-Fazl states later in his section on Hindu customs in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, 'A [Hindu] man is adorned by twelve things ...Wearing the *jāma* [tunic] fastened on the left side.'[11]

A policy of deliberate visual differentiation on the basis of religion certainly seems to go against the character of Akbar in his later years, and it may be that Hindus were simply permitted to continue binding their tunics on the side that they were used to tying theirs which was on the left (as with the original Indian tunic), while the side on which the tunic was bound was changed so that Mughals and other Muslims could continue to bind their tunics on the side that they were used to tying theirs (see Figure 1 of Humayun's reign, note that the tunics are bound on their right). However, if the switch to an Indian tunic took place early in the emperor's reign (such as during the commencement of the *Ḥamzanāma*), when Akbar's views on religion were still maturing and the *jizya* was still in place, then this relatively minor detail may have been a concession to hard-line Muslim views on dress differentiation between Muslims and non-Muslims.[12] Whatever the reason, this was the only difference in what was otherwise a uniform dress for all courtiers irrespective of their backgrounds, and that Rāja Sārang Deo (Figure 80, top left)

[10] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 94
[11] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*,Vol. III, p. 342
[12] See for instance, Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 227

is shown with his tunic tied to the right despite the Raja being a Hindu noble, indicates that this was something that was never enforced at court.

In addition to this new form of the tunic, other items of dress became standard at the Mughal court by the time that the *Akbarnāma* was illustrated, which significantly, were also of Indian derivation. Tied around the waist over the *ṭakauchiya* was a cloth belt or *katzeb* into which almost always was tucked a dagger, and from which often hung a sword. The Mughal emperors and their nobles were always well armed even at court (see Figure 120 for example), something which caught the attention of the Jesuit, Monserrate.[13] The dagger overwhelmingly favoured at court from Akbar's time onwards, was the *jamdhar*, a uniquely Indian dagger, with its hilt set at ninety degrees to the blade (see Figures 18, 33, 79, and 120), and thus like the *ṭakauchiya* was an Indian borrowing. This dagger had become so much a part of Mughal court dress, that in the *Bāburnāma* also illustrated in the 1590s, Babur is frequently depicted with one tucked into his belt in pre-India scenes despite it being highly improbable that he would have worn an Indian dagger during his Central Asian campaigns and roamings as a young man. (Figure 14, see also Figure 17 in which Babur and even his pages preceding him on foot in his hometown of Andijan wear *jamdhars*).

Along with the tunic and dagger, the new style of turban that replaced Humayun's was also of Indian origin. In the *Ḥamzanāma*, alongside the *ṭakauchiya*, the characters are all shown wearing this small and flat style of turban (Figures 5 and 6), markedly different in appearance from the elaborate and large turban designed by Humayun, which had earlier replaced Babur's bulbous style.[14] Although no change to this form of turban took place during the period, in Shah Jahan's reign, a band of cloth of contrasting colour from the rest of the turban tied around it from behind the ears up (see Figures 93 and 122 for

[13] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 198

[14] Khwāndamīr, *Qānūn-i Humāyūnī*, translated by Baini Prasad, 1940; reprint, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1996, pp. 49-50; A late Shah Jahani miniature of Babur facing Humayun in a landscape, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai [Folio 15. 303], allows for a good comparison of their respective turban styles. Khwāndamīr does not tell us when it was invented, although it is not likely that Humayun would have worn his own turban style during Babur's reign, even if it had been invented by him as a prince.

example) came into vogue, although even this appears to have had its roots in Akbar's reign (Figures 26 and 33)

Trousers known as a *shalwār* or *izār* were also worn. The *shalwār* extended to the ankles and was fastened to the waist by a string that passed through the seam of the trousers (see the man disrobing in Figure 62). During the reign of Jahangir and of Shah Jahan, the single colour trousers of Akbar's reign were replaced with striped multi-coloured trousers. Footwear too was worn during the period, although only outdoors, as miniatures never show anyone, including the emperor wearing footwear indoors (see Figure 55 for instance).[15]

That the tunic and the turban, the most visually prominent items of dress, were both of Indian origin, explains why the dress of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan and their courts, appears so radically different in miniature paintings from the Central Asian dress which was retained by Babur and Humayun. Akbar's multiple borrowings from Indian dress reflect a change in imperial attitudes towards the Indian environment rather than being a simple case of acclimatisation in dress to a new environment, for collectively Babur and Humayun had been in India for a decade and a half and appear to have simply coped with the increased heat of the Indian subcontinent by removing unnecessary layers of clothing in summer and by putting them back on when the weather grew colder again in winter. The third emperor could easily have followed down this path, but instead he chose to make drastic changes to his dress and that of his court by drawing from the Indian environment.

The means by which this dress of Akbar's design spread to his nobility and beyond entails an examination of the prevalent and important institution of *khil'at*[16] – the

[15] Father Monserrate's letter to the Father Provincial, Goa, in Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, p. 37; Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 48; see also Edward Terry, p. 308; Interestingly, the British in nineteenth century Bengal were aware of this Indian practice, and some went so far as to impose it on Indians for fear of being shown disrespect, even when Indians arrived fully attired in Western dress to public meetings and public places such as the Town Hall. S. N. Mukherjee, *Calcutta: Essays in Urban History*, Subarnarekha, Calcutta, 1993, pp. 91-2

[16] The term *Khil'at* used in Mughal India was the Persian form of the Arabic *Khil'a* (pl. *Khila*), literally meaning 'a garment that has been taken off (*Khala'a*) by one person and given to another.' Paula Saunders,

bestowal of robes of honour. It should be said beforehand, that dabbling in dress design was an accepted creative outlet for a Mughal emperor, and Khwāndamīr goes into great detail about Humayun's inventions in dress, so Akbar was not the first in this respect, although he was, in regard to the adoption of Indian dress.[17] The institution of *khil'at*, whereby items of dress were ceremonially presented, was ideally suited to the spread of any new dress designs that a monarch might invent, not just to his nobles, but also beyond the court circle to the common people, who were also eligible for *khil'at* from the emperor's hands or from his princes and nobles who in turn passed on items of dress of the emperor's design. Humayun too had used *khil'at* earlier as a means of changing his courtiers' dress to that of his own design. Khwāndamīr tells us that upon inventing a new turban style, 'this Lord [Humayun] of oceans and continents granted a special head-dress [of this new style] to each of his courtiers, and having relieved these honourable officers from putting on dresses of humiliation exalted them beyond the high heavens.'[18] Courtiers in paintings from Humayun's period of exile in Kabul (some twenty years after Khwāndamīr's writings) are thus shown in this new turban style of the emperor's design (Figure 1).

We know that *khil'at* was an important institution in Mughal India from the abundance of references to it in the Indian written sources, as well as in foreign sources by the likes of Roe and Monserrate who were themselves recipients of *khil'at*, to quote one historian, Gavin Hambly, 'The chronicles are replete with accounts of robings on almost every page'.[19] *Khil'at* was also widely practised at Muslim courts throughout Asia, as well as even in the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, which had had long contact with Muslim kingdoms.[20] Although originally presented only by the Caliph, during the decline of the

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'Robes of Honor in Fatimid Egypt', in Stewart Gordon (ed.), *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, Palgrave, New York, 2001, p. 225

[17] Khwāndamīr, *Qānūn*, pp. 49-50; Khwāndamīr also tells us that Humayun took to dressing in a different colour depending on the day of the week. Ibid., p. 50; Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. I, pp. 648-51

[18] Khwāndamīr, *Qānūn*, p. 50

[19] Gavin R. G. Hambly, 'The Emperor's Clothes: Robing and 'Robes of Honour' in Mughal India', in Stewart Gordon (ed.), *Robes of Honour: Khil'at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 39

[20] Phillip B. Wagoner, 'Sultan among Hindu Kings: Dress, Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara', in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 4, Association for Asian Studies, Utah, 1996, pp. 866-7

Abbasids in the ninth and tenth centuries when Baghdad lost control over territory in the eastern part of the Caliphate, independent dynasties such as the Samanids and Ghaznavids that arose in these areas looked to the Caliph (now a mere figurehead) for legitimacy. Legitimacy from the Caliph, consisted of *khil'at*, diplomas confirming them in their positions, honorific titles and less commonly, banners and parasols.[21] These independent Sultans, who had received *khil'at* from Baghdad, eventually took to making and bestowing their own on their nobles and subjects. Thus, in India from the Ghaznavid (and there is a well-known miniature of Sultan Mahmud donning a robe sent to him by the Caliph in 999[22]), and Ghurid periods, the institution of *khil'at* was practised. Thereafter it continued to be practised in India during the subsequent Delhi Sultanate period, as we read in Ibn Battuta's account of his service under Sultan Muhammad Tughluq during which he received *khil'at* from the Sultan on four separate occasions (in addition to receiving *khil'at* from over much of the Islamic World during his travels).[23] In Central Asia, formerly a part of the Abbasid Caliphate, Samanid and Ghaznavid empires, this institution, was also practiced, and there are many references to it in the *Bāburnāma*.[24] As a result, when in India Babur presents 'a turban and a suit of clothing that I had worn myself'[25] to Fatḥ Khān Sarwānī, a Lodi noble who had switched his allegiance from the Afghans to Mughals,[26] its symbolic significance would have been fully understood by all concerned as the institution of *khil'at* was common to Central Asia and India.

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[21] Gavin R. G. Hambly, 'From Baghdad to Bukhara, from Ghazna to Delhi: The *Khil'a* Ceremony in the Transmission of Kingly Pomp and Circumstance, in Gordon, *Robes and Honor*, p. 194

[22] Or.Ms.20, folio 121r, Edinburgh University Library, reproduced in Gordon, *Robes and Honor*, p. 202

[23] Battuta's record of the four times he received *khil'at* in Delhi from the Sultan, also sheds light on the occasions during which robes were presented, which were common to all Muslim courts where the institution of *khil'at* was practised. He received his first robe from Sultan Muhammad upon his first visit to the Sultan's court, his second upon his appointment by the Sultan to the position of Qadi of Delhi, his third for his outstanding management of the distribution of food during a famine in Delhi, and his fourth upon being appointed the Sultan's ambassador to China. Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battutah*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb and edited by Tim Mackintosh-Smith, Picador, London, 2002, pp. 188, 189-90, 197, 199

[24] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 321, 364, 370, 416-7

[25] Ibid., p. 364

[26] Ibid., p. 363

While it marked the recipient out as the subject of the presenter's favour, yet because *khil'at* was only ever presented by someone socially higher to someone lower[27] – and thus the emperor was never presented with *khil'at*, its presentation and its acceptance symbolically signified the superiority of the presenter over the recipient and the recipient's acceptance of this subservient position. In this we find an explanation for the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe's great reluctance to accept a costly robe from Prince Parvēz, acceptance of which because of its symbolic significance in Roe's eyes, meant compromising his position as the ambassador of the English crown.[28] That the likes of Roe were considered eligible for *khil'at*, is noteworthy, for the institution at the Mughal court cut across racial and religious distinctions amongst a nobility of diverse backgrounds by awarding *khil'at* without discrimination.

The reasons given for the presentation of *khil'at* as stated in the written sources are numerous, but can be put into five categories. First, one could earn *khil'at* through outstanding service. This did not have to be a military achievement such as in the case of 'Aẓam Khān and other officers in the Deccan who were rewarded for their capture of the fort of Dharar with robes of honour by Shah Jahan.[29] Achievements in the arts might similarly be rewarded. 'Ināyat Khān mentions the bestowal of robes by Shah Jahan on two poets in the Hindi language, discovered amongst the common people, who had pleased the emperor by their display of skill and memory in composition when brought to court.[30]

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[27] This is based on the uncountable number of references to its presentation that I have encountered in Indian and foreign written sources, which mention both presenter and recipient.

[28] Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 77-8; That it could only be bestowed upon someone of lower rank, and never the other way round, was the only rule concerning who *khil'at* could be presented to, and thus we read time and time again in the histories and memoirs, of the emperor presenting by hand or forwarding robes to his sons and nobles, but not ever the other way around. At celebrations during the wedding of Shāh Shuja' for instance, Āṣaf Khān, one of the highest nobles in the empire, and other high-ranking nobles sent robes of honour to the prince's mansion for his 'singers and entertainers', but not for the prince who as the second son of the emperor was their superior. At the end of the same day however, Shah Jahan who alone was higher than the princes bestowed upon Shāh Shuja' 'a superb robe of honour; a jewelled dagger with incised ornament; a sword studded with gems' and other gifts. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 93

[29] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 53

[30] Ibid., p. 33

Secondly, and by far the most frequent, based on the regularity with which it is mentioned in the histories and memoirs, was with appointment to office, such as in the case of Fath Khān Sarwānī described above. 'Alī Mardān Khān for instance, at his first appointment under the Mughals after leaving Safavid service, to the governorship of Kashmir, received from Shah Jahan in Lahore, a 'handsome robe of honor with vest; a jeweled dagger with incised designs; some gold-embroidered fabrics of Gujarat and *pashmīna* shawls of Kashmir; and enameled *pān-dān* filled with *pān*, together with a golden salver (*Khwān-dān*) and flower container (*phūl-dān*).'[31]

Thirdly, as part of reconciliation, in the case of the emperor with a rebellious prince or noble, a recalcitrant subject of prominent standing like Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, or with a noble who had failed in his duty, *khil'at* was also presented. For instance, Thomas Roe witnessed the arrival in Jahangir's presence, and subsequent reinstatement to favour, of the disgraced former governor of Gujarat, 'Abdullah Khān, dismissed from this position for physically attacking his *bakhshī*, who had included in his report incidents which displeased the governor.[32] Similarly, Jahangir writes about reconciliation with the famous Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, upon the Shaikh's release from prison:

> I summoned to my presence Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, who had spent a while in prison on account of his pretentiousness and presumptuousness, and set him free. I also awarded him a robe of honor and a thousand rupees and gave him the choice of whether to leave or stay. "This chastisement has been a sufficient retribution for my soul," he replied. "I will remain in your retinue."[33]

Fourthly, during a visit to court by a relative from abroad, an important dignitary such as an ambassador, or a distinguished scholar like Mutribī, a robe was presented to the visitor (sometimes upon both arrival and departure). The Persian ambassadors for instance are always recorded as being presented with *khil'at*, and Thomas Roe as mentioned earlier, received a cloak from Prince Parvēz when he called upon the prince.[34] Even the Jesuit

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[31] Ibid., p. 252
[32] Roe, *The Journal*, p. 54; Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, pp. 197-8; The Governor of Thatta, Mirzā Rustum was similarly recalled and pardoned. Ibid., pp. 159-60
[33] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 341
[34] Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 77-8

Fathers of the First Mission to Akbar's court received robes, which they altered themselves, finding them otherwise too ostentatious for their tastes.[35] Although not in the Mughal capital, Banārasīdās too received a full set of robes known as a *sar-o-pa* (lit. 'head and foot) upon his visit to Qilij Khān, a Mughal noble and governor of Jaunpur, who summoned him to his court. Banārasīdās later reveals that he taught this noble a number of Jain religious texts, so Banārasīdās had perhaps been summoned and honoured upon his arrival not as a merchant, but as a Jain scholar.[36]

Fifthly, on celebratory occasions such as the Persian New Year, the emperor's birthday, the anniversary of his coronation, or his weighing ceremony, *khil'at* was widely bestowed by the emperor. Figure 65 of Jahangir at prayer in an *'īd-gāh* shows a man on the pulpit (standing behind the imam) holding six folded garments ready for Jahangir to present. Similarly, folded bundles of garments of various sizes (perhaps the larger bundles are *sar–o-pa*) are shown being stacked behind Jahangir in Figure 71 of the weighing of Khurram during the prince's birthday. The bestowal of robes of honour on celebratory occasions to large numbers of nobles for no apparent reason (as opposed to those who were being rewarded for outstanding service, appointment to office, etc.) was common and was an opportunity for a reconfirmation between presenter and recipient of the symbolic significance inherent in *khil'at*. Thus we read that Jahangir at his coronation awarded 'Shaykh Farid Bukhari, who had been a *mīrbakhshī* in my father's service, a robe of honor, a jewel-studded sword, and a jewel-studded ink pot and pen, reconfirming him in his post'[37] and that during Shah Jahan's lunar weighing in 1629, 'all the high-ranking nobles became garbed with even greater dignity through the valuable robes of honour bestowed upon them by His Majesty's munificence.'[38]

Although we read of a wide variety of items of dress being presented as *khil'at*, together with non-dress items like the flowerpot presented to 'Alī Mardān Khān, there was

[35] Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, translated by C. H. Payne, 1926; reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1996, p. 165
[36] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, pp. 65-6
[37] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 28
[38] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 35

certainly a difference in the prestige associated with these items. While the price of robes presented is not mentioned, occasional detailed descriptions of what constituted *khil'at* in the written sources shed light on their value. In such cases we are able to see that expensive items were reserved for high-ranking recipients, such as the vest embroidered with jewels and fringed with pearls presented in 1642 to Dara Shikoh by Shah Jahan upon his departure for the Qandahar campaign.[39] The most prestigious of all items, however, did not have anything to do with their monetary value, but were based on the extent of physical contact that the presenter had had with the item. Thus a wounded Humayun in giving Jauhar his bloodied tunic, instructed him to 'only wear it on holy days',[40] and Akbar sent clothes that he had worn to his half-brother Mirzā Ḥakīm,[41] in what appears to have been a last minute bid to avert war, and later Jahangir records that as a young man while grieving for his deceased wife, his father, Akbar, strove to console him by sending 'the auspicious turban tied just as he had taken it off his head'.[42] The basis for the greater prestige of such items that had been worn had to do with origins of the institution of *khil'at*, whereby robes worn by the Caliph and then presented, were deemed to have become imbued with the Caliph's *barakat* or 'essence',[43] and hence their greater prestige than those that he had not worn and were thus without his *barakat*.

Finally on *khil'at*, for those who had robes bestowed upon them at court, the presented items were donned in full view of all present (see Figure 57). As Hindus and Muslims bound their tunics on different sides, this factor was probably taken into account in the selection of the tunics to be presented (which had the straps for tying the tunic sewn on opposite sides). For instance, Akbar presented the priests of the first Jesuit mission, with what appears to have been the *peshwāz* based on Du Jarric's description,[44] a tunic bound in the front, and thus not identified with the dress of Muslim or Hindu courtiers. Similarly, when John Mildenhall complained to the emperor about the futility of his visit

[39] Ibid., p. 293
[40] Jauhar Aftābchī, *Tazkirat*, p. 97
[41] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 135
[42] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 56
[43] Gavin R. G. Hambly, 'The Emperor's Clothes: Robing and 'Robes of Honour' in Mughal India', in Gordon (ed.), *Robes of Honour*, pp. 31-2
[44] Du Jarric, *Akbar*, p. 165

to the Mughal court, 'he [Akbar] presently called for garments for me in the Christian fashion very rich and very good, and willed me not to be sad, because every thing that I would have should be accomplished to mine owne content.'[45] All of this suggests that the religion of the recipient was taken into account with new tunics, but it does give rise to the question of what happened when the emperor (whose tunic was tied on the right) presented an item from his own wardrobe that he had worn, to a Hindu noble. It seems unlikely that the noble would alter something that the emperor had given to him, and perhaps the miniature of Rāja Sārang Deo (Figure 80) showing him with his tunic tied to the right despite his being a Hindu noble, might be of one such robe.[46]

Another means by which the emperor's innovations in dress spread, was through the blatant copying of his dress. While this is not mentioned in regard to clothes, judging by Jahangir's account of the reaction to his decision to wear earrings, which are absent from the miniatures of Akbar's reign, and then from Jahangir's reign are suddenly shown worn by almost everyone at court, it is likely to have applied to clothes as well:

> I had my ears pierced and put a lustrous pearl in each ear. When this was noticed by the court servants and intimates, both those who were in attendance and those who were on the frontiers, they all rushed off to have their ears pierced. They were given pearls from the royal gem departments as tokens of their loyalty. It gradually caught on even with the ahadis and ordinary people.[47] (see Figure 75)

Even the Mughal emperor's facial hairstyle appears have been imitated. Under Akbar, and Jahangir (compare Jahangir in Figure 79, and his nobles in Figures 80 and 82), the

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[45] Mildenhall in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 56

[46] Dress could also be used to the opposite effect, as 'a robe of dishonour', through the enforced public wearing of humiliating articles of dress such as rags, women's clothes, and jester's outfits, as well as non-dress items such as animal skin. This was usually a prelude to execution. William Finch for instance, saw twelve rebels from Patna ordered shaved by Jahangir and paraded through Agra in women's clothing before being executed,[46] and the best known example of humiliation through dress comes from just after the period under review, when Dara Shikoh and his son, were paraded through the capital Delhi in 'dirty cloth of the coarsest texture' at Aurangzeb's orders before being led off to execution.[46] On the other hand, one might take the first step and humiliate oneself first through dress in approaching the emperor for forgiveness. In Mughal India, from Babur's time, this commonly entailed arriving in the presence of the emperor with one's sword daggling by one's belt from the neck,[46] and looking suitably repentant. This might lead to reconciliation and therefore *khil'at*. Finch in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 147; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 98; see Stewart Gordon, 'Ibn Battuta and a Region of Robing', in Gordon (ed), *Robes of Honour*, pp. 15-6

[47] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 161

majority of the courtiers depicted in the miniatures sport the moustache and sideburns of the emperor. According to Badauni, and much to his consternation, Akbar 'looked on it as a mark of special devotion to himself if men shaved off their beards – so that this became a common practice',[48] but during the reign of his grandson, Shah Jahan the other hand, the proportion of bearded courtiers seems to have markedly increased (see Figures 118 and 119) under the bearded Shah Jahan.

What we have been concerned with so far has been the public dress of the emperor, his court, and all employed by the court in non-menial positions such as musicians and painters. About their dress worn privately, we have little to work from, save two Mughal miniatures, and a short description by Manucci from Aurangzeb's reign, that Afghans at court, 'upon reaching home divest themselves of all this finery and tying a scanty cloth round their loins and wrapping a rag around their head, they take a seat on a mat.'[49] Of the miniatures showing private dress of the elite, the first is of a dramatic episode in the *Akbarnāma*, in which Akbar (Figure 28) ordered the execution of Ādham Khān by having him flung from the walls of the fort after Ādham Khān had killed the prime minister in open assembly and then had attempted to enter the imperial harem by force, waking the emperor from his afternoon nap.[50] Akbar is thus dressed just as he had woken up, in completely Indian attire, bare-chested and wearing a lungi. He appears, however, to have had time to put on his turban, although the artist may have added this rather than depict the emperor with his head uncovered – considered an undignified way to appear in public in Mughal India[51]. The second miniature comes from the reign of Jahangir. It is of a dying Mughal noble, 'Inayāt Khān, whose emaciated appearance brought on by years of opium addiction so startled the emperor (compare 'Inayāt Khān in 1615, top right-hand corner in Figure 80, with him in 1619 in Figure 85) that he called for an artist to record the scene. 'Ināyat Khān is shown without the Mughal turban, but with a cloth cap on instead, his open tunic, hidden from the waist down is difficult to identify, but may be a

[48] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 313, 392, 419
[49] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 425-6
[50] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 270
[51] Som Prakash Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1978, p. 50

ṭakauchiya. It is likely, however, that 'Inayāt Khān went to some trouble to dress up as he was to be in the presence of the emperor – hence the tunic and cap. Based on admittedly very inadequate information then - Manucci's brief description and Akbar's depiction in the *Akbarnāma* separated by almost a century, it appears that Indian influences may even have been stronger in private dress of the emperor and his nobility than in the public dress worn at court, where they had already had a profound impact.

Although not a noble, the self-portrait (Figure 20) of one of Akbar's leading painters, Kesavdās, is revealing concerning the private dress of employees in the fort in non-menial professions. In all paintings of painters of the imperial atelier (see Figures 10 and 46, for instance) they are dressed identically to the nobility, in the tunic, turban, and trousers. In this self-portrait, we see Kesavdās outside of the fort environment in old age, attired in a lungi, an altogether different type of dress from that worn at court and of purely Indian derivation. This is reconfirmation that the dress of Akbar's design was solely public dress.

Looking now at the dress of women of rank in the Mughal capital cities, in the case of both Muslims and Hindus, such women concealed their faces in public,[52] to quote Peter Mundy, who noted (and sketched, Figure 137) that this was the case with the dress of the elite, 'A woman of the better fashion on Horseback astride, quite covered over from head to foote with linnen; before her Eyes a Nettinge worke or Gratinge to see through.'[53] In contrast to this all-enveloping and concealing public dress, there was much variation to their dress worn within the privacy of the harem, indicative of the fact that in Mughal India, the social lives of the women of the elite took place in seclusion.

Unlike the uniform dress worn by men at court, two distinct forms of dress for women within the imperial harem, one of Indian and the other of Central Asian derivation, co-existed from Akbar's reign and throughout the remainder of the period under review.

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[52] Although this practice had its origins outside of India, the seclusion of women from the public gaze was practised among the upper class Hindus, having been introduced into India well prior to the Mughal period by the Arabs and Turks. Chandra, *Medieval India*, p. 173

[53] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 192

From this, we can see what might have happened at the court, had Akbar not created a common dress for all his nobles to wear irrespective of their religious or racial backgrounds. The Indian form consisted of a short-sleeved tight-fitting top that ended below the breasts exposing the stomach, worn with a skirt that reached down to the ankles concealing trousers underneath. Draped over the head was worn a long loose veil. In form it is no different from dresses worn by women in miniatures of the *Ṭūṭīnāma* manuscript (Figures 8 and 9). The Central Asian form of dress was a long-sleeved tunic and trousers. The tunic, which extended to the ankles during Akbar's reign (unchanged from Central Asia, see Figures 1 and 66) is also shown shorter during Jahangir (Figure 90) and Shah Jahan's reigns (Figure 93) becoming the same length as the male *ṭakauchiya*. With the Central Asian derived dress a greater variety of head-dresses was worn. A painting of Akbar's first son, Salīm's birth (Figure 66) shows women dressed in this manner wearing tall Central Asian caps, as well as smaller caps, and turbans. The tall Central Asian cap disappears in miniatures from Shah Jahan's reign, and the loose-veil worn with Indian dress dominates, although other forms of head-dress persist.[54]

Turning now to the dress of the common people, we have seen that those employed at the imperial fort in non-menial positions such as musicians and painters were dressed when at work identically in form to the Mughal emperor and nobility. In spite of this, there is likely to have been differences in the cost/quality of the cloth that their clothes were made from, for we know from the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* that there were considerable differences in the cost of different types of cloth, a feature of dress which cannot be discerned from the Mughal miniatures. Abu l-Fazl's extensive price list appears to be of luxury items (with the sole exception of the cheapest cotton, the *salāhatī* at 2 to 4 *dāms* a yard[55]) – expensive pieces of velvet, silk, wool, and cotton, for which there are substantial differences in the cost within each category of material, meaning that only some could have afforded the most expensive types – imported velvet from Europe or Persia for instance, as opposed to the cheaper local variety.

[54] Such as turbans. Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 318
[55] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 101

Outside of the imperial forts, the Mughal miniatures reveal that the dress of the Mughal court did impact upon the dress of the common people. A miniature from Jahangir's reign of Shaikh Phūl at home (Figure 73), which affords us a unique view into an Agra neighbourhood, shows people in this form of dress. Two men at either side of the painting (lower-right corner, gesturing toward the Shaikh and left with a dagger in his belt) are dressed in white dress identical in form to Mughal court dress. The man bowing reverentially towards the Shaikh wears a *peshwāz*, a tunic bound in the middle, although otherwise he wears the same form of dress as them.[56]

Two miniatures from the reign of Shah Jahan of wandering minstrels similarly show them in dress of the Mughal court form (Figures 91 and 109). They wear tunics and trousers of the same form as that of the court, although their turbans are different (except for the *rubāb*/lute player in Figure 91).

Even amongst those working on construction sites, the influence of Mughal dress is detectable. Miniatures in the *Akbarnāma* of the construction of the forts at Agra (Figure 30) and Fatehpur Sikri (Figures 31 and 37) during the reign of Akbar depict skilled and unskilled workers engaged in work, whose respective dress reveals a definite correlation between skill and type of dress, and the influence of court dress on one but not the other. The masons responsible for the fort's stone facade, whose tasks span this whole process - cutting and chiselling the stones to the desired design, transporting it and the mortar used to secure it into place, and the careful positioning and securing of the finished product - are dressed in tunics, trousers, turbans, and in most cases wear shoes as well. The form of their dress is a shorter version of court dress, but the turban style is the same. They are thus dressed identically to those employed by the court to perform menial tasks such as servants and attendants (see the man watering the lawn in Figure 38, and the men

[56] The curiously dressed person at the bottom of the miniature wearing a plumbed cap and a tailed coat and short breeches is a page, who was sent on errands (Figure 73) or preceded the imperial entourage on foot (Figure 39 and 88). Pages were probably dressed in this distinct manner so that people would know immediately that they were on an official errand, or that the Mughal emperor was present in person in the entourage that they preceded. Although barely discernible in the miniatures, Pelsaert states that they wore bells, which, no doubt like their appearance was to draw attention to them. He writes, 'The tsantel, or messenger, a plume on his head and two bells at his belt, runs at a steady pace, ringing bells'. Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 62

gathering the kill during the hunt in Figure 74). While in the case of servants at court this may have been a dress assigned to them, which may also have been the case with the masons, it is also possible that skilled workers adopted this dress, to distinguish them from unskilled labourers, who in the hierarchy of the construction site were ranked below them, and who in any case could not afford such clothes.

Unskilled workers who are shown engaged in tasks such as levering the carved stone for the masons to carry (Figure 31), the transportation of rocks (Figure 31) and carrying mortar in trays on their heads (Figures 30, 31, and 37), on the other hand are mostly dressed in dhotis and turbans, and wear no tunics of any kind. The colour of their clothing is also noteworthy, being overwhelmingly white – cheaper perhaps than dyed clothing, which the skilled workers are dressed in. Working alongside men are female unskilled workers engaged in carrying mortar on their heads. These female workers are dressed identically to peasants depicted in the countryside in the *Anwār-i Suhailī*, and wear skirts, tight-fitting short-sleeved blouses and a veil draped over their heads but with their faces revealed.[57]

Also untouched by the dress of the Mughal court, were men of religion, both Hindu and Muslim. Muslim men of religion frequently appear in Mughal miniatures. Their dress remains uniform throughout the period, consisting of a long robe that is either plain, or is striped, and their turbans are rounder and fuller than the Mughal court style, and sometimes with a tail (see Figure 76 and 107). Also, beards appear to be an essential part of their dress.[58]

In the case of Hindu men of religion, there are miniatures of sannyasis in the countryside (Figure 32 and 72), but as far as the capital cities are concerned, a miniature of the thirteenth century Persian poet Sa'dī at a temple (Figure 63) provides us with the best picture of the dress of Hindu priests from the period. Although this miniature originates in mid-sixteenth century Bukhara and the artist is not likely to have visited India, during

[57] Folios 61 and 160 of the 'Anwār-i Suhailī', No. 9069, dated 1597, Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi
[58] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 313

Jahangir's reign, a Mughal artist heavily reworked the painting replacing the figures of the worshippers with new ones in contemporary Indian costume (but Sa'dī expressing surprise with his finger to his mouth, on the right, has not been altered from the original, nor has the tunic of the two seated figures on the left, or the tunic of the seated figure on the right, middle). In it we see a dominance of unstitched garments of purely Indian origin such as loose dhotis and scarves, over stitched clothing. A sketch by Peter Mundy of a scene inside a temple made during Shah Jahan's reign, tells us the same story, showing unstitched garments worn by priests (Figure 135).

In conclusion, Akbar created a uniform dress for himself and his racially and religiously diverse court by borrowing heavily from his Indian environment - the tunic, turban, and even the dagger were all Indian. In the process, the Mughal emperor's dress and that of his court, became unique in appearance, and easily distinguishable from the dress of neighbouring courts such as that of Safavid Persia for instance (most noticeable in the painting of the visit of the Persian ambassador, Figure 27), and for the first time due to Indian influence, distinct from Central Asian dress – reflecting a change in imperial outlook from the reigns of Babur and Humayun, who had retained intact their Central Asian forms of dress free of Indian influence.

This new dress was spread successfully amongst this diverse group and beyond, facilitated by the institution of *khil'at*, and by courtiers imitating their emperor's dress. As a good indication of the extent to which homogeneity in dress had been achieved at court under Akbar, Jahangir writes in 1617 that he had decided to reserve a few articles of dress for himself and for a select few of their choosing, and forbid anyone else at court from wearing them, and that Akbar had had to do the same earlier. Jahangir writes:

> I had had several articles of clothing made for myself and ordered no one else to wear them unless I granted the privilege. One was the nadiri jacket, which is worn over the *qaba* [tunic]. In length it comes down below the waist and has no sleeves. It is fastened up the front with buttons. The people in Persia call it a *Kurdi*. I named it nadiri.

> Another item is the Tusi shawl, which my exalted father adopted exclusively for himself. Another is the qaba with a woollen collar and embroidered sleeves. He also adopted this to his own exclusivity. Another is the qaba with a border from which fringes are cut off and sewn onto the hem, collar, and sleeves. Another is the vest of Gujarati satin. Another is the turban and cummerbund of woven silk shot with gold and silver threads.[59]

Dress is one area in which the impact of the Mughal court on the common people is clearly discernible. The court style of dress is to be seen worn by those outside of the court circle in the Mughal miniatures, although the quality/cost of the material used most certainly would have differed from that worn by Mughal courtiers, which cannot be discerned from the miniatures. Only the poorest in the capital cities (in addition to men from religion) such as the unskilled workers remained unaffected, and Babur's description of the urban poor from the early sixteenth century could well be of the unskilled workers depicted in the *Akbarnāma* from the end of the same century, 'The peasants and the common people parade stark naked with something like a loincloth tied around themselves and hanging down two spans below their navels. Under this rag is another piece of cloth, which they pass between their legs and fasten to the loincloth string.'[60] With dress, as with housing, there was no improvement to the lot of the poorest section of the population in the Mughal capital cities.

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[59] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 223; The *nādirī* during Jahangir's reign is shown worn by the emperor (Figure 65 and 87) and by the heir apparent, Prince Khurram (Figures 71 and 88), although in total it appears to have been worn sparingly by them. One miniature of a noble Muḥammad Beg, Zu'lfiqar Khān shows him wearing a nadiri, indicating that he was one of the select few to whom this privilege had been granted. The *nādirī* appears to have maintained its exclusiveness into the reign of Shah Jahan. The wedding procession of Dara Shikoh (Figure 126) for example from Lāhorī's *Pādshāhnāma* shows his two brothers Shāh Shuja' and Aurangzeb who are accompanying him on horseback wearing it - the only two in the scene dressed in this manner. Likewise the painting of Aurangzeb being honoured by Shah Jahan at his own wedding this time (Figure 132) from the same manuscript shows only Aurangzeb in a *nādirī*; apart from these items of dress, the only other way in which the emperor and his sons visually distinguished themselves from the nobles, was by the greater amount of jewellery that they wore. This was more noticeable under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, than under Akbar (see Figures 33 of Akbar, 49 of Prince Dāniyāl, 78 of Jahangir, and 97 of Shah Jahan). For the most vivid description of Jahangir's jewellery see Roe, who despite coming from a richly clad court himself, appears to have been taken aback by the copious amounts of jewellery on Jahangir. Roe, *The Journal*, p. 73

[60] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 350-1

Chapter Five: Cuisine

For the study of cuisine in the Mughal capital cities during Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan's reigns, the material record not surprisingly draws a complete blank due to the perishable nature of food and drink. The written sources, Indian and foreign, and the Mughal miniatures, are therefore our only source of information on the subject. Abu l-Fazl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* contains the recipes of some thirty elaborate dishes (the only recipes provided for the period under review), followed by a price list of food items, some of which are ingredients in these recipes. This not only tells us about the cost of these dishes, affordable by only the wealthiest in the capital cities, but more importantly, gives us some idea about the affordability of various spices, vegetables, fruit, and meat, for the population in general around the time that the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* was presented to Akbar in 1595. The *Akbarnāma*, also by Abu l-Fazl, and other Indian accounts, are informative in regard to when feasts were held, such as during the visit of a dignitary or the celebrations for the Persian New Year. Unfortunately, except for Gulbadan's detailed account of two feasts, which in any case were held in an earlier reign, and Jahangir's much briefer description of a feast hosted by Nur Jahan, there are no descriptions of the actual feasts themselves in the Indian sources, whereby we might learn something about who was and was not invited, and the seating order of diners. European travellers go some way in providing us with a better picture in this regard, which they witnessed or attended themselves, and are our main source in regard to the cuisine of the common people.

Concerning the miniatures for the purpose of this chapter, cooked food served in large dishes is always shown covered by a lid or cloth, with the sole exception of the illustrations to the *Bāburnāma*. However, even if the contents are hidden from view, the presence of dishes covered in such a manner in court scenes, celebratory processions, etc., does tell us about the occasions during which banquets were held, even when not

mentioned in the written sources. Fruit on the other hand, consumed in great quantities by the elite, is easily identifiable, served on wide open platters, and alcoholic beverages, betel nut and tobacco, can be identified in the miniatures from the paraphernalia used in their consumption, such as goblets, betel nut cases and hookahs. There is unfortunately, little in the miniatures on the cuisine of the common people.

The distinct impression presented by written and visual sources is that the Mughal emperors and their nobles dined lavishly. Meat, an expensive commodity in comparison to vegetables,[1] features prominently in Abu-l Fazl's recipes accounting for two-thirds of the thirty dishes listed, despite Akbar's reported personal tendency towards vegetarianism.[2] Based on these recipes, and from the fact that dishes intended for the table of the emperor or nobles described by European travellers are invariably meat dishes,[3] it appears that meat formed a major part of their diets. Sheep and goat meat, and fowl, were perhaps the most popular, as they are the only kinds of meat in Abu l-Fazl's recipes and price list, with no mention of beef at all. The absence of beef from the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* was probably due not only to the large numbers of non-beef eating Hindus in the nobility – whose religious sensitivities were certainly taken into account by Akbar at this stage in his life, but was also a result of continuing Central Asian tastes, where sheep and goat were very much preferred red meats to beef.[4] For instance, Humayun's reaction to being served beef at a meal in Kabul reflects this preference:

> [N]o sooner had he [Humayun] put his spoon into the dishes and found that it was beef, then he drew back his hand, and said aloud, "Oh unfortunate Kamran! Was this the mode of your own existence? And did you feed the Asylum of Chastity [Babur's widow] on the flesh of cows? What! Could you not afford to keep a

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[1] For example, goat is at 54 *dāms* a *man* and a duck a rupee a head, while spinach is at 16 *dāms* a *man*, and lentils at 12 *dāms* a *man*. Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 65-8; A *man* was a unit of weight equal to 40 *sers*, but as a *ser* was of varying amounts of *dām* (not to be confused with the unit of currency with the same name, see below) during the period, a *man* was the equivalent to approximately 23.44kg at the start of Akbar's reign, approximately 25.11kg at the time of the *Ā'īn* in 1595, approximately 30.14kg during Jahangir's reign, and approximately 33.48kg during Shah Jahan's reign. Habib, *The Agrarian*, pp. 420-2

[2] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 45

[3] Ibid., p. 63; Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 42-3; Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 311; Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 67

[4] Suraiya Farooqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, I. B. Tauris Publishers, London, 2000, p. 204

> few goats for her subsistence? What! Could not we, his [Babur's] four sons, support his relict as he did?" His Majesty then swallowed a cup full of sherbat, and did not break his fast till next day.[5]

In addition to the prominence of meat in their diets, their food also called for much use of spice. The dishes listed in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* are heavily spiced, and feature various combinations of saffron, cloves, cardamom, cinnamon, whole pepper, cumin seed, and coriander seed. *Qīma palāo*, for instance required ten *sers*[6] each of rice and minced meat, four *sers* of ghee, a *ser* of peeled gram, two *sers* of onions, half a *ser* of salt, a quarter *ser* of fresh ginger, and of whole pepper, and a *dām*[7] each of cumin seed, cardamoms, and cloves, and if made according to this quantity of ingredients, the recipe served five Abu l-Fazl tells us;[8] and for *mutanjana*, another meat dish, the ingredients were ten *sers* of meat, two *sers* of ghee, half a *ser* of gram, one *dām* of cumin seed, and two *dāms* each of round pepper, cloves, cardamoms, and coriander seed, all of which served seven, Abu l-Fazl says.[9]

Saffron, cloves, cardamom, cinnamon, and pepper were, based on the list of spice prices furnished by Abu l-Fazl, by far the most expensive spices on the market. Saffron is listed at 400 *dāms* a *ser*, cloves at 60 *dāms*, cardamoms at 52 *dāms*, and whole pepper at 17 *dāms*, in comparison to cumin seed, relatively inexpensive, at 2 *dāms* a *ser*, and coriander seed at 3 *dāms*. The spices alone used for *mutanjana* for instance, which was not even the most expensive dish as it did not call for the use of saffron at 400 *dāms* a *ser*, cost 266 *dāms*, of which cumin and coriander accounted for a mere 8 *dāms* of this amount. Thus, given the expense of saffron, cloves, cardamom, cinnamon, and pepper, these spices would only have featured regularly in dishes at the table of the emperor, his nobility, and

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[5] Jauhar Aftābchī, *Tazkirat*, pp. 82-3

[6] A *ser* was a unit of weight, equal to 28 *dāms* at the start of Akbar's reign and thus approximately 586g, 30 *dāms* at the time of the *Ā'īn* in 1595, and thus approximately 627.75g, 36 *dāms* during Jahangir's reign and thus approximately 753.5g, and 40 *dāms* during Shah Jahan's reign and thus approximately 837g. Habib, *The Agrarian*, pp. 420-22

[7] A *dām* was unit of weight, approximately 20.93g. There were 28 *dāms* to a *ser* at the start of Akbar's reign, 30 *dāms* at the time of the *Ā'īn*, 36 *dāms* under Jahangir, and 40 *dāms* under Shah Jahan. Habib, *Agrarian*, pp. 420-22

[8] Abū l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 62

[9] Ibid., p. 63

wealthy merchants. This is something that Tavernier noted soon after the period under review, in the case of cardamom, a spice which features prominently in the recipes of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. Tavernier writes, 'Cardamom is the best kind of spice, but is very scarce, and as but a small quantity is grown in the place I have indicated, it is only used in Asia at the tables of the nobles.'[10]

Fruit also featured prominently on the menu for the urban elite, and vivid descriptions of fruit and the pleasures of their taste are to be found in the memoirs of Babur[11] and Jahangir.[12] There are also numerous miniatures depicting fruit in platters, placed before the emperor, princes, and nobles (see for instance, Figures 99, 107, and 114), and even allegorical paintings, such as that of Jahangir with Shah Abbas, have displayed in the foreground trays of a wide variety of fruit.[13] All of which provides a fair indication of the prominence of fruit in the diet of this class.

In addition to locally grown fruit like mangoes, oranges, figs, and jackfruit, imported fruit such as grapes, melons, pomegranates, and apples from Central Asia and Iran, as well as from the more temperate regions of the Mughal empire - Kashmir and Afghanistan,[14] also featured prominently in their diets, and based on his host Dānishmand Khān's consumption, Bernier considered imported fruit to be the chief expense of the Mughal nobility.[15] Compared to local fruit, these were 'very dear' Bernier writes,[16] and indeed Abu l-Fazl's price list from some half a century earlier confirms Bernier's claim, showing all fresh imported fruit to be more expensive than local fruit. A Kabul melon, for instance, of the first grade was 1 to 1 1/2 rupees each, and seven to fifteen Samarqand apples amounted to 1 rupee, in comparison to a local watermelon at 2 to 10 *dāms*, and one hundred mangoes costing up to 40 *dāms*.

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[10] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 10
[11] Bābur, *Bāburnama*, pp. 343-7; 423
[12] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 116
[13] 'Jahangir seated with Shah Abbas', by Abū l-Ḥasan. c. 1618, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC [42.16a]
[14] Ibid., p. 68; Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 48
[15] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 249
[16] Ibid., p. 249

In addition to obtaining fresh local and imported fruit commercially, the private gardens of the emperors, and their nobles, in the capital cites, were not only for their recreational pleasure, but also supplied their tables with home-grown local and exotic fruit. Pelsaert observed in Agra for example, that 'Great and wealthy amateurs have planted in their gardens Persian vines which bear seedless grapes'[17] and of all the water-melons grown locally, Bernier was of the opinion that the best were to be found among 'the wealthy people, who import the seed and cultivate it with much care and expense.'[18] Numerous outdoor scenes in the Mughal miniatures of the emperor, princes and nobles are set amongst trees, some of which are fruit trees, but those showing these gardens from the outside give us a better idea of the scale of some of these gardens, and their private and exclusive nature, hidden behind high walls[19] and safe from the reach of the public, and to use Pelsaert's apt description, resembling 'more forts than gardens'.[20] (See Figures 16, 26, 50, 97, and 124)

Sweets too featured in their diet. Abu l-Fazl includes amongst his recipes, halwa, and sugared fruits,[21] and Fray Manrique came across entire streets in the capital, Agra dedicated to sweets.[22] Even European sweets were not unknown to this class. Manrique in his description of a banquet hosted in Āṣaf Khān's house for the emperor Shah Jahan, recognised Portuguese sweets made for the occasion by some of Āṣaf Khān's cooks who had been with the Portuguese in Hugli.[23]

Alcohol was also consumed readily by the elite, and in fact, miniatures showing the emperors, princes and nobles partaking of alcohol (see Figures 35, 59, 99, and 114 for example) far outnumber those depicting the consumption of food. Similarly, references to alcohol consumption in the written sources (and not just in the case of the *Bāburnāma*

[17] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 48
[18] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 250
[19] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 214
[20] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 5
[21] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 62
[22] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 156
[23] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 218; Two decades later, Bernier noted that Bengal 'is celebrated for its sweetmeats, especially in places inhabited by Portuguese, who are skilful in the art of preparing them...'. Bernier, pp. 437-8; Apart from Manrique, however, no mention is made of European sweets being served in the context of the Mughal capital cities.

and *Jahāngīrnāma*, whose authors as we know were heavy drinkers) far outweigh references to food consumption, and even though some attempts were made by court historians to justify the consumption of alcohol by the emperors,[24] it is clear based on the written and visual sources that no consideration was paid on their part (and by many of their nobles) to the Islamic injunction against its consumption, and one need only to look at Akbar's three sons Salīm (Jahangir), Dāniyāl and Murād, who were all alcoholics, for proof of this. Two of them were to die of alcoholism, and Jahangir, only survived due to a small measure of moderation on his part thanks to the advice of Ḥakīm Humām after 'matters went to such a length that in my crapulous state from the excessive trembling of my hand I could not drink from my own cup, but others had to give it to me to drink'.[25] A war of succession amongst siblings upon Akbar's death was thus probably averted solely by alcohol. It is noteworthy, however, that despite their own consumption of alcohol, the emperors took symbolic steps against its consumption by the common people.

The consumption of alcohol was not the exclusive domain of men of this class either. Harem scenes such as Figure 90 show its consumption by women, and Pelsaert writes of the wives of the nobility that '[i]n the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands, and drinking has become very fashionable in the last few years.'[26] According to Manucci, one of Shah Jahan's daughters even made her own 'rose water wine', which was 'a most delicious spirit, made from wine and rosewater, flavoured with many costly spices and aromatic drugs'.[27]

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[24] Arif Qandahārī on Akbar's reign, relates at some length about a drinking session in the *dīwān-i khāṣ* during which Portuguese wine, and local arrack and toddy were drunk by the emperor and his nobles, but strives to justify Akbar's consumption of the Portuguese wine by establishing the extremely tempting nature of the wine, saying of it that its 'scent turned the lions of skies dead-drunk, and even the innocent denizens of the earth thought of enjoying its effect. ...The fact was that the collection of provisions of enjoyment induced the emperor to drink'. Qandahārī, *Tarīkh*, p. 199; Similarly, 'Ināyat Khān writes of Shah Jahan's consumption that it 'hardly exceeded some five or six years' and during which he 'had occasionally taken a few cups at gatherings during festivals and on cloudy days' and that Shah Jahan drank 'not of his own choice and inclination; but rather, at the Emperor's [Jahangir's] insistence'. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 9. There appears to be some truth to this however, Jahangir mentions giving Khurram his first drink. Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 306

[25] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 308-10

[26] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 65

[27] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. ...p. ....

As with fruit, the elite were not limited in their choice of alcoholic beverages to local production, and imported wines from Europe and Persia were consumed by them alongside local beverages. Perhaps of all imported wines, Shiraz was the most common, as it is the most frequently mentioned of all foreign wines in the literary sources. Bernier, for instance, states that wine found in the 'Mogol empire...is either Chiraz or Canary. The former is sent by land from Persia to Bander Abasy, where it is embarked for Sourate, from which port it reaches Dehli in forty-six days.'[28] This is not surprising considering that Safavid Persia with major centres of production at Shiraz and Qazwin, bordered Mughal India, and that wine was one of the main commodities exported to India from the Safavid empire.[29] Compared to Indian alcoholic beverages nevertheless, Shiraz and Spanish wine, were in less supply and hence likely to have been considerably more expensive, which is why Tavernier noted upon receipt of a gift of wine from Mīr Jumla, that 'the Nawab sent us two bottles of wine – one Spanish, and the other Shiraz – which is rare in this country.'[30]

Regarding European wine, unfortunately, Bernier provides us with little information about the 'Canary' wine he mentions, stating that it was brought by the Dutch to Surat.[31] Bernier's use of the term 'Canary', may refer to wine from the Canary Islands, then, as now a part of Spain. No other reference to Canary wine is to be found in other travellers' accounts, and it is therefore possible that the Frenchman was using it as a generic term for all wine from the Iberian peninsular. Portuguese wine was most probably the commonest European wine available, given the much larger numbers of Portuguese present in India than other Europeans at the time, in Goa, and in Hugli in Bengal, and from as early as Akbar's reign there is mention of Portuguese wine at the Mughal court.[32]

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[28] Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 252-3
[29] Sir John Chardin, *Travels in Persia 1673 – 1677*, 1927; reprint, Dover Publications, New York, 1988, pp. 243, 282
[30] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 229
[31] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 253
[32] Qandahārī, *Tārīkh*, p. 199

Coffee was also drunk (but not tea), either imported from the Arabian peninsular or from Maharashtra, where it was grown.[33] Jahangir refers to coffee in a matter-of-fact manner, suggesting to us that coffee was something quite familiar to him.[34] Edward Terry, writing around the same time, similarly gives us the impression that it was fairly common.[35] Nevertheless, as a European traveller, Terry was most probably only entertained by wealthy Indians, who were the only ones with the means to consume this imported drink regularly, which would explain Tavernier's statement to the contrary, that coffee was 'but little used there [India]'.[36]

Before looking at the social context for the consumption of food by the emperor and his nobles, something should be said about the kitchen where the food for the emperor and his harem was cooked under the *Mīr Bakāwal* (Head Steward). Although, this kitchen would without doubt have been exceptional for the period in its stock of ingredients and numbers of staff employed, it is the only description of a kitchen at work that we have for the period, and therefore worth describing here. Also certain features were likely to be common to all kitchens of the elite, such as cooks covering their mouths with cloth to guard against accidental contamination (which we also see in Figure 14 of the *Bāburnāma*) as well as the keeping away of strangers from the kitchen for security reasons.

In the imperial kitchen, we are told by Abu l-Fazl, chefs of diverse nationalities prepared dishes of 'all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also oily, sweet, and spicy dishes, and that '[e]very day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty.'[37] In order to be able to produce such a wide variety and number of dishes, at

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[33] William Foster (ed.) *The English Factories in India: 1655-60*, Oxford University Press, London, 1921, pp. 240-1

[34] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 155

[35] Edward Terry writes, 'Many of the people who are strict in their religion use no wine at all. They use a liquor more healthful than pleasant they call cohha: a black seed boiled in water, which doth little alter the taste of water. Notwithstanding, it is very good to help digestion, to quicken the spirits and to cleanse the blood.' Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 300

[36] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 20

[37] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 60

any time of the day,[38] no expense or effort was spared in procuring for the imperial kitchen a wide variety of ingredients sourced from all over the empire, such as different types of rice from Gwalior and Bahraich, ducks and vegetables from Kashmir, in addition to sheep, goats, chickens and ducks fattened by the cooks of the kitchen.[39]

The food in the kitchen had to be guarded against accidental contamination and from deliberate poisoning. Great measures were taken to ensure this, and all the Mughal emperors would certainly have been familiar with the story of Babur's deliberate poisoning by his kitchen staff.[40] No doubt the kitchen staff too, would have been aware of the terrible punishment meted out to their predecessors for this attempt on the first emperor's life. In miniatures of food being prepared, cooks are thus depicted with their mouths covered with cloth to prevent them breathing on the food (see Figures 13 and 15). Once the food was cooked, the cooks and the Sub-*Bakāwals* (who were each in charge of an allotment of dishes) tasted the dishes, which were then tasted by the *Mīr Bakāwal.* The food was then put into the dish in which it was to be served (for instance, see Figure 14), and then covered and bound in cloth (see Figure 35, the dish in the middle of the room, directly in front of Akbar is covered by a red cloth). To the cloth was attached the seal of the *Mīr Bakāwal,* who wrote next to it the name of the contents of each dish.[41] A list of the dishes to be served was sent with the dishes along with the seal of the *Mīr Bakāwal,* to guard against alteration to the dishes en route from the kitchen to the emperor's table. The dishes were carried by the sub-*Bakāwals*, the cooks, attendants, and other servants, preceded and followed by armed guards. Before the dishes were placed

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[38] Abū l-Fazl says that in addition to the dishes prepared for meal time, some dishes were kept in a half-prepared state so that they could be completed quickly if called for. Ibid., p. 61

[39] Ibid., p. 60

[40] Bū'ā, the mother of the last ruler of Delhi Sultanate, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, was found to be ultimately responsible for this attempt on the Mughal emperor's life. To quote Babur, "On Monday I ordered the nobles, grandees, amirs, and ministers to attend court. The two men and two women were brought in for questioning. They confessed to all the details of the affair. I ordered the taster to be hacked to pieces and the cook to be skinned alive. One woman I had thrown under the elephants' feet, and the other I had shot." Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, pp. 367-8; According to Badauni, in 1591, Akbar suspected Jahangir of poisoning him. Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 390

[41] Abu l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p.61; Likewise, Monserrate writes, 'These [courses of food] are brought into the royal dining-hall covered and wrapped in linen cloths, which are tied up and sealed by the cook, for fear of poison.' Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 199

on the tablecloth they were again tasted by servants at the palace.[42] Throughout this whole process, '[Bad] characters, idle talkers, [and] unknown persons are never employed; no one is entertained without a personal security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient. ....and lookers-on [are] kept away'.[43]

In the case of the emperor, the harem of the fort was where he took his daily meals, as Monserrate noted during Akbar's reign, 'He [Akbar] is accustomed to dine in private, except on occasion of a public banquet'.[44] Edward Terry similarly noted during the reign of Jahangir, 'Hee [Jahangir] always eates in private among his women'[45] as did Tavernier shortly after the period under review about the emperor Aurangzeb, 'As a rule no one sees the Emperor eat except his women-kind and eunuchs, and it is rarely that he goes to dine at the house of any of his subjects, whether it belongs to a Prince or to one of his own relatives.'[46] Here in the harem, the meal was brought in as described above, and arranged on a table cloth placed on the floor.[47] The emperor sat on the floor 'which is covered with silken rugs and cushions stuffed with the fine down'.[48] According to Monserrate, once seated, 'table servants' sat opposite the emperor in attendance.[49] Although there are no descriptions or depictions of the Mughal nobility at their daily meals, they probably ate their daily meals with their family in their harems as well.

While most meals were taken by the emperor in the privacy of the harem, the Mughal emperors regularly ate with their nobles, as celebrations at court included feasting, which led one European present at the court to comment of Jahangir, 'This emperour keepth many feasts in the yeare'.[50] These included weddings (see Figures 123 to 125 of food in covered trays being carried on the shoulders of servants for a feast celebrating Prince

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[42] Abu l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 61
[43] Ibid., pp. 60-1
[44] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 199
[45] Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 311
[46] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 310
[47] Abu l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 61
[48] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 199
[49] Ibid., p. 61
[50] Hawkins in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 117

Dara Shikoh's wedding in 1633), birthdays,[51] the Persian New Year,[52] as well as the visits of important dignitaries, such as the emperor's uncle Mirzā Sulaimān, the deposed ruler of Badakhshan.[53] Feasts hosted by the emperor on such occasions, could be held at various venues, sometimes outdoors[54] and sometimes in the hall of public audience, which provided a large covered area.[55] In the miniatures we see two such examples. From Akbar's reign, the first Persian ambassador since the death of Humayun, bearing condolences, and congratulations on Akbar's accession from the Persian monarch, is shown presenting himself at the Agra *dīwān-i 'ām* in 1562 followed by servants bearing his gifts for the emperor, while covered dishes of cooked food are being placed on a spread cloth (Figure 27) for a banquet to follow.[56] Cooked food ready to be served is recognizable by the large pots at the bottom-left of the miniature. In a different double miniature (Figure 107), this time from Shah Jahan's reign, we see another feast in the *dīwān-i 'ām*, also in Agra, hosted by the emperor for Muslim clergy in 1633 in celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday.

At feasts hosted by the emperors during the period, protocol was strictly observed in terms of seating order determined by rank and station,[57] and a seclusion of women from men at feasts came to be observed, in contrast to Humayun and Babur's reigns. This is based on a comparison of Gulbadan's detailed description of the Mystic feast in 1530 with Jahangir's brief description of a feast organized by Nur Jahan in 1617. At the Mystic feast held during Humayun's reign, both men and women were present. Gulbadan writes on the venue, 'First there was a large octagonal room with an octagonal tank in the centre, and again, in the middle of the reservoir, an octagonal platform on which were spread Persian carpets. Young men and pretty girls and elegant women and

[51] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 201-2
[52] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn* Vol. I, p. 286
[53] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 220; Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, p. 222
[54] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 224
[55] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 220
[56] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 262. Abu l-Fazl does not actually mention a feast in the text nor is it mentioned in the captions to the miniature, although he does say that the ambassador was accorded limitless kindness (which probably included feasting him upon his arrival)
[57] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 224

musicians and sweet-voiced reciters were ordered to sit in the tank.'[58] And, 'his Majesty ordered all the mirzas and begams to bring gifts, and everyone did so.'[59] In Jahangir's description of feast in celebration of *shāb-i barāt* (the fourteenth night of the month of *Sha'ban*), in spite of it being organized by Nur Jahan, we can infer that the male guests and women of the harem ate separately. Jahangir tells us that after the meal of 'roasted meats and fruit' and all sorts of intoxicants' was over, 'I gave people permission to depart, summoned the ladies of the harem, and stayed in that marvellous spot through the first watch of the night enjoying myself.'[60]

At feasts where only close male and female relatives of the emperor were present such segregation was not observed, as in the case of the banquet hosted by Āṣaf Khān in his Lahore mansion in honour of the emperor's (who was also Āṣaf Khān's son-in-law) visit in 1641, which Manrique observed in secret, having been smuggled into the mansion by Āṣaf Khān's servants. He writes that 'a large bevy of gallant, handsome women' preceded the emperor who arrived with his mother-in-law and daughter on either side of him.[61] When the emperor had taken his seat between two large cushions at the white table cloth spread on the floor, flanked on either side by two old women with flywhisks, his 'father-in-law, mother-in-law, and their family knelt down suddenly before the Emperor, who extended his hand to his mother-in-law, made her rise, and addressing her as "Mother", placed her on his right. This, however, was so appreciated by her husband and grandchildren that they at once made deep and profound obeisance to the Emperor, to prove how fully they valued that favour. In order to enhance it, the Emperor ordered them to sit at his table, which they only did after the third demand. They then took their seats at the end of it, the Princes placing their grandfather in the centre.'[62]

When all were seated, 'four lovely girls, relations of Assofo Kan and daughters of great Noblemen entered' for the purpose of assisting the seated diners in washing their hands

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[58] Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nama*, p. 118
[59] Ibid., p. 24
[60] Jahāngīr, *Jahangīrnāma*, p, 224
[61] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 215-6
[62] Ibid., p. 217

before the meal by pouring water from pitchers which collected in a bowl below and by handing them towels. The dishes to be dined on were brought by eunuchs. 'Four of the principal eunuchs placed themselves next to His Majesty. They served him only by passing on the dishes brought by other eunuchs to two most lovely damsels who knelt on each side of the Emperor. These damsels in turn placed the dishes before him, similarly handing him his drinking water and removing dishes no longer wanted.'[63] When the meal was over and dishes cleared, 'twelve dancing girls now came in, whose lascivious and suggestive dress, immodest behaviour and posturing, were suited to Mahumetan sensuality and wickedness. We may pass them over in silence, left to their own depravity as matter unsuited for Christian ears.'[64]

There were other banquets hosted by nobles for those not related to them, at which, unlike Āṣaf Khān's banquet for Shah Jahan, female members of the host's family did not sit and dine with the guest(s). Sir Thomas Roe attended one such banquet hosted for him by Jamāl ud-dīn Ḥusain, a Mughal noble, and Peter Mundy provides a sketch of another banquet during which women were similarly absent from amongst the diners, although he does not say whether he was a guest himself (Figure 136). Apart from the absence of female diners from their descriptions, there were features shared in common (and with Manrique's description). A sheet, serving the purpose of a 'tablecloth' was spread on the floor,[65] and diners washed their hands before eating.[66] Diners sat on the floor, and had cushions provided for leaning on.[67] A servant or servants sitting amongst the diners served each according to rank beginning with the most senior first.[68] This was determined by seating order, with the most important person after the guest, sitting closest to the host's right.[69] Food was eaten using the right hand, although spoons and

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[63] Ibid., p. 218
[64] Ibid., p. 219
[65] Ibid., p. 217; Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 42-3; Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, pp. 67-8
[66] Gulbadan, *Humāyun-nāma*, p. 187; Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, pp. 67-8
[67] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 217
[68] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 68
[69] Based on the appreciation shown to the emperor for placing his mother-in-law immediately to his right in Manrique's description. Also, Gulbadan in listing diners seated at two feasts during the reign of Humayun, begins from the emperor's right in descending order of importance. Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nāma*, pp. 118-123

knives might also be employed.[70] However, no food was touched with the left hand,[71] and each of the diners ate exclusively from their own plate.[72] After the meal, dancing girls, musicians, and singers would come forward to entertain the diners, about whom Mundy writes, 'Most comonly they are hired att solemne feasts .... And there is scarse any meetinge of friends without them.'[73]

Given that the Mughal nobility was of such diverse backgrounds, the question of religious taboos in regard to dining companions arises. Unfortunately, there are no lists of guests for banquets hosted by the emperor and his nobles to provide a simple answer to this, unlike Gulbadan's lists from Humayun's reign, and Manrique's description of Āṣaf Khān's banquet which can be ignored in this instance, as it was basically a meal shared between close relatives. The depictions of banquets in the miniatures are also of no help here as well. The banquet prepared for the Persian ambassador is still without its diners (Figure 27), and the banquet in the *dīwān-i 'ām* on the Prophet's birthday, looks like its expense and venue have been provided by the emperor for the clergy on this auspicious occasion, but that they will soon be left to dine amongst themselves at the end of the prayers (no food is in front of the emperor, princes, or nobles).

The great number of banquets held at court, makes it appear very unlikely that some section of the nobility would have been excluded or excluded themselves for religious reasons. Moreover, the fact that the emperor regularly sent food from his table as well as raw ingredients, without religious discrimination suggests that this was unlikely to have been the case.[74] As with the institution of *khil'at*, the sending of food was seen as a mark of great honour by the recipient, although the symbolic significance of acceptance of items of dress - which marked one as subservient to another, does not seem to have been

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[70] Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, p. 68
[71] Ibid., p. 68
[72] Ibid., p. 68
[73] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 216; Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 219
[74] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, pp. 48, 64; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 214; Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, p. 310; This practice of sending food was not invented by the Mughals in India, for as early as 1402, Ibn Khaldun, during his visit to Timur's camp in Syria observed Timur sending platter after platter of food to his soldiers. See excerpt from Ibn Khaldun, 'Al-Ta'īf bi-ibn-Khaldūn', translated by Walter J. Fischel, in James Kritzeck, *Anthology of Islamic Literature*, Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1964, p. 298

so marked in the case of food. Roe for example, while being loath to accept *khil'at*, very willingly accepted five bottles of wine and on three separate occasions pigs sent to him by Jahangir, which he simply and correctly read as 'a signe of favour' which 'in that Court it is a great one.'[75] As with robes, food and drink were sent not only by the emperor but also by his nobles, hence the two bottles of imported wine sent by Mīr Jumla to Tavernier mentioned earlier,[76] 'two huge Persian melons' sent to Fray Manrique by Āṣāf Khān 'which had been brought from three hundred leagues distant',[77] and a large basketful of Kashmiri apples presented to Tavernier by Shā'ista Khān, which had done the rounds, having been sent earlier to Shā'ista Khān by Shah Jahan.[78]

Moreover, that betel nut was also taken together by Hindus and Muslims and offered to each other irrespective of religion by the nobility, also suggests this (see Figures 92, 99, and 108). Betel nut is also worthy of note for another reason, because it is the clearest example of the 'Indianization' of Mughal cuisine. Betel nut or *pān* during the period, comprised three components, a leaf from the vine of the piper betel plant, finely shaved nuts from the areca catechu tree, and lime made from ground shells or limestone chalk mixed with water to form a paste-like consistency.[79] Although, these three ingredients were widely consumed, the addition of extra ingredients such as musk and camphor to the three components, mentioned by Abu l-Fazl, was probably too expensive for most consumers of the nut, and thus only consumed by the urban elite.[80] Together they formed a quid, which is what Shah Jahan's son Shuja' and Maharaja Gaj Singh are taking together in Figure 108. Peter Mundy provides a good description of this whole process:

> Wee also sawe some fields of Paan [*pān*], which is a kinde of leafe much used to bee eaten in this Countrie, thus: First they take a kinde of Nutt called Saparoz [*supārī*, areca-nut], and comonly with us Bettlenutt, which broken to pieces, they infold in one of the said leaves, and soe put it into their mouthes. Then take they

[75] Roe, *The Journal*, p. 107; Mutribī also received raw ingredients - a duck killed during a hunt by Jahangir on one occasion and a large block of sugar on another. Mutribī, *Conversations*, pp. 39, 45-6
[76] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 249; Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 229
[77] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 211
[78] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 229
[79] Abu l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 78
[80] Ibid., p. 78

> of the said leaves, and puttinge a little slaked lyme on them, they also put into their mouthes, and after them other, untill their mouthes are reasonably filled, which they goe champinge, swalloweing down the Juice till it be drie; then they spit it out.[81]

While almost certainly unknown to the Mughals in Central Asia prior to the establishment of the Mughal empire in India, *pān* was consumed enthusiastically by the Mughal emperors and nobles during the period under review. We find in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, that when on the march one tent in the imperial camp was even set aside for the purpose of *pān* storage, and details on the subtleties of scent, texture, and taste of leaves of various varieties of the piper betel plants grown in different parts of the empire, indicate that a high level of connoisseurship in *pān* consumption had been attained at the Mughal court time by the completion of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* in 1595.[82] Its consumption by the Mughal elite does not appear to have begun with Akbar's reign however. Gulbadan in describing Mirzā Hindāl's wedding feast in 1537 says that *pān* dishes were on display alongside other utensils made in precious stones and metals,[83] but this does not necessarily mean that *pān* was actually consumed at the feast, but Jauhar writing around the same time tells us that in 1551-2 when Humayun was receiving chiefs who had formerly been supporters of the now captured Kāmrān, he distributed *pān* to them.[84]

From Akbar's reign, we read of *pān* being similarly presented to visitors by Mughal nobles, something acknowledged as an Indian practice by both Abu l-Fazl and 'Arīf Qandahārī in describing an incident in 1573 when the Khān Kalān was wounded while presenting *pān* to Rajput envoys.[85] During Shah Jahan's reign we read in Manrique's account that at the end of his visit to Āṣaf Khān, 'The Prince [Āṣaf Khān] took one of the little packets of betel with his own hand, a rare and highly esteemed favour (as they told me later), and gave it to me.'[86] Manucci too noted, 'It is exceedingly common practice in India to offer betel leaf by way of politeness, chiefly among the great men, who, when

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[81] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 96
[82] Abu l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 77
[83] Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 123
[84] Jauhar, *Tazkirat*, p. 104
[85] Abu l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, pp. 6-7; Qandahārī, *Tarīkh*, p. 191
[86] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 209

anyone pays them a visit, offer *betel* at the time of leaving as a mark of goodwill, and of the estimation in which they hold the person who is visiting them. It would be a great piece of rudeness to refuse it.'[87]

From Shah Jahan's reign, we also read of *pān* and its paraphernalia being presented alongside *khil'at*. This was just like the Delhi Sultanate period when, for instance, Ibn Battuta was presented by Sultan Muhammad Tughluq alongside his goat hair robe of honour, four thousand dinars, a large quantity of flour and meat, sugar, ghee, with 'areca-nuts, with a thousand betel leaves'.[88] During Shah Jahan's reign, we read that alongside robes and other items presented by the emperor to 'Alī Mardān Khān in appointing the former Safavid governor of Qandahar to the position of governor of Kashmir, were 'an enamelled *pān-dān* filled with *pān*'.[89] This former high-ranking Safavid noble, would have been familiar with all of the items presented to him – horses, robes, etc., but the *pān dān*, a container for storing *pān*, would doubtlessly have struck him as being uniquely Indian.

Turning now to the cuisine of the common people, in describing their daily food, all European travellers paint a picture of a diet that can best be described as 'monotonous', in which *kichrī*, a dish made from lentils and rice, featured prominently. To quote Pelsaert, 'They know little of the taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little *kichrī*, made of 'green pulse' mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated, and eaten hot with butter in the evening; in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs.'[90] Bernier and Tavernier, later in the seventeenth century both mention this same dish as the staple of the common soldiery.[91] The low cost of *kichrī* is supported by Manucci's comments about Afghans at court in Aurangzeb's reign, whom he considered particularly stingy,'[They] live on *quichire* ...which is very

[87] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 61; Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 96-7
[88] Battuta, *The Travels*, p. 185
[89] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahan-nāma*, p. 252
[90] Ibid., pp. 60-1
[91] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I., p. 311

abundant in the Mogul country and very cheap. In this manner they put by money and grow into merchants.'[92] A lone Mughal miniature (Figure 30, right, middle), which shows food being purchased appears to support this, in that the labourer looks like he is buying lentils.[93]

Although no European traveller concerned himself with the sort of lentil or rice used in *kichrī*, these were probably of a cheap variety, as there were considerable differences in prices, especially between grades of rice. Terry tells us in the case of Malwa for instance, in spite of it being a wheat growing area, that 'the ordinary sort of people' instead of wheat used flour of 'a coarser grain'. With great differences in prices such as between the most expensive variety of rice listed in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* at 110 *dāms* a *man*, and the cheapest at 20 *dāms* a *man*, this would also have been the case in the Mughal capital cities as well.[94]

Their food would also have certainly been differently spiced from that cooked in the kitchens of the emperor and nobles, as judging by the list of prices for spices in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, cumin seed at 2 *dāms* a *ser*, and coriander seed at 3 *dāms* were the spices most within their reach. Other spices, like saffron at 400 *dāms* a *ser*, cloves at 60 *dāms*, and cardamom at 52 *dāms*, all of which feature prominently in Abu l-Fazl's recipes, were certain to have been too expensive for the majority of the common people, and Irfan Habib's observations in regard to the diet of the rural peasantry seem equally applicable here, 'Spices such as cumin seed, coriander seed and ginger were probably occasionally within the peasant's reach, but cloves, cardamoms, and pepper were obviously too expensive for him, at least, in the central regions.'[95]

While *kichrī* appears to have been the main dish cooked at home, outside in the bazaars, for those amongst the common people who could afford it, a wide choice of cooked food

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[92] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 425-6

[93] Qaisar identifies it as parched grain. Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India: The Evidence from Painting*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1988, p. 13

[94] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 65

[95] Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian*, p. 106; Fresh ginger is priced by Abu l-Fazl at 2 1/2 *dāms* per *ser*. Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn* Vol. I, p. 66

was available for purchase. Banārasīdās, for instance, while in Agra tells us that he lived on *kachaurīs*, a fried pastry filled with dhal, and even went into debt to the *ḥalwa'ī* (confectioner) from whom he bought them on credit.[96] Fray Sebastian Manrique came across an abundance of food stalls on the outskirts of Lahore, and gives us a vivid picture of commercially available food in the bazaar during the period, worth quoting in detail:

> So I approached these bright, brilliantly lighted bazars, but, before entering, the aroma of the spicy dishes almost pictured to the mind's eye what on entering was appreciated by the eyes of the body, that is, a great number of occupied tents, or I should rather say cooking-shops: in some only the roast flesh of various domestic and wild animals was sold, including horse-flesh, which is much used in place of pork, that they do not use. We saw other shops containing large spits bearing the flesh of winged creatures, such as fowls, capons, chickens, young pigeons, peacocks, doves, quails, and other sorts of birds which are met with in those localities. At the same time we saw other booths containing household utensils and brass vessels in which were also sold the same kinds of meat, but different to the palate, owing to the varied seasoning. Among these dishes the principal and most substantial were the rich and aromatic Mogol Bringes and Persian pilaos of different hues, which, although they differed in name, owing to the difference of language, yet owing to their agreeing in their constituent materials and ingredients are practically one and the same. Nor did these bazars lack the simple foods of the native and superstitious Pagan; as to meet their taste many tents held different dishes made of rice, herbs, and vegetables, among which the chief place was taken by the Gujarat or dry Bringe. These were cooked without being steamed, like an apothecary's infusion, being thus reduced in quantity without loss of sustenance. Bread was not lacking in these bazars or markets, although always made in flat cakes.[97]

Sweets could also be purchased in the bazaars. Manrique met with 'surprise' in Agra, when he encountered 'entire streets [that] could be seen occupied by skilled sweetmeat makers, who proved their skill by offering sweet-scented dainties of all kinds which would stimulate the most jaded appetite to gluttony'.[98] Such a large number of sweet-makers are likely to have catered for much more than the households of the nobility, and we know in the case of Banārasīdās that his stuffed pancakes for instance, had been bought from a *ḥalwa'ī*. Different grades of sugar, processed from the indigenous sugarcane plant are listed in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, and for those who could not afford the

[96] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, pp. 49-50
[97] Manrique, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 186-8
[98] Ibid., p. 156

most expensive sweets made from costly ingredients, sweets made from relatively inexpensive ingredients such as lentils would have been more affordable.

A wide variety of fresh fruit was also on sale, both local, and imported. Of these, local fruits were by far the more affordable of the two, as Abu l-Fazl's price list indicates. Local fruit by itself still offered an abundance of choice, although determined obviously, by the season. This included, to list just some of those mentioned by Abu l-Fazl, mangoes, pineapples, oranges, jackfruit, guavas, figs, and watermelons.[99]

Alcohol too was on sale, even though official gestures were made against its public consumption by Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. Akbar, according to Badauni decreed severe punishments for drunken behaviour and set up a shop close to the palace selling alcohol for medicinal purposes, which degenerated into nothing more than a shop 'for the benefit of drunkards'.[100] At the beginning of his memoirs Jahangir lists as one of twelve decrees for the empire at his coronation, the abolition of the manufacture and sale of alcohol in the empire.[101] That Jahangir takes pains to describe in minute detail regional alcoholic beverages later in his memoirs is proof that no steps were taken to enforce this decree in the empire, and that it had been merely a symbolic gesture on his part at the beginning of his reign.

For the common people, locally produced alcoholic beverages, and not European or Persian wine would have been the most affordable, given the relative rarity and thus higher price of imported wine.[102] Two local beverages are frequently mentioned as being widely consumed in European travellers' accounts – arrack and toddy, although prices are not given. Despite this frequency, drunks (excluding descriptions of the imperial family, that is) do not rate a single mention in their accounts. This should not be read as an indication of a low rate of alcohol consumption in Mughal India, but rather as a reflection of sixteenth and seventeenth century European sensibilities, as drunkenness

[99] Abū l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 70
[100] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 311
[101] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 26
[102] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 229

would not have struck them as an unusual sight, and was thus not recorded, unlike *post* addicts in deep slumber or chewers of *pān* spitting red saliva, who frequently rate a mention.[103] Arrack was a spirit made from local sugarcane, and fermented sometimes with perfumes such as camphor for a week or more before being distilled once or sometimes twice for extra strength.[104] Toddy, the other popular local beverage, was made from palm sap and its taste and strength depended on how soon after its extraction from the plant it was consumed. Edward Terry describes the process succinctly:

> And here I cannot choose but take notice of a pleasant cleere liquor called Taddy [toddy], issuing from a spongie tree [palmyra] that growes straight and tall, without boughs to the top, and there spreads out in branches (somewhat like to an English colewort), where they make incisions, under which they hang small earthen pots to preserve the influence. That which distills forth in the night is as pleasing to the taste as any white wine, if drunke betimes in the morning; but in the heat of the day the sunne alters it so as that it becomes heady, ill relished, and unwholesome.[105]

Jahangir in his memoirs describes another beverage called *sar* made from bread and rice. He provides us with an account of its production in Pigli, near to Attock, so we do not know if it was consumed in the Mughal capitals. According to Jahangir, 'They put this *sar* into a jar, and fastening it up, keep it for two or three years in the house. Then they take off the scum and call the liquor *āchhī*. The *āchhī* can be kept for ten years, and according to them, the older it is the better, and the shortest time in which they use it is a year. Sultan Mahmud [Ghaznavi] used to take cup after cup of this *sar*... I took some in order to try it. ...Its intoxicating effects are aphrodisiac, but its taste is harsh.'[106] Jahangir also mentions a Kashmiri beverage called *mas*, but does not tell us anything about it except that it was sour and inferior.[107] Babur, although writing thirty-years before the period under review, does mention toddy, and two other Indian alcoholic beverages. The first of these was made from the mahua plant by distilling its flowers.[108] The second is

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[103] For example, see Monserrate on post addicts. Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 25; On *pān* see Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 61 and Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 96-7
[104] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 73-4
[105] Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 297-8
[106] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol II, p. 126
[107] Ibid., p. 146
[108] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 343

toddy, and the third, date liquor, was made in the same manner as toddy except from the date palm and which similarly, '[i]f drunk immediately the liquid is rather sweet. If drunk three or four days they say it has a really intoxicating effect.'[109] Apart from toddy, of which we have many descriptions, these two other beverages may still have been made during the period.

Opium was also widely available, grown all over the Mughal empire and especially in Bihar and Malwa.[110] The written sources indicate that it was taken by eating it in small pellets, and not smoked in Mughal India.[111] Another method of consuming the opium plant was in a drink known as *post*. According to Monserrate, the preparation of this drink entailed the following:

> The juice is first drained from the pods, which are split up for the purpose; these are then allowed to mature; then the seeds are removed, and the pods thrown into water, in which they are kept immersed until the liquid assumes the colour of wine. It is allowed to stand for a little longer, and is then passed off into another vessel through a strainer made of the finest linen. After impurities have been removed, the makers of this drink themselves eagerly quaff it off in cupfuls. ...[The drink] is commonly known as post.[112]

Peter Mundy says that using the same process for *post* ('steepinge ... squeezeinge and strayninge') one could make another beverage, bhang, from the cannabis plant.[113] Significantly, bhang was a cheap drink according to Manucci, invented by the poor 'who have not enough funds to procure spirits'.[114] A miniature from the *Ḥamzanāma* (see the two men sitting under the tree, Figure 5) shows bhang (or perhaps *post*) being prepared.

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[109] Ibid., p. 345

[110] Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian*, p. 49

[111] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. ; Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 131

[112] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, pp. 24-6

[113] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 247; On Indian bhang, Sir John Chardin writing in the late seventeenth century provides a good description of the process. His version omits straining from the process. 'The Indian Buing ... is nothing but pure Hempseed, and the Skin and Leaves of Hemp, beaten and infused together, without Seed of Poppies. Oftentimes they put in nothing but the Leaves in a Wooden Mortar, with a little Water, and when 'tis beaten to Powder, and the Water is thick, they drink it.' Chardin, *Travels*, p. 246

[114] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 4-5; Chardin's description of the bhang drinkers also indicates the cheapness of the drink, stating that 'none but the Scum of the People drink of it, especially the Beggars, and Mumpers'. Chardin, *Travels*, p. 246

Betel nut, described above in regard to its consumption by the Mughal nobility, was also consumed widely in the capital cities, although perhaps the costlier flavours like camphor and musk were not commonly consumed. Europeans such as Manucci for instance, observed that 'almost everybody was spitting something red as blood', and Mundy that 'it is accompted a grace to eat it up and down the streets'.[115] Indeed, India is geographically in the centre of the world of betel nut cultivation and consumption, from the eastern coastline of Africa in the west, to island South East Asia in the east, and there is considerable literary evidence regarding its consumption in the subcontinent well prior to the period under review. For example, it is referred to in the *Raghuvaṅśa* of Kalidasa, and in the tales of the *Jātaka*.[116]

One plant that was new to all in the Mughal capital cities during the period was tobacco. Although the exact date of its introduction to India from the New World via the Portuguese is not known, by the end of the 16th century it had reached the Deccan state of Bijapur, from whence a Mughal noble named 'Asad Beg brought some back to the Mughal court for Akbar to sample along with a hookah. While the emperor remained indifferent to it, the gifts of tobacco for the nobility were well received. Soon afterwards, it became available commercially, brought from the Deccan by merchants.[117] The quality of locally grown and cured tobacco was not high at this early point in its history in India if Roe and Terry's accounts are anything to go by. Roe requested tobacco sent from home for his personal consumption rather partake of the locally available tobacco,[118] while Terry was of the opinion that the Indians 'know not how to cure and make it strong, as those in Westerne India [the West Indies].'[119]

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[115] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 61; Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 96-7; Banārasīdās mentions consuming *pān* with his friend and business partner Narottam. Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, p. 64

[116] K. T. Achaya, *Indian Food: A Historical Companion*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 48

[117] Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture AD 1498 – 1707*, 1982, reprint, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 119-22

[118] Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India: 1615-19, As Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence*, edited by William Foster, 1926; reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, p. 311*n*

[119] Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 299

Unlike opium, which was eaten, tobacco was smoked, using a water pipe known as a hookah (see Figure 110). This was an elaborate contraption consisting of a bowl which acted as the tobacco burner, a stem, connecting the burner to a bowl filled with water, and a rigid or flexible pipe with a mouth piece connected to the top of the bowl, through which the fumes of the burning tobacco were sucked by the smoker. There is no evidence to suggest the existence of hookahs in Mughal India or elsewhere in Asia prior to the introduction of tobacco,[120] and they only make their appearance in Mughal miniatures during Shah Jahan's reign. The hookahs used by the nobles, such as the elaborate one presented by 'Asad Beg to Akbar, were elaborately decorated and made from expensive materials and thus costly (Figure 110). For many people, the elaborate hookah of the nobles would have been too expensive to afford, and simpler and just as efficient water pipes such as that shown in Figure 94 (bottom left corner) made from a coconut shell would have sufficed.[121] In this respect, India was no different from neighbouring Safavid Iran, where hookahs of porcelain, painted glass, and encrusted with precious stones were used by the rich, and coconuts by the poor.[122]

Within a decade of its appearance at court, its consumption had reached such a point that as with alcohol, Jahangir took a public stand against it in 1617, inspired perhaps by his contemporary, Shah Abbas' similar anti-tobacco stance.[123] He writes:

> In consequence of the disturbance that tobacco brings about in most temperaments and constitutions, I had ordered that no one should smoke it. My brother Shah 'Abbas had also become aware of the mischief arising from it, and had ordered that in Iran no one should venture to smoke.[124]

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[120] R. Matthee, 'Tutun', in P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, & W. P. Heinrichs (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. X, Brill, Leiden, 2000, p. 754

[121] John Guy and Deborah Swallow (eds.), *Arts of India: 1550-1900*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1990, p. 85

[122] Matthee, 'Tutun', in P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, & W. P. Heinrichs (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. X, p. 754

[123] Ibid., p. 754

[124] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 370

This appears, however, to have been another token gesture on Jahangir's part, as we read in Terry's account of tobacco plantations within the vicinity of the Mughal capital, Agra and Surat just two years after Jahangir's decree against it. [125]

Finally, water for the purposes of drinking and cooking could be obtained from various sources. The rivers, and the artificial lake in the case of Fatehpur Sikri, provided a major source of water. The fort at Agra for instance, capitulated to Aurangzeb in 1658 after the water supply from the River Jumna was cut off, and the garrison and the emperor had to rely on the brackish water from the fort's wells in the heat of summer. For those who were far from the rivers, communal wells or water tanks were alternative sources of water,[126] and rainwater too would have been used. For those who could afford it, private wells might be dug within their compounds (see Chapter Three). During the period, various methods were employed for chilling water for drinking purposes. One way was to store water in porous containers in a windy place,[127] and another way for an even lower temperature was to add saltpetre, although this was probably expensive as Bernier notes that this was used by the 'higher sort of people'.[128] Water in the form of ice was also available, brought by relay to the capital cities. However, this is likely to have been the most expensive water on the market, as transporting it from the Himalayas to the Mughal capitals was an extremely labour intensive task.[129]

In conclusion, as with housing and dress, in the case of cuisine there was a wide gulf between the urban elite and the common people. The emperor and his nobles dined lavishly (we have no information on the cuisine of merchants), on dishes made from expensive ingredients, and consumed beverages and fruit, local and exotic. At feasts, that were a frequent occurrence at the fort, it seems likely, judging by the fact that they consumed betel nut together and received food from the emperor's table, that nobles also

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[125] Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 299; Tavernier writing some fifty years later, tells us that so much tobacco was grown in Burhanpur that 'in certain years I have known the people neglect harvesting it because they had too much, and they allowed half the crop to decay.' Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 19-20

[126] Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 299-300

[127] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 356

[128] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 58; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 356

[129] Abu l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 58-9; 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 508

consumed food together irrespective of religious distinctions. The common people on the other hand, had a much simpler diet, with meat being largely absent, and *kichrī*, a dish made from lentils and rice, and moreover made most probably of the cheapest varieties of these two ingredients, featuring prominently. Even the spices with which they flavoured their food differed, with cumin and coriander being by far the cheapest spices. For those amongst them who could afford it, commercially available food in the bazaars helped punctuate the monotony of lentils and rice. It should be noted, that the chilli and the potato, crops from the New World, that were to feature heavily in their diets in more recent times, do not appear in the Indian or European written or visual sources, and thus are not likely to have been introduced into the empire (and hence its capital cities) during the period under review.

Chapter Six: The Arts

Painting

Located within the fort in the Mughal capital city, the imperial atelier during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, produced thousands of miniature paintings, either as illustrations for manuscripts or as single leaf paintings ready to be pasted in albums. In the mansions of some of the princes and highest-ranking nobles, ateliers were likewise to be found, and we know from European accounts, that paintings were also on sale in the bazaars of the capital cities. Delhi, Lahore, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri were therefore prolific centres of painting during the period, and the surviving colophons alone on illustrated manuscripts from the imperial atelier giving their date and place of completion, attest to this.

To name just a few of the manuscripts that were illustrated by the imperial atelier during this period, under Akbar, the *Ḥamzanāma* which was the first and largest project ever undertaken by the atelier, the *Anwār-i Suhailī*, the *Ṭūṭīnāma*, the *Dārābnāma*, the *Razmnāma* (*Mahābhārata*), the *Rāmāyan*, the *Bāburnāma*, the *Khamsa* of Nizami, and the *Akbarnāma* are some of the most famous of the illustrated manuscripts from his reign. Under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, single leaf miniatures for pasting in albums (known as *muraqqa'*) which had been produced by Akbar's atelier simultaneously with these manuscripts now took precedence over manuscript illustration, and under Jahangir the only major manuscript to be illustrated was his memoirs, the *Jahāngīrnāma*, and during Shah Jahan's reign, one of the histories of his reign, 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd Lāhorī's *Pādshāhnāma*. In some cases, a number of copies of the same manuscript might even be

made by the atelier for the emperor to present as gifts,[1] or the atelier of a noble might make a copy for their patron of a manuscript that had been painted by the imperial atelier.

Of the paintings produced outside the ateliers of the emperor, princes and nobles, unfortunately, none have survived, although we do know for certain from contemporary accounts that they were available for sale in the bazaars of the capital cities. For instance, Sir Thomas Roe's knowledge of Indian painting was based on a picture that he had purchased there, and it was not until his meeting with Jahangir did he see the work of the imperial atelier. Not only does the following passage from Roe tell us that paintings were available commercially but also that portraits of the Mughal emperor were on sale too. The passage also reveals the emperor's estimation of their worth:

> I shewed him a Picture I had of his Majesties, farre inferior to the worke I now saw [of the atelier], which caused me to judge of all other by that which he delivered me as the best. He asked me where I had it; I told him. Why, said he, doe you buy such things? Have not I the best?[2]

Further evidence for commercially produced paintings comes from Francois Bernier, writing half a century later, who refers directly to paintings on sale in the bazaars of Agra and Delhi, though this time, erotic:

> One may see a great many Pictures in the *Indies* upon Paper and Past-board, but generally they are dull pieces, and none are esteemed but those of *Agra* and *Dehly*. However, since those of *Agra* are for the most part indecent, and represent Lacivious Postures, worse than those of Aretin, there are few civil Europeans that will buy them.[3]

In addition, one of the greatest painters of Akbar's reign, Daswant, appears to have been skilled prior to his 'discovery' by Akbar. Daswant did not come to the imperial court from another court, and Abu l-Fazl stresses his humble origins in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* and

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[1] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 37
[2] Roe, *The Journal*, p. 39
[3] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 55

Akbarnāma, saying that he was the son of a *pālki*-bearer.[4] Daswant's exposure to art prior to entering the imperial atelier, may thus have been through commercial paintings such as those available in the bazaars, and it is even possible that he may have received some training in producing such paintings himself. Unfortunately, we know little else about his background, or indeed about the backgrounds of the vast majority of painters of the imperial atelier, but it may be that there existed a system of finding and recruiting for either the imperial atelier or the ateliers of princes and nobles, some of the most talented painters in the bazaar.

While illustrated manuscripts and paintings for albums produced by the imperial atelier were made primarily for the enjoyment of the emperor, the subject matter of the illustrated manuscripts and single leaf paintings is revealing. Included amongst the manuscripts illustrated under Akbar, are Persian literary classics such as the *Khamsa* of Nizami, which were routinely made for Muslim monarchs (and hence, earlier in the same century we also get an illustrated *Khamsa* of Nizami from the Safavid atelier in Iran). In addition, and significantly, are the two epics of India, the *Mahābhāratā* (*Razmnāma*), and the *Rāmāyana* (*Rāmayān*). These epics, ordered translated and illustrated by Akbar in the 1580s reflect at one level the emperor's curiosity and new-found tolerance in matters of religion, as well as an acceptance of the Indian environment by the Mughal emperor. The act can also be interpreted as a gesture of goodwill towards the large numbers of Hindu Rajputs now in his nobility. According to Badauni, the nobility, including Muslims, were even ordered to make illustrated copies of the *Razmnāma*.[5] If so, then this can be read as a reflection of a desire on Akbar's part to paradoxically enforce this tolerance.

Also illustrated were the *Jami' ut-Tawārīkh*[6] of Rashīd ud-dīn, dealing in part with the life of Genghis Khan, Akbar's distant ancestor, and the *Zafarnāma* of Sharaf ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdī, on the life of Timur, also Akbar's ancestor and founder of the Timurid dynasty of

[4] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 114; Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, p. 651
[5] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 330-1
[6] Also known as the *Chingīskhān-nāma*.

which the Mughals in India were a continuation as well as the autobiographical *Bāburnāma*, by Akbar's grandfather and founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, Babur. These illustrated manuscripts also served to legitimize the rule of the Mughal emperor by celebrating and reminding viewers of the Mughal imperial family's most impressive of pedigrees and their heroic deeds, and thus served the purpose of propaganda. Not surprisingly then, low points in the life of Babur, and of Humayun, were deemed unsuitable subjects for illustration. As a result, based purely on the illustrations of the *Bāburnāma* and *Akbarnāma*, Babur and Humayun appear to be ever victorious, presenting no inkling of the first Mughal emperor's loss of Samarqand to the Uzbeks, and of the second emperor's defeat and flight from India at the hands of the Afghans. In fact, the only known depiction of Babur's loss of Samarqand comes from the *Fatḥnāma* of Muḥammad Shādī illustrated for the Uzbek court, for whom conversely the episode was cause for celebration.[7]

Pictorial and compositional elements worked towards this purpose as well. The halo, originally a Persian concept, but which first makes its appearance in Mughal miniatures during Jahangir's reign (Figure 78), via the influence of European paintings and engravings of biblical scenes, was reserved for the emperor (though there are a few instances of it being used for the emperors' sons too, see Figure 71 for instance). This visually separated him from all others in the depicted scene (even Jahangir embracing Shah Abbas, shows only one halo, centred on the Mughal monarch's head, see Figure 87), as if he were somehow innately superior to all those gathered around him in the same scene, and thus alone suited for the position of emperor. Also used, was the central positioning of the emperor within the composition, and in some cases depicting him on a scale subtly larger than the other human figures in the same scene (though not overwhelmingly larger – see Figure 38, as is sometimes seen in paintings from the Rajput

[7] *Fatḥnāma* [No. 5369], c. early 16th Century, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Tashkent, miniature reproduced in Galina Anatolyevna Pugachenkova, *Miniatures of Central Asia*, Editorial Office of Encyclopaedias, Tashkent, undated, p. 20; A comparison of historical events illustrated at court but avoided at another, would make for a fascinating study. Another example is that of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid who was defeated and captured by Amir Timur in 1402, depicted imprisoned in a cage by a Mughal artist during Aurangzeb's reign. There is no equivalent Ottoman illustration as far as I am aware. [c. 1680, India Office Library, Johnson Collection, Album 1, no.2]

courts depicting Rajput rulers amongst their subjects), as one art historian observes of a miniature of Shah Jahan's second son, Shāh Shuja' (see Figure 108): 'The Mughal prince and the Rajput maharaja are shown almost as equals, but if the prince had been emperor, not only would his head have been nimbate, but his size and position too would have announced his divine majesty in unequivocal terms.'[8]

For any of this to be effective propaganda, illustrated manuscripts made for the emperor could not be kept permanently hidden away bound and stored in the emperor's library only for his enjoyment. From surviving copies made of the same manuscript and from the primary written sources, we know that copies were sometimes given as gifts, and that the Mughal emperor also gave his nobles portraits of himself. Also, manuscripts were on festive occasions placed on display like expensive ornaments (which of course they were, given the high costs involved in their production), for guests to peruse and admire during celebrations. For instance, Gulbadan writes of the celebrations at the 'Mystic Feast', held shortly after her brother Humayun's accession:

> In the second room, called the House of Good Fortune, an oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases, and splendid portfolios, and entertaining picture-books written in beautiful character.[9]

The emperor's image on paper was therefore a familiar sight to his courtiers, and Mutribī's parting description of Jahangir as 'looking like a portrait' is telling in this respect.[10]

The emperors' image was disseminated in yet another way - through its presentation. Akbar appears to have initiated this practice, as the earliest mention of it comes from his reign. Badauni writes that Akbar gave a portrait which the recipient 'looked on ...as the standard of loyal friendship, and the advance-guard of righteousness, and happiness, and

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[8] Pratapaditya Pal, *The Classical Tradition in Rajput Painting: From the Paul F. Walter Collection*, The Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, 1978, p. 23
[9] Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 124
[10] Mutribī, *Conversations*, p. 91

they put it wrapped up in a jewelled case on top of their turbans.'[11] Similarly, in the *Jahāngīrnāma*, in relation to the appointment of Shaikh Aḥmad Lāhorī to the position of chief justice, Jahangir writes that 'Aspirants and the devoted gain access to me through him, and he tells me to whom I should offer my hand and to whom I should present a portrait.'[12] Nevertheless, only rarely in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan are portraits mentioned as being presented to anyone, and usually only in response to requests for them. The robe of honour still remained the standard item of presentation by the emperor, while the portrait appears to have been presented to a smaller, more select group.

As mentioned, the emperor's portrait might also be requested. Such a request, however, implied an acknowledgement of subordinate status to the Mughal emperor. Jahangir records in his memoirs that 'Ādil Khān,[13] the Sultan of Bijapur, one of the states of the Deccan, 'was constantly asking for a likeness of myself through my prosperous son Khurram, I sent him one with a ruby of great value and a special elephant. ...and wrote this quatrain on the portrait with my own hand:

> O thou towards whom is always [turned] the eye of my kindness
> Repose at ease under the shadow of my fortune.
> I have sent thee my own portrait,
> That thou mayest see me spiritually from my picture.'[14]

The same 'Ādil Khān's son[15] during the reign of Shah Jahan similarly requested a portrait of the emperor. This had come after Mughal armies had ravaged his kingdom in 1636 in chastisement for various acts of defiance on his part.[16] In tendering his submission following a Mughal invasion, 'Ādil Khān requested along with a treaty, a portrait of Shah

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[11] Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 349

[12] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, p. 53; Although not through Shaikh Aḥmad Lāhorī, Sir Thomas Roe too received a portrait of Jahangir, directly from Jahangir. Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 43-4

[13] Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, ruled from 1580-1627. While the ruler of Bijapur referred to himself as 'Ādil Shāh, the Mughals preferred to refer to him as 'Ādil Khān.

[14] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, pp. 36-7

[15] Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, ruled from 1627-56.

[16] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, pp. 166-7

Jahan. The *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, states that 'Therefore on the 10th of Zi'l-Hijja 1045 [16 May 1636], His Majesty [Shah Jahan] dispatched to him the auspicious likeness of which vassals always place on their heads'.[17] 'Ādil Khān's letter of thanks in response makes mention of the portrait, and is further proof of the symbolic significance inherent in a portrait presented by the emperor in response to a request. He writes of 'the incomparable and unique likeness of the King of Kings', which he says along with the other items sent to him 'conferred honor and dignity by their arrival, and thereby exalted this faithful vassal through the ring of servitude in his ear and the burden of cheerful obedience on his back, to the zenith of grandeur and the firmament of dignity.'[18]

Likewise, during the same campaign in the Deccan, the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* states that '[a]s Qutb al-Mulk had also solicited the auspicious portrait, His Majesty [Shah Jahan] under the care of a confidential aide in company with his envoy, sent him one with fastenings of globular pearls; along with a necklace of valuable pearls, a superb elephant with silver trappings, 18 bales of choice fabrics, and a golden tablet on which was inscribed the articles of the treaty.'[19]

It is perhaps because of the symbolic significance associated with requesting the emperor's portrait that had arisen within the context of the Indian subcontinent that Jahangir did not ask for a portrait (which he could easily have done) from his neighbour and adversary over Qandahar, the Safavid emperor, Shah Abbas, but instead sent the artist Bishandās to accompany Khān 'Alām, the Mughal ambassador to Iran for the sole purpose of making portraits of Shah Abbas and his most important nobles.[20]

Unfortunately, there are no portraits that we can identify as having been presented in this manner, and we do not know if they differed in any way from other portraits of the emperor, and even the portrait given as a gift by Jahangir to Sir Thomas Roe to take back

[17] Ibid., p. 185
[18] Ibid., p. 186
[19] Ibid., p. 192
[20] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, pp. 116-7

with him to England has not survived. However, on the basis of paintings of the Mughal emperors we can imagine how a portrait that had been painted for presentation might have looked – depicting the emperor from the chest up in half or full profile in the case of Akbar, and in full profile in the case of Jahangir and Shah Jahan with a large halo framing the emperor's entire head and turban (see for instance Figure 78 of Jahangir, himself holding a portrait of his father).

Illustrated manuscripts on the lives of the emperors such as the *Bāburnāma* and the *Jahāngīrnāma* were also presented by the emperor to a select few amongst his sons and highest nobles. Because of the expense involved, not to mention the time it took to produce an illustrated manuscript, this rarely occurred, and therefore such a gift must have been greatly appreciated and seen as a particularly great honour by the recipient. Thus a rare mention of manuscript presentations is found in Jahangir's memoirs, although even here, we cannot be sure whether the work being referred to is illustrated or purely of calligraphied text. Jahangir writes:

> At this time two copies of the *Jahāngīr-nāma* that had been prepared were laid before me. One of these I had some days previously given to *Madāru-l-mulk* (centre of the kingdom), I'timādu-d-daula, and the other I on this day bestowed on (my adopted) son (*farzandī*), Āṣaf Khān.[21]

Indeed, the great expense involved in the production of an illustrated manuscript meant that its patronage was affordable by only the wealthiest in the capital cities. Surviving folios containing miniatures in various states of completion, and miniatures depicting painters, calligraphers, and bookbinders at work provide us with information to work out the steps involved in its production. From these we are able to get some idea of the expense and time involved in the production of an illustrated manuscript by large numbers of painters, and other professionals such as calligraphers, and bookbinders, all working on a single manuscript at the same time in the same workshop (see Figure 40, of

[21] Ibid., p. 37

painters, calligraphers, and burnisher, all part of the same workshop; Figure 10 shows the calligrapher 'Abd ur-Raḥīm and the painter Daulat, at work together).

The physical process of making an illustrated manuscript began with the paper (all Mughal manuscripts were done on paper, with the sole exception of the *Ḥamzanāma*, which was done on cloth) being primed for painting. This entailed laying the paper on a flat board, face up, and burnishing the surface with a rounded agate stone to smoothen and compress the fibres of the paper (Figure 61) to reduce its permeability to paint. Then the paper was sized and its margins or borders were drawn – an important step in that it determined the format of the result (see Figure 11, bottom left corner – lines have been drawn across the page and the artist is working within a box; see also Figure 46).[22] Within the borders, sketches were drawn in black ink or in charcoal (during this, and the painting and calligraphy stage the artist sat on the floor, see Figures 10, 11, 40, and 46). To correct the sketch, white was painted over the mistake and the correction done over this. The paper was of great importance, and until 1600 the preferred paper for miniature painting was imported from Iran and sometimes from as far away as Italy, and was thus an expensive commodity. The quality of Indian paper up to this point was not high and therefore deemed unsuitable for miniature painting.[23] Not surprisingly, the artists themselves were connoisseurs of paper and most particular about the paper that they had to draw and paint on as it played a vital part in determining the appearance of the final outcome of the miniature.

Once the sketch had been done, the process of painting was ready to begin. For this, gouache (opaque paint) was used. The colours of paint were derived from various sources local and foreign, such as lapis lazuli (from Badakhshan) for deep blue, indigo (from the Agra area) for blue, copper salts for viridian, lake for crimson, cinnabar for red, orpiment for yellow, and the urine of cows fed on a diet of ripe mangoes for a vivid yellow. Expensive metallic pigments were also used to provide metallic effects. Gold and silver, and also copper were hammered between sheets of leather until they became

[22] J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 1993; reprint, The British Museum Press, London, 2001, p. 19
[23] Ibid., p. 19

foil. This was then ground with salt in a mortar until a powder was achieved before being washed to rinse out the salt.[24]

Paint was applied directly onto the paper (which had been primed by burnishing) using brushes made from kitten or baby squirrel fur, and was built up slowly layer by layer to an enamel-like thickness, with gold and other metallic highlights added last of all before a final burnishing (Figure 61).[25] The burnishing this time was a repeat of the same process before painting, except that now the page was laid face down. This was the equivalent of the use of varnish in European painting in that it provided 'protective hardening and gave an overall unity of texture'.[26]

The miniatures were not the only component of an illustrated manuscript. The text written on a separate page from the miniature (usually on its verso), or within the miniature itself in rectangular boxes was also part of it. The calligraphic style preferred for writing Persian in Mughal India, Iran and Central Asia, was *nas<u>kh</u>-ta'liq*. This style of the Arabic script, invented in Iran, was not a quick script to write in its calligraphic form.[26b] Great care and patience had to be taken, for correction was difficult and unsightly (see Figure 10, the calligrapher al-Kashmīrī sits on the right, writing in *nas<u>kh</u>-ta'liq*).[26c] In fact, corrections to the painted part of the miniature were much easier, as calligraphy was written on an unpainted section of the miniature (see all the Figures, the rectangle containing the calligraphy shows the original surface and colour of the paper) and thus could not simply be painted over, which one could do if one were correcting a painting in opaque paint. Mistakes were corrected by pasting over the entire rectangle with a piece of paper cut to fit it exactly, on which the text would be rewritten. The time involved in writing the text on a separate page or writing the text in the rectangle(s) of a miniature was therefore a slow process. Babur gives us some idea of the slow progress of a calligrapher writing in the *nas<u>kh</u>-ta'liq* script:

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[24] Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1978, p. 12
[25] Ibid., p. 13
[26] Ibid., p. 13
[26b] Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, p. 19; [26c] Ibid., p. 19

> Among the many calligraphers in Sultan-Husayn Mirza's time, the most outstanding of all in *naskh-ta'liq* was Sultan-Ali of Mashhad. He copied a great deal both for the Mirza and for Ali-Sher Beg. Every day he copied thirty lines for the Mirza and twenty lines for Ali-Sher Beg.[27]

Afterwards the miniature would still have to be trimmed and then mounted onto a page before multiple borders were added to it, framing it. The surrounding page upon which the miniature was mounted was usually painted on as well, which is what we now refer to as 'margin paintings' (see Figure 94 for instance). All the pages would then be collected and bound within covers made of stamped leather or lacquer (see Figure 61).[28]

How long then did the overall process take? No doubt there was great variation in the amount of time it took depending on the length of the manuscript, the complexity of the miniatures and the number of artists at work on it, but one rare inscription giving the length of time that an artist spent on a painting, discovered next to a miniature from the Victoria and Albert *Bāburnāma* by Robert Skelton and Ellen Smart, states that the painter Rāmdās worked on the miniature for fifty days.[29]

We thus have some idea of the expense involved in producing an illustrated manuscript. Afforded only by a select few, the patronage of painting was widespread in the Muslim world amongst the elite and in the case of the Mughals of India, firmly a part of their Timurid heritage. Indeed, Bihzād, most revered amongst painters, in much the same way that Tansen was by musicians in India, had been in the employ of Babur's relative and contemporary in Herat, Sultan Ḥusain Mirzā, and Babur himself, although no miniatures can be attributed to his reign, shows a connoisseurship of painting that strongly suggests that he may have had an atelier of his own. In the *Bāburnāma*, he even offers a rare criticism of Bihzād's skill at depicting the human form.[30]

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[27] Bābur, *Bāburnama*, p. 226

[28] See Ahsan Jan Qaisar and Rana Firdaus, 'The Craft of Bookbinding in Mughal India', in Ahsan Jan Qaisar and Som Prakash Verma (eds.), *Art and Culture: Endeavours in Interpretation*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 119-28

[29] Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal*, p. 13

[30] Bābur, *Bāburnama*, p. 226

In fact it was expected that a Muslim ruler would have a library with illuminated manuscripts (even if portable, to accommodate a more nomadic lifestyle). Illuminated books were prized, and were desirable as spoils of war, as reflected in a passage from the *Bāburnāma*: 'After spending two nights on this hill, on Monday I entered the [captured]fortress [of Malot] for an inspection and went into Ghazi Khan's library, which held a few valuable books. I gave some of them to Humayun and sent others to Kamran. Although there were many learned books, there were not so many valuable ones as I expected.'[31] The library that was expected of a ruler was usually 'rather than simple repositories, often served as book-making centres as well, with resident staffs of paper-makers, calligraphers, illuminators, gilders, illustrators, and binders'.[32] Indeed, under Babur's descendants, the atelier (*naqqāshkhāna/ taswīrkhāna*) was organized as part of the library (*kitābkhāna*), and together both were under the supervision of the same dārogha.[33] This arrangement, common at Muslim courts was maintained throughout the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan.[34]

We know for certain that Humayun had an atelier and it is to his reign or rather period of exile in Kabul, that the earliest surviving paintings produced by artists of the imperial Mughal atelier date to. The *Tazkirat ul-Wāqi'āt* though, confirms the existence of an atelier much earlier on. In a moving passage, when the prospects for re-conquest must have been at their lowest, the following is said to have taken place in the deserts of Rajasthan:

> Soon after the Rana had retired, the King [Humayun] undressed and ordered his clothes to be washed, and in the meanwhile he wore his dressing gown; while thus sitting, a beautiful bird flew into the tent, the doors of which were immediately closed, and the bird caught; his Majesty then took a pair of scissors and cut some

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[31] Bābur, *Bāburnama*, p. 319

[32] Milo Cleveland Beach, *New Cambridge*, p. 18

[33] Hence, Mutribī, in quoting poetry from Maktūb Khān, describes him as being in charge of the royal library and atelier. Mutribī, *Conversations*, p. 30

[34] Som Prakash Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work: A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue*, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 8

> of the feathers of the animal; he then sent for a painter, and had taken a picture of the bird, and afterwards ordered it to be released.[35]

What is equally important about this passage is that it shows that even in the most dire circumstances a ruler might have his atelier with him, thus increasing the possibility that Babur whose life before India was at times similar to that which Humayun experienced as a fugitive, had an atelier with him during his Central Asian roamings.

Akbar's patronage of painting then was firmly in keeping with his Timurid and Islamic roots, and moreover it is significant that the first manuscripts illustrated (*Ḥamzanāma*, *Anwār-i Suhailī*, *Ṭūṭīnāma*, etc..) were also in keeping with trends at Muslim courts of illustrating literary classics, tales and fables. However, the resources available at his disposal ensured that a painting atelier on a mammoth scale, well in excess of anything Humayun or Babur might have been able to muster together, was now possible.

Moreover, the physical environment within which the painters were now based was secure within the forts of the capital cities, in workshops purposely built for them. In this regard the painters were no different from other imperial *kārkhānas* or workshops, also located within the fort, although their status was unequalled by these others. Father Monserrate, who was present at the court in the early 1580s and saw the atelier in the Lahore Fort, provides the earliest mention of the work environment of the Mughal atelier:

> For this purpose he [Akbar] has built a workshop near the palace, where also are studios and work-rooms for the finer and more reputable arts, such as painting, goldsmith work, tapestry-making, carpet and curtain-making, and the manufacturing of arms. Hither he very frequently comes and relaxes his mind with watching at their work those who practice these arts.'[36]

By the time Monserrate visited the atelier in Lahore, many illustrated manuscripts had already been produced by them. The most important of these from our perspective is the *Ḥamzanāma*. This was a collection of stories based very loosely upon the life of Amir

[35] Jauhar Aftābchī, *Tazkirat*, p. 43
[36] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 201

Ḥamza, a paternal uncle of the Prophet Muhammad. The colossal scale of the project was well beyond the manpower of the small atelier of some six painters that had been bequeathed to Akbar by Humayun, and we get some idea of the scale of the *Ḥamzanāma* project under Akbar from the following passage in the *Tarīkh-i Akbarī*:

> The king's interest in the art of painting is unmatched. There are three hundred and sixty episodes in the story of *Amir Hamza*. He ordered that each one of those be painted together with its assembly. In the preparation (of this work) one hundred men, consisting of expert painters, gilders, sketch-drawers and book-binders were engaged. The size of the book (album of these paintings) was half a yard Shara'e and its paper, made of cloth with a combination of colours and the border, decorated with floral pattern and there was cloth in between two sheets of paper to make it durable. All its plates were gilded. A farman was issued that the best of scholars who were matchless and known for their sweet voice, render the tables into musical prose, and the calligraphers, possessing the faculty of fancy writing in golden letters, must also help in its preparation. Despite all these equipments, each volume took two years in preparation, and an estimated amount of 10 lakh copper tankas (5 lakh silver tankas) was spent on each of the volumes.[37]

Abu l-Fazl furnishes us with further details, telling us that the *Ḥamzanāma* 'was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story.'[38] Badauni, however, tells us that there were fifteen volumes, and later on sixteen volumes.[39] An inscription on a surviving initial page of one of the volumes reads 'Volume thirteen', indicating that there were in fact at least thirteen volumes. Of the total time it took from beginning to end, Badauni tells us that it took fifteen years.[40] The recent discovery of the date '972' of the Islamic calendar, on one illustration of Volume 6, corresponding to August 1564 – July 1565AD, has led one art historian to suggest between October 1557 – October 1558 as the date of commencement, and 1572 to 73 for its completion.[41]

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[37] Qandahārī, *Tarīkh*, pp. 64-5
[38] Abū l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 115
[39] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 329; Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, p. 292
[40] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 329
[41] John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza*, p. 39

For the purpose of this project then, the imperial atelier was enlarged from some six artists from Humayun's reign to a staggering two hundred and fifty plus. Significantly, the artists that were recruited en masse for this project were Indian. Had Akbar wished, he could have filled his atelier with artists from Iran and Central Asia, which is what Humayun had done. Instead, he chose to turn to local painters. These newly recruited Indian artists worked under the supervision of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, and 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad, and were to be re-trained under their guidance in the Safavid style. Abu l-Fazl briefly refers to this, stating that 'From the instruction they received, the Khwaja's pupils became masters."[42] These Indian artists, however, did not have their pre-Mughal styles trained-out of them by these two Persian painters, and the unique look of the Mughal miniature, distinct in appearance from that of the Safavid school, is due primarily to a combination of Persian art via the artists of Humayun's atelier, and pre-Mughal Indian art brought into the atelier by these Indian recruits. The equally important European contribution to Mughal painting will be discussed later.

From whence then, did Akbar draw Indian artists? By the Mughal invasion in the sixteenth century, painting had been practiced continuously all over the subcontinent for a long time, not only in manuscript illustration, but also in cloth and mural painting. The Ajanta Caves was the most famous example, and with literary references to painting at an even earlier date by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Fa-hsien in the fourth century AD.

From the Sultanate period, only a few manuscripts produced at Sultanate courts have survived, although none from Delhi, the capital of the largest pre-Mughal Sultanate. These tell us that the Shiraz style was overwhelmingly the most influential Persian painting style in the subcontinent.[43] This was due largely to the importation of Shirazi manuscripts to India. To quote one art historian, 'Shiraz had a long tradition of churning out manuscripts, usually copied from good originals... [and was] a great centre for the

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[42] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 114

[43] Though the Shiraz style was the dominant Persian style in the subcontinent, Indian artists also had exposure to styles from other parts of the Islamic World. A Mandu manuscript for instance, of the *Bustān*, is illustrated in the Herat style from the period of Sultan Ḥusain, c. 1485-94. Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, The British Library, London, 1983, p. 171

production of manuscripts on a commercial basis and no doubt they were exported to the main book-production centers of India in some numbers.'[44] In addition, artists too came from Shiraz seeking employment in India. Indeed so strong is the Shirazi influence that the early surviving Sultanate manuscripts produced in India in the early fifteenth century are difficult to distinguish from manuscripts produced in Shiraz at the same time if judged purely on stylistic grounds, and other means of ascertaining their origin must sometimes be employed, such as the type of paper used and the place of the manuscript's purchase in more recent times.

Later manuscripts, however, can be distinguished from those of Shiraz. Two manuscripts are worthy of mention here, both from Mandu, the capital of Malwa. The first entitled the *Miftāḥ ul-Fuzalā* from cc. 1490-1500 is in the Turkman style of Shiraz, with only occasional Indian features discerned in costume and architecture. This is thought to have been done by an imported artist from Shiraz.[45] A second manuscript, cc. 1501, the *Ni'matnāma* is from the same atelier in Mandu. This shows markedly stronger Indian features in costume, faces, flora, and architecture which reflects those of Mandu.[45b] A surviving Bengali manuscript from 1531-2, entitled the *Sharafnāma*, has even more markedly Indian elements than the Mandu manuscripts.[46] In addition, a mid-fifteenth century *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau thought to come from Gujarat is a fusion the Shirazi style with elements of the Gujarati Jain style.[47]

The Jain community, in Gujarat in particular, had a long tradition of illustrated manuscript patronage. During the Sultanate period, the colophons on these manuscripts indicate 'a preponderance of lay middle-class patronage, principally by merchants and traders. The commissioning of a copy of a Jain text was seen as a meritorious act.'[48] Two texts were usually commissioned: the *Kalpasūtra* (Book of Rituals) a major canonical text, and the *Kālakācharyākathā* (Story of Kālakā), the most important non-

[44] Ibid., p. 165-71
[45] Ibid., p. 171 ; [45b] Ibid., p. 173
[46] Ibid., pp. 179-80
[47] Ibid., pp. 167-8
[48] John Guy, 'Jain Manuscript Painting', in Pratapaditya Pal (ed.), *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1994, p. 92 ; [48b] Ibid., p. 92

canonical work in Jain literature.[48b] Patrons and manuscript production were not confined to Gujarat, but included Malwa and Jaunpur, also under Muslim rule. The style of these texts has been termed 'Western Indian', and by the Mughal period, had already come under the influence of Iran from the large number of Persian manuscripts in India as mentioned above. Apart from the replacement of the palm leaf with paper in the twelfth century, other manifestations of foreign influences include the depiction of the human figure in some cases without the protruding eye, the use of blue and gold, and the addition of elaborate borders. The incorporation into these paintings of Central Asian styles of clothing has also been commonly credited by art historians to Islamic manuscript sources. However, the presence of large numbers of Turks, Persians and Afghans in centres of manuscript production such as Gujarat and Jaunpur dressed in their own styles of clothing would surely have not gone unnoticed by the artists of these Jain manuscripts.

From the Delhi–Agra area, right in the vicinity of the Mughal capitals, three Hindu illustrated manuscripts have survived. A *Bhāgavata Purāna*, dated cc. 1540 possibly from Mathura, the *Chaurapanchaśika* (Fantasies of a Love Thief), cc. 1550, and the *Araṇyaka Parvan* (Forest Book) a section from the *Mahābhārata* dated 1516 are examples of book illustration in the area just prior to the period under review. The *Araṇyaka Parvan* manuscript contains an inscription with the name and title of its patron, a *chaudhuri*, thus indicating that non-royalty also commissioned illustrated manuscripts.[49] There are some differences in style between the three, but the most important regarding the Mughal period is the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. The 'female figure type' of this manuscript is also found in the first Mughal illustrated manuscript, the *Ṭūṭīnāma*. Compare for instance the women in Figures 133, and in 134 in particular, of the *Bhāgavata*, with those in Figures 8 and 9 of the *Ṭūṭīnāma*. It is no exaggeration to say that it appears as though the same women have walked into the framed scenes of the *Ṭūṭīnāma* straight out of the *Bhāgavata*. The *Bhāgavata* thus, points to the Delhi-Agra area as an early source of recruitment for Akbar's atelier.

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[49] Milo Cleveland Beach, *New Cambridge*, p. 8

The regions from whence these surviving illustrated manuscripts with their regional styles – Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal, and the Delhi-Agra area, had by the late sixteenth century during the formative years of the Mughal style of miniature painting been incorporated into the empire of Akbar. Following the defeat of their patrons and conquest of their homelands, the artists must have been eager for employment, and it is likely that it is from this pool of already trained painters, albeit in pre-Mughal styles, that artists were drawn into Akbar's atelier in large numbers. There is no evidence at all to suggest that the artists were carried off by force to the Mughal capital in captivity, although this would have been firmly in keeping with Timurid traditions.[50]

Whilst the *Ḥamzanāma* was in progress, one of the first illustrated manuscripts to be completed by Akbar's atelier, if not the first, was the *Ṭūṭīnāma*. This manuscript is particularly interesting in that it contains miniatures of varying styles, lacking the stylistic unity found in later Mughal illustrated manuscripts.[50b] While there is evidence that the artists were at this early point attempting to adjust their styles to conform to Persian aesthetics, many of the miniatures are virtually unchanged examples of a variety of pre-Mughal Indian styles.[50c] Not only does this tell us that at this early stage the artists of the *kārkhāna* operated under less control than under the *Ḥamzanāma*, but the different styles in the *Ṭūṭīnāma* point to where some of these Indian artists came from (such as in the case of Figures 133 and 134 of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* and Figures 8 and 9 of the *Ṭūṭīnāma* mentioned above).

It is in the *Ḥamzanāma* that we first see a full fusion of styles. The miniatures in the early volumes are dominated by the Safavid style, but by the middle volumes (cc. 1565) changes occur. Not only is there a growing concern with volume and space, but elements

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[50] Timur's collection of captured artists and craftsmen in Samarqand is well known. Later Timurids also engaged in similar methods of recruitment. For instance, in 1415 Shah Rukh in deposing Iskander Shah in Shiraz took artists and scribes with him to Herat, and Baysunghur in 1421 took Sultan Ahmad's artists from Tabriz to Herat. D'zul Haimi bin Mohd. Zain, *Formal Values in Timurid Miniature Painting*, Penerbitan Fargoes Sdn. Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, 1989, p. 5

[50b] Milo Cleveland Beach, *New Cambridge*, p. 21; [50c] Ibid., pp. 21-2

from the Indian environment begin to be added.[51] By the last volumes of the *Ḥamzanāma*, cc. 1570, the birth of a distinct style is complete.[51b] Miniatures in these volumes show great attention to the volume and form of limbs and garments, and characters are depicted from a wide variety of angles.[51c] Moreover, the scene has become local, the architecture is Mughal and characteristic of Akbar's reign with ornately carved red sandstone, and the complexions of these characters become varied and include dark complexioned human figures, not characteristic of Persian art (see Figure 6).

A third and eventually an equally strong stream of influence - that of European art, arrived on the scene soon after the *Ḥamzanāma's* completion. The fusion of Indian and Persian styles had been the result of Indian and Persian painters bringing with them their respective styles. European influence on the other hand, was via the exposure of these same artists to examples of European art: book engravings and paintings for certain, and perhaps tapestries as well. The favourable reception accorded to European art which was praised in the highest terms by Abu l-Fazl,[52] was due to the fact that Mughal miniature paintings, like European engravings and drawings that were brought to the court, were also figurative works of art. Thus, recent European advances in figurative art, such as in the realistic depiction of the human figure reached through an in depth study of human anatomy, could be appreciated by the Mughal court and the painters of the atelier.[53]

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[51] John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza*, pp. 45-6 [51b] Ibid., p. 46; [51c] Ibid., p. 47

[52] Abu l-Fazl, *Ā'īn*, Persian Text, p. 116-7

[53] Similarly, European art was enthusiastically received earlier in Herat, and by the Mughal's contemporaries the Safavids and the Ottomans, although the results - whether positive or negative, of European influence at these various centers of art at different times, is certainly a matter of taste today. For instance, in a recent and thorough study of the figurative tradition in Islamic art, one scholar, Michael Barry has commented, 'These evolutions [use of shading and vanishing points] in European manuscript illumination were to reappear almost exactly in Islam – though with a very long intervening time gap of about a century. Bihzad's recourse to slight shading and modeling in the 1490s thus went no further than what the brothers Limbourg had done in their *Very Rich Books of Hours* in the very first decade of the fifteenth century. European Renaissance atmospheric touches were finally to affect Indo-Islamic paintings in the very last decade of the sixteenth century and in the opening years of the seventeenth century, but the master artists who worked for the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahangir still skillfully maintained the balance between ornament and depth observed by miniaturists at the courts of Charles VIII and Louis XII in France more than a hundred years earlier. Then, in late seventeenth-century Isfahan, European-trained artists like Muhammad Zaman imposed the heavy, fleshy manner of contemporary Baroque oils upon the Persian manuscript page, and fatally suffocated the style.' Michael Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of the Bihzad of Herat (1465-1535)*, Flammarion, Paris, 2004, p. 112

A Mughal mission sent to Goa in 1575 with the purpose of procuring items of curiosity for Akbar, may have brought back the earliest examples of European art for the emperor. One definite source of European art, however, were the three missions of Jesuit priests to the Mughal court beginning in 1580, and the priests who were resident in Agra and Lahore where they now had churches. Upon arrival at Fatehpur Sikri, Fathers Monserrate and Aquaviva presented seven volumes of Plantin's *Polyglot Bible* to Akbar, illustrated with Flemish engravings,[54] and en route to Kabul, Monserrate who accompanied the imperial camp, showed Akbar various other illustrated religious books.[55] In addition to this, paintings on many occasions, religious and secular, were presented by the Jesuits to Akbar and Jahangir (as prince and as emperor),[56] as the fathers learnt very early that such gifts pleased these two more than any other, to quote Du Jarric on Salīm (Jahangir as a prince), 'Whenever the Portuguese, or other Christians at court, obtained good copies of such pictures from India [Goa] or Portugal, they used to present them to the Prince, knowing that this would greatly please him.'[57] In fact, so well received were these paintings, including those of biblical scenes, that the Jesuits were encouraged in their hopes of conversion.[58]

The Jesuits were not the only suppliers of European art which they sourced from Portugal, Goa, and the Spanish Netherlands. Sir Thomas Roe showed and gave Jahangir various English paintings, and suggested that Flemish tapestries be sent as gifts to the Mughal court. Indeed, the East India Company, early in this reign estimated that out of a total of 695 pounds spent on gifts, they spent 255 pounds on pictures alone.[59] About Shah Jahan's interest in European art as emperor, there are no such written accounts chiefly because, the Jesuit missions (with their letters to Goa) had ceased by his reign. Nevertheless, one reported incident from the time he was a prince, about his rage at not being shown a painting brought by the English before it had been taken and presented to

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[54] Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, p. 58; Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 37
[55] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 138
[56] Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, pp. 48-9; Du Jarric, *Akbar*, pp. 66, 82, 110, 154, Guerreiro, *Jahangir*, p, 45
[57] Du Jarric, *Akbar*, pp. 81-2
[58] Ibid., pp. 66, 81-2
[59] Qaisar, *The Indian Response*, p. 87

Jahangir, does suggest that he was as interested in European art, as his father and grandfather.[60]

While we have seen how European art reached the hands of the emperors and princes, the next step, which was crucial for European art to have any real impact on Mughal art, was for these gifts to make their way into the hands of the artists of the imperial atelier. Many European travellers' accounts mention that the artists of the atelier were sent by the emperor the paintings and engravings that they had brought as gifts for them to 'copy',[61] and many Mughal copies of European works have survived from the period.[62] Copying such works was an essential part of the process of learning how European artists handled portraiture, perspective, folds in drapery, and light and shade, which became incorporated into the Mughal style. In addition to the paintings and book engravings that they copied, additional knowledge on European techniques may have been gained from European visitors themselves. Two European painters, one a professional painter from Portugal who accompanied the third Jesuit mission and one a merchant by profession from England who briefly stayed with Sir Thomas Roe, are known to have visited Jahangir's court and may have imparted some of their knowledge to the painters of the atelier. According to Du Jarric, the Portuguese painter at the emperor's order made a copy of a painting of Mary brought from Goa,[63], and it is likely that he was observed at work by the emperor's artists. Roe tells us, on the other hand, that Jahangir requested that the English painter come 'with his Pictures' to the palace at night.[64] The Jesuit priests present at court, may also have been of some help. In the case of copying book engravings into colour miniature paintings, Fernao Guerreiro, writes for instance that, 'He [Jahangir] himself selected, from his own collection of pictures, the figures to be painted; and he

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[60] Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, p. 111

[61] Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, p. 59; Du Jarric, *Akbar*, p. 82, 190; Guerreiro, *Jahangir*, p. 63; Roe, *The Journal*, p. 38; Pictures not intended as gifts were might also be borrowed by the emperor for his artists to copy. Du Jarric, *Akbar*, p. 169; Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 48-9;

[62] Such as 'The Martyrdom of St Cecilia', by Nīnī, c. 1600, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 139-1921], copied from a book engraving by Jerome Wierix, and 'The Nativity of Christ', c. 1605-10, Victoria and Albert Museum [D 402-1885], copied from a book engraving by Geronimo Nadal.

[63] Du Jarric, *Akbar*, p. 66

[64] Roe, *The Journal*, p. 36

ordered his artists to consult the Fathers [of the third mission] as to the colours to be used for the costumes, and to follow their instructions in every detail.'[65]

A comparison of the miniatures of the *Khamsa* of Nizami of 1595, with those of the *Ḥamzanāma*, reveal the extent to which European art had impacted upon Mughal art by the turn of the seventeenth century. In the *Khamsa*, European methods of perspective are evident unlike in the *Ḥamzanāma*. In the first miniature of the *Khamsa* for example (Figure 143), painted by Manohar, one of the greatest artists of the period, the landscape in the foreground is painted in warmer colours that merge into the cooler colours of the background creating a sense of distance, and the same is the case with the city, with the city gate in warmer colours than the buildings in its interior. There are no colour gradations to convey distance in the case of the *Ḥamzanāma*, nor are buildings and figures in the background depicted in less detail than those in the foreground, and distance is only conveyed by depicting figures and buildings in the background on a smaller scale than those in the foreground (although sometimes they are on the same scale) and by the use of landscape features such as rocks and trees or walls, dividing the foreground from the background in the Persian manner.

There can be no doubt that the emperor's love of painting provided an impetus for its patronage by those of his nobles with the means to do so. If foreign visitors such as Sir Thomas Roe and the Fathers of the three Jesuit Missions were aware of the favours to be gained by presenting the emperor with works of art, the emperor's own nobles must have been all the more aware of the advantages of patronizing painting themselves. However, one must not get carried away in supposing that the nobles only did so to gain favour with their emperor, and that he alone was genuinely interested in painting. This is an important point to consider, for surprisingly enough it has been suggested by one prominent historian of Indian art that '[i]t is doubtful, nevertheless, that more than one or two Rajput patrons admired pictures for the sake of pictures as did Jahangir.'[66]

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[65] Guerreiro, *Jahangir*, p. 63

[66] Pratapaditya Pal, *The Classical Tradition in Rajput Painting: From the Paul F. Walter Collection*, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1978, p. 31

Indeed, the emperor did more than just set an example by simply patronizing painting. Akbar, in a statement reported in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* makes his stance on painting perfectly clear to all:

> One day in close conversation with those who had the fortune to be in his presence, his Majesty commented that there were some who rejected painting, but such people he disliked, and that in fact a painter was afforded unique opportunities to perceive God, for when drawing animate objects and their limbs, he would not be able to give each a soul, and therefore he would acquire an appreciation of the wonder of the Creator of souls.[67]

This statement and its inclusion in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* appears to have been directed at his Muslim courtiers more than anyone else, as some amongst them were the most likely to disapprove of the representation of animate objects in painting on religious grounds. Akbar was therefore sending a clear message to them on where their emperor stood in relation to painting. This is important, for the religious views of a Muslim monarch could have serious implications for painting. Only through Shah Tahmasp, the Safavid emperor's increasing religiosity, had two of the most prominent painters of his atelier, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, and Khwāja 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad, entered the then insignificant Mughal atelier of Humayun. Monarchs tended to be extremely possessive of their best artists (and would even carry away by force artists attached to courts that they had vanquished), and it is highly doubtful that the Safavid emperor would otherwise have released artists of such quality. Akbar on the other hand, as the passage above indicates paid little regard for the views of those opposed to painting on religious grounds, and patronized painting on a scale unprecedented in the history of Islamic painting. Jahangir and Shah Jahan, were likewise unconcerned with the views of those opposed to it, and thus painting continued to flourish unabated under them.

In addition to his views and example, during the reign of Akbar, more persuasive means were used to spread the patronage of painting by nobles. According to Badauni, who

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[67] [My translation] Abu l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Persian Text, p. 117

worked on the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*, known as the *Razmnāma*, 'when fairly engrossed and embellished with pictures, the Amirs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God'.[68] Apart from the original *Razmnāma* (1586-87) illustrated for the emperor now in Jaipur, three major copies have survived; one from 1598 and another from 1605, both of unknown patronage, and a third now dispersed from 1616-1617 made for 'Abd ur-Raḥim by his own atelier during Jahangir's reign.[69] Some of the Amirs such as 'Abd ur-Raḥīm had their own ateliers to provide them with copies. Those who did not, would most likely have had to commission a copy from the imperial atelier. As the best artists of the imperial atelier worked for the emperor, junior artists are likely to have worked on the copies for the nobles. This may explain why the 1598 *Razmnāma*, of unknown patronage, was painted by artists whose names are rarely found otherwise in the work of the imperial atelier, and that seventeen of the artists also place their father's names in their ascriptions also indicates that the work was done by apprentices in the imperial atelier.[70] As a result the work in comparison to the Jaipur manuscript, the miniatures of the 1598 *Razmnāma* are much less detailed producing a somewhat starker and simplified appearance.

The ateliers of the nobles, if 'Abd ur-Raḥīm's atelier as described in his biography the *Ma'aṣir-i Raḥīmī*, is anything to go by, were organized along the same lines as the imperial atelier, although on a smaller scale. Firstly, one *dārogha* (supervisor) was appointed for both the care of the manuscripts in the library, and for the affairs of the atelier. In the case of 'Abd ur-Raḥīm, five names are given in the *Ma'aṣir* as having been employed in this capacity.[71] Secondly, as in the imperial atelier, people were employed with all the skills necessary for the production of manuscripts. Thus the *Ma'aṣir* gives us the names of five painters, two specialist painters, and three multi-skilled (i.e.

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[68] Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 330-1

[69] John Seyller, 'Model and Copy: The Illustration of Three *Razmnama* Manuscripts', in *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. XXXVIII, The Asia Society, New York, 1985, p. 54

[70] Ibid., p. 52

[71] M. Mahfuzul Haq, 'The Khan Khanan and his Painters, Illuminators and Calligraphists', in *Islamic Culture: The Hyderabad Quarterly Review*, Vol. V., 1937; reprint, Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York 1967, p. 622

calligraphers, gilders, etc).[72] One of these painters, Mādhav is listed by Abu l-Fazl in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* amongst the leading painters in the imperial atelier,[73] and from the *Ma'aṣir* it seems that he joined 'Abd ur-Raḥīm's atelier after he had worked in the imperial atelier, although we have no surviving miniatures from his new employer.[74] Significantly, that an artist of such prominence and talent joined 'Abd ur-Raḥīm's atelier from the imperial atelier, goes against the general view held by art historians that the ateliers of the nobles comprised second-rate artists in comparison to those in the imperial atelier. The *Ma'aṣir* has this to say about him:

> He is a Hindu painter. In portraiture, drawing, painting and arabesque-design (*tarrahi*) he is the Mani and the Bihzad of his age. He has illustrated most of the manuscripts of this court ['Abd ur-Raḥīm's]; he has drawn several court-scenes and painted excellent miniatures. He is employed in the library and holds, besides an allowance, *Jagirs*, also. The writer has met him and has also seen his pictures in the presence of this Commander-in-Chief [i.e. the Khān-i Khānān 'Abd ur-Raḥīm]. Verily, he is peerless (in his art).[75]

Also listed in addition to the painters, are others necessary for illustrated book production, one gilder and one book-binder, and five calligraphers, skilled in various styles of calligraphy.[76] It is very likely that others were employed, and that the *Ma'aṣir* like the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* for the imperial atelier, only lists the most important artists, gilders, binders, and calligraphers in 'Abd ur-Raḥīm's atelier.

Many Rajput rajas who were nobles at the Mughal court patronized painting too. However, their ateliers, some with artists trained in the Mughal style at the imperial atelier, were not located in the Mughal capital cities, but in their own home courts.[77] The style of Rajput miniatures whilst bearing strong Mughal influences, comprises a separate school of art, distinct in appearance from Mughal miniatures, by at least the same degree

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[72] Ibid, p. 626
[73] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 114
[74] Verma, *Mughal Painters*, p. 234
[75] M. Mahfuzul Haq, 'The Khan Khanan' in *Islamic*, pp. 626-7
[76] Ibid., pp. 627-30
[77] John Guy and Deborah Swallow (eds.), *Arts of India: 1550 – 1900*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1990, pp. 135-7

that the Mughal school and Safavid school are separated stylistically at the end of the *Ḥamzanāma* project. As Rajput painting was produced away from the Mughal capital cities, it lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

Mughal princes too, had their own ateliers. Jahangir, then Salim, following his rebellion against his father, set up court in Allahabad, and had with him his own atelier. Gifted artists such as Abu l-Ḥasan whom he writes of as having been 'reared' by him in his memoirs,[78] and his father Āqā Rizā', were already part of his atelier in the period prior to his accession. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, is also thought to have had an atelier. Dara Shikoh was himself a skilled calligrapher, and the collection of miniatures associated with him is the so-called Dara Shikoh Album, now in the British Library, which the prince gave as a gift to his wife Nādira Bānū in 1641-42.[79] However, because only one of the paintings that comprise this *muraqqa'* is signed, it has not been possible to say whether the album was painted by an atelier belonging to the prince or by artists of Shah Jahan's atelier, or by both.[80]

It has been mentioned that no miniatures outside of those painted for the ateliers of the Mughal elite, such as bazaar paintings have survived. There is neither literary reference nor physical evidence for the patronage of painting in the Mughal capital cities by those not connected to the court, such as wealthy merchants. This is in contrast to the pre-Mughal period, with numerous manuscripts being commissioned by Jain merchants in Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, and elsewhere, whilst under the rule of Sultans. Likewise, Hindu illustrated manuscripts from the Delhi-Agra region, including one bearing the name of a *chaudhurī* as its patron,[81] were produced during Lodi or Sūr rule. In contrast during the period under review, there is no evidence for such patronage in the capital

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[78] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, pp. 20-1

[79] Dye, 'Artists for the Emperor', in Pal (ed.), *Romance*, p. 121

[80] Signed by Muḥammad Khān, 'Dara Shikoh Album', folio 21b, India Office Library, British Library, London. Ibid., p. 124

[81] This is the *Araṇyaka Parvan* (Forest Book), one section of the *Mahābhārata*, dated 1516 and made near Agra. Beach, *New Cambridge*, p. 8

cities of the Mughal empire, despite the presence of wealthy members of these communities.

About the painters who produced the Mughal miniature paintings, from occasional mention of their names in the written sources, names signed within miniatures, or written beneath miniatures by clerks, we are able to get some idea of the cosmopolitan composition of the imperial atelier. It must be said though, that the artists whose names we do know even though the list runs into the hundreds probably represents only a fraction of the total number of artists who worked in the imperial atelier during the period under review. Nevertheless, based on these names, it is apparent that from the onset, there were no restrictions on religion or ethnicity, and painters were selected on the basis of their ability.

In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, just as Abu l-Fazl lists seventeen of the most prominent painters, out of 'Over a hundred painters [who] have become masters in their field and attained fame, and the numbers of those who have almost reached this point as well as those who are halfway there, is also very large.'[82] Nevertheless, from this small fraction we are still provided with an insight into the composition of the imperial atelier. Firstly, of the seventeen, fourteen have Hindu names, and three Muslim names. Details provided by Abu l-Fazl on four of the artists yield additional information. Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Tabriz, was one of the artists from the Safavid court of Shah Tahmasp released by the Shah to enter the service of Humayun during his exile. Likewise, Khwāja 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad of Shiraz, also left the Safavid court for Humayun's service at the same time. Daswant, a Hindu artist, is a particularly interesting case. We are told that he was the son of a *pālkī*-bearer, whose artistic talent was noticed by the emperor Akbar and recruited to the atelier where in 'a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age.'[83] Of the fourth artist, Basāwan, a Hindu, we are not told anything of his background, with the focus being on his skill as a painter. However, one other painter, Farrukh, has Qalmāq as his surname pointing to a Central Asian origin, the Qalmāqs being a

[82] [My translation] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Persian Text, p. 116-7
[83] Ibid., p. 114

prominent Mongolian tribe of Central Asia.[84] Farrukh Qalmāq's case as with Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad, and the names of others, tell us that not only were both Hindus and Muslims employed within the atelier, but of the Muslims there was considerable ethnic diversity with artists from Iran and Central Asia, in addition to Indian Muslims.

From Jahangir's reign, the *Jahāngīrnāma* makes mention of only six painters, 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad, Āqā Rizā from Herat, Abū l-Ḥasan, Bishandās, Farrukh Beg and Manṣūr. Once again this small fraction of the total number of painters is informative. The Farrukh Beg mentioned by Jahangir, is the same as the one recorded amongst a group of newcomers to the imperial court from Kabul. 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad is the same Iranian painter mentioned in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* who had joined Humayun's service. Āqā Rizā was an immigrant from Herat, and Abu l-Ḥasan his son. Thus we see once again a number of Muslims from abroad amongst the atelier.

The emperors, with their love of painting were naturally highly appreciative of the work done by their artists, and took a keen interest in their work and rewarded them accordingly. Abu l-Fazl tells us that the work done by the atelier was brought to Akbar weekly for his inspection and that according to the quality of their workmanship, monthly salaries were increased or rewards conferred.[85] We do not know what increases were made to salaries or how frequently rewards were given to them. It may well be that it was not very often if Badauni's case is anything to go by. His complaint with Akbar was that he was promised gifts on top of his meagre salary, but 'though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice'.[86]

Jahangir's reign provides a better indication of recognition and rewards accorded to artists whose work had pleased him. He mentions in his memoirs presenting an elephant to Bishandās upon his return from Iran, for the portraits he drew of Shah Abbas and some of his nobles, which, he notes in his diary 'when I showed it [Shah Abbas' portrait] to

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[84] Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 145-6
[85] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 113
[86] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, pp. 207-8

any of his [Shah Abbas'] servants, they said it was exceedingly well drawn.'[87] Two other artists honoured with titles for their outstanding work are mentioned earlier in the *Jahāngīrnāma*:

> On this day Abu-l-Ḥasan, the painter, who has been honoured with the title of Nādiru-z-zamān, drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece (Figure 64) to the Jahāngīr-nāma, and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal. If at this day the masters 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Bihzād were alive, they would have done him justice. His father, Aqa Riza'i of Herat, at the time when I was Prince, joined my service. He (Abu-l-Hasan) was a *Khānazād* of my Court. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father (*i.e.* he is far better than his father). One cannot put them into the same category. My connection was based on my having reared him. From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become Nādira-i-zamān ("the wonder of the age"). Also, Ustād Manṣūr has become such a master in painting that he has the title of Nādiru-l-'Aṣr, and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation. In the time of my father's reign and my own these two have no third.[88]

In addition, Thomas Roe's account of failing a challenge put to him by Jahangir to distinguish his own painting from five copies made by one of the artists of the atelier, and Jahangir's insistence that he give the artist responsible a reward does suggest that the artists of the atelier were as a rule rewarded by Jahangir for outstanding work. Roe writes:

> but saith he [Jahangir], what will you give the Painter? I answered, seeing he had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if he came to my house, I would give him one hundred Rupies to buy a Nagge, which the King took kindly, but answered, he should accept no money, but some other gift: which I promised: the King asked what? I said it was referrable to my discretion: so he answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replyed, a good Sword, a Pistall, a Picture; whereat the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toyes as you have, and

[87] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, pp. 116-7
[88] Ibid., pp. 20-1

> let him choose one in requitall whereof you shall choose any of these Copies to shew in England. [89]

From Shah Jahan's reign, we are told by Lāhorī in describing the daily activities of Shah Jahan, that part of the emperor's time in the *dīwān-i khāṣ* was spent 'inspecting the works of magical artists such as lapidaries, enamelers and others.'[90] Unfortunately, the written primary sources do not mention salaries or rewards for artists.

Alternatively, poor performance might result in the artist being released from service to seek employment elsewhere, for just as the emperors had their favourite painters and paintings, they also are likely to have viewed work from time to time that they did not like. Norah M. Titley, draws our attention to one artist of the *Dārābnāma*, Ibrāhīm Lāhorī, whose name does not appear in connection with any subsequent paintings of Akbar's atelier or that of later emperors, after contributing two technically deficient paintings to this manuscript.[91] According to Titley, 'Akbar, who was himself a pupil of both Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd al-Ṣamad when he was a boy, and who inspected his artists' work weekly, would be unlikely to retain anyone in his studios who painted so badly.'[92] Later on, dismissal on a bigger scale took place when under Jahangir the size of the imperial atelier was drastically reduced from some two hundred and fifty to around eighty, to keep only those artists that the emperor considered to be the best.

The rewards (including titles) conferred on outstanding artists and the references in Mughal literary sources to individual artists are an indication that painters were recognised for their individual ability by the emperors. It stands to follow then, that the emperors were also aware of individual styles. This is reflected in Jahangir's assessment of his own connoisseurship:

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[89] Roe, *The Journal*, pp. 38-9
[90] Milo Cleveland Beach & Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Padshahnama*, Azimuth Editions, London, 1997, p. 570
[91] The two paintings referred to by Titley are 'Tahrūsiyyeh in disguise in a fortress' [Or. 4615, f. 68a], and 'Humāy and Rashnavād arriving at Nūrshān's house' [Or. 4615, f. 107b], in the British Museum, London. Verma, *Painters*, p. 184
[92] Titley, *Persian Miniature*, p. 193

> As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows.[93]

The taste for single paintings for pasting in albums beginning under Akbar, had greatly facilitated the expression of individuality in painting. The collaborative miniatures of the big projects such as the *Bāburnāma*, and *Akbarnāma*, not to mention the *Ḥamzanāma*, hindered individuality in style, but single miniatures overwhelmingly painted by individual artists gave greater freedom to the artists to express their individual styles, and explore their specific interests. The Mughal emperors not only approved of this, but in the case of Jahangir in particular, harnessed his artists' interests and strengths in specific fields, such as in portraiture, and in the depiction of nature. This explains his decision to send Bishandās from amongst his artists to Iran to paint Shah Abbas' portrait. Earlier miniatures by Bishandās reveal a gift for portraiture which was no doubt the reason for his being chosen. Manṣūr on the other hand with his forte in the depiction of nature was called upon by Jahangir to illustrate a wide range of animals such as deer, lizards and birds (Figure 77).

Such references to individual painters and their work in the memoirs of Jahangir, and earlier by Abu l-Fazl, tell us something also about the status of painters at the Mughal court. As mentioned earlier, the painters of the imperial atelier worked in one of the workshops in the fort, of which there were many, employing armourers, carpet weavers, perfumers, etc.. Certainly there are occasional references to these others, such as Ustād Dā'ūd and the swords that he made on one occasion,[94] yet as a single group, painters and their work receive the most attention from amongst those employed in the workshops, suggesting that painters enjoyed a higher status.

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[93] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, pp. 20-1
[94] Ibid., pp. 204-5

The miniatures themselves are also informative in this respect. Not only were miniatures signed, but painters sometimes included themselves within the scenes that they were depicting. This extended even to some court scenes where the painter is depicted standing amongst the nobles in the *dīwān-i 'ām*, with little except a book bearing his name (by which we can identify him) differentiating him from the nobles present.[95] In one miniature of Prince Khurram receiving the submission of Rāna Amar Singh of Mewar in the *Jahāngīrnāma*, we even see a painter (Nānhā, as the paper he is writing on reads, *shabīh-i Nānhā*, Figure 67) at work in close proximity to the prince, which as far I am aware is the only instance in the history of Mughal painting of someone shown seated in the presence of the emperor or one of his sons during an official occasion. None of this is likely to have been tolerated if painters were deemed to occupy a menial position.

Indeed, Abu l-Fazl tells us that 'many *Manṣabdārs*, *Aḥadīs*, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of the foot soldier varies from 1,200 to 600 *dams*.'[96] This seems to indicate that the most important artists in the atelier held *manṣabs*. Abd uṣ-Ṣamad is mentioned in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* as holding a *manṣab* of 400 and Abu l-Fazl comments that in spite of his low *manṣab* he wielded great influence at court.[97] Both the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* and the *Akbarnāma* mention his various appointments, which included being placed in charge of the mint at Fatehpur Sikri during the time it was the capital of the empire,[98] and made *dīwān*[99] of Multan.[100] Admittedly these important positions were administrative and date from after the period he was involved in the *Ḥamzanāma*, but it is noteworthy that 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad's subsequent important appointments show that being a painter did stand in the way of his being appointed to these posts. Returning to Abu l-Fazl's passage, less important artists were probably held to be on par with the *aḥadīs*,[101]

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[95] One painting from the *Pādshāhnāma* of Khurram's return to court after his defeat of Rana Amar Singh, shows the painter Mirār at court, identifiable from a book in his hand bearing his name. *Pādshāhnāma*, Royal Library, Windsor Castle [no. 773, f. 48B] c. 1640. In another painting from the same manuscript, Payāg is similarly present in the *dīwān-i 'ām* with a book bearing his name, [no. 773, f. 195A] c. 1640.
[96] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 115
[97] Ibid., p. 555
[98] Ibid., p. 555; Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, p. 321
[99] Revenue Officer.
[100] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 555, Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, p. 779
[101] Elite troops directly under the command of the Mughal emperors.

whilst the most junior artists including those engaged in gilding and margin-drawing (also part of this *kārkhāna*) might be paid on par with foot soldiers.[102]

In conclusion, the recruitment of large numbers of Indian artists, into the imperial atelier for their first project, the *Ḥamzanāma*, was an early example from Akbar's reign of a change in imperial attitudes towards the Indian environment. In the *Bāburnāma*, the conqueror of northern India, laments that 'The arts and crafts [of Hindustan] have no harmony or symmetry.'[103] In contrast, after the recruitment of hundreds of Indian painters thirty years later under Babur's grandson, Akbar, the Mughal court historian Abu l-Fazl writes:

> Outstanding painters are present whose paintings are worthy of a Bihzad masterpiece and placement alongside the wonderful works of the Europeans, which have captivated the world. In their subtlety, boldness, and finish, their paintings have reached an incomparable level, and inanimate objects seem life-like. Over a hundred painters have become masters in their field and attained fame, and the numbers of those who have almost reached this point as well as those who are halfway there, is also very large. What can be said of Indian painters, except that the meanings of their paintings are beyond imagination. Indeed, in the whole world few are like them.[104]

This turnabout in attitudes is perhaps best encapsulated in a painting of the Persian poet Sa'dī from the following reign (Figure 63). This miniature was originally painted in Bukhara in the mid-sixteenth century, but was reworked by a painter from Jahangir's atelier, who retained its background (excluding the idol), but replaced most of its human figures with his own. That such as act was allowed, or more likely ordered by the emperor, indicates Jahangir's higher estimation of the abilities of the painters of his atelier compared to those of his ancestral Central Asia.

In regard to the paintings themselves, the quick birth of the Mughal style of painting, unique in appearance from the neighbouring Safavid style, was a result of the influx of

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[102] Verma, *Mughal Painters*, p. 25
[103] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 350
[104] [My translation] Abu l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Persian Text, p. 116-7

large numbers of Indian artists in a relatively short period of time under Akbar, trained in different styles from that of the Safavid Persia. Certainly, the course of Mughal painting would have been different if Akbar, and later emperors had followed faithfully in Humayun's footsteps who recruited his artists from abroad. Miniature paintings at the Mughal court would likely then, to have adhered much more closely in style to that of Safavid Persia, and perhaps differentiating between the works of the Mughal and Safavid miniatures for us today may have posed similar problems to those that arise in differentiating between manuscripts imported into India from Shiraz and those produced at the Sultanate courts from the period prior to the Mughals. The arrival of European paintings and engravings and their influence on the artists of the imperial atelier only further differentiated the Mughal style from that of Safavid Persia.

During the period, painters, irrespective of their origins, even if of humble origin like Daswant, attained a status never reached before in the history of Indian painting, and unlike their predecessors in the subcontinent, these painters were not anonymous. In contrast the painters at the Rajput court remain mostly anonymous, which in regard to Rajput miniatures, the art historian, Pratapaditya Pal describes as 'typically Indian'.[105] Likewise, with Jain illustrated manuscripts, '[i]t is revealing that of the numerous Jain manuscripts containing colophon information pertaining to their commissioning and production, none records the name of the artist.'[106] The status accorded to artists at the Mughal court on the other hand was a continuation of Timurid attitudes towards painters formed in Central Asia, evident in the *Bāburnāma*. Indeed, it was under the Timurid, Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā (1438-1506), Babur's cousin and contemporary in Herat, that painters first began to sign their work,[107] something not done before in the Islamic miniature tradition.

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[105] Pal, *The Classical*, p. 31
[106] Guy, 'Jain Manuscript Painting', in Pal, *The Peaceful*, p. 93
[107] Zain, *Formal Values*, p. 5

Music

Various European travellers' accounts describe the prevalence of music in the Mughal empire during the period. Edward Terry writing during Jahangir's reign for example, while not enamoured with what he heard, noted nevertheless that, 'They [the Indians] delight much in musicke, and have many stringed and wind instruments, which never seemed in my eare to bee anything but discord',[108] and in the following reign, Niccolao Manucci observed similarly, 'In Hindustan both Moguls and Hindus are very fond of listening to music.'[109] The Mughal miniatures present us with much the same impression of the widespread popularity of music during the period. Most depictions of music are of performances at court on celebrations, such as births and birthdays, weddings, and the Persian New Year, during which music was an integral part of celebrations there, as well as of the regular performances of the ensemble stationed at the fort whose task it was to herald the daily activities of the emperor. At the same time, there are depictions in the single miniatures intended for albums, of wandering minstrels performing amongst the common people, and in one case amongst the soldiery (Figure 115), and of Hindu holy men with their musical instruments and of Sufis dancing ecstatically to music, both examples of the prominence of music in religious devotion in India.

While the accounts of Terry and Manucci are clear about the popularity of music in Mughal India, none of the European visitors based on their descriptions, had sufficient knowledge to differentiate between Indian musicians, music and instruments and those of foreign origin. Abu l-Fazl on the other hand did, and the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* and to a lesser extent the *Akbarnāma* reveal that a synthesis was taking place in the music performed at court through the recruitment of Indian musicians with their forms of music and instruments to perform at the court alongside musicians from Central Asia and Persia. The Mughal miniatures reveal the same for the period under review, as we are able to discern the origin of musical instruments depicted, from descriptions matching them in the written sources, and from depictions of identical instruments in Central Asian and

[108] Terry in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 310
[109] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. II, pp. 5-6

Persian miniatures. This process of synthesis is evident in the miniatures not merely in the presence of an instrument, but also in the evolution in form of instruments over the period, as well as in changes to their playing position and technique.[110]

In the forts of the Mughal capital cities, music was performed not just for the entertainment of the emperor and his court, but also to herald his activities and to announce various times of the day. For this second purpose, an ensemble was responsible, known as the *naubat*, and stationed above the gate called the *naqqārkhāna* or the *naubatkhāna* that led to the grounds of the *dīwān-i 'ām* (see Figures 29, 64, 117, and 118). From this elevated position above the gate which attendees at court had to pass under in order to reach the *dīwān-i 'ām*, the music of the ensemble could be projected as far and wide as possible. This is something that they seem to have successfully accomplished, as Peter Mundy who heard them play during Shah Jahan's reign, writes that the drums of the ensemble made 'such a noyse that the place seems to shake with it', and Francois Bernier writing during the same reign tells us he was so 'stunned' by their volume on his first visit to court, 'so as to be insupportable'.[111] Given their volume, their music was best when not heard from such close range, as Bernier later notes:

> In the night, particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace, this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand, and melodious. This is not to be altogether wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody, and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hautboy and cymbal so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a certain distance.[112]

The sound of the *naqqarkhāna* as described by Bernier emanating from the Mughal fort, was an audible reminder to all that the Mughal emperor, who was accompanied wherever he went by an ensemble, was present in person in the city, and would not have been an unfamiliar sound to those who had been alive three decades earlier during the Delhi Sultanate period. This is because the use of a musical ensemble was a feature of the

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[110] Bonnie C. Wade, 'Music and Dance', in Zeenut Ziad (ed.), *The Magnificent Mughals*, Oxford University Press, Lahore, 2002, p. 238
[111] Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 259-60
[112] Ibid., p. 260

courts of Muslim monarchs, where from the end of the tenth century onwards it had 'served as an emblem of sovereignty in the entire Islamic world... in West and North Africa and throughout West, Southeast and South Asia.'[113] Thus, in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, we read that during the Delhi Sultanate period there was an ensemble at the Sultan's fort in Delhi,[114] and the *Bāburnāma* reveals that Babur too had an ensemble.[115] That it served the same function in Mughal India is evident in the fact that Abu l-Fazl chose to place his detailed description of the performances and instruments of the ensemble in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*'s chapter concerned with 'emblems of sovereignty'. Indeed, the musical instruments were not just 'audible' emblems, but 'visual' ones too, like other items listed in the same chapter, such as the throne, umbrella, and yak tail standards, and which also feature prominently in miniatures of the emperors. In the painting of Jahangir at prayer at an *'īdgāh* (Figure 65) for example, the sight alone of the kettledrums astride the elephant waiting outside, would have been sufficient for on-lookers to know that the emperor was present within.

We are told by Abu l-Fazl the times of the day when the ensemble of the *naqqārkẖāna* performed during Akbar's reign. He states that they began by playing at midnight and then again at dawn,[116] when a *ghaṛī* before sunrise the *surnā*, a woodwind instrument closely resembling today's shehnai was played. A *ghaṛī* after sunrise the *kwārgā* also known as the *damāma*, the largest kettle drums in the ensemble were played together with the *karnā*, long trumpets, and the *nafīr*, a woodwind instrument, closely resembling the *surnā* (and hence, the shehnai), and other instruments, which Abu l-Fazl does not specify. A *ghaṛī* later, the *naqqāras*, a kettledrum smaller than the *damāma*, were beaten when all the instruments of the *naqqārkẖāna* joined in. After this a number of tunes,

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[113] Bonnie C. Wade, 'Music Making in Mughal India', in *Asian Arts & Culture*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995, p. 71

[114] For instance, see Minhāj Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, Vol. I, translated by H. G. Raverty, 1881; reprint, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1995, pp. 619-21

[115] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 303

[116] This statement by Abu l-Fazl is supported in Badauni, who writes that Akbar 'ordered the band to play at midnight and at the break of day.' Badāuni, *Muntakẖab*, p. 332

some composed by the emperor himself according to Abu l-Fazl, were played, before poetry was recited. Finally, the *surnā* was played, thus concluding the performance.[117]

Apart from this, whenever Akbar held court in the *dīwān-i 'ām*, the large drums of the ensemble were sounded, 'they beat a large drum ...In this manner, people of all classes receive notice,' Abu l-Fazl writes.[118] This practice continued faithfully in later reigns. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier writes of Shah Jahan's reign that it was played when the emperor ascended the throne 'to give notice to the Omrahs', and when he 'is about to rise',[119] and similarly Manucci writes, 'the players on instruments...played very loudly, to give notice that the king was already in the audience hall.'[120] Based on the miniatures, however, the ensemble of Shah Jahan's reign appears much larger than that of previous emperors. It may well be that the painters paid little attention to numbers (which might explain why within Shah Jahan's reign there appears to be some variation in the size of his ensemble), but given the fact that Shah Jahan dramatically increased the scale of the settings in which the emperor was viewed (the *dīwān-i 'āms* in the Agra and Lahore forts, and the newly built fort in Delhi), it would not seem out of character if he increased the size of the ensemble to keep up with their grander surroundings.

While the imperial ensemble with various percussion and wind instruments was an insignia of royalty, 'drums' are also mentioned in the Indian written sources as being presented to princes and nobles,[121] although with nothing of the frequency of the bestowal of *khil'at*, and only ever to the highest-ranking in the imperial hierarchy. As with the keeping of an ensemble by the emperor, the presentation of drums was a practice continued from earlier times.[122] While no information is contained in the sources, written and visual, on the numbers of musicians or instruments in the ensembles of the princes

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[117] Abu l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 53-4
[118] Ibid., p. 166
[119] Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 80
[120] Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 89
[121] For example at the Persian New Year in 1585, Badauni tells us that all three of Akbar's sons were presented by the emperor with kettledrums. Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 353. And Jahangir mentions in his memoirs presenting kettledrums to Khurram [in 1607] and later to Rājā Rām Dās Kachhwāhā in 1611. Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 87, pp. 201-2
[122] Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nāma*, pp. 147-8

and nobles to enable us to work out a clear hierarchy amongst them in terms of size, what we can be certain of, however, is that there was a difference between the ensembles of the princes and nobles on the one hand, and the emperor's on the other. Badauni's account of the Uzbek revolt against Akbar in the 1560s suggests this, when he writes that the rebel Zamān Khān when faced by an opposing army only through the 'pompous beating of kettle-drums' became 'certain that the Emperor was present in person.[123] Moreover, only drums are ever mentioned as being presented, so irrespective of size, the emperor's ensemble was probably the only one with both percussion and a full range of woodwind and brass musical instruments.[124]

Just as the emperor's ensemble was an insignia of royalty, the drums accompanying a noble or prince were symbolic of the royal authority that the emperor had placed in him, and therefore, once this authority was withdrawn, the drums too were taken back. For example, as the regent of the empire during Akbar's infancy, Bairam Khan in sacking Pīr Muḥammad Khān from his position also confiscated his kettledrums. To quote Badauni, '[Bairam Khan said,] "...Now it is right that you should surrender the standard, and kettle-drum, and paraphernalia of pomp."[125] And not too long afterwards, upon Bairam Khan's own fall from grace and dismissal by Akbar, his kettledrums were in turn taken away and given to another. Abu l-Fazl writes, "The standard, drum, and *tuman togh* of Bairam Khan were presented to him [Shams ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka], and he was entrusted with the government of the Panjab."[126] However, as far as the Mughal capital

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[123] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 98

[124] The only recorded instance as far as I am aware, of a prince with an ensemble of 'drums, trumpets, and manner of music' was that of Dara Shikoh's army at the Battle of Samugarh, observed by Manucci who was a participant on the battlefield on the side of this prince. The reason for this ensemble, however, has to do with the unusual circumstances of the time. Dara Shikoh, and his siblings were in the unprecedented position of having to fight each other for the throne while their father was still alive. As his father's favourite and heir, Dara Shikoh was most likely making a statement through the use of a full ensemble (perhaps even his father's ensemble) that he was acting on behalf of the emperor while his two brothers opposing him were rebels acting out of disobedience. That Manucci does not make mention of a similar ensemble in the opposing side probably may have to do with the fact that Aurnagzeb and Murād's stated objective was to rescue their father from Dara Shikoh and not to dethrone him. Manucci, *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 263

[125] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 21

[126] Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 143

cities are concerned, the strict rules regarding when a prince or a noble could sound his drums,[127] meant that only the emperor's ensemble played in the capital city.[128]

A comparison of depictions of the ensemble in Akbari miniatures and Abu l-Fazl's description of the instruments of *naqqārkhāna* with those of ensembles in Central Asian[129] and Persian miniatures of the sixteenth century, reveals that the instruments of Akbar's *naqqārkhāna* were a combination of foreign and Indian instruments, with foreign instruments in the majority. Mughal miniatures from Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns tell us that little alteration was made to these instruments in subsequent reigns, and when we take into account the changes to the instruments that were taking place inside the court amongst the musicians whose task it was to perform for entertainment, the instruments of the *naqqārkhāna* appear almost static. The reason for this has to do with the fact that the ensemble was an insignia of royalty (in particular it seems, the *naqqāra* and straight *karnā*, which appear in all miniatures of royal ensembles whether from India, Iran or Central Asia), and thus Akbar and later emperors probably felt that they could not change its appearance too radically, whereas instruments played within the court without such symbolic significance, could be experimented with freely.

The principal instrument of the ensemble were kettledrums known as the *naqqāra* - hence the name *naqqārkhāna* for the venue where the ensemble played, and are present in all depictions of the *naqqārkhāna*. This was an instrument of foreign origin, that we know from the *Bāburnāma* was also a part of Babur's ensemble.[130] According to Abu l-Fazl, around twenty-pairs were played in the *naqqārkhāna*. The *naqqāras* came up to roughly the height of the players' knees. Small *naqqāras* only about a foot tall seem to have been added to the *naqqārkhāna* either late in Akbar's reign or at the beginning of Jahangir's.

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[127] Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīrnāma*, pp. 127-8

[128] 'Marching through the middle of Dihli with his drums beating was one of the signs by which Sayyad Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Amīr-ul-Umarā, notified defiance of constituted authority, when returning from the Deccan in 1719, preparatory to dethroning the Emperor Farrukhsīyar.' William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls: Its Organization and Administration*, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p. 30

[129] Fatḥnāma (No. 5369), c. early 16th Century, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Tashkent, Uzbekistan. A double miniature from this manuscript even shows Babur's ensemble in Samarqand, with *naqqāras*, *surnās*, and *karnās*, reproduced in Pugachenkova, *Miniatures*, pp. 19-20

[130] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 303

Jahangir's coronation celebrations depicted in Figure 64 show a pair of such drums being played, and during the reign of Shah Jahan this smaller drum based on the miniatures of the *Pādshāhnāma* becomes numerically dominant in the *naqqārkhāna* (see Figure 111 for instance). Identical in appearance but larger were the *damāma*, the largest drums in the *naqqārkhāna* (see Figures 23 and 36), also known as the *kwārgā*. For the reign of Akbar, we are told by Abu l-Fazl, that around eighteen *damāma* were played in the *naqqārkhāna*.[131] These large drums in the miniatures reach around half the height of the player with a diameter of similar measurement. Peter Mundy estimated them to have a diameter of 4 feet.[132]

Another percussion instrument in the *naqqārkhāna* was the *sanj*, a pair of large cymbals. Abu l-Fazl tells us that three pairs were played in the *naqqārkhāna* (see Figures 23, 29, 34, 36, and 124). This instrument was probably of Indian origin; it is not in Central Asian and Persian miniatures, and it resembles the *jhārijhā*, an instrument played in Hindu temples.[133]

Of the wind instruments, Abu l-Fazl states that there were both Persian and Indian types of the *surnā*, a woodwind instrument, in the *naqqārkhāna*. The *surnā* was a proto-type of the modern Indian shehnai and based on this, Figures 23, 34, 36 from Akbar's reign, 64 from Jahangir's and 111, 117, 118, and 121 from Shah Jahan's that fit the appearance of the shehnai were probably the *surnā*. We cannot be absolutely certain because Abu l-Fazl tells us that Persian, Indian, and European types of another wind instrument the *nafīr* were also played.[134] Based on modern-day instruments with this name, the *nafīr* of the Mughal period would have been in the shape of the *surnā*, except longer, and similarly a reed instrument. With this in mind it is not possible to distinguish between the *nafīr* and the *surnā* in the miniatures except in the case of the longer instruments in this shape (but not the length of the *karnā*, see below) such as Figure 23 which are most probably *nafīrs*.

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[131] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 52-3
[132] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 210
[133] Verma, *Art*, p. 61
[134] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. III, p. 270

Long horns 'made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals'[135] known as *karnā* are visually the most striking instruments of the *naqqārkhāna* in the miniatures of the three reigns. According to Abu l-Fazl, no fewer than four of these horns were played in the *naqqārkhāna*. Whilst it is not possible to distinguish from the miniatures what metals the instruments are made of, two main shapes are apparent for Akbar's reign, and one for the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. For Akbar's reign, the first of these types is a long 'S' shaped horn (see Figures 23, 29, 34, and 36). The second is long and straight, in Mundy's words, 'att least 8 foote longe and 1 broad att the pummell or end'[136], both of which feature in Central Asian and Persian miniatures. Indeed, the straight type features as prominently as kettledrums in miniatures from Central Asia, and Iran, and was thus very likely to have been of foreign origin. During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, only the straight type is depicted.

Abu l-Fazl mentions another type of horn, a *sing*, which he describes as being shaped like a cow's horn (see Figure 29) .[137] Unlike the 'S' shaped horn mentioned above, this instrument does not appear in Central Asian and Persian miniatures and Indian references to a buffalo-horn instrument (thus of the same shape as Abu l-Fazl's 'cow horn') that predate the Mughal period where it is called in Sanskrit the *srnga*,[138] suggest that this instrument was an Indian borrowing. The *sing* is seen in depictions of the *naqqārkhāna* in the reigns of Jahangir (Figure 64) and Shah Jahan as well.[139]

Within the imperial fort, music was also performed for entertainment. Abu l-Fazl tells us that the 'numerous musicians at court' were 'arranged in seven divisions, one for each day of the week',[140] and Lāhorī writing during Shah Jahan's reign tells us that the

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[135] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 53
[136] Mundy, *The Travels*, p. 199
[137] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 53; Outside of the court, a similar instrument was observed by Peter Mundy as being used by fakirs, whose description, 'a mightie Crooked Copper Instrument in the forme of a horne', matches that of the sing of the *naqqārkhāna*.
[138] Bonnie C. Wade, *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 121
[139] Reproduced in Ibid., 'Figure 75', 'A darbar scene: Escorting the Persian noble 'Alī Mardān Khān to the presence of Shah Jahan, November 1638'. Private collection of Sri Sitaram Sah, Varanasi.
[140] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 681

emperor listened to music every night.[141] Tavernier in fact, gives us the impression that music was played continuously in the background whilst Shah Jahan held court.[142] What is surprising then, is that there are no depictions of music performed in the fort for entertainment outside of celebrations.[143] Rather than this being indicative of the absence of music at court except during celebrations, which would certainly contradict Abu l-Fazl and Lāhorī's statements and many other accounts, the artists of the imperial atelier probably had little incentive to depict a sight that was so familiar to them within the same fort-environment in which they worked daily. When celebrations at court were the subject of paintings, however, then music being performed was usually included in these scenes, as it was a part of all celebrations at court. In fact, the majority of depictions of the ensemble of the *naqqārkhāna* performing are also of celebrations at court.

In the music of entertainment at the Mughal court, the most significant development took place early in the period under review, with Tansen's arrival in 1562 from Gwalior at Akbar's invitation. Tansen, considered at the time to be without equal,[144] brought with him the *dhrupad* style of singing, with its roots in Hindu devotional music.[145] *Dhrupad* had by the time of Tansen's arrival been performed out of its temple environment in the courts of monarchs for over a century, a move traditionally attributed to Raja Man Singh Tomar of Gwalior's patronage of *dhrupad* in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. By the time of Akbar two forms of *dhrupad* had developed, the original *dhrupad*, still

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[141] Lāhorī, in 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 573

[142] Tavernier writes, 'In the court below the throne there is a space twenty feet square, surrounded by balustrades... Several nobles place themselves around the balustrades, and here also is placed the music, which is heard while the emperor is in the Divan. The music is sweet and pleasant.. and seems to disturb none. Tavernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 80-1

[143] Som Prakash Verma in his thorough study could not find any either. Verma, *Art*, p. 60

[144] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 681; Tansen's reputation as being without equal was maintained throughout his stay at the court and after his death in 1589. Jahangir, who would certainly have been familiar with Tansen's music writes the following in reference to red lotus flowers which he had never seen before, and the bees that gathered nectar from them, 'As the black bee is a constant attendant on these flowers, the poets of India look on it as a lover of the flower, like the nightingale, and have put into verse sublime descriptions of it. Of these poets the chief was Tān Sen Kalāwant, who was without rival in my father's service (in fact there has been no singer like him in any time or age). In one of his compositions he had likened the face of a young man to the sun and the opening of his eyes to the expanding of the *kaṇwal* and the exit of the bee. In another place he has compared the side-glance of the beloved one to the motion of the *kaṇwal* when the bee alights on it.' Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 412-3

[145] E. S. Perera, *The Origin and Development of Dhrupad and its Bearing on Instrumental Music*, K P Bagchi, Calcutta, 1994, pp. 6-7

sung in Hindu temples, and the *darbārī dhrupad*, a court variant, of which Tansen was an exponent and thus the form introduced to the Mughal court. *Dhrupad* had not been restricted to the courts of Hindu rulers either. Bāz Bahādur, who was to become another leading musician at Akbar's court, listed amongst the most prominent musicians there by Abu l-Fazl, was before the Mughal annexation of his kingdom of Malwa, already a master of the *dhrupad* style. It is noteworthy that the lyrics of the *dhrupad* sung at the Mughal court were in Hindi,[146] performed at a court for which Persian was the language of communication and overwhelmingly of poetry, as we shall see.

We do not know anything about Humayun and Babur's responses to Indian music nor whether Akbar's invitation to Tansen was the start of an exploration of Indian music as someone who was interested in music in general[147] which he then grew to appreciate, or whether he had already developed a taste for it which prompted him to invite the most famous Indian musician of his day to court. Either way, Akbar's invitation to Tansen and to other Indian musicians, was very much in keeping with the positive attitude towards the Indian environment displayed by this emperor from early in his reign (the imperial atelier was being filled with Indian painters simultaneously). As far as music is concerned this was in keeping with similar attitudes held by the Sultans of the earlier Delhi Sultanate period, under whom a synthesis of Indian and foreign musical traditions from the Middle East and Central Asia had already begun, and at whose courts the renowned poet and musician Amir Khusrau had reputedly performed his blend of Indian and foreign music, and had written in praise of Indian music some two centuries earlier.[148]

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[146] Wade, *Imaging Sound*, pp. 80-1

[147] According to Abu l-Fazl, Akbar was knowledgeable about music and even proficient in playing the *naqqāra*. Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 54; This knowledge is exhibited in one instance recorded in the *Akbarnāma*. Abu l-Fazl writes, 'One day he heard in his privy chamber the beating of a drum. Though those who had access there searched for the drummer, they could find no trace of him. It fell from the mouth of pearls, "Something tells me that it is the admirable work of Yār Muḥammad." When they searched they found it to be so. Abū l-Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, p. 343

[148] Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *The Wonder that was India*, Vol. II, 1987; reprint, Rupa & Co., New Delhi, 1998, p. 304

A list of the most prominent musicians at court and their respective musical instruments provided by Abu l-Fazl in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, shows that fifteen of the thirty-six most prominent musicians at Akbar's court, including Tansen, hailed from Gwalior. Of the remaining twenty-one, at least two others, including Bāz Bahādur from Malwa, were also Indian.[149] Thus, while Tansen's is the most famous case of the recruitment of an Indian musician, his was not an isolated one, and Abu l-Fazl's list is proof that many other Indian musicians were being recruited simultaneously bringing with them their instruments and their music.

The presence of Indian music performed for entertainment at the Mughal court is also evident in the miniatures of Akbar's reign, and of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's. In the Victoria and Albert's *Akbarnāma*, illustrated in the early 1590s, and thus at the same time that the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* was being written, the *bīn*, a uniquely Indian instrument of documented ancient lineage,[150] features more prominently (Figures 22, 24, 25, and 28) than any other instrument, and sometimes as the only instrument in the scene (Figures 25 and 29[151]). The presence of the *bīn* is also an indication of the prominence of *dhrupad* at the court, as the *bīn* was also the instrument of accompaniment to the *dhrupad*. In the miniatures the *dhrupad* can easily be identified from its unique appearance, consisting of a neck with frets, with two resonators of equal size made of halves of pear-shaped gourds at either end. It is shown played with the neck resting on the player's shoulder with one gourd on either side of the body (see for instance Figure 48). The prominence of this instrument at Akbar's court is also evident in Abu l-Fazl's list where it is mentioned as being played by two of the musicians, second numerically only to the *tambūra*, and the fact that in the *Khamsa* of Nizami begun around the time that the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* was completed, one of the miniatures (Figure 45) shows a *bīn* player at court even though this work of fiction is set in Iran, is further proof of the prominence of this Indian instrument at the Mughal court.

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[149] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 680-1

[150] Basham, *The Wonder*, p. 386

[151] Also in a miniature from the *Akbarnāma* showing Ḥusain Qulī presenting prisoners of war from Gujarat to Akbar, a *bīn* player is the only musician at court. IS.2-1896 113/117 Victoria and Albert Museum

Scenes of music at court occur much less frequently in the miniatures of Jahangir's reign (only because depictions of celebrations at court are less numerous, and which should not be read as a decline in interest in music at court, as the written sources show him like his father to be interested in music and indeed knowledgeable on the subject[152]) than in Akbar's reign and this may explain why the *bīn* does not appear indoors (but it does appear outdoors, see Figure 68, bottom right corner). However, in the *Pādshāhnāma* of Shah Jahan's reign, celebrations at court feature prominently in the miniatures of this work, and hence there are many depictions of musicians performing as part of these celebrations at court. Of the instruments played by these musicians, the *bīn* still features prominently (Figures 121, 123, 127, 130, and 132).

What is noticeable in the *Pādshāhnāma* is that alongside the *bīn*, two other string instruments feature prominently shown played in conjunction with it, the *tambūra* and the *rubāb*, two instruments of foreign origin. The first of these instruments, the *tambūra* was the instrument played by the largest number of musicians on Abu l-Fazl's list was played by four musicians, two of definite Persian origin, an Ustād Yūsaf of Herat, a Sultān Hāshim of Mashhad, and two others possibly also from abroad, an Ustād Muḥammad Amīn, and a Muḥammad Ḥusain.

Along with the *tambura*, two other Iranian musicians are mentioned on the list as playing the *ghichak*, a bowed instrument, and thus after the *tambūra*, the second most numerous instrument on the list alongside the *bīn*. This was an instrument of Persian origin mentioned by Babur,[153] that was played vertically, and the body of which according to Abu l-Fazl, was made from a coconut shell.[154] The *ghichak* (Figure 123, see musicians on top of two horse-drawn carriages) and the *kamāncha*, identical in shape, but bigger in scale (Figure 35, musician in red, left) are the only bowed instruments that appear within

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[152] Muṭribī, *Conversations*, pp. 62-3; Similarly, Bonnie C. Wade encountered relatively few paintings of music-making amongst the miniatures of Jahangir's reign, compared to those of Akbar's. Bonnie C. Wade, 'The Meeting of Musical Cultures in the 16th Century Court of the Mughal Akbar', in *Journal of the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation (Berlin)*, Vol. XXXII. No. 2 – 1990, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, 1990, p. 6

[153] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 227

[154] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, p. 76

the context of the Mughal court, so as far as bowed instruments are concerned it appears as though Iranian instruments were dominant at the court. The indigenous *sārangī*, the bowed instrument of Hindustani classical music today is totally absent from court scenes. It does appear in a late Shah Jahani miniature of an outdoor scene of minstrels entertaining soldiers at rest from their march, suggesting that although in existence during the period, it was not deemed suitable for performance at court.[155]

In addition to the *tambūra* and the *ghichak*, of the instruments that are mentioned once each on the list, four others were of foreign origin. These instruments were the nay, a woodwind instrument, played by a Ustād Dōst of Mashhad, a *qānūn*, a zither played by a Mīr 'Abdullāh of unstated origin, a *qübüz*, played by Tāsh Beg, a Qipchaq and thus of Central Asian origin, and an instrument described by Abu l-Fazl as being 'intermediate between the *qübüz* and the *rubāb*' invented and played by another Central Asian Qāsim Kohbar. The prominence of the *tambūra* and these other instruments on the list is proof of the strong Persian element in the synthesis in music at the Mughal court.

While the presence of various Indian and Persian instruments being played together is evidence of the synthesis of musical traditions at court, the *tambūra* is itself evidence of this process. In Akbari miniatures it is shown held with one hand on the strings along the neck and the other strumming and plucking the strings on the body of the instrument (see Figure 39 of Akbar's reign, for Babur's reign see Figure 12). Held in such a manner, like in Iran and Central Asia, it was a melody instrument.

In the reign of Jahangir, however, a curious development takes place. The *tambūra* starts to appear in miniatures being held over the right shoulder in the manner of the Indian *bīn* (see Figure 90, lower left corner). Held in such a manner, the instrument appears transformed from the role of a melody instrument to that of an accompaniment like the

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[155] This is supported by observations made during the late nineteenth century by Captain Charles Day, who wrote, 'Curiously enough, as was the case with the violin in England at one time, the instrument is considered to be rather vulgar, and hence, musicians, though they admire and like it very much, will employ either a low caste Hindu or a Musselman to play it.' In Bonnie C. Wade, *Music in India: The Classical Traditions*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, p. 104

bīn in *dhrupad*, and thus we have an example of the Indianization of a Persian instrument. In the reign of Shah Jahan, the vast majority of depictions of the *tambūra* now show it being held in the manner of the *bīn* (see Figures 94, 99, 121, and 123).

The other string instrument prominent in the miniatures of Shah Jahan's reign alongside the *bīn* and the *tambūra* is the *rubāb*. Like the *tambūra*, this was an instrument of foreign origin. The difference between the *tambūra* and *bīn* on the one hand and the *rubāb* on the other is that while the former were played at court from Akbar's reign onwards, the *rubāb* only appears within the context of the Mughal court during the reign of Shah Jahan. Moreover the form of the *rubāb* when it does appear in court scenes from Shah Jahan's reign is different from that depicted during Akbar's reign. The *rubāb* of the Akbar period, shows it with a collar between the neck and the body (see Figure 22). The body is not round but a distinct oval shape. The pegbox is long and bent downwards at an angle at the end of the neck. In a late Jahangiri miniature (Figure 91), the collar has become heavily pronounced and barbed. The pegbox is now scrolled and heavily ornamented, and no longer at an angle but behind the upper neck. In Shah Jahan's reign this is how the instrument appears (see Figures 121, 123, and 127) differing markedly in appearance from its Akbari ancestor. This seems to suggest that until the *rubāb* was modified it was not considered worthy of performance at court. Indeed, Babur's one mention of the instrument in his memoirs is of it being played by Central Asian peasants,[156]and equally significantly, he does not mention it amongst the instruments, the *ghichak*, *'ūd* (lute), and *nāy* (flute), played by the most prominent musicians at the Timurid court in Herat.[157] If so, then *rubāb* is one example from the period of an instrument once considered unsuitable now being played at court. A similar process was to take place with the *sārangī* mentioned above, but not until after the period under review, and unlike the *rubāb*, without any major changes to the actual instrument itself.[158]

[156] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 302
[157] Ibid., p. 227
[158] Wade, *Music in India*, p. 104

About the musicians themselves, with the exception of Tansen and Bāz Bahādur, even less is known about them than about the painters of the imperial atelier working similarly in the fort, about whom as we have seen, not a whole lot is known either. Apart from the place of origin of the most prominent musicians and their musical instruments, little else is known. Nevertheless, Abu l-Fazl reveals something about the status of different musicians and their instruments, in who he includes and excludes from his list. That none of the instruments of the *naqqārkhāna* except two, the *surnā* and the *karnā*, were played by any of the thirty-six most prominent musicians of Akbar's court listed by Abu l-Fazl, suggests that there was a difference in status between those musicians who comprised the ensemble of *naqqārkhāna* and played outdoors, and those who played music for entertainment inside the court such as Tansen and Bāz Bahādur. Two miniatures from Shah Jahan's reign are also worth mentioning here (Figures 123 and 124). Both are of Dara Shikoh's wedding procession which included in it both groups of musicians. Musicians who performed for entertainment within the court, with their string and percussion instruments, seem to have pride of place as far as the musicians are concerned at the head of the procession atop horse-drawn carriages, flanked by a few musicians of the *naqqārkhāna*, while the bulk of the *naqqārkhāna* follow at the rear of the procession.

Amongst those musicians who played for entertainment, there appears to have been a further division in status. Despite the frequent depictions of the Persian *daf* (a one-sided drum in the shape of the western tambourine, and sometimes with metal discs on the side as well) which based on the miniatures appears to have been the main percussion instrument of the music of entertainment throughout the period, it does not rate a mention in Abu l-Fazl's list. This omission of *daf* players by Abu l-Fazl was probably because it was not a solo instrument but the percussion accompaniment to other instruments (in the same way that the tabla is an accompaniment in North Indian music today), in particular string instruments, which, with vocals dominate the list.

If the musicians providing entertainment were higher in status than those of the ensemble then we would expect their salaries to be higher. While nothing is mentioned in the

written sources on their salaries, occasional mention is made in the written sources of gifts and prizes for individual musicians, which revealingly only those who performed for entertainment are mentioned specifically as receiving from the emperor. Tansen upon his arrival at Akbar's court in 1562 received two hundred thousand rupees, and during the same reign, Badauni writes of an impromptu singing competition at court where the winner was awarded with 1,000 rupees.[159] Jahangir in his memoirs mentions honouring a flutist, Ustād Muḥammad by giving him his weight in rupees.[160]

Beyond the imperial fort, the visual and written primary sources indicate the prevalence of music. As in the fort, musicians were employed in the mansions of the wealthy to provide regular entertainment. A miniature of the noble Zafar Khān in his *dīwānkhāna* (Figure 110) hosting what appears to be an assembly of poets (Zafar Khān was also a poet) shows seated alongside them five musicians playing a flute, *kamāncha*, *taṃbūra*, *daf*, and *qānūn* (zither). It is interesting that all the instruments here are Persian and that the *taṃbura* is even held in its original manner as a melody instrument. This suggests that simultaneous to the synthesis of Indian and Persian musical traditions at court, foreign music in its original form was still performed in the households of nobles of foreign origin like Zafar Khān even late into the reign of Shah Jahan.[161]

Banārasīdās similarly in his description of his business visit to the mansion of Sahu Sabal Singh, a wealthy Agra merchant, who could not be bothered concerning himself with Banārsīdās' requests until a mutual acquaintance who happened to visit interceded, observed while he patiently waited, musicians performing for the merchant in his house. He describes his host as being entertained by 'kalawants' (*dhrupad* singers) and stringed instruments (which he does not specify) and the *pakhāwaj*, an Indian drum.[162]

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[159] Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 273
[160] Wade, *Music in India*, p. 108
[161] M. Athar Ali, lists this noble, who continued in imperial service into the reign of Aurangzeb, as being of Iranian origin. Ali, *The Mughal Nobility*, p. 262
[162] Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, [Hindi Text], p. 266

In addition to the setting of the *dīwānkhāna*, music, and singing and dance, also accompanied banquets in the mansions of the elite. In fact, Peter Mundy who sketched (Figure 136) dancers and singers and instrumentalists on the *duhul*, *daf*, and small cymbals performing at a banquet was of the opinion that 'there is scarse any meetinge of freinds without them'.[163] According to Mundy these entertainers were hired and the style of music they provided depended on their caste. Some it seems, could afford to have them permanently around. Abu l-Fazl in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, describes the '*akhārā*' as 'an entertainment held at night by the nobles of this country, some of whose [female] domestic servants are taught to sing and play... It is more common for a band of these natwas [dancers] to be retained in service who teach the young slave-girls to perform. Occasionally they instruct their own girls and take them to the nobles and profit largely by commerce.'[164]

For others who did not employ musicians on a regular basis, let alone have them stationed permanently at home, celebratory occasions might still call for music. Mundy observed in Agra that Khattri women 'doe Cellebrate their Nuptialls with Drummes, beateing with their hands and singing to it for many dayes and nights together, both att home in the Topps of their howses and in the streets' even though 'att other tymes they are scarce to bee seene or heard'.[165]

Within the context of religious devotion, was a regular way in which people, rich and poor, came into contact with music in the capital cities. Music was a part of devotion amongst one of the dominant Sufi orders in India, the Chishtīs,[166] disapproved of by some

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[163] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 216
[164] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. III, p. 273
[165] Mundy, *The Travels*, Vol. II, p. 221
[166] Music is not permitted by all Sufi *tarīqa*s (orders). The Naqshbandī and the Suhrawardī prohibit it altogether, and some only permitted it if unaccompanied by musical instruments. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995, p. 82; Badauni tells us, 'At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazān he [Akbar] arrived with 7 *cosses* of Ajmīr, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettledrums of Daūd's, which he had vowed to the music gallery of his reverence Khwājah Mu'īn (God sanctify his glorious tomb). And daily according to his custom held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men, and *seances* for dancing and Sufism took place. And the musicians and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their

orthodox Muslims like Shaikh 'Abd un-Nabī, the *Ṣadr*.[167] A late Shah Jahani miniature (Figure 116) shows dancing Sufis, two whirling and two that have already collapsed in ecstasy to the ground, in response to the *sama'*. The *sama'* was poetry sung to a musical accompaniment performed by an ensemble known as the *qawwāl*. Although this miniature is unusual with its European pillars in the background copied by the painter from a European engraving or painting, and *Bhaktī* saints in the foreground, worshippers ecstatic to the sound of singing and clapping, and the *rubāb* and *daf* shown played here, and other instruments, would not have been an unusual sight in the Chishtī shrines in the capital cities.

Music was also a part of devotion at Hindu temples, and as mentioned, *dhrupad*, the dominant vocal style at the Mughal court, had its origins here. Peter Mundy provides a useful sketch of worshippers in a Hindu temple showing a kettledrum, a gong and a *shaṅkh* (conch shell) being played (Figure 135). The Mughal miniatures show many instances of music in connection to Hindu holymen. Although not an urban scene, an illustration from the *Akbarnāma* (see Figure 32) shows two groups of Hindu yogis engaged in a violent dispute. Four yogis play the *shaṅkh*, whilst another blows a horn. In Figure 103 we see one ascetic playing on the *bīn*, while in front of another ascetic in the same scene lies a *shaṅkh*.

Christian devotional music was also to be heard, introduced during the period under review. Based on the letters of Father Jerome Xavier who was in Agra and Lahore from during Jahangir's reign, Father Fernao Guerreiro writes that during Easter in Lahore in 1607:

> In the early morning [Easter Sunday] there was another grand procession, headed by a cross adorned with roses and other flowers, and accompanied by musicians with hautboys, which they had learnt to play in Goa, having been sent there for that purpose; and as these instruments had never been heard or seen in the country

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nails into the veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries. Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 188

[167] According to Badāunī upon the Shaikh's return from Mecca and Medina he objected to 'the ecstatics and vocal music' of the Sufis. Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, p. 118

> before they attracted many people and caused much astonishment. ...These feasts were followed by that of Corpus Christi, on which occasion one of the Fathers carried through the streets the holy Sacrament enclosed in a glazed tabernacle under a canopy. A band of Christians surrounded him bearing torches and candles, while others followed, some playing on pipes and some singing, as they went in procession to the church.[168]

Inside the Jesuit churches in Agra and Lahore there may have been organs as well. Guerreiro writes of two runaway African slaves who had sought sanctuary in the house of the Jesuit priests in Lahore being brought to the attention of a Mughal officer by 'a native of Goa... saying that they were very clever fellows, and that one of them could play the organ and sing Portuguese music'.[169]

There are also miniatures of wandering minstrels performing in the open air with audiences made up of common people. One such miniature from Jahangir's reign by Govardhan depicts a singer and a *rubāb* player performing in a camp possibly of travelling merchants (Figure 91). Another (Figure 109) by Bichitr from Shah Jahan's reign shows a man who looks to be a porter seated on the bare ground listening to a singer (a mirror copy of the singer in the Govardhan painting) and a player on an unidentifiable lute. In another miniature (Figure 115), mentioned earlier, soldiers are shown at rest being entertained by musicians. Admittedly, none of these miniatures look as though they are in an urban setting, but they can be taken as indicative of the prevalence of music among the common people.

In conclusion, the synthesis of music that began at Akbar's court through the recruitment of Tansen and other Indian musicians, to perform alongside Persian and Central Asian musicians, was, like the recruitment of Indian painters into the imperial atelier taking place simultaneously, a reflection of Akbar's positive attitude towards his Indian environment. This synthesis of traditions, as with painting, created something unique to the Mughal court, and different from that of Iran and Central Asia. At the same time,

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[168] Guerreiro, *Jahangir*, pp. 33-4
[169] Ibid., p. 27

drums, symbols of imperial authority were presented to Mughal nobles irrespective of their religious and racial backgrounds.

Interestingly, even though Abu l-Fazl mentions a 'European' type of *nafīr* in the *naqqārkhāna* in addition to Persian and Indian types, there was no European impact on music at court in the way that European paintings and book engravings profoundly affected the art of the imperial atelier. This can perhaps be attributed to the steady flow of European paintings and engravings on one hand, and the extremely rare visits by European musicians with their instruments to the Mughal court, on the other, for on the two documented occasions when European musicians did perform at court their music was very favourably received.[170]

In the Mughal capital cities, music was by no means the monopoly of the Mughal court, or nobles and rich merchants who alone could afford to employ musicians to perform regularly in their mansions. It was enjoyed by the nobility and common people alike, and in this respect, the period under review was no different from earlier periods of Indian history,[171] and even for those without the means of hiring musicians, wandering minstrels as depicted in Mughal miniatures, and places of worship – Sufi shrines, Hindu temples,

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[170] In 1580, a European organ was brought to court and exhibited. Badauni who witnessed the scene, writes, 'At this time an organ, which was one of the wonders of creation, and which Ḥājī Ḥabīb-ullāh had brought from Europe, was exhibited to mankind. It was like a great box the size of a man. A European sits inside it and plays the strings thereof, and two others outside keep putting their fingers on five peacock-wings, and all sorts of sounds come forth. And because the Emperor was so pleased, the Europeans kept coming at every moment in red and yellow colours, and went from one extravagance to another. The people at the meeting were astounded at this wonder, and indeed it is impossible to do justice to the description of it.' Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p. 299. A miniature from the same reign painted in the following decade as part of the illustrated *Khamsa* of Nizami, depicts a portable organ of similar size, though without bellows, which may have been painted from the same organ seen by Badauni (see Figure 44). In the following reign, a European coronet and a virginals player arrived at court with their instruments in the company of Paul Canning, one of the factors of the East India Company. The virginals made no impression, whereas the coronet drew a very positive response. Attempts to reproduce six copies of it on the order of Jahangir were unsuccessful, as did an attempt to train an Indian musician to play it, as the Indian musician died shortly after performing on it. Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 189-90.

[171] Alec Robertson and Denis Stevens, *The Pelican History of Music*, Vol. I, Penguin Books, London, 1969, p. 26; In addition to texts dealing directly with music, most notably Bharata Muni's *Natyasastra* of the 1st century BC, the two epics of India, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* contain numerous references to music, as does the playwright Kalidasa, and Vatsyayana in the Kama Sutra. M. R. Gautam, 'The Social Function of Indian Music', in *Sangeet Natak*, Vol. 13, July-September issue, Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 61-2

and from Akbar's reign onwards, Jesuit churches, were venues where music could be enjoyed by all.

Poetry (and Language)

The reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan span a period of prolific literary output, of which the Indian written primary sources used for this thesis are themselves a product. Some of the classics of Hindi literature, composed in various dialects of the language by *Bhakti* poets such as Sūrdās and Tulsīdās date also to this period. These works however, were produced away from the Mughal capital cities, whilst at the Mughal court poetry was predominantly in Persian, alongside histories, and memoirs written also in this language. In fact, so much was written in Persian in India, that according to one scholar, the corpus of Persian literature produced there outweighs in quantity that produced in Iran contemporaneously,[172] and another estimates of Mughal India that, 'In terms of sheer profusion and variety of themes, this literary output [in Persian] probably exceeded that produced under every other Muslim dynasty.'[173] Added to this were numerous translations of works into Persian from Sanskrit such as the epics the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, and from non-Indian languages, including even French.[174]

Persian however, was not the only language of poetic composition in the Mughal capitals, and as the linguistic composition of the population (diverse in the case of these cities), and prevalent attitudes towards language, were factors that determined the language of composition, these must be looked at before any examination of the poetry itself. The linguistic composition during the period under review was little changed from Delhi Sultanate times. When Babur took Lahore first, then Delhi and Agra, the only change brought about initially was to increase the number of Turkish speakers there through the

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[172] Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Literatures of India*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 1

[173] Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India: c. 1200-1800*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2004, p. 122

[174] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 110-3; Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 329-30, 346, 378; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 324-5, 352-3

stationing of Mughal soldiers and their camp followers. This coincided with the dispersal from these cities of many Afghans, supporters of the former dynasty, and speakers of Hindavi and Pakhtu, and with varying degrees of fluency in Persian, who moved to regions such as Bihar away from concentrations of Mughal power, and to the neighbouring kingdoms of Gujarat and Mewar, whose rulers were hostile to the Mughals.[175] The influx of Turkish speakers would not have greatly altered the linguistic composition of these cities, for Babur tells us that on his fifth campaign into northern India culminating in its conquest, 'with liege men, merchants, servants, and all those with the army, twelve thousand persons were registered.'[176] Even the arrival of the womenfolk and children from Kabul in the following years,[177] would still not have radically changed the linguistic composition in these cities. The dispersal of the Afghans away from these cities is likely to have been more numerous, based on Babur's estimation of the size of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's army at one hundred thousand,[178] although it cannot be assumed that all of this number (who were hired soldiers, *sihbandī*) were Afghans.

The arrival of these Turkish speaking Mughals, meant also an influx of Persian speakers, as many Mughals were bilingual in both these languages. This was especially the case amongst the Mughal elite, whose upbringing entailed acquiring 'a knowledge of Persian and a respectable knowledge and appreciation of the classics of poetry, as well as some ability to compose'.[179] Such knowledge of Persian however, was not at the expense of their mother tongue Turkish. Babur for instance, despite his fluency in Persian and familiarity with its classics, still wrote his memoirs in Turkish, and the Ottoman Turkish admiral Sidī 'Alī Reis felt quite at home at Humuyun's bilingual court as far as the composition of poetry was concerned.[180] Nevertheless, alongside the attainment of fluency in Persian amongst the Central Asian elite, attitudes towards the Persian language equating it with 'refinement' that were to persist at the Mughal court throughout the

[175] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 353; Rita Joshi, *The Afghan Nobility and the Mughals (1526-1707)*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 44-5
[176] Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 329
[177] Ibid., pp. 408-9, 424
[178] Ibid., p. 324
[179] Wheeler M. Thackston, 'Introduction', in Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, p. 27
[180] Reis, *The Travels*, pp. 47, 49-51,

period under review were also held by them. In the *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī*, written by Babur's cousin, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, we read for instance of one Maulānā Muḥammad Qāzī's preconceptions of the cousins' grandfather, Yūnas Khān, who hailed from Mughalistan, the part of the former Chaghatāi Khanate that adhered closer in life-style to its Turco-Mongolian roots than in the south-western, more Persianized part held more recently by the Timurids, and of the Maulānā's surprise upon meeting him:

> [Maulānā Muḥammad said,] "I had heard that Yunus Khan was a Moghul, and I concluded that he was a beardless man, with the ways and manners of any other Turk of the desert. But when I saw him, I found he was a person of elegant deportment, with a full beard and a Tajik [Persian] face, and such refined speech and manner, as is seldom to be found even in a Tajik."[181]

For those who were not part of the Central Asian elite, such as the rank and file of the Mughal army, the exposure to literary Persian would have been considerably less, but many nevertheless would have been conversant in spoken Persian from interaction in Central Asia with Persian-speaking Tajik populations there long under Turkish rule.

The situation with Persian in India at the time of the Mughal conquest had been the same. Here too, Persian had enjoyed a high status as the language of the court and the bureaucracy even if some nobles of the last Sultanate dynasty, the Lodis, were considerably less than fluent in it and spoke Hindavi better, as Babur discovered for himself.[182] Thus, following the Battle of Panipat in 1526, 'the language neither of the bureaucracy nor of the ruling class or 'polite society' had to be changed in the slightest, for culturally speaking Babur and his men, Central Asian Turks though they were, were completely acculturated to the same Persianate civilization that had long since been domesticated in the Subcontinent.'[183]

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[181] Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī*, translated by E. Denison Ross, Sampson Low, Marston and Company, London, 1895, pp. 97-8

[182] Babur for instance, during his conquest of the Punjab prior the First Battle of Panipat, had to communicate through an interpreter with the captured Lodi noble Daulat Khān. Ibid., p. 318

[183] Wheeler M. Thackston, 'Literature', in Zaid, *The Magnificent Mughals*, p. 84

The reconquest of northern India under Humayun repeated the process witnessed thirty-years earlier, with the arrival of Mughals in Lahore, Delhi, and Lahore, (and the dispersal of Afghans out of these cities) except with an increased numbers of Persian speaking Iranians now in the Mughal service as a result of Humayun's period of exile in Iran. Soon after, under Akbar, the position of the Persian language was further cemented with the incorporation into the nobility of increasing numbers of Iranians - native speakers of Persian, and Indians - Hindus and Muslims, as a result of the emperor's changed attitude towards his Tūrānī nobles, who through their many rebellions had taught him the dangers of relying upon them, thus reducing the proportion of native-Turkish speakers at court drastically.

Whilst the steady stream of Turks from Central Asia into India to join the imperial service throughout the period ensured that there were always some who could speak it at court, the Mughal court under Akbar moved away from being bilingual, as it had been under Babur and Humayun, to being essentially a Persian-speaking environment. Simultaneously, works of history and translations were ordered at Akbar's command to be done in Persian, and even Babur's memoirs were translated from Turkish into Persian which significantly was the only version ordered illustrated, indeed repeatedly at the emperor's command, reflecting Persian's ascendancy over Turkish. Even those contemporaries of the first two emperors who responded to Akbar's request[184] for written accounts of their experiences to aid Abu l-Fazl in the compilation of his history, appear to have felt compelled to do so in Persian. Jauhar and Gulbadan, for whom Turkish was their first language wrote down their histories in Persian, and Jauhar in fact, whose Turkish was so much better than his Persian had to go to the trouble of having his history revised by someone fluent in Persian before presenting it to Akbar.[185] It appears therefore that while increased numbers of native-Persian speakers meant that the court was naturally moving towards Persian, Akbar at the same time took deliberate steps to move this process along.

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[184] Gulbadan, *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 83

[185] Muzaffar Alam, 'The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics', in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 1998, p. 323

The Mughal miniatures also reflect the dominance of Persian, both in the context in which they were mounted for viewing as well as within the framed area of the miniature. All Mughal miniatures that were painted as illustrations (as opposed to single miniatures for albums) accompanied texts in the Persian language, without exception. Thus, for instance, the miniature paintings mounted within the *Akbarnāma*, the *Bāburnāma*, the *Khamsa* of Nizami, and the *Pādshāhnāma*, are essentially illustrations to a Persian text. Within the miniatures themselves, the calligrahied text incorporated inside the framed area of the painting (Figures 30 and 44 for example) or in the surrounding framed area (Figure 83), is similarly and without exception, in the Persian language. Roughly scribbled inscriptions on single miniatures for albums in the handwriting of the Mughal emperors (see Figure 73 with an inscription written by Jahangir, and Figure 83 with one by Shah Jahan), are also in Persian, as are the signatures by the artists, many of whom were Indians and therefore not native Persian-speakers.

Not only were works of literature and history such as those that were ordered illustrated by the emperor Akbar in the Persian language, but under Akbar daily sessions in the halls of audience were held exclusively in Persian. In the public audience hall, the emperor spoke to his courtiers in Persian, and they, including his Central Asian Turkish nobles, when addressing their emperor spoke to him in full view of the court in Persian. The private gatherings held later in the day in the private audience hall were likewise in Persian. In order to fully participate at court, one therefore had no option but to know the Persian language, and European visitors to the court who did not, such as Sir Thomas Roe, found themselves at a distinct disadvantage even with the aid of an interpreter and not infrequently frustrated as a result.[186] For this reason, some attendees at court like the Jesuit fathers of the First Mission learnt the language from tutors.[187] We can only imagine that Indians who did not have proficiency in the language before entering the Mughal nobility must have arranged similar tuition in order to participate fully. European visitors were excused for their lack of fluency (such as in the case of Coryat's bizarre speech at court, and the accents of the Jesuit Fathers), but in the case of Indian

[186] Roe, *The Embassy*, p. 100; Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, p. 75
[187] Monserrate, *The Commentary*, p. 49

nobles such flaws in their Persian are less likely to have been met with appreciative amusement.

In spite of being eclipsed by Persian, Turkish paradoxically after Akbar's reign attained something of a hallowed status within the Mughal imperial family as the Timurid ancestral language, and subsequent emperors prided themselves on their knowledge of it. The demise of Turkish had taken place not just at court, but also in the imperial harem through marriages with Persian and Rajput women from Akbar's reign onwards who were not Turkish speakers. Thus by Jahangir's reign, born in India and of an Indian mother, we get the impression from his description of his command of Turkish, that for the first time a Mughal emperor was less than fluent in the language. He writes, 'Notwithstanding that I grew up in Hindustan, I am not ignorant of Turki speech and writing.'[188] The comments of William Hawkins who learnt Turkish before coming to India, and with whom the emperor enjoyed conversing in the language, give us the same impression. He writes, '[Turkish] which himselfe [Jahangir] well understood'.[189] Moreover, the fact that Jahangir composed poetry in Persian but not in Turkish, and wrote his memoirs in Persian despite modelling them on Babur's (which he had seen in the original Turkish), also suggests that he was not fluent in the language. Regarding Shah Jahan, also born of an Indian mother, there is nothing in the written sources to shed light on his ability in the language, but that Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb, felt it necessary to advise his own sons to attain proficiency in Turkish[190] indicates that it had ceased to be a first language for the imperial family.

As a result of the language of the court and of the bureaucracy being Persian, many common people acquired fluency in the language too. There were those who had arrived in the capitals already fluent in the language from Iran and Central Asia (obviously, the majority of Persian speakers from these regions did not become courtiers), but many Indians learnt the language as a means of gaining employment in the Mughal

[188] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 109-10
[189] Hawkins in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 81
[190] Muhammad Azhar Ansari, *Social Life of the Mughal Emperors (1526-1707)*, Shanti Prakashan, New Delhi, 1974, p. 191

bureaucracy, as well as in administrative positions in the households of Mughal nobles.[191] In fact, the official proclamation of Persian as the language of the bureaucracy at all levels, was issued by Akbar's Khattrī revenue minister, Raja Todar Mal.[192]

This is not to say that only those who wished for government employment studied the language. The Jain merchant Banārasīdās for instance, reveals some knowledge of Persian in his memoirs,[193] and many of the poets in the Persian language whose biographical details are provided by Abu l-Fazl, Badauni and Nizam ud-din Ahmad, were neither Persian native speakers nor government employees. This can be attributed to the education curriculum of the *madrasas*, which included teaching the Persian language and its literature, and which if successfully completed ensured proficiency in the language. For this reason in fact, many Hindus of the Khattri and Kayastha[194] communities who hoped for government employment enrolled in *madrasas*, and alongside Muslim students, studied a common curriculum initially under only Muslim teachers, Indian and foreign, but gradually under Hindu teachers as well.[195] The curriculum that the *madrasas* offered these students included the study of Persian prose and poetry,[196] ethics, arithmetic, agriculture, measurement, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, home economics, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the metaphysical and physical sciences, and history.[197] After completing these studies, for those who sought successful careers in the bureaucracy it was recommended that one study the classics of Persian literature and major works of history such as Tabari's history, the *Zafarnāma* of Sharaf ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdī on the life of Timur, and the Abu l-Fazl's *Akbarnāma*, to 'render your language elegant, also to provide you knowledge of the world and its inhabitants.'[198]

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[191] Banārsīdās' grandfather for instance was educated in Hindi and Persian and gained employment with one of Humayun's nobles. Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, pp. 2-3

[192] Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages*, p. 128

[193] Banārasīdās reveals his knowledge of Persian near the end of his autobiography when he describes a conversation in Persian between two Mughal officials concerning him and his party during their arrest. Banārasīdās, *Ardhakathānaka*, p. 75

[194] A clerical caste.

[195] Alam, 'The Pursuit of Persian, in *Modern Asian Studies*, p. 327

[196] Abū l-Faẓl, *Ā'īn*, Vol. I, pp. 288-9

[197] Ibid., p. 289

[198] Chandra Bhan 'Brahman''s (c. 1600-60) letter to his son Khwaja Tej Bhan, in Alam, *The Languages*, pp. 130-2

With all proceedings at court and in the bureaucracy being carried out in Persian, attitudes towards Persian in the Mughal capital cities inherited from Central Asia and the earlier Delhi Sultanate remained steadfast. This is evident in the following passage from the *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, where its writer 'Inayāt Khān echoes the same attitude towards Persian as the passage from Mirzā Ḥaidar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdi* quoted above, written nearly a century and a half earlier:

> Formerly, the inhabitants of that region [Kashmir] too were destitute of the very rudiments of civilization, and upon their olfactory organs the fragrance of learning had never reached. But by intercourse with the people in the royal camp, who during this period had been constantly going to and fro, they have now for the most part become conversant with the Persian language, and can even boast of talented scholars, poets, calligraphers, and musicians in abundance.[199]

It is no surprise then, that with such attitudes prevalent and the language of communication at court being in Persian, that the poetry too composed at the Mughal court was overwhelmingly in the Persian language. Due to the education curriculum, which involved composition in prose and poetry as well as the study of the classics of Persian literature, many at court did have the required tools to compose poetry in Persian, even if with varying results.[200] Abu l-Fazl, Nizam ud-din Ahmad, and Badauni's short biographies of poets during Akbar's reign are proof of this, revealing poets of diverse occupational backgrounds - nobles, scholars, physicians, bureaucrats, calligraphers, and others. Even the emperors Akbar and Jahangir tried their hand at poetic composition. Thus we read in a single passage in the *Jahāngīrnāma*, of the poetic compositions of the emperor and the Amīr ul-Umarā, and that of a seal engraver:

> It happened incidentally that this verse of the Amir ul-Umara was quoted:-

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[199] 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 139

[200] For instance, Badāūnī writes, 'One day in Lahor he ['Ishqī Khān] represented that he wished to present the emperor [Akbar] with a complete copy of his works, and at the same time to recite before him a long ode and a short ode which he had just composed. As his poetry was known to be ridiculous, the emperor told him to keep the two by him and to insert them in the complete copy of his works when he should present it in order that all his poems might be heard at one reading.' Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, p. 384

> "Pass, O Messiah, o'er the heads of us slain by love;
> Thy restoring one life is worth a hundred murders."

As I have a poetical disposition I sometimes intentionally and sometimes involuntarily compose couplets and quatrains. So the following couplet came to my head:-

> "Turn not thy cheek, without thee I cannot live a moment;
> For thee to break one heart is equal to a hundred murders."

When I had recited this, everyone who had a poetical vein composed a couplet in the same mode. Mulla 'Ali Ahmad, the seal-engraver... had not said badly:-

> "O Censor, fear the weeping of the old vintner;
> They breaking one jar is equal to a hundred murders."[201]

Such diversity in occupations of poets stands in contrast to the situation with music and painting at court, where the majority of those engaged in miniature painting or performing music did not hold other positions (and if they were later assigned to other positions in the empire like the painter 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad, they gave up their art). The reason for the large number of 'part-time' poets and the absence of 'part-time' musicians and painters at court once again had its roots in the education curriculum, which equipped one for poetic composition, but not for painting or music - hence the expectation that an educated person could compose poetry, while a mere appreciation of painting and music was considered sufficient.

There were nevertheless in addition to the large numbers who dabbled in poetry, many professional poets at court, local and foreign. In fact, numerous poets came from all over the Persian-speaking world to the Mughal capitals, from as far afield as Isfahan, Mashhad, Merv, and Samarqand, and it is a reflection of the large numbers of foreign poets who had flocked to the Mughal court, and indeed of their quality,[202] that three out of the four poets who held the title of *Malik ush-Shu'arā'*, or Poet Laureate at the Mughal court during the period were born out of India and had their early careers abroad. The

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[201] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 228

[202] According to Aziz Ahmad, 'with the exception of Muhtasham Kashi and Wahshi Bafqi, all the great poets of Safavid Iran migrated to India, and only one of them, Sa'ib, returned permanently to his homeland.' Ahmad, 'Safawid Poets and India', in *Iran*, p. 122

first was an Iranian, Ghazālī from Mashhad. Upon his death in 1572, Shaikh Faizi, the elder brother of the historian Abu l-Fazl received the title. Faizi was born in Nagaur and was the only Indian poet laureate at the Mughal court during the period under review. Under Jahangir, the title went to another Iranian, Ṭālib of Amul, and during the reign of Shah Jahan it went to yet another Iranian, Kalīm of Kashan,[203] who held the title until Aurangzeb abolished the position.[204] Some of the poets at court had come to India at the invitation of the emperors (in the same way that a musician like Tansen and painters like Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad were invited) such as Chalapī Beg of Shiraz, who was recommended to Akbar by Faizi in a report written on the literati in Iran commissioned by Akbar,[205] while others like Muṭribī came of their own initiative, attracted by the prospects of success, and financial gains that they might receive at the Mughal court or from wealthly patrons amongst the nobility.

Indeed, there were many opportunities to exhibit one's poetic skill at court. In addition to impromptu recitations held in the hall of private audience at the emperor's whim, poetry was recited at all celebrations at court such as to commemorate the accession to the throne, the weighing of the emperor on his birthday, the birth of a prince, or to celebrate a victory. For instance, during the festivities to mark Jahangir's sixth lunar weighing ceremony, Muṭribī was asked by Jahangir if he had composed anything 'in honour of our celebration', and for his efforts was rewarded by the emperor with a hundred rupees.[206]

Whilst the rewards on offer might be attractive, participation could be a demanding affair with reputations to uphold and egos easily bruised.[207] For a start, poets were expected to be familiar with the vast corpus of Persian poetry from Iran, Central Asia and India, and failure to recite from memory upon request a verse by a well-known poet or to recognize

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[203] Some of the other great poets in India who were of Persian origin were 'Urfī Shīrāzī, Nazīrī Nishāpūrī, Muḥammad Jān Qudsī Mashhadī, and Ṣā'ib. Ibid., pp. 122-3
[204] Thackston, 'Literature', in Zaid, *The Magnificent Mughals*, p. 84
[205] Muzaffar Alam, 'The Pursuit', in *Modern Asian*, p. 320
[206] Muṭribī, *Conversations*, pp. 36-7
[207] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 52-3; Muṭribī, *Conversations*, p. 83

the authorship of a verse could prove embarrassing.[208] Poets were also expected to be able to compose extemporaneous responses. For instance, Mutribī writes:

> He [Jahangir] made up a couplet and wrote it down on a piece of paper and gave it to your humble servant [Mutribī], and said, "Make up a response in the same rhyme and meter."
>
> His couplet went,
>
> > "The eye of the Lover is like a lantern,
> > It won't sleep till it's dead."
>
> As God is my witness, without missing a beat I replied,
>
> > "The heart of the Lover is like a kebab,
> > It won't dry out till it's burned."
>
> Some unbelieving nobody, obviously seeking his own profit, said, "That couplet is by the Master!" Hearing this, I recited another couplet.[209]

Not only was Persian the dominant language of composition at court, but the forms of poetry were all Persian too. The most common poetic form was the *ghazal*. This short verse form, of up to five to a dozen lines,[210] was recited in the widest variety of settings, unlike the *qaṣīda*, which tended to be recited only on celebratory occasions. Each couplet could stand on its own and could deal with a subject different from adjoining couplets, and only had to share the same form, i.e. metre and rhyme. During Jahangir's reign, the evening gatherings in the *dīwān-i khāṣ* provided one venue for *ghazal* recitations. Most of Mutribī's accounts of reciting *ghazals* for instance took place at this venue, where it was one of various forms of entertainment for the emperor, alongside music, singing, and discussions.

A much longer poetic form, known as the *qaṣīda* or ode was recited at celebrations. This could exceed two hundred lines, giving the poet ample opportunity to show off his skill. They were typically composed in praise of the person from whom the poet hoped for a

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[208] Mutribī, *Conversations*, pp. 29-30
[209] Ibid., p. 55
[210] Thackston, 'Literature', Zaid, *The Magnificent Mughals*, p. 94

reward. On celebratory occasions, poets would take turns reciting their *qaṣīdas*, with the hope that theirs might be the cause for a reward from the emperor.[211] Badauni provides a good example of the recitation of *qaṣīdas* at celebrations on the occasion of Salīm's birth, whose birth as Akbar's long awaited heir was particularly celebrated:

> The poets presented him with congratulatory qacidahs. Of that number was Khwaja Husain Marwi, who recited a qacidah... He received two *lacs* of *tankahs* in money. ...That Shaikh of nations, Shaikh Ya'qab Sirfi of Kashmir composed a *qacidah* of the same kind. But what was the good! Another person [Khwaja Husain Marwi] carried off the reward.[212]

Another form of poetry was the *masnavī*. Long poems, and those of epic length were all composed in this form, such as the *masnavī* of Jalal ud-Din Rumi, and Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma*. The *masnavī* had rhyming couplets and was of unlimited length, and most poets wrote something in this genre,[213] which could be on any topic, and which during the period was also the form of poetry favoured for versifying into Persian, Indian stories and legends, such as the story of Nala and Damayanti (in its Persian version, *Nal u Daman*), versified by Akbar's poet laureate, Faizi.[214]

Persian was not the only language of poetic composition at the Mughal court. There were also recitations in Hindavi and in Hindi at the court, and poets in these languages did receive patronage from the emperors,[215] who knew one if not both of these languages. Akbar was married to Rajput princesses, and from an early age had mixed with common people, and so, being usually in the Agra region, must have known the Braj dialect of Hindi. Jahangir was born of a Rajput mother and unlike Akbar grew up exclusively in India. Some evidence for his knowledge of Hindavi is contained in his memoirs, where he differentiates on occasions between Hindavi and 'the language of the Hindus'.[216] He also describes several meetings with a hermit, Jadrūp, living in a cave near Ujjain.

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[211] Islam and Russell, *Three Mughal Poets*, p. 9
[212] Badāunī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, pp. 124-7
[213] Thackston, 'Literature', in Zaid, *The Magnificent Mughals*, p. 102
[214] Ibid., p. 102
[215] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 141; 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, p. 33; p. 506;
[216] Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Vol. ..., pp.

Jadrūp is unlikely to have known Persian, and Jahangir makes no mention of the use of an interpreter and a miniature of him with the hermit shows them alone in conversation (Figure 76). Shah Jahan, like Jahangir was born of a Rajput mother and grew up entirely in India too. During his rebellion against Jahangir in 1623 as a prince, he took sanctuary with his Rajput relatives in Udaipur although this incident cannot be taken as definite proof of his ability to speak an Indian language as his relatives are just as likely to have known Persian. Shah Jahan's historian Lāhorī however, states with no uncertainty, that Shah Jahan was fluent in 'Hindustani'.[217]

At the Mughal court, there was even the Hindi equivalent of the *Malik us-Shu'arā'*, the poet laureate for Persian poetry, the *Mahākavirāi* for Hindi poetry, a position which was established by Akbar and maintained throughout the three reigns. However, the rarity with which poetry in these languages at court is mentioned in the Indian written sources, and indeed the fact that when it is, it is pointed out that such and such a verse was composed in Hindavi or Hindi, gives one the impression that poetry in these languages at court was entertained as something of a novelty by the emperors, while serious poetry as far as they were concerned was in Persian.

Persian poetry was not confined to gatherings of poets at the palace. The mansions of the nobles and other wealthy people, many of whom were also poets, provided additional venues for the recitation of Persian poetry, where it might as in case of the *dīwān-i khāṣ* constitute one of many forms of entertainment on offer alongside music and discussions. The miniature (Figure 115) of the noble Zafar Khān in his *dīwānkhāna* shows one such occasion, with the host Zafar Khān, who was himself an accomplished poet (and in fact the miniature is an illustration to his *masnavī*) surrounded by fellow poets. The scribe shown busily writing in the middle of the assembly appears to be recording the poetry recited.

Persian poetry could also be purchased in published form by the public in the bazaars of the capital cities. Unlike illustrated manuscripts produced for the emperor and nobles,

[217] Alam, 'The Pursuit', in *Modern Asian*, p. 343

made from costly materials such as gold and silver metallic pigments and extremely labour intensive requiring a team of painters and calligraphers to produce, the many scribes in the capital cities could transcribe poems relatively quickly and cheaply. As a result, a multitude of books of Persian poetry were to be found on sale throughout the capital cities. For instance, concerning the collected works of two poets, 'Urfī and Husain Sana'i, Badauni tells us, although admittedly with exaggeration, that there 'were no street or market in which booksellers do not stand at the roadside selling copies of the divans of these two poets and both Persians and Indians buy them'.[218] And regarding the poetry of Shaikh Faizi, the poet laureate, we are told by Badauni that he spent 'large sums from his *jāgīrs* in having his works copied and illuminated'.[219] That there existed a market for books of Persian poetry is also some indication of the significant numbers of people proficient in Persian amongst the urban population.

Amongst the general populace, Hindavi poetry was also popular, especially in Sufi circles, where poetry in the language was set to music and sung. Included in the body of sung poetry or rather lyrics during the period were compositions already centuries old at the time such as that of Amir Khusrau (and in fact, with the exception of a single eighteenth century manuscript much of the poetry in Hindavi by Khusrau that has survived are as the lyrics to songs sung by *qawwālīs*[220]). By the beginning of the period under review, Hindavi had firmly established itself in the musical gatherings of the Sufis, and Mīr 'Abd ul-Wāḥid Bilgrāmī, a Sufi writing at this time observed that Hindavi had largely replaced the Persian *ghazal* there.[221]

The growing preference for Hindavi over Persian amongst Sufis had to do with it being the lingua franca of the Mughal capital city and thus understood by a much greater audience than Persian. Hindavi, known also as Hindustani during the period, was an early form of Urdu - the term Urdu only coming into vogue in the late eighteenth

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[218] Badāūnī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, pp. 393-4
[219] Ibid., p. 394
[220] Aditya Behl and Simon Weightman, 'Introduction', in Mīr Sayyid Manjan Rājgīrī, *Madhumālatī*, translated by Aditya Behl and Simon Weightman, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. xiv
[221] Amrit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi/Hindavi*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 120-1

century.[222] Hindavi was by no means a uniform language at this time in its history and Amir Khusrau's observation in the fourteenth century that it differed 'after every hundred miles and with every group of people' was equally applicable to the language during the period under review.[223] Thus, the Hindavi of Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, all differed from each other and from Hindavi elsewhere in the empire, and outside such as in the Deccan. The reason for this was that the grammar and vocabulary of Hindavi with its mixture of Persian, Arabic, and indigenous words, wherever it took root came to be shaped by the dominant dialect of the local Indian language indigenous to the area such as Khaṛibolī in Delhi and Brajbhāsā in Agra.

As a result of this admixture of languages, Hindavi was ideally suited to the role of lingua franca in the Mughal capital cities. With its largely indigenous vocabulary and grammar, the majority of the population for whom a dialect of Hindi was their mother tongue could learn it relatively easily in spite of its borrowed words. For those coming from a Persian speaking background, more effort was required. Nevertheless, the many familiar Persian and Arabic words in Hindavi and the fact that the dialects of Hindi and Persian do have grammatical similarities as members of the same Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, meant that for a speaker of Persian, Hindavi was not a difficult language to learn. Hindavi's admixture also meant that the speaker could tailor his vocabulary in terms of the origin of words, depending on the social situation that he or she was in. For instance, it might be spoken with more words of Persian when speaking to a Mughal noble, or a noble might attempt to curtail its Persian content when communicating orders to a subordinate for whom Persian was not their first language. This behaviour when 'two or more varieties of the language are used by some speakers under different conditions' was not at all unusual linguistically.[224] In nineteenth century Bengal for example, the English experienced something similar, 'William Carey observed that the Indian servant, personal and official, in speaking Bengali with

[222] Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, 'Urdu Literature', in Zaid, *The Magnificent Mughals*, p. 115
[223] Muzaffar Alam, 'The Pursuit', in *Modern Asian*, p. 332
[224] S. N. Mukherjee, *Calcutta*, p. 87

Europeans "generally intermixes his language with words derived from the Arabic or Persian and with some few corrupted English and Portuguese words."'[225]

For the majority of the people in the capital cities, Hindu and Muslim, their mother tongue was in fact a dialect of Hindi. Like Hindavi at this time, Hindi did not have a 'standard' form of the language, but comprised a number of dialects spoken over a large area from the Punjab across the Indo-Gangetic Plain eastwards up to Bengal. As far as the capital cities of the Mughal empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are concerned, the dialect of Braj Bhasha was dominant in Agra, and Khaṛibolī in Delhi, whilst Panjabi overlapped with western dialects of Hindi, Khaṛibolī in particular, in Lahore. The relative geographical closeness of dialectal boundaries, and with the absence of any major physical barriers, meant that they did not evolve in any considerable degree of isolation from each other. Thus the *Bhaktī* poet Kabīr's Awadhī for instance shows considerable Rajasthani and Eastern Hindi influence, and Banārasīdās' Brajbhāsā shows the influence of Eastern Hindi.

In conclusion, Persian's exalted position at the Mughal court and attitudes towards Persian equating it with refinement were a continuation from Central Asia. However, its emergence as the sole language of the Mughal court was partly a natural consequence of greatly increased numbers of Persian speakers in the imperial service following the Mughal reconquest under Humayun and Akbar's recruitment of Persians, and partly the result of a deliberate move on the emperor Akbar's part to establish it as the court language for a nobility of diverse racial and religious, and indeed linguistic backgrounds, in contrast to the bilingual courts of his predecessors, where Turkish and Persian were on an equal footing.

As a consequence of prevailing attitudes towards Persian and its establishment as the court language, it is not surprising that Persian became the dominant language of poetic composition at court and amongst private gatherings of poets in the mansions of nobles.

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[225] Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, p. 31

Certainly, poetry was also composed in Hindi and Hindavi, and Akbar even instituted the position of poet laureate for Hindi, but in comparison to Persian they were a distant second in terms of poetic output at court, and the distinct impression given by the written sources is that as far as the Mughal emperors were concerned serious poetry was in the Persian language, while compositions in Hindavi and Hindi poetry were appreciated for their novelty value. This stands in contrast to music and painting at court, which were profoundly re-shaped under Indian influences, and where in fact in the field of vocal singing, the *dhrupad* was sung in Hindi. It therefore appears that as far as the arts are concerned, it was only in poetry where old prejudices towards the Indian environment were maintained.

One important consequence of the adoption of Persian as the language of the court and bureaucracy during Akbar's reign, was in facilitating a continuous flow of people and ideas from the Persian-speaking world throughout the period. The position of Persian in the Mughal empire made it and its capital city an immediately accessible place for Persian speakers. We have seen for instance that three out of the four poet laureates during the period were immigrants from various parts of the Persian-speaking world, and that Muṭribī, who composed in Persian at Jahangir's court had come from Samarqand. In addition to the arrival of poets like Muṭribī from across the Persian-speaking world, there were many of other professions who came, to quote Aziz Ahmad, 'The emigration to India of Persian poets was only a current in the general flow of immigration of all kinds of Persians, belonging to all classes and various professions'.[226]

Another consequence was that fluency in the Persian language came to bear a relation to one's social standing. Those who were part of the court were expected to be able to speak the language, and fluency in it was a prerequisite for employment in the Mughal bureaucracy. Aspirants for positions in the bureaucracy underwent years of study of the language and its literature in order to attain proficiency in Persian. Outside of the government, many scholars, poets, physicians, and merchants, appear similarly proficient in it too. On the other hand, those without the means to an education, not only had no

[226] Ahmad, 'Safawid Poets and India', in *Iran*, p. 129

hope of employment in the government (as opposed to menial tasks), but were through language, as with dress, further differentiated from the more privileged in the Mughal capital cities.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Postscript

Various themes emerge in this study of the culture of the Mughal capital cities during the years 1556 to 1658. One is of vast differences in standards of living in the Mughal capital cities persisting throughout the period. At one end of the scale, not only the Mughal emperor, but his prince and nobles, as well as wealthy merchants, and their families, enjoyed a life of immense luxury and comfort, and shared recreational interests. In large mansions concentrated close to the imperial fort where the emperor lived, or scattered throughout the capital city, their lifestyles resembled that of the emperor, except on a smaller scale. They held court in their luxurious *dīwānkhāna* located in the public section of their mansion, where they met visitors and attended to matters of state, or to business in the case of wealthy merchants. Like the emperor, they engaged in the patronage of the arts, hiring musicians, singers and dancers, and composing poetry in Persian, the language of the Mughal court. The richest amongst them might even have their own ateliers within their mansions, staffed sometimes with painters formerly in the employ of the Mughal emperor. In the private section of their mansions, they and their families could afford to dine on dishes made of the most expensive ingredients if they so chose – meat and costly spices, such as cardamom, black pepper and cloves, and fruits - local and imported, beverages - similarly local and foreign, and confectioneries. Like the emperor and his family in the imperial fort, they were waited upon by a multitude of servants, and their security was guaranteed by guards posted at the entrance to their mansions. Outside, they were not seen except in splendid attire (and of the emperor's design) while their womenfolk were veiled in public.

Such a lifestyle though, was that of an elite minority in the capital cities. The majority of the people in the Mughal capital cities throughout the period led a very different existence as we have seen. Many lived in houses of sturdy materials but of much smaller

dimensions than that of the nobility, and petty traders such as Banārasīdās slept above their shops in the bazaar. The poorest, however, lived in huts made of flimsy materials, except in Lahore where bricks were plentiful and therefore cheap. Life in these huts was never easy, as they were made of mud, thatch and bamboo, and thus provided little protection against the winter cold, were liable to collapse during the heavy rains of the monsoons, and were highly susceptible to fires. Moreover, they had none of the conveniences such as private wells and *ḥammāms* that those in the mansions are likely to have taken for granted. In terms of food, the poorest continued to survive on a monotonous diet of lentils and rice for the most part, punctuated when they could afford it, by commercially prepared food available in the bazaars. Dress was the one area where the Mughal court had a definite impact on the common people, but not in the case of the poorest for whom a loincloth for men and a skirt, tight blouse and veil for women sufficed throughout the period, just as they had done prior to the advent of the Mughal dynasty.

While we are thus left with an unchanging picture of the urban poor during the period under review in terms of the necessities of life, for some who had a skill or talent that the emperor and his nobles valued such as in the arts, there were opportunities for financial improvement. Many *kārkhānas* or workshops were located in the imperial fort where large numbers of people were employed to make for example, perfumes, tapestries, carpets, armour and weapons, and paintings, to quote Father Monserrate, 'The King [Akbar]... has all sorts of craftsmen within the palace enclosure.'[1] Of those who worked there, painters were especially celebrated and rewarded for individual achievements, including those of humble origin like Daswant, and attained a social status that they had hitherto not enjoyed, and could even go on to be appointed to positions of importance in the government. The period under review was thus, in a sense, a culmination of a process begun centuries earlier during the Ghurid period, when the Indian walled-city which had been off limits to all save the highest Hindu castes, was opened for the first time to

[1] Letter from Father Monserrate to the Father Provincial, March/April, 1580, in Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Letters*, p. 37

craftsmen and other workers, and their families, to set up their workshops, and to reside in.[2]

Moreover, all people living in the Mughal capital cities, irrespective of wealth, were certainly better off compared to earlier and later periods in one important respect: the military might of the Mughal empire ensured that no foreign armies invaded the empire and attacked the capital cities, and local brigands whilst not absent from the empire, launched no raids on Delhi, Agra, Lahore and Fatehpur Sikri (unlike in the century afterwards in particular), doubtlessly aware of the futility of such an endeavour against a well garrisoned and fortified city, and of the terrible repercussions. Those few attacks on these cities by forces from within the empire – rebellious Mughal princes and nobles, were all repulsed successfully, except for Aurangzeb and Murād's march on Agra, marking the end of the period under review. This in any case was not a bloody affair for the civilian population of Agra, quite unlike when Delhi fell to Amir Timur during the earlier Delhi Sultanate period. Certainly, with each attack by a rebellious Mughal prince or noble much anxiety was caused to the city's population disrupting the normal flow of life, but the outcome appears never to have been one of bloodshed for the civilian population, who perhaps, despite their fears, had faith in the ability of the Mughal army to defend them. This certainly cannot be said of the populations of Lahore, Agra, and Delhi in the following century, when foreign and emergent local powers ruled over and harassed them in turn, to quote the poet Mīr on his Delhi of the 1770s:

> Sikhs, Marathas, thieves, pickpockets, beggars, kings – all prey on us.
> Happy is he who has no wealth; this is the one true wealth today.[3]

Another theme is the process of Indianization at the Mughal court which came about as a result of a change in imperial attitudes towards India beginning with the third emperor. Akbar, unlike the first two emperors, Babur and Humayun, enthusiastically drew from his local environment in various ways. In each chapter of this thesis we have seen examples

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[2] K. A. Nizami (ed.), *Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period: Collected Works of Professor Mohammad Habib*, Vol. One, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1974, p. 74

[3] Khurshidul Islam & Ralph Russell, *Three Mughal Poets*, 1969; reprint, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 221

of this. Indianization did not mean, however, the complete abandonment of Central Asian derived practices like the system of ranks employed in the *manṣabdārī* system and the presentation of *khil'at*, or the end of continuing Persian influences at a Timurid court. Instead, Indian influences blended with these, so that for instance, the recruitment of Indian painters meant the creation of a school of painting merging Indian and Persian styles (and later on European), and Tansen's arrival and that of other Indian musicians with their instruments was a continuation of a synthesis of Indian and foreign music begun in the Sultanate times. Similarly, an Indian tunic was adopted and modified and then presented as *khil'at*, an institution (with its inherent symbolism) shared in common with Muslim courts across Asia, and betel nut, which emigres from Central Asia and Persia would not have sampled outside of the empire, was presented to guests by nobles, and in Shah Jahan's reign we even read of betel nut paraphernalia being presented by the emperor alongside *khil'at*. Poetry was an exception, as Persian, the language of the court, remained the dominant language of composition. Nevertheless, poetry was also composed in Indian languages at court, and Akbar instituted the position of poet laureate in Hindi, which was maintained throughout the period.

Linked to this theme is that of the homogenisation of a nobility of diverse backgrounds - Sunni Central Asian Turks, Shiite Iranians, Hindu Rajputs, and Indian Muslims. Regardless of their backgrounds, all the nobility from Akbar's reign onwards dressed uniformly and distinctly from those of neighbouring courts (from which some of them had come), spoke Persian and many composed poetry in this language, and enjoyed and patronized the same arts – music and painting, for instance. There was, however, an element of enforcement to this homogeneity by the emperor. Akbar's views on painting, including his dislike for those who did not like the art, were made plain to all in conversation and in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, and according to Badauni he even ordered his nobles to make copies of manuscripts in the case of the *Razmnāma*. The adoption of Persian as the language of court and bureaucracy meant that all regardless of their backgrounds, including the turbulent Turks in particular, who had been able to use Turkish at court previously, now had no option but to communicate with their emperor and everyone else in Persian at court if they wanted to participate fully there (the

European travellers' accounts provide sufficient proof of the frustration that a lack of knowledge of Persian might bring to one at court). In fact, a knowledge of Persian came to be expected of an educated person. In the case of dress, the enforcement of a new uniform was subtler, due to the existence of the institution of *khil'at* which facilitated the spread amongst the nobility of an Indian-derived dress made according to the emperor's design, and even if Muslim and Hindu nobles wore tunics tied on opposite sides, the form was the exactly the same, and so was everything else that they wore – the turban, dagger, and trousers.

Even court etiquette, enforced with great rigidity, cut across religious and ethnic lines, and all nobles regardless of their backgrounds were expected to comply, with guards present to ensure that this was the case if necessary. They greeted the emperor with the same obeisance, observed the same rules of silence and stood in their allocated spot at the hall of public audience, which was based on their *manṣab* rank. At court this rank took precedence over any other hierarchy that a noble might deem himself as belonging to – thus caste differences, such as between Rajput and Khattri, as well as ethnic, between Indian, Turk and Persian, and religious, between Hindu and Muslim, Shiite and Sunni, were secondary to, and indeed irrelevant to *manṣab* ranks, which the emperor alone determined.

Finally, due to the change in imperial outlook towards the Indian environment under Akbar, by the end of the period under review the Mughal dynasty no longer was perceived as alien by the population, as it had been under the first two emperors, Babur and Humayun. To quote Percival Spear on Akbar's role in this:

> It was his [Humayun's] son Akbar who really made the empire. He did this not merely by military prowess, although he was a magnetic leader and skilful general. He turned the Mughal government from a foreign imposition by rulers with an alien culture into an Indian regime by means of a political deal with the Rajputs and a new approach to Hindus in general.[4]

[4] Spear, 'The Mughal 'Mansabdari' System', in Leach and Mukherjee (eds.), *Elites*, p. 2

This changed perception of the Mughal dynasty was to be poignantly - and most dramatically illustrated at the very end of the dynasty's life, when in 1857 the sepoys of the 34th Infantry, mutinied against their British officers at Meerut and marched to the old Mughal capital, Delhi, to proclaim the aged and powerless Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh II, emperor of India. In the following weeks, in areas of the rebellion outside of Delhi, some of the most important rebel leaders declared themselves to be acting on behalf of the Mughal emperor. Amongst these were the Maratha, Nānā Ṣāḥib, who proclaimed Bahādur Shāh the emperor and took for himself the title of Peshwā,[5] and in Rohilkand, where the British lost complete control for a year, the Rohilla, Khān Bahādur Khān, similarly declared his allegiance to the emperor. In the newly annexed state of Awadh, where the revolt against the British was particularly widespread, Birjīs Qadr, a son of the last king, Wājid 'Alī Shāh, who had been deposed five years earlier by the British, was declared its king. Even though the kings of Awadh had taken on royal titles earlier in the nineteenth century, which the Nizam of Hyderabad, had held back from doing so out of respect for the Mughal emperor,[6] Birjīs Qadr was installed by the rebels on the condition 'that he, or to be more accurate, his advisors should implicitly obey all orders from Delhi.'[7]

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[5] Hari Prasad Thapliyal, *The Life and Work of Peshwa Nana Saheb*, Sahitya Kendra Prakashan, New Delhi, 1985, p. 127

[6] S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1969, p. 278

[7] Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 209-10

Mughal Miniature Paintings

Figure 1 Humayun and his brothers seated in a landscape. c. 1550, from the 'Berlin Album', Preussiche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin [Ms. 117, f. 15r]

Figure 2_ Mihr Afroz makes preparations for her wedding feast. c. 1565, from a *Ḥamzanāma* manuscript, Painting number 70, Volume unknown, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 1519 – 1883]

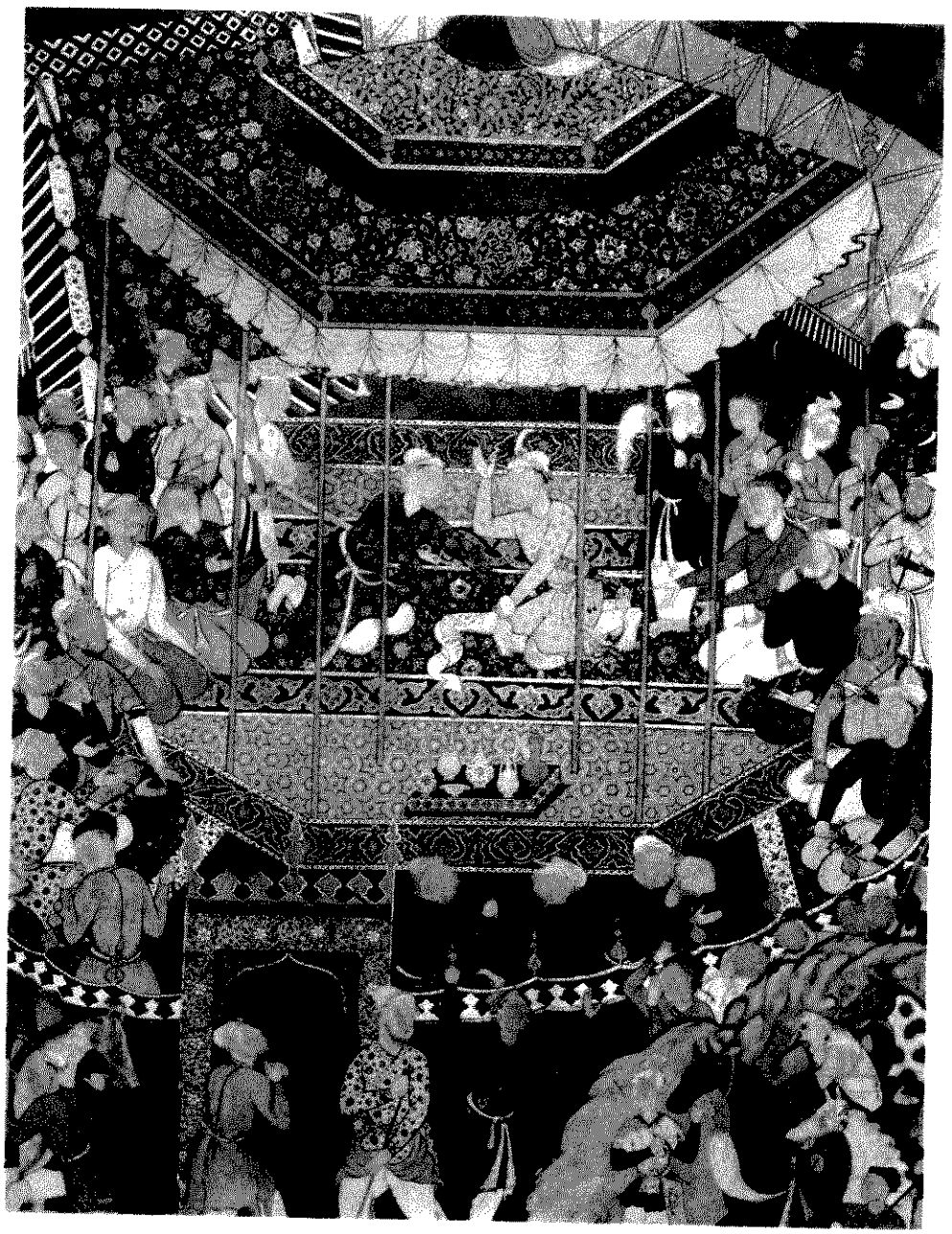

Figure 3 'Alām Shāh in conversation with Qubād. c. 1565, from a *Ḥamzanāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Painting number 50, Volume number 6, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge [PD. 203-1948]

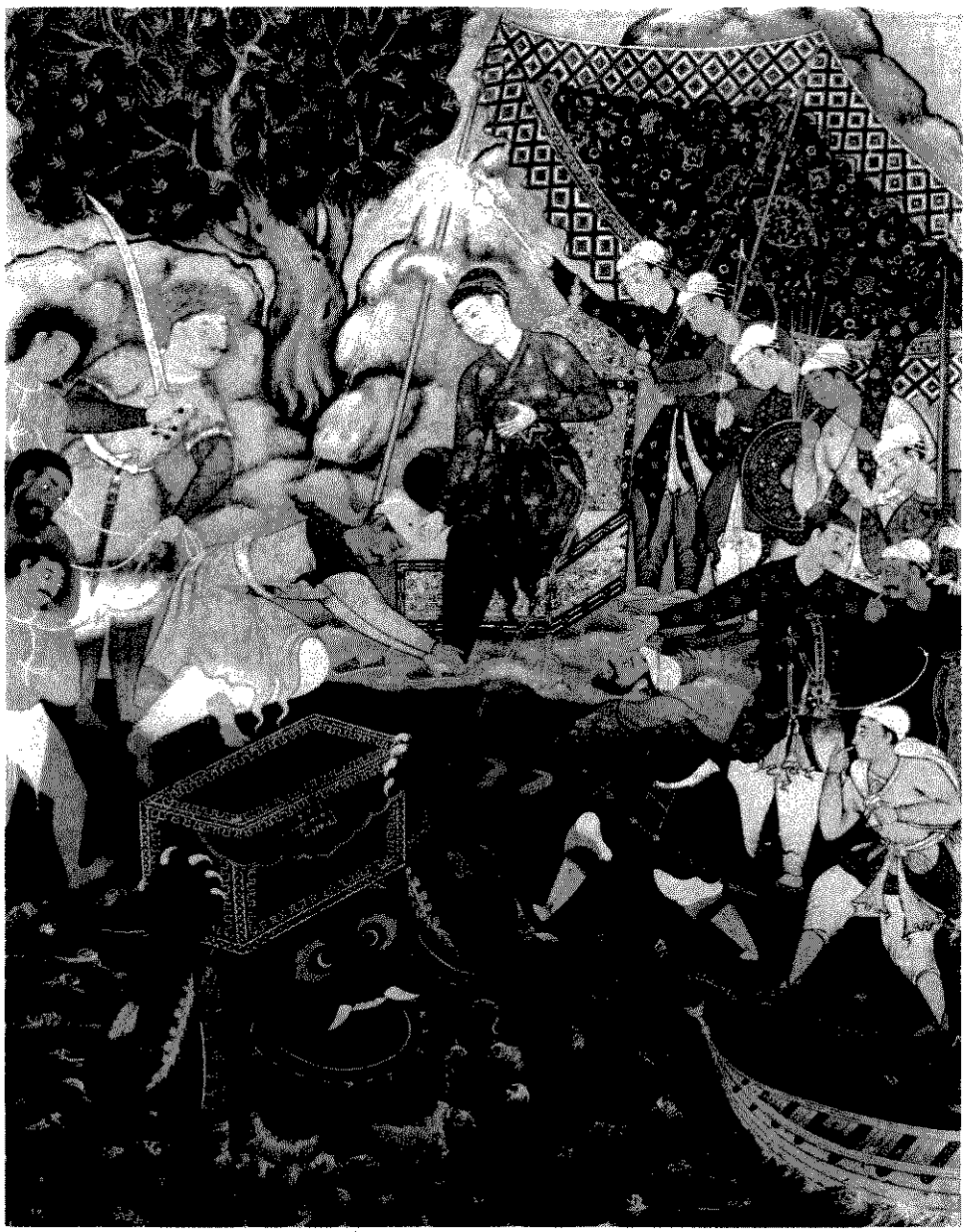

Figure 4 Ārghan Dev brings Ḥamza the chest of armour. c. 1570, from a *Ḥamzanāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Painting number 40, Volume 11, Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn [24. 47]

Figure 5 Two spies, Songhur Balkhī and Lūlū, are received by Bābā Bakhshā, a former spy. c. 1570, from a *Ḥamzanāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Painting number 74, Volume 11, MAK-Austrian Museum of Applied Arts/Contemporary Art, Vienna [B.I. 8770/59]

Figure 6 Prince Ḥāmid fights with Māhval. c. 1571, from a *Ḥamzanāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Painting number 2, Volume 12, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge [PD. 204-1948]

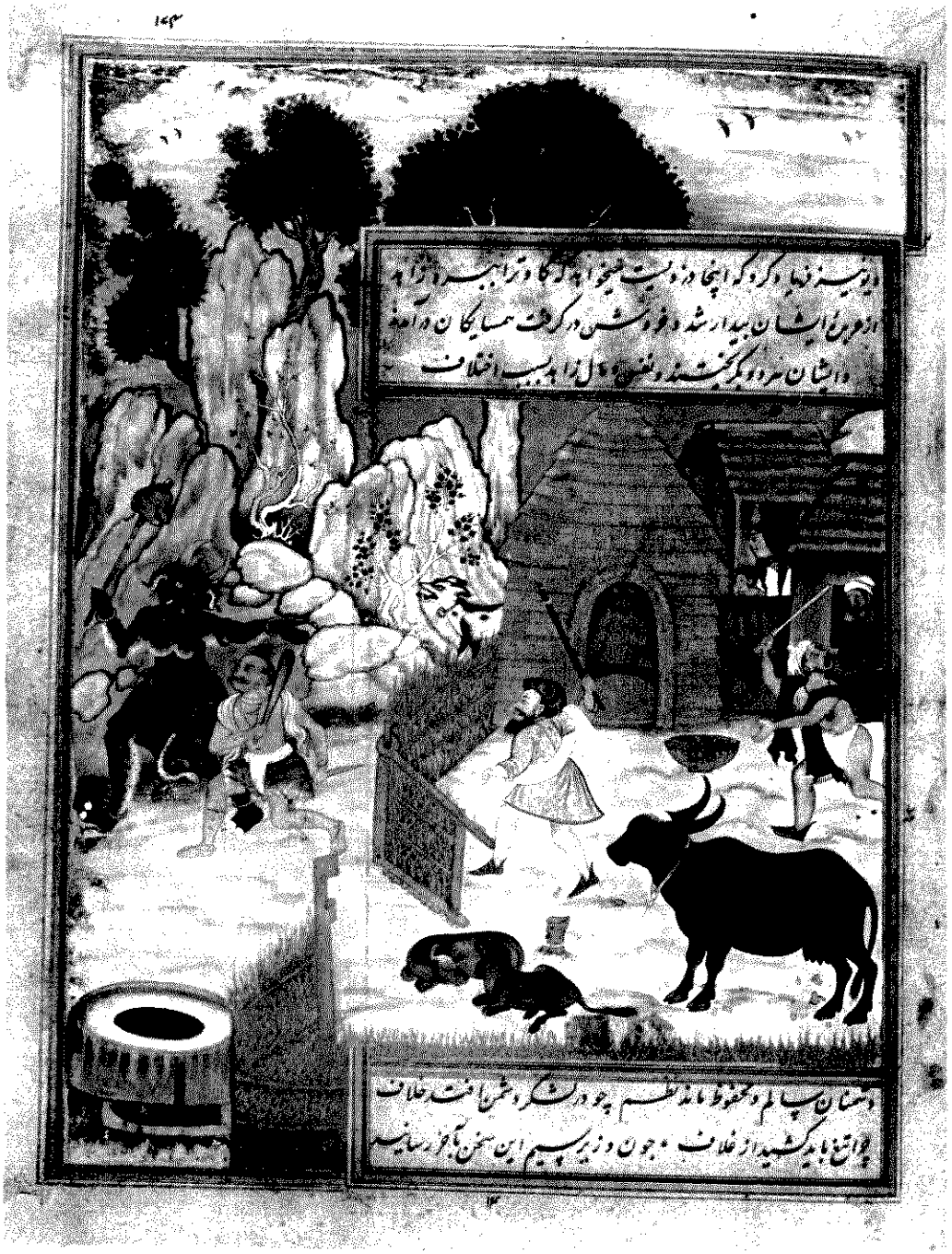

Figure 7 The thief, the demon, and the devotee. Dated 1570, from an *Anwār-i-Suhailī* manuscript, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London [Ms. 10102, f. 174]

Figure 8 The merchant's daughter meets a thief and a wolf on her way to fulfil her promise to the gardener. c. 1570-5, from a *Ṭūṭīnāma* manuscript, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland [1962. 279. 99. b]

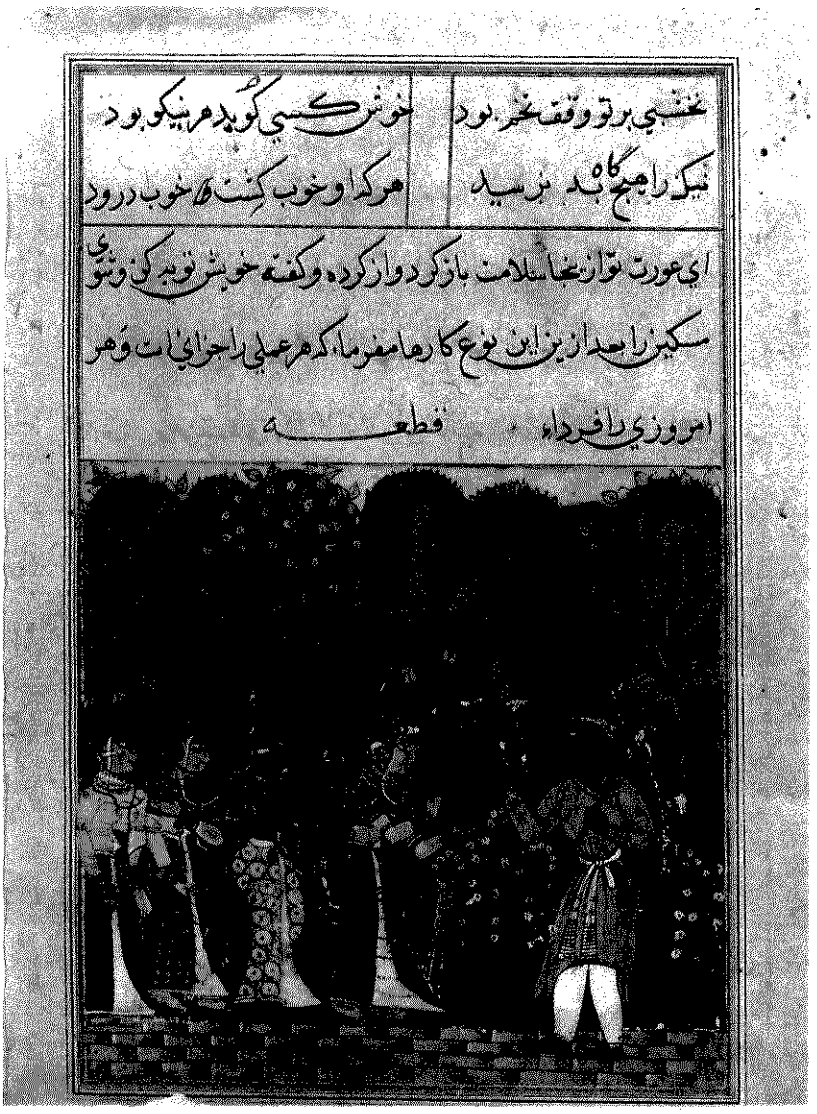

Figure 9 The merchant's daughter arrives to fulfil her promise to the gardener. c. 1570-5, from a *Ṭūṭīnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland [1962. 279. 100. b]

Figure 10 A self-portrait of the young painter Manohar with a calligrapher. Dated 1581, by Manohar, from a *Gulistān* of Sa'dī manuscript. India Office Library, London [Ms. Ras Loan 5, f. 128r]

Figure 11 Artists at work. c. 1585, from the 'Berlin Album', Preussiche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin [Ms. 117, f. 21r]

Figure 12 Babur being entertained by Jahāngīr Mirzā in Ghaznī. c. 1590, by Bhīm Gujarātī, from a *Bāburnāma* manuscript, British Library, London [Or. 3714, f. 208b]

Figure 13 Preparations for a banquet for Babur and the Mirzās at Herat. c. 1590, by Banwārī Kalān (Banwārī the Elder), from a *Bāburnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), British Library, London [Or. 3714, f. 253a]

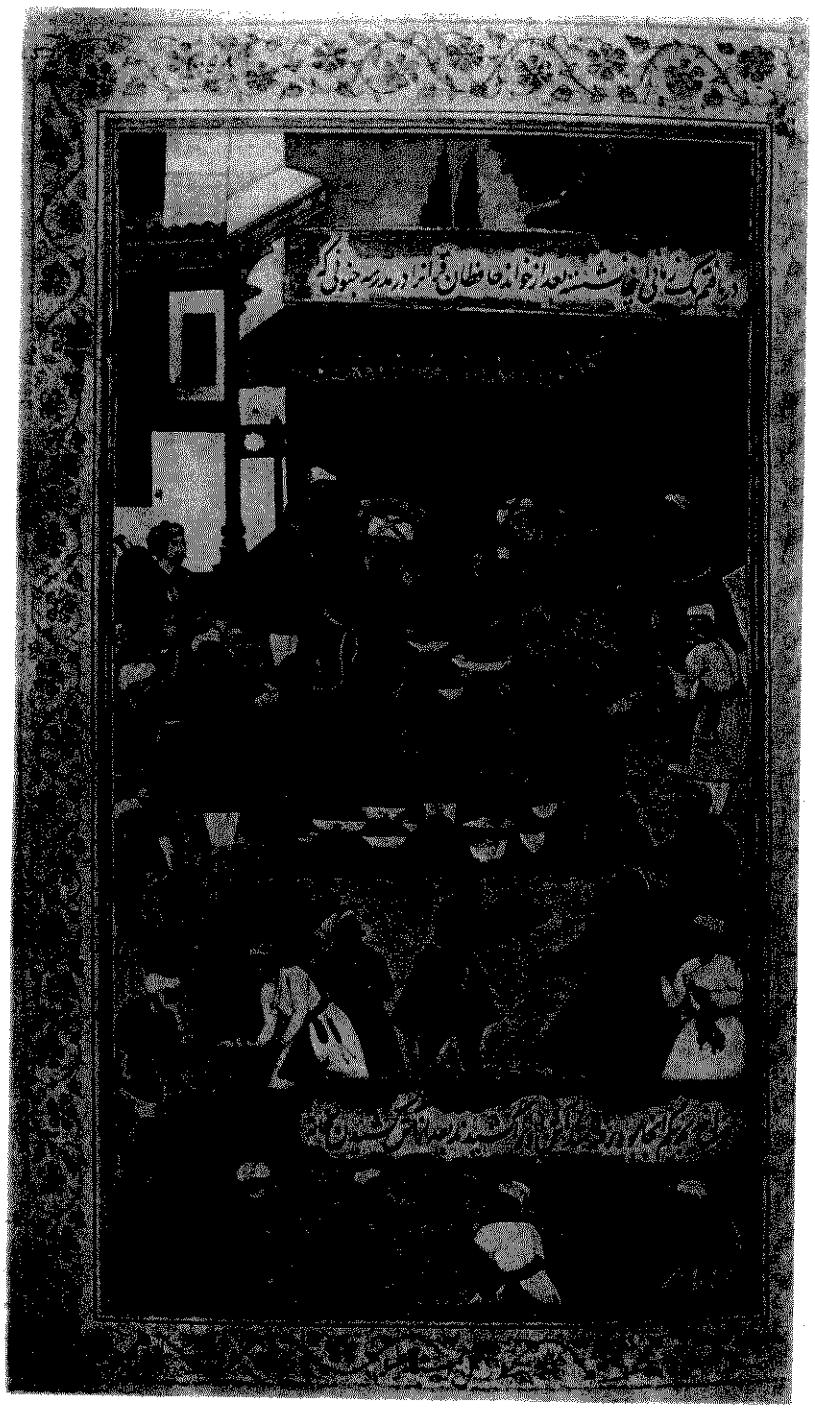

Figure 14 Babur is entertained to a meal at the South College in Herat. c. 1590, by Jamshed Chela, from a *Bāburnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), British Library, London [Or. 3714, f. 257a]

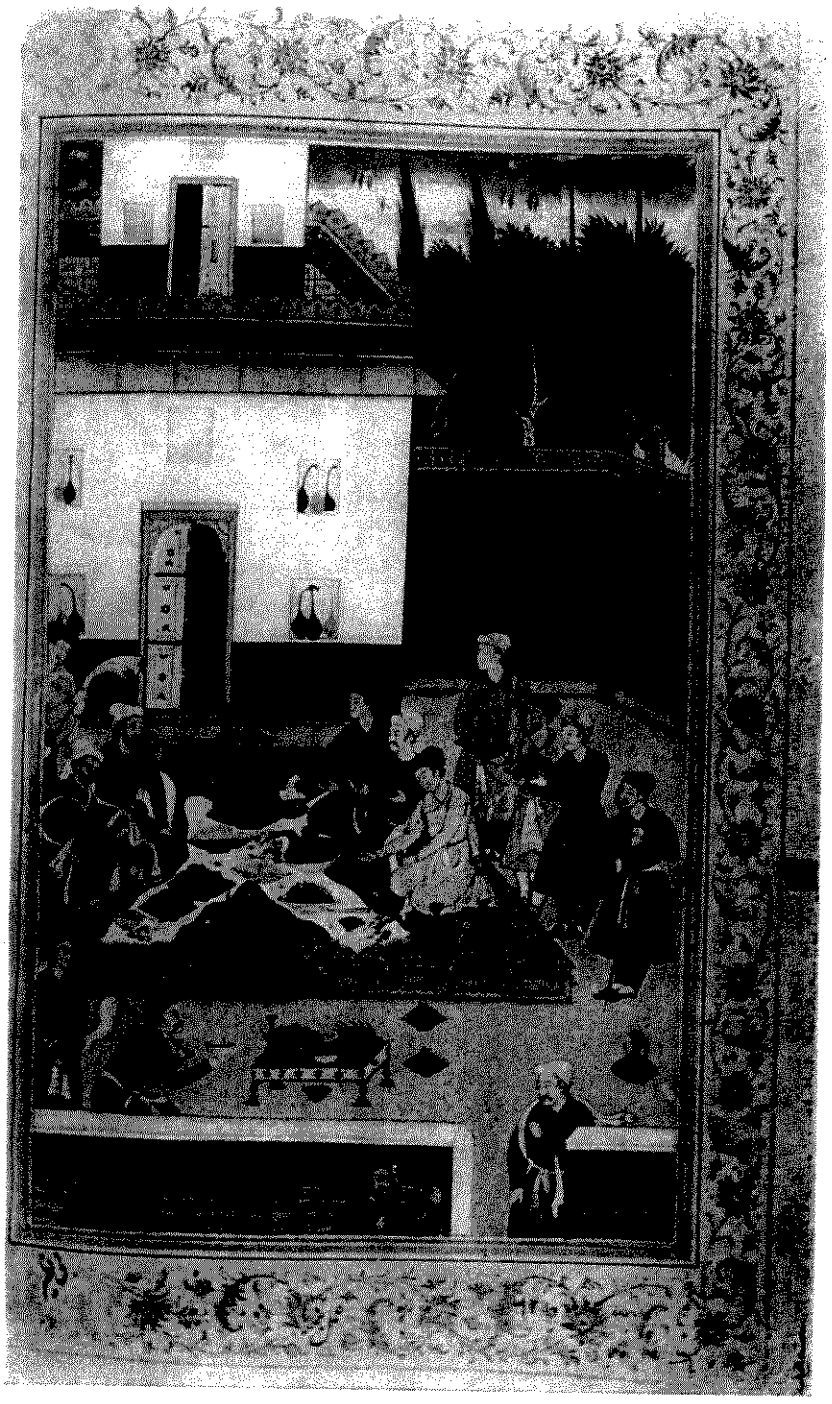

Figure 15 The Mirzās host Babur to a banquet and serve him roast duck at Herat. c. 1590, by Tiriyyā, from a *Bāburnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), British Library, London [Or. 3714, f. 260b]

Figure 16 Babur supervising the laying out of a garden. c. 1590, by Bishandās with Nānhā, from a *Bāburnāma* manuscript, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 276 – 1913 (left), IM 276a – 1913 (right)]

Figure 17 Babur arrives at Andijān. c. 1590, by Bishandās, from a *Bāburnāma* manuscript, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra [1989. 348]

Figure 18 Portrait of the Mughal noble, Zain Khān Kuka. c. 1590, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 91-1965]

Figure 19 Portrait of the Mughal noble, Raja Man Singh. c. 1590, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [1982. 174]

Figure 20 Self-portrait of Kesavdās in old age (detail). c. 1590, from the 'Berlin Album', Preussiche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin [Ms. 117, f. 25a]

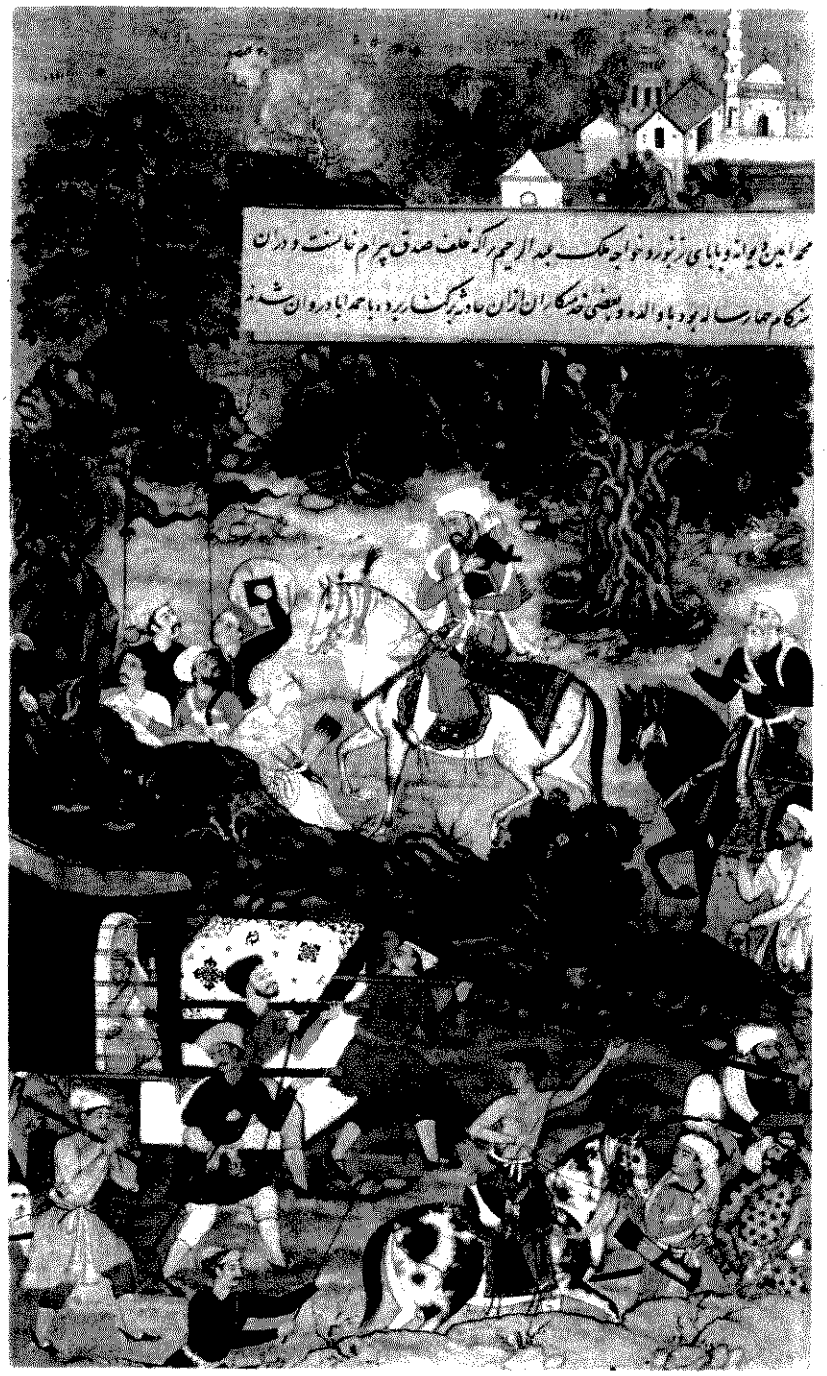

Figure 21 Bairam Khan's widow and son, 'Abd ur-Raḥīm being escorted to Ahmadabad. c. 1590–5, by Mukund, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 6/117]

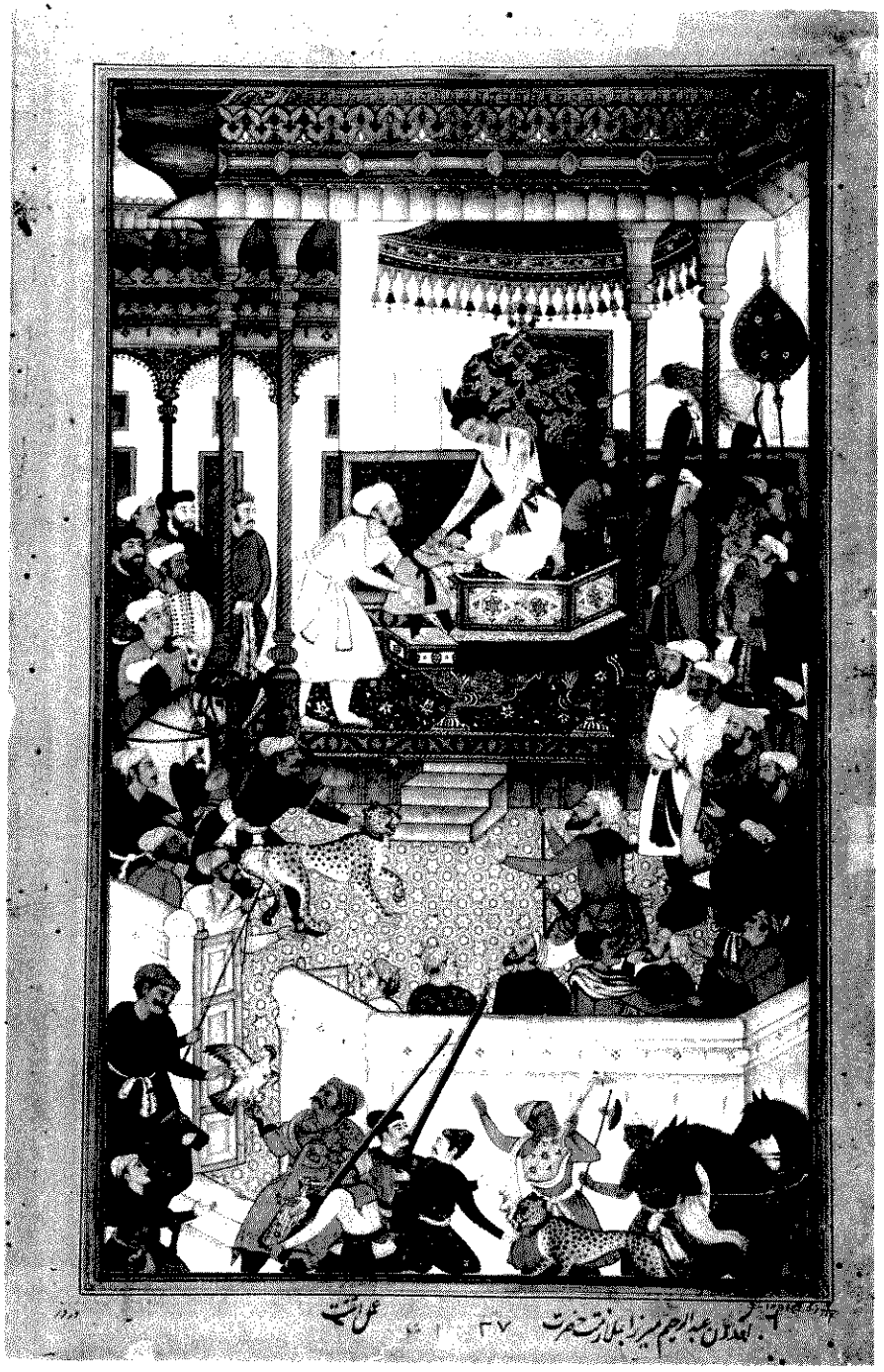

Figure 22 'Abd ur-Raḥīm, the young son of the recently assassinated Bairam Khan is presented to Akbar at court. c. 1590–5, by Anant, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 7/117]

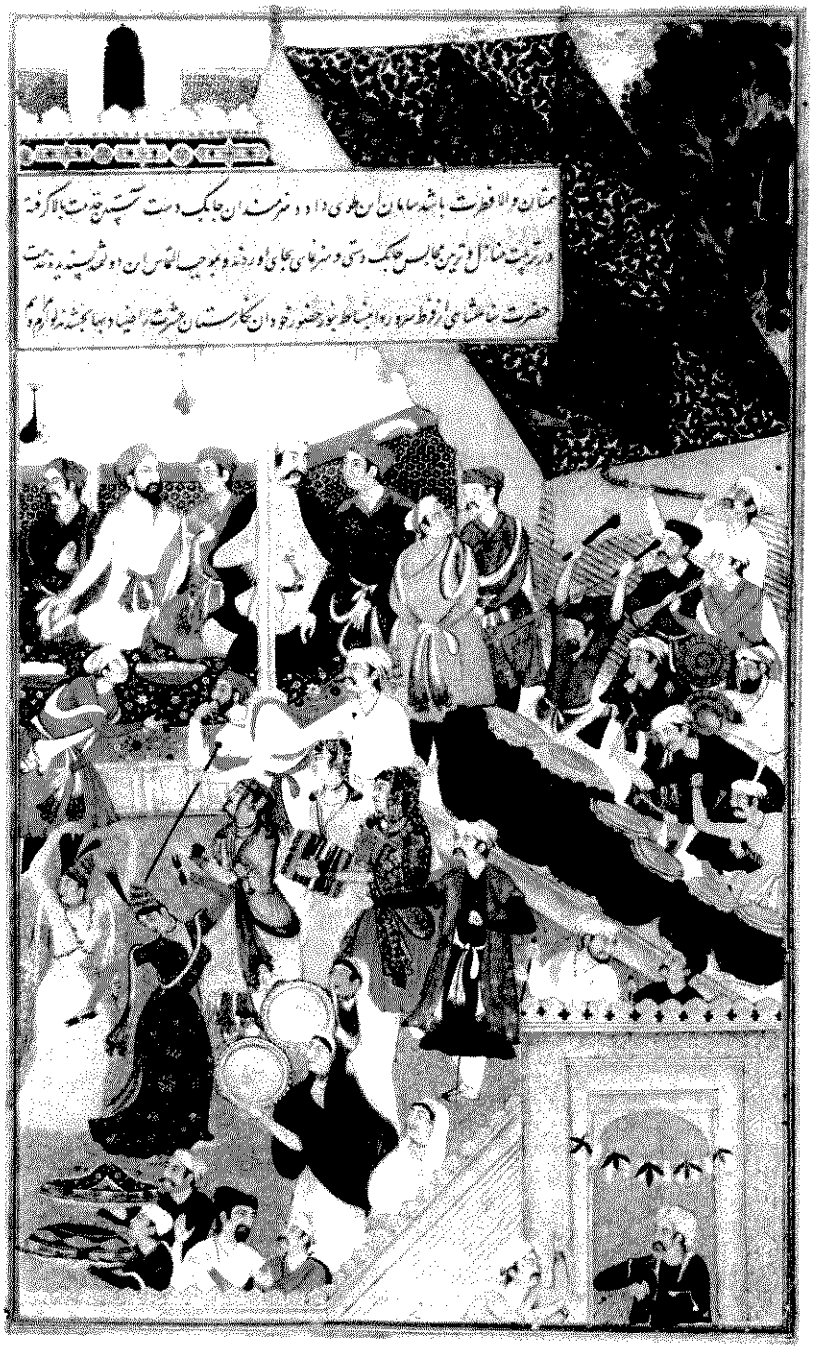

Figure 23 Celebrations at Bāqī Muḥammad Khān's wedding hosted by Akbar. c. 1590–5, by La'l with Banwālī, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 8/117]

Figure 24 Bāz Bahādur's dancers from Mandu perform for Akbar. c. 1590–5, by Kesav Kalān (Kesav the Elder) with Dharamdās, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 16/117]

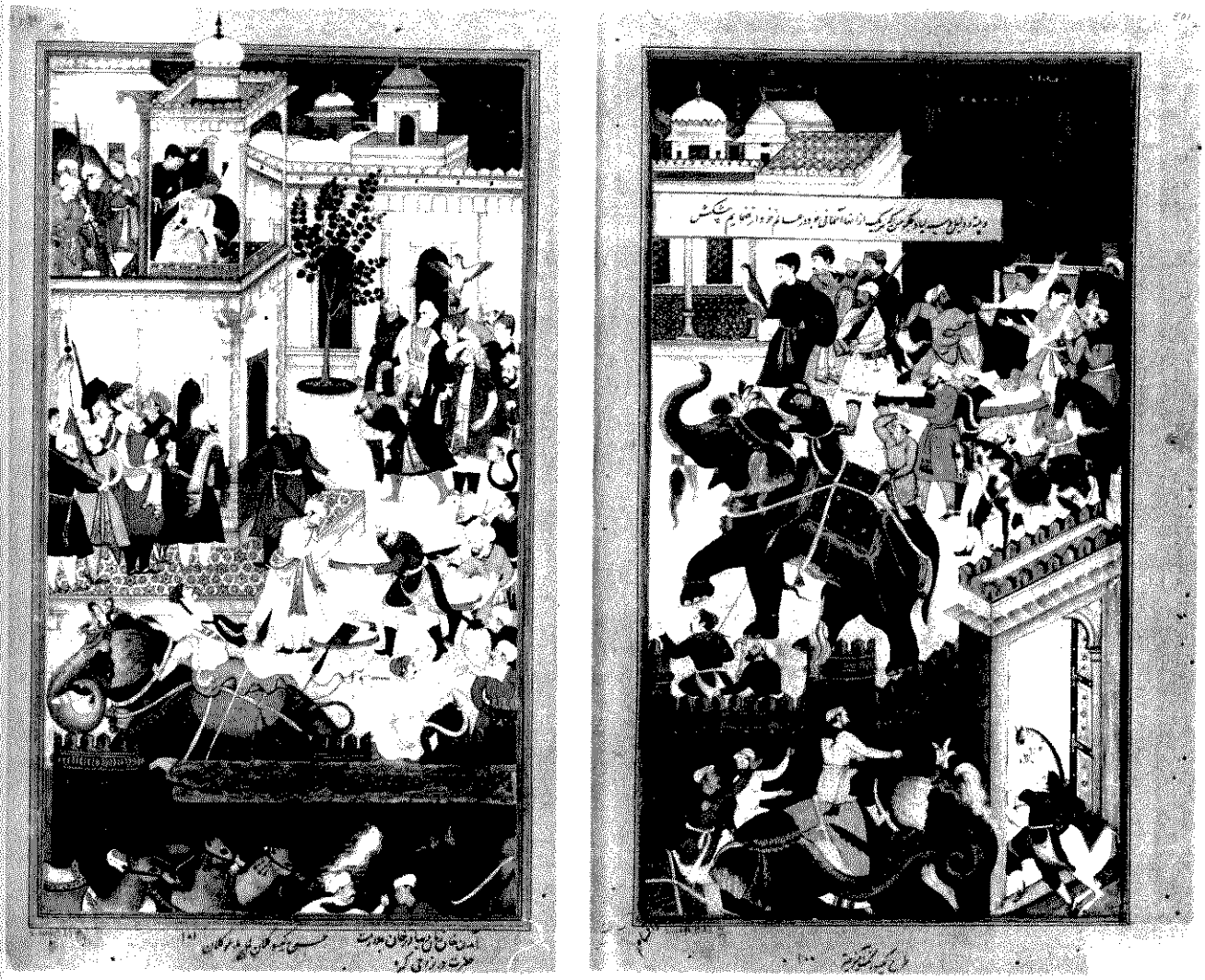

Figure 25 The submission of the Uzbek rebels and brothers, ʿAlī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān. c. 1590–5, by Kesav Kalān (Kesav the elder) with Chetar, from an from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 19/117 (left), IS 2-1896 20/117 (right)]

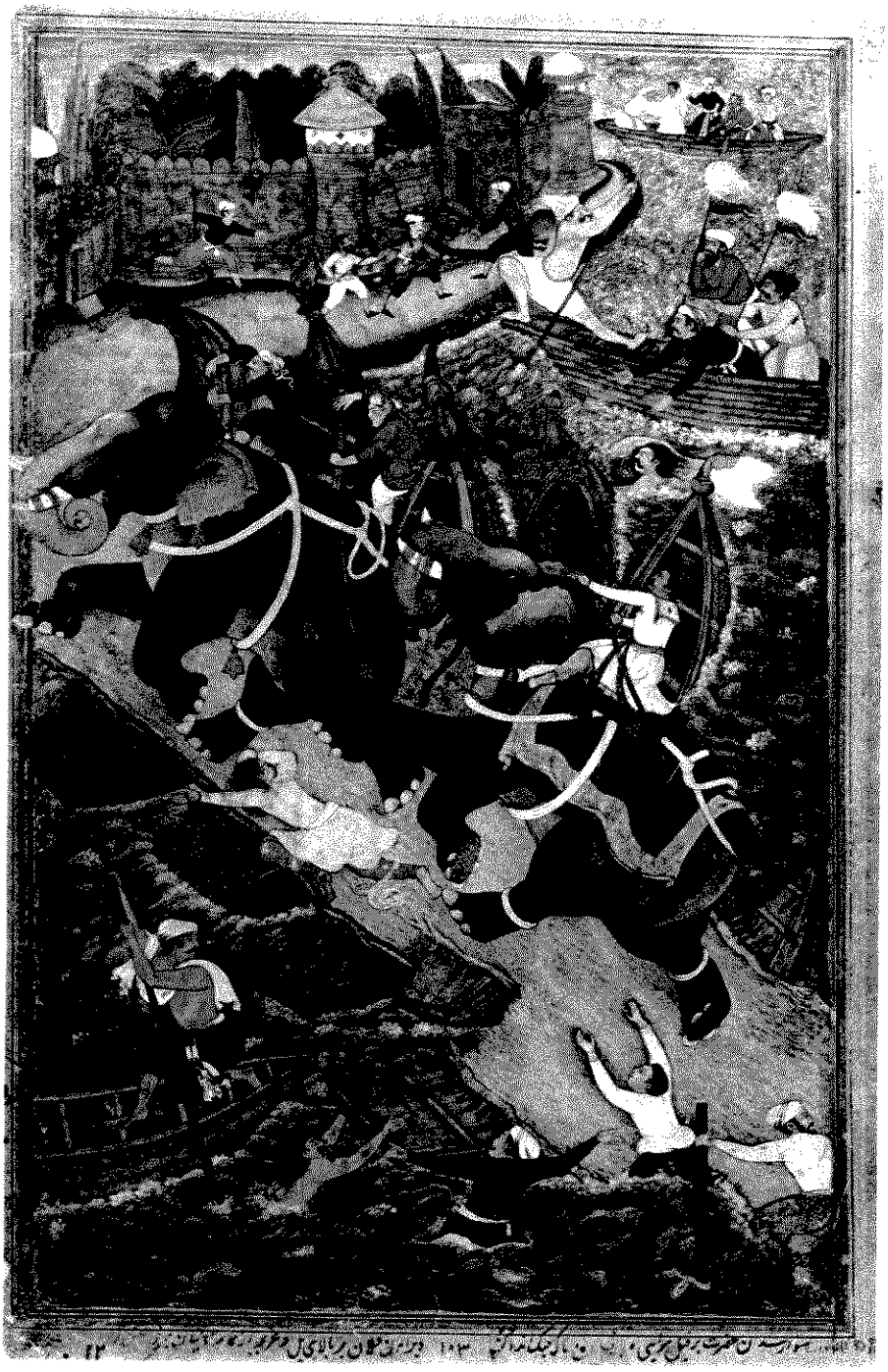

Figure 26 Akbar restrains an elephant. c. 1590–5, by Basāwan with Chitrā, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 22/117]

Figure 27 Akbar receiving the Safavid ambassador Sayyed Beg in 1562. c. 1590–5, by La'l with Ibrāhīm Kahār (left) and with Nand, son of Rāmdās (right), from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 27/117 (left), IS 2-1896 28/117 (right)]

Figure 28 Akbar orders Ādham Khān to be flung to his death from the Agra Fort. c. 1562, by Miskīn with Shankar, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 29/117]

Figure 29 An assassination attempt on Akbar's life in Delhi. c. 1590–5, by Bhawāni with Mādhav, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 33/117]

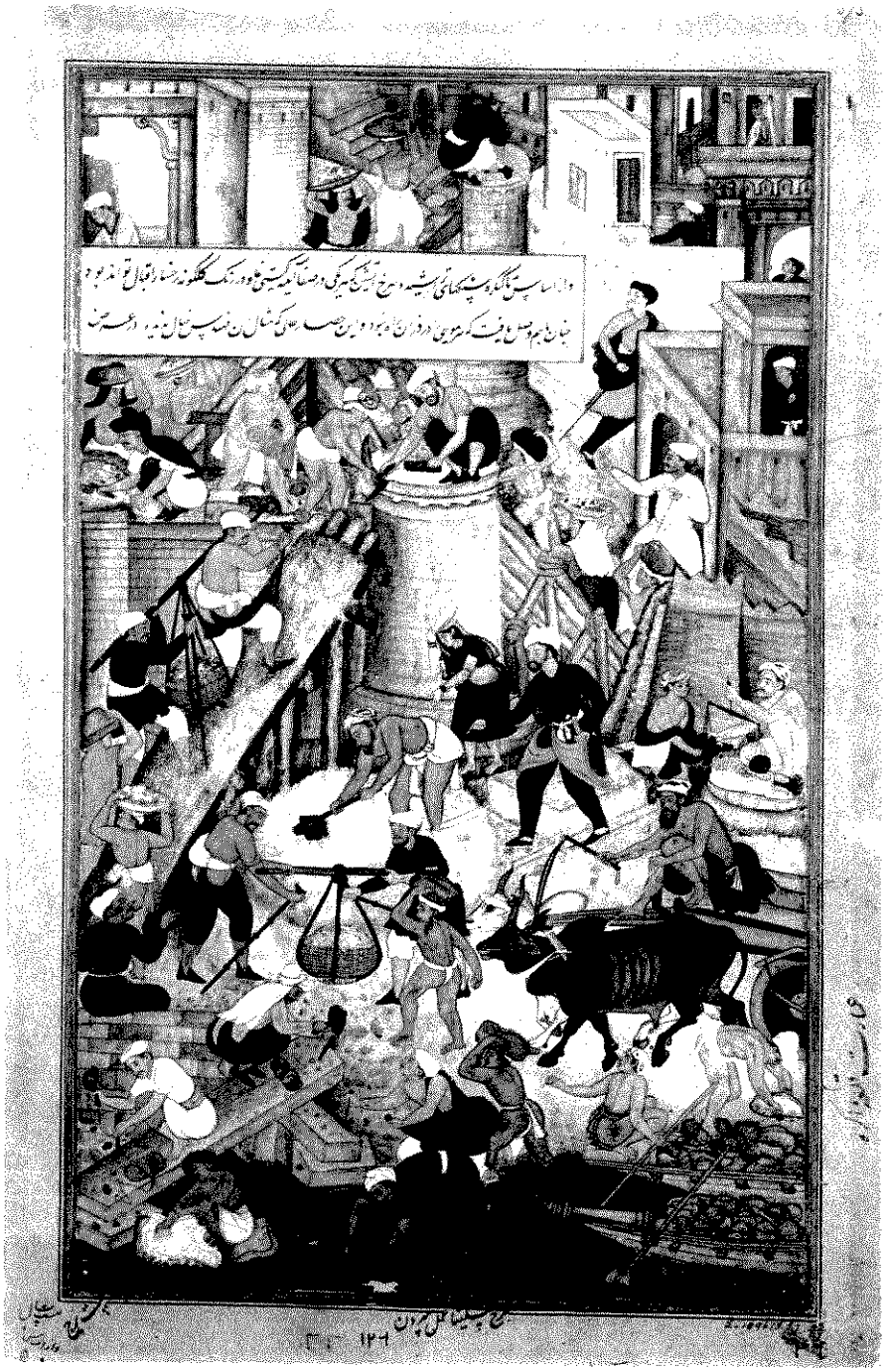

Figure 30 Construction work on the Agra fort. c. 1590–5, by Miskīnā with Sarwan, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 45/117]

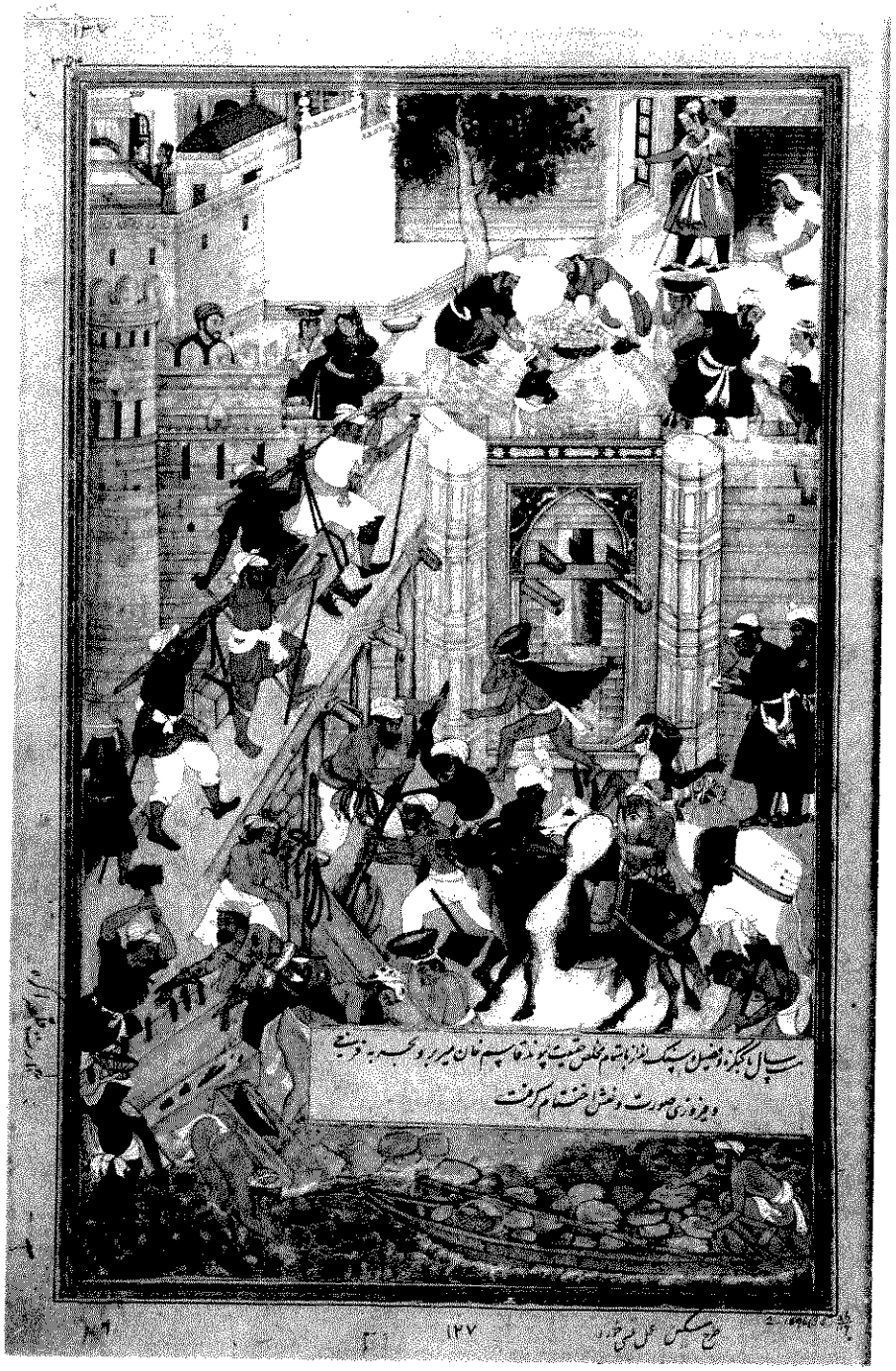

Figure 31 Construction work at Fatehpur Sikri. c. 1590–5, by Miskīn with Tulsī Khwurd (Tulsī the Younger), from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 46/117]

Figure 32 A battle between two groups of sannyasis observed by the imperial camp. c. 1590–5, By Basāwan with ʻĀṣī, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 62/117]

Figure 33 Akbar travels on foot from Agra to Ajmir in fulfilment of a vow following the birth of Salīm. c. 1590–5, by Basāwan with Nand Gawālyārī, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 77/117]

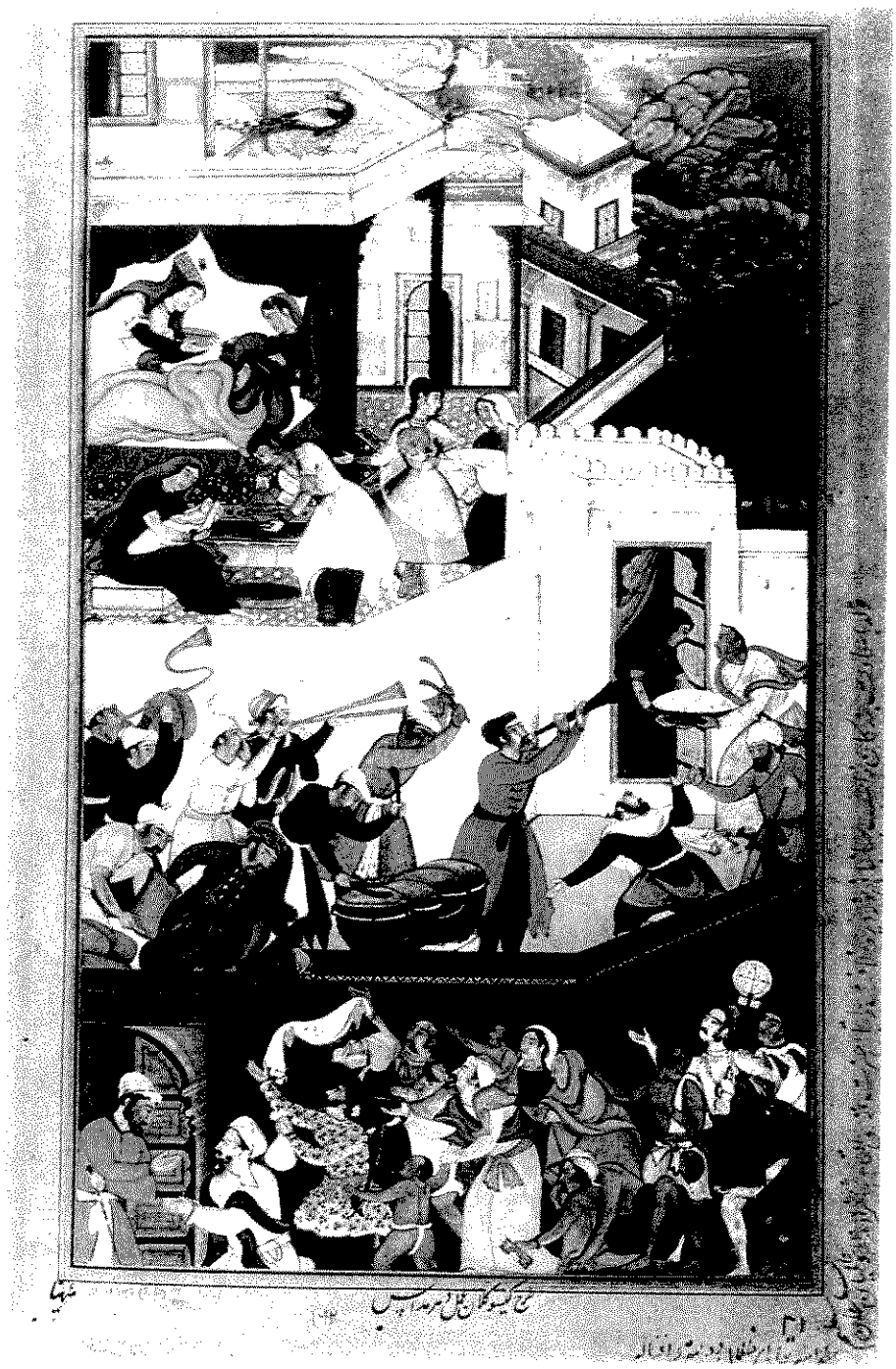

Figure 34 Rejoicings in Fatehpur Sikri at the birth of Salīm. c. 1590–5, by Kesav Kalān (Kesav the elder) with Dharamdās, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 78/117]

Figure 35 Akbar is informed of Salīm's birth. c. 1590–5, by Kesav Kalān (Kesav the elder) with Chitrā, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 79/117]

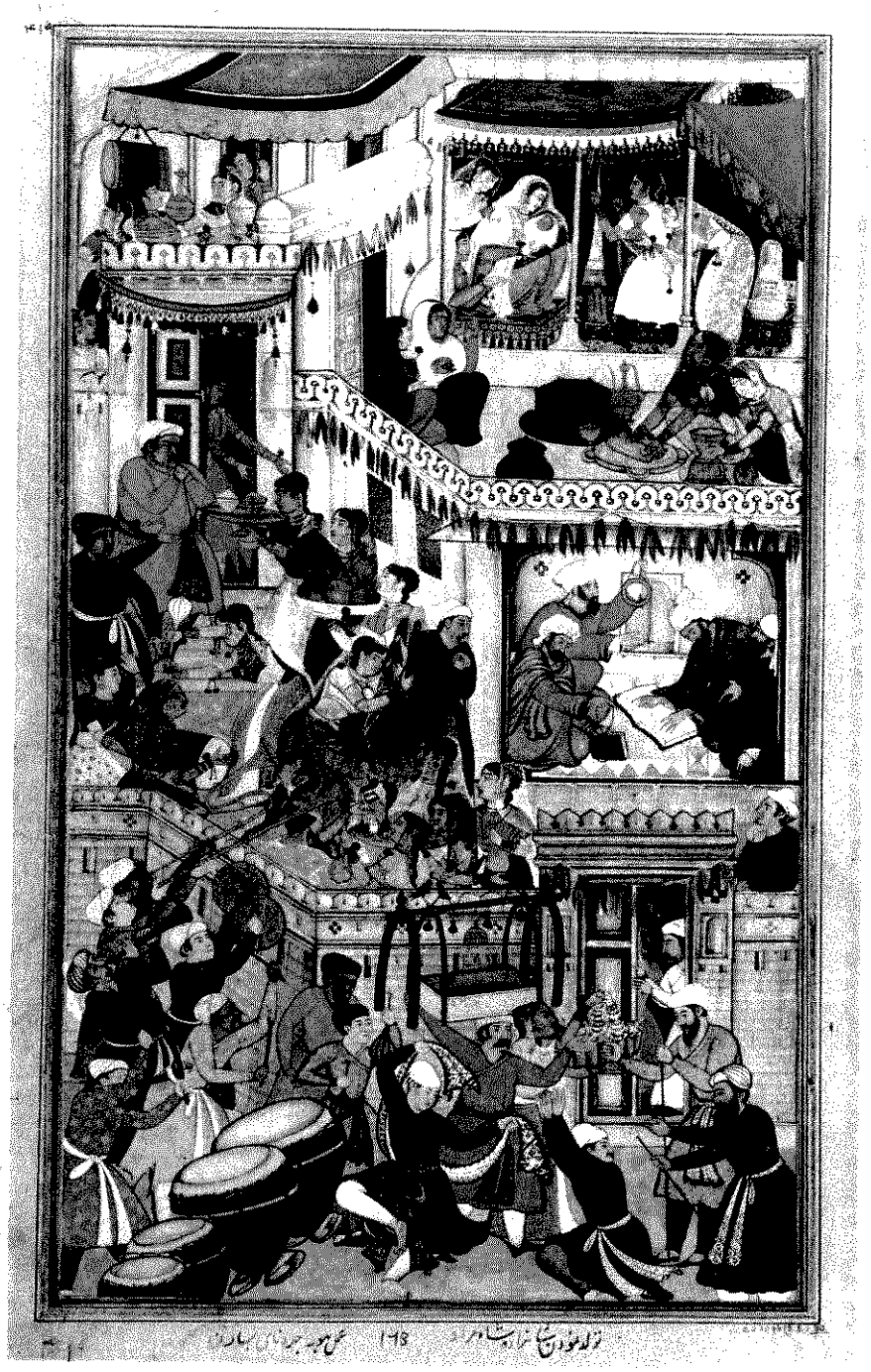

Figure 36 Rejoicings at Fatehpur upon the birth of Murād. c. 1590–5, by Bhūrā with Basāwan, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 80/117]

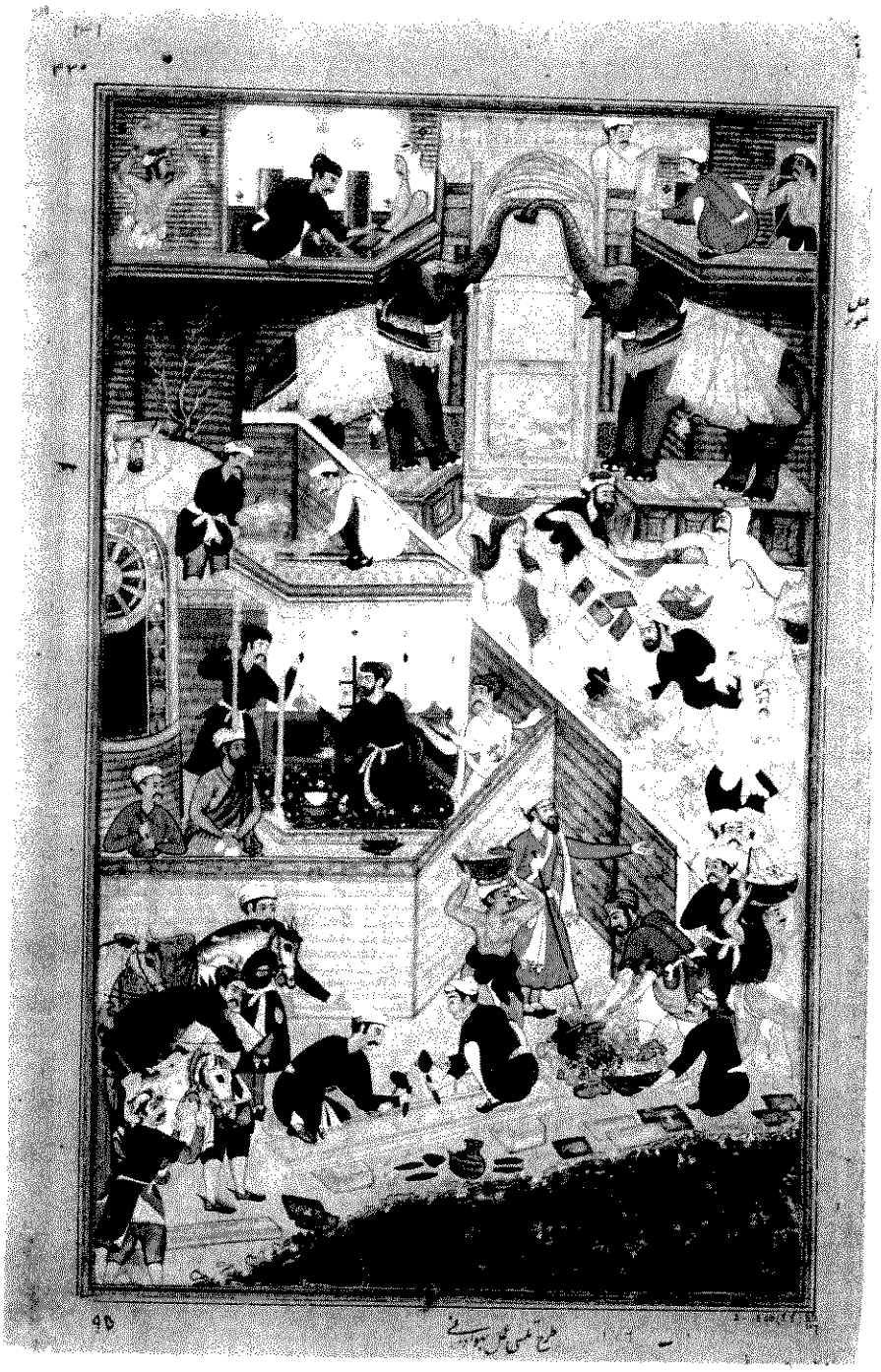

Figure 37 The construction of the Fatehpur Sikri fort. c. 1590–5, by Tulsī and Bhawānī, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 86/117]

Figure 38 Akbar greets Rajput rulers and other nobles at court. c. 1590–5, by Miskīnā, with Sarwan and Mādhav, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 114/117]

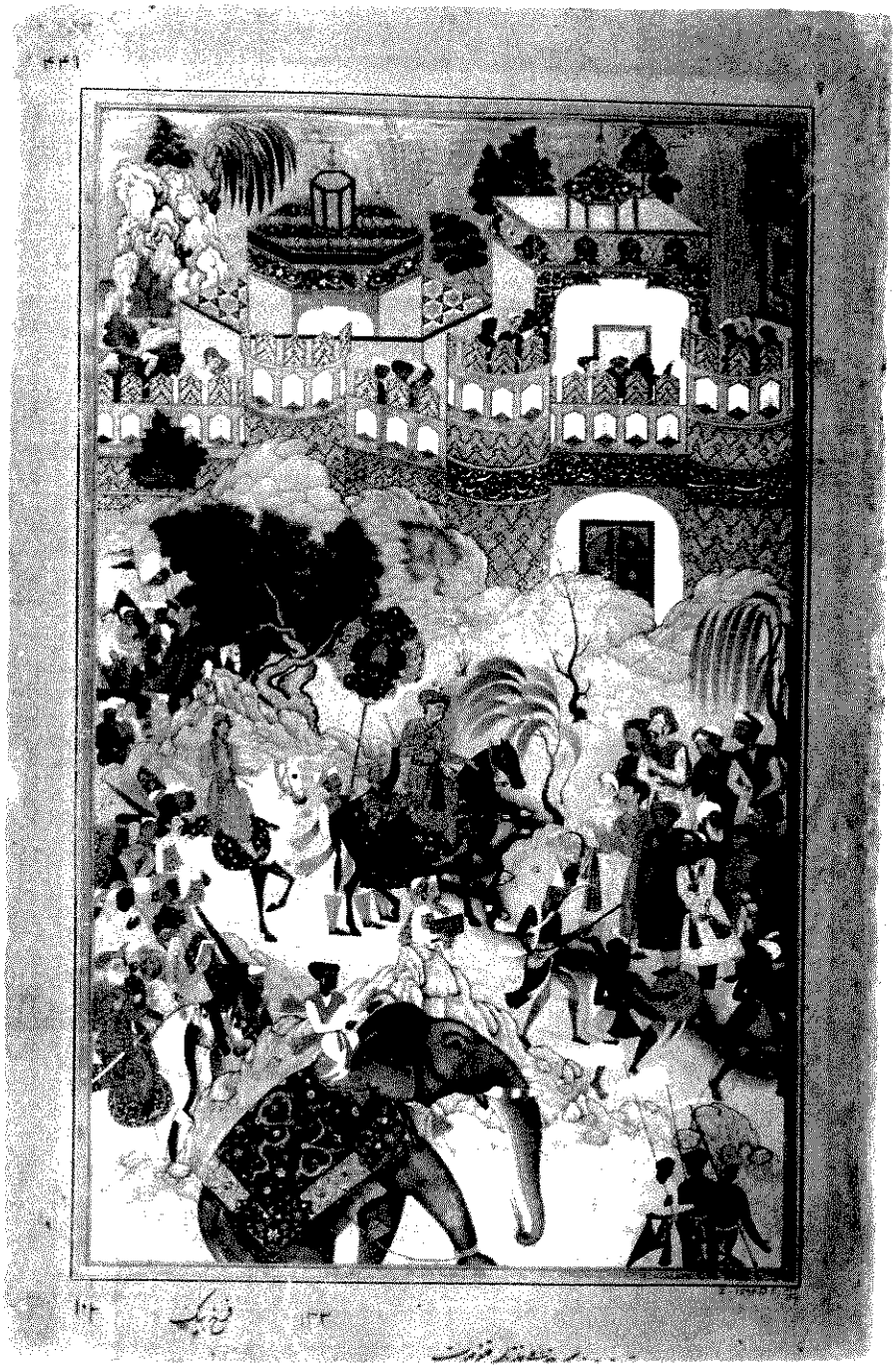

Figure 39 Akbar's triumphant entry into Surat. c. 1590–5, by Farrukh Beg Muṣauwir, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 2-1896 117/117]

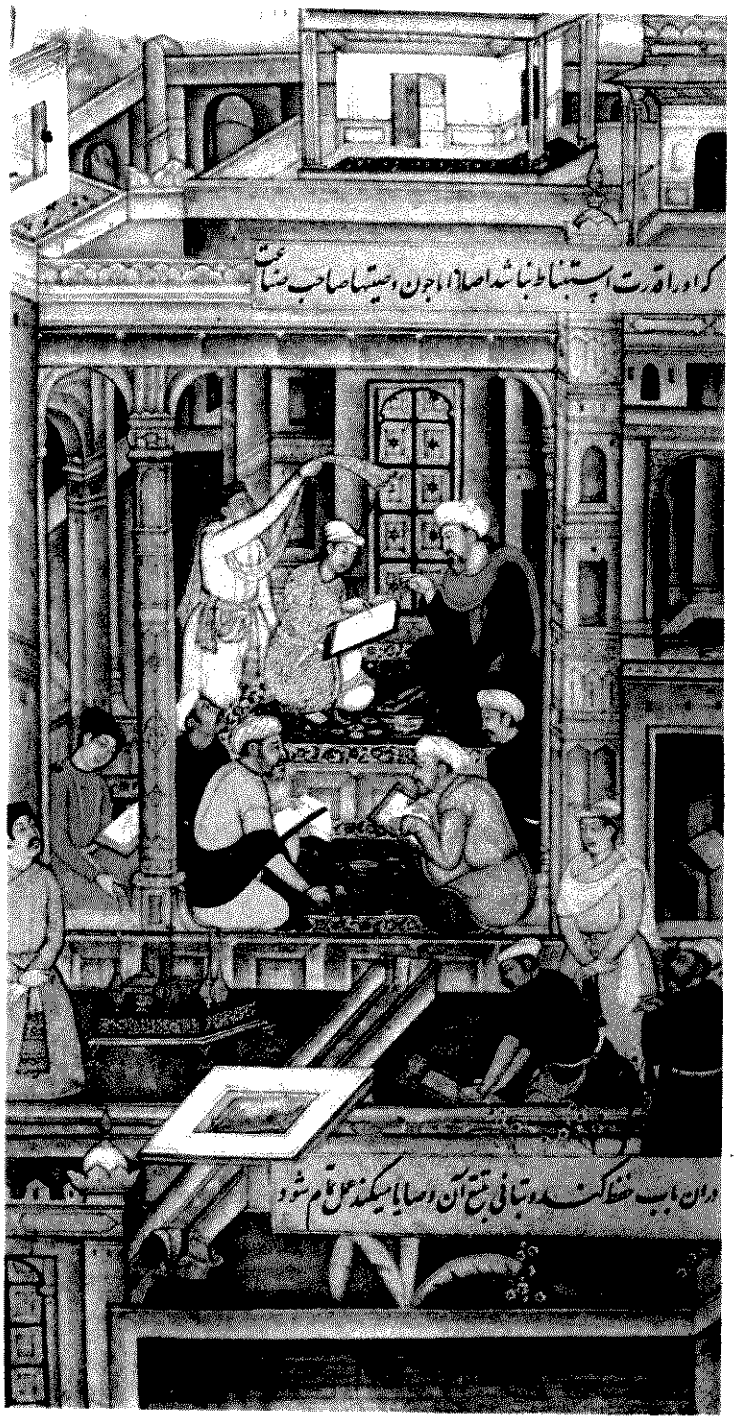

Figure 40 Painters and calligraphers at work in a studio. c. 1590–5, from an *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* of Nāṣir ud-dīn Ṭūsī manuscript, Rietberg Museum, Zurich [Ms. 39, f. 196a]

Figure 41 Man writing in a book. c. 1590–1600, by La'l, Muse'e Guimet, Paris [No. 3619. Ic]

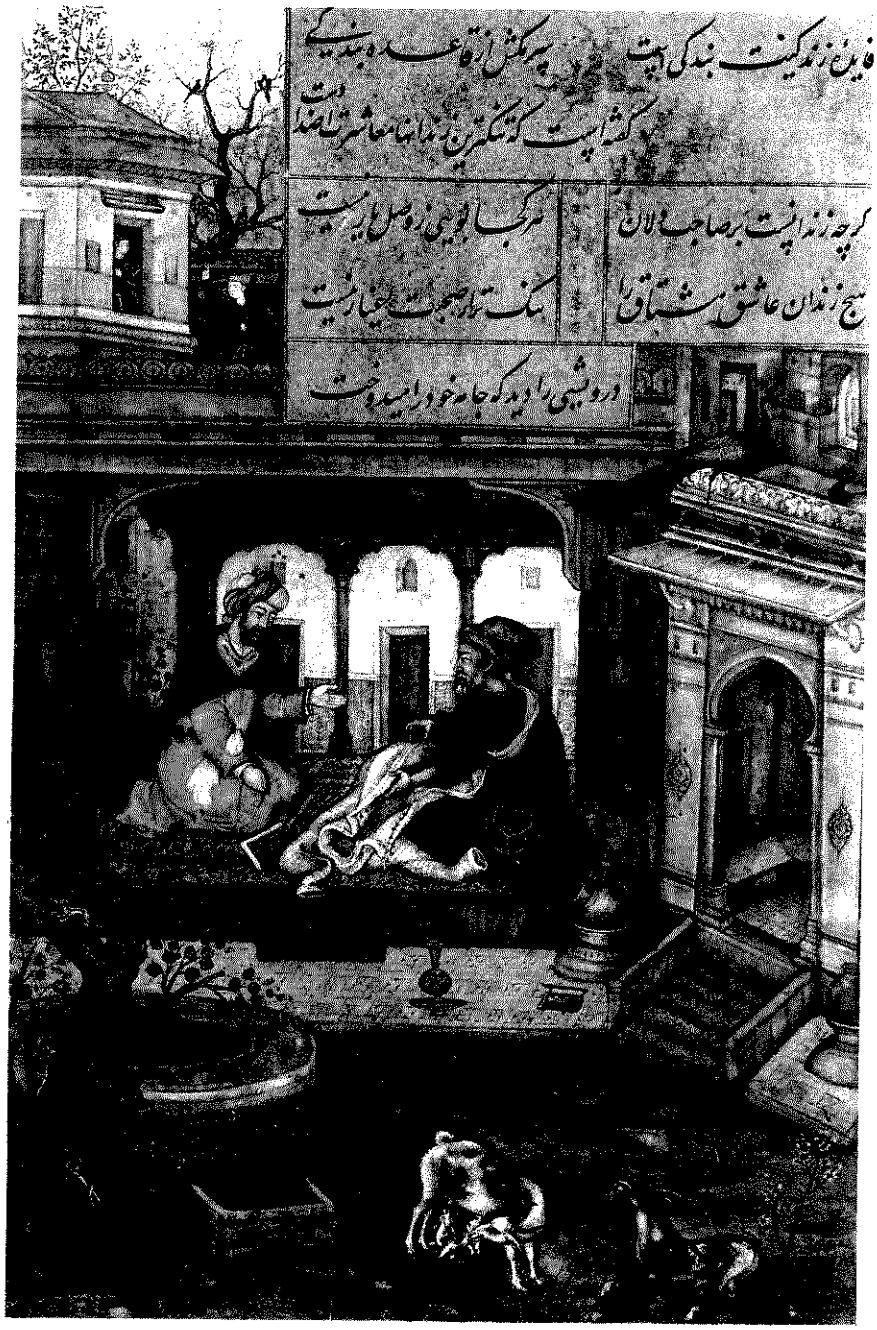

Figure 42 The vain dervish and the Sufi. c. 1595, by Basāwan, from a *Bahāristān* of Jāmī manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford [Ms. 254, f. 9]

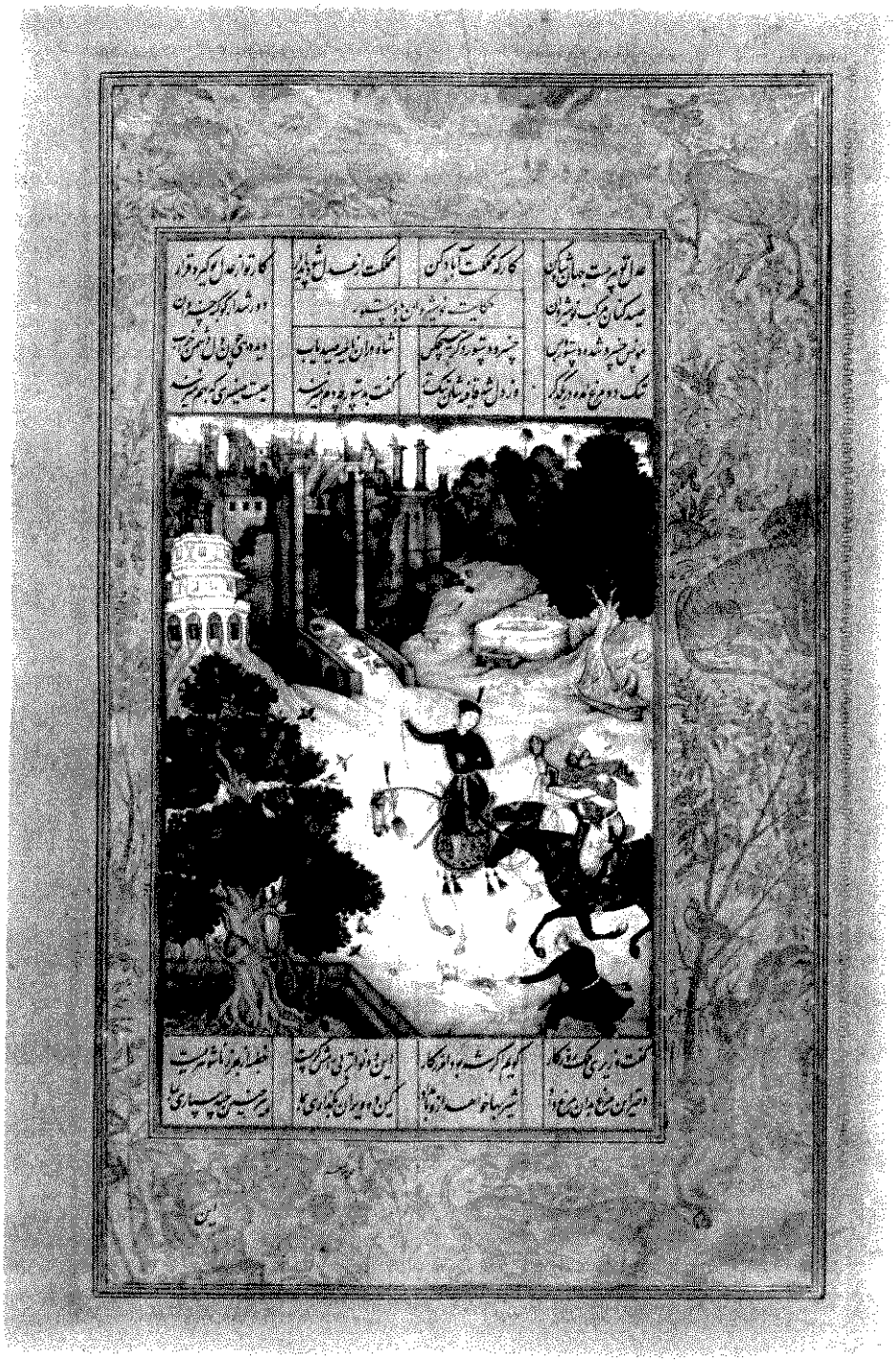

Figure 43 Naushīrvān is rebuked by his minister. c. 1595, Manohar, from a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī manuscript, British Library, London [Ms. Or. 12208, f. 13b]

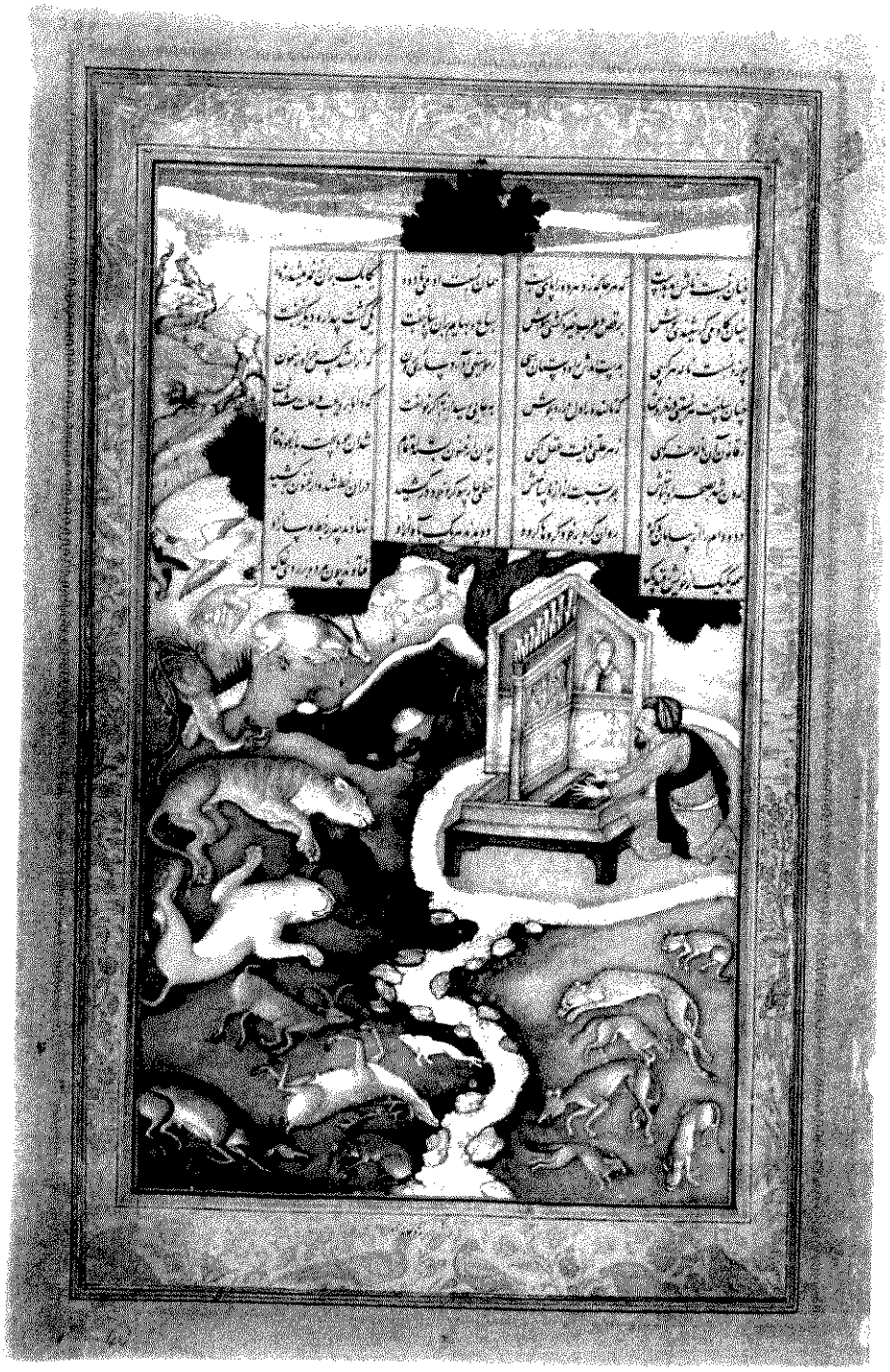

Figure 44 Aflāṭūn charms the animals with his music. c. 1595, by Madū Khānazād, from a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī manuscript, British Library, London [Ms. Or. 12208, f. 298a]

Figure 45 Nizāmī presents his son to the Shīrvānshāh's son. c. 1595, by Khemkaran, from a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī manuscript (same manuscript as previous), British Library, London [Ms. Or. 12208, f. 117a]

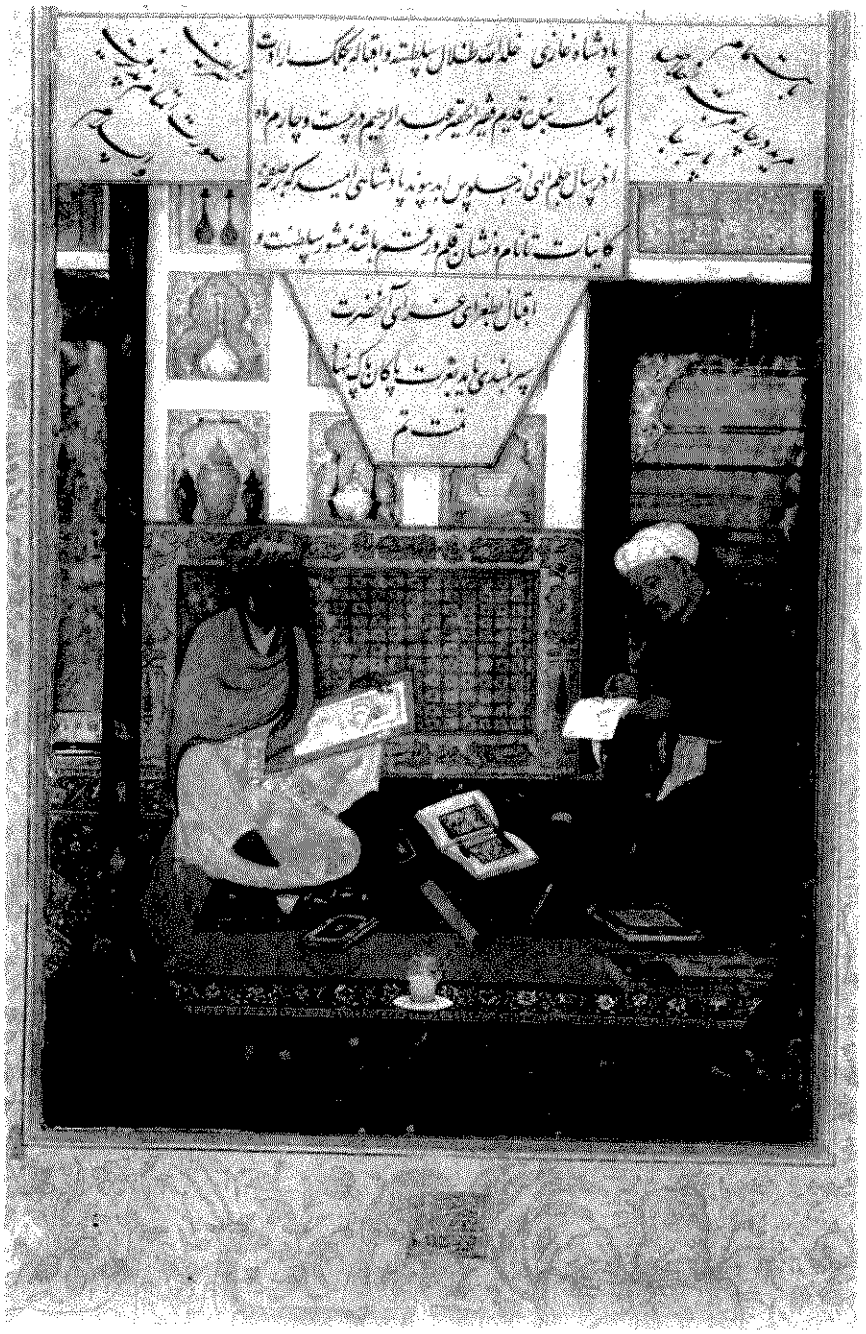

Figure 46 The painter Daulat and the calligrapher 'Abd ur-Raḥīm. c. 1610, by Daulat, from a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī manuscript (same manuscript as previous), British Library, London [Ms. Or. 12208, f. 325b]

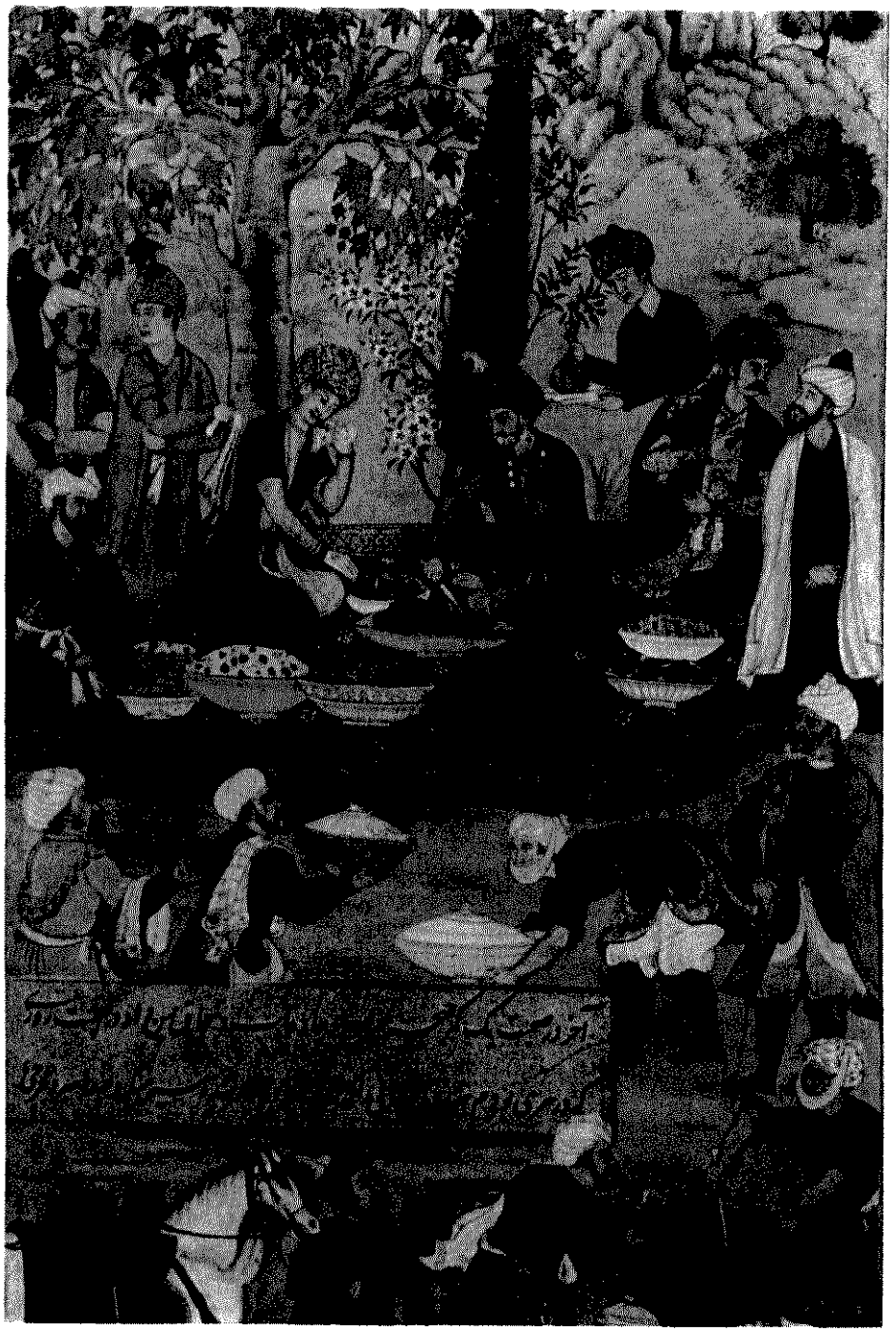

Figure 47 Badī' uz-Zamān carves a roast duck for Babur at a banquet in Herat. Dated 1598, National Museum, New Delhi [No. 50. 326, f. 177]

Figure 48 The musician Naubat Khān. c. 1600, British Museum, London [1989.8-18.I.]

Figure 49 Prince Dāniyāl. c. 1600, by Manohar, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [1955. 55. 121. 10. 32r]

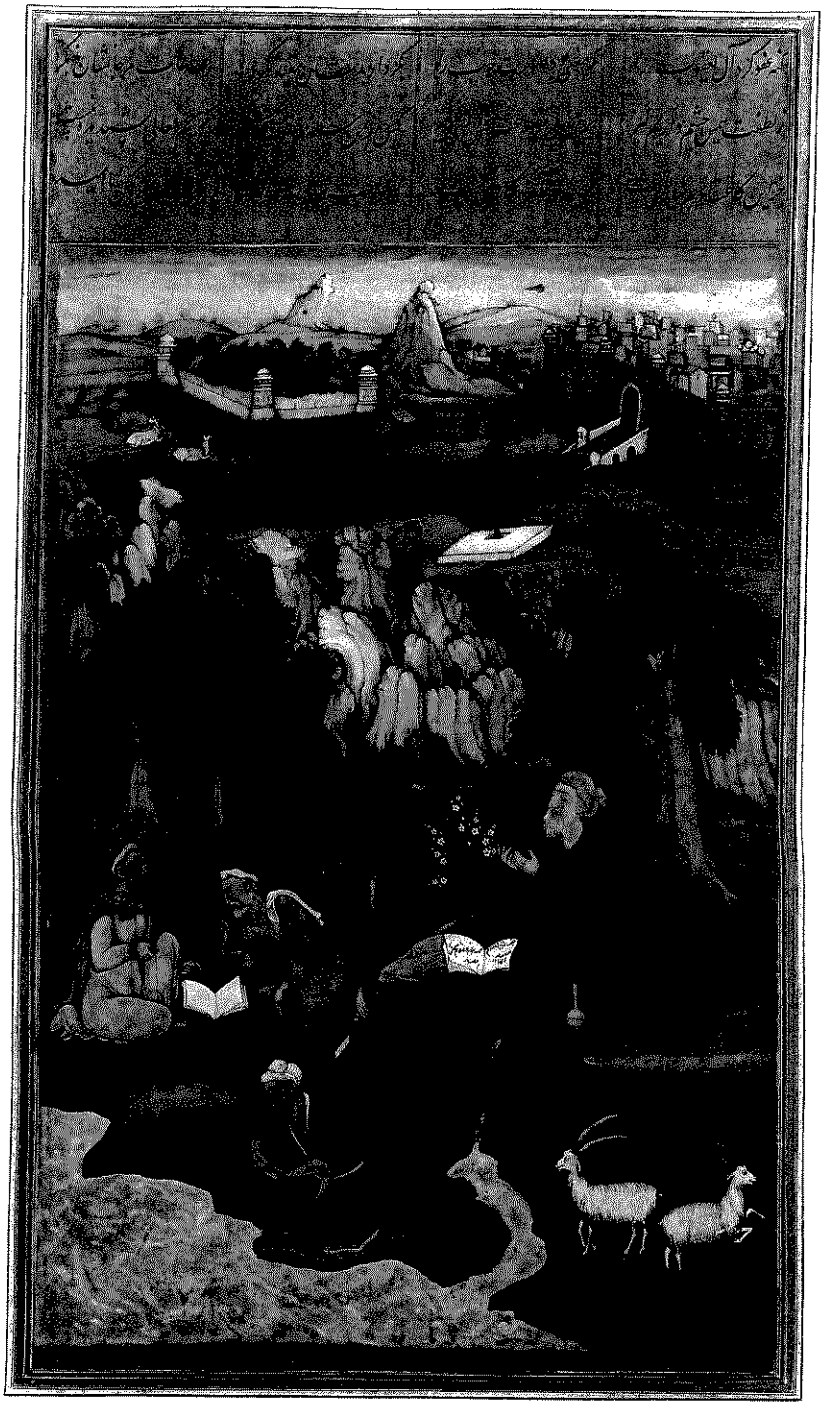

Figure 50 A sinner implores God. c. 1600–5, from a manuscript of the *Kulliyyāt* of Sa'dī, Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Geneva [Ms. 35, 107b]

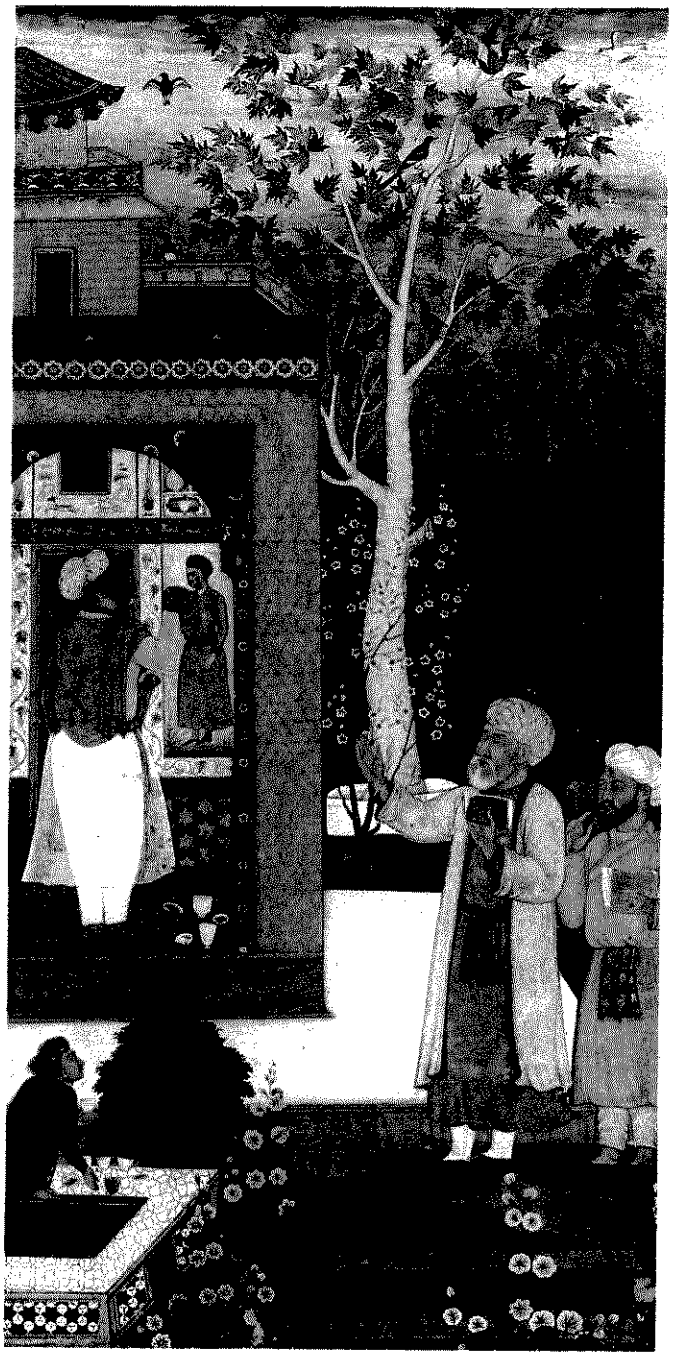

Figure 51 An artist at work on a wall painting. C. 1600–10, from the 'Small Clive Album', Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 48-1956, f. 56a]

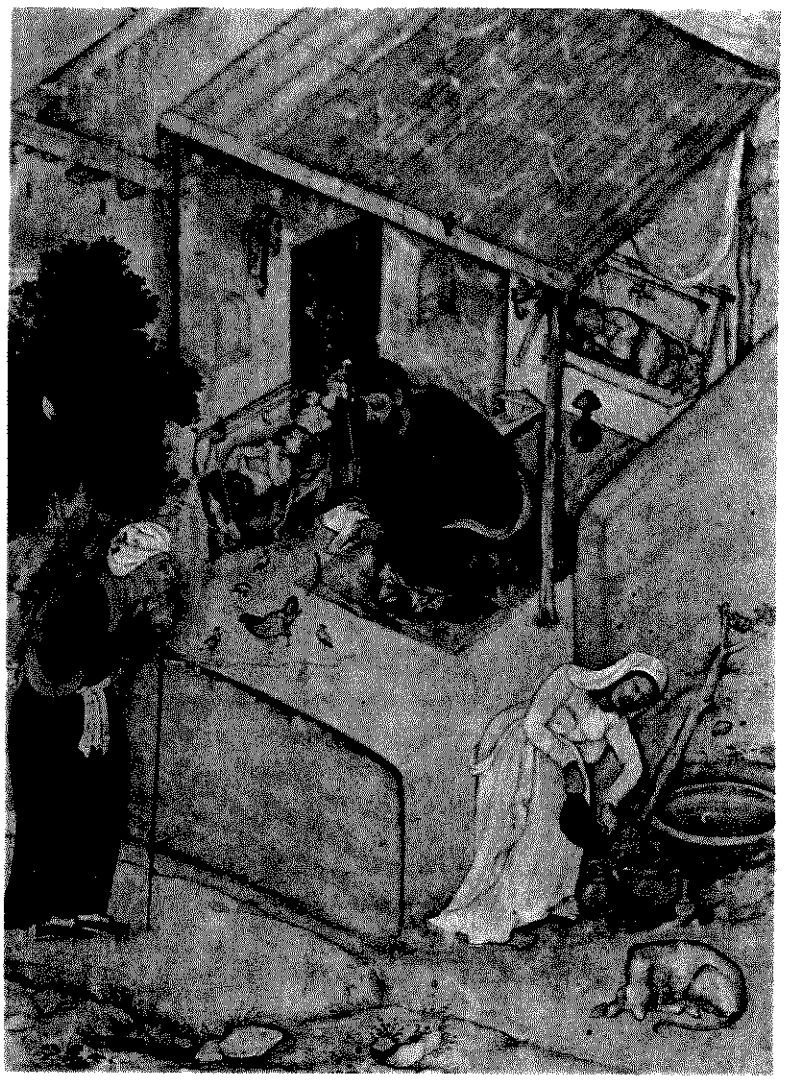

Figure 52 Abū l-Ḥusain Qarāfī's visualises future married bliss for Abū Bakr Duqqī. Dated 1603, by Daulat, from a *Nafḥāt ul-'Uns* manuscript, British Library, London [Or. 1362, f. 142a]

Figure 53 Celebrations at the birth of Amir Timur. c. 1604, by Sūrdās Gujarātī, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript, British Library, London [OMPB. Or. 12988, f. 34b]

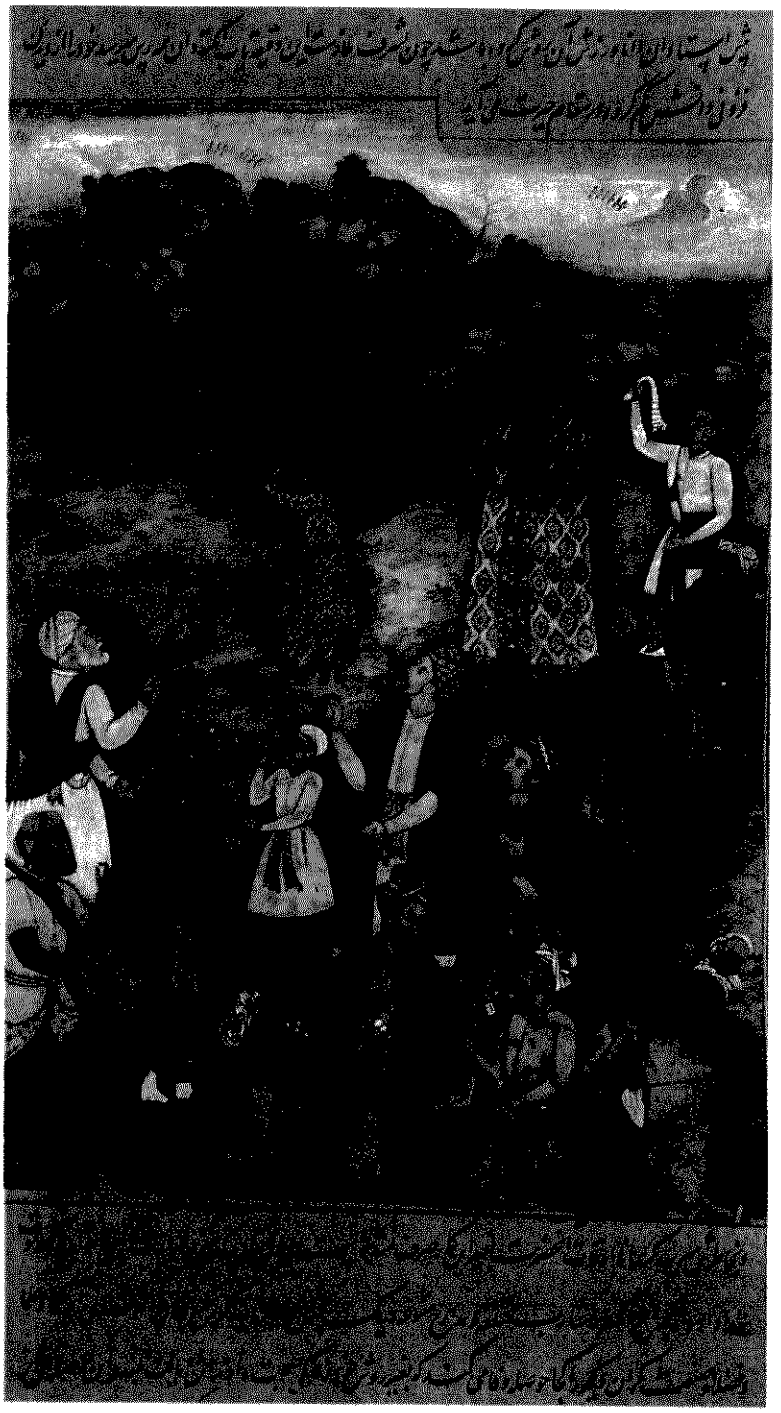

Figure 54 The young Akbar is instructed in shooting by Bairam Khan. c. 1605, by Govardhan, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), British Library, London [Ms. Or. 12988, f. 158a]

Figure 55 Abu l-Fazl presents his book to Akbar. c. 1605, by Govardhan, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Chester Beatty Library, Dublin [Ms. 3, f. 176b]

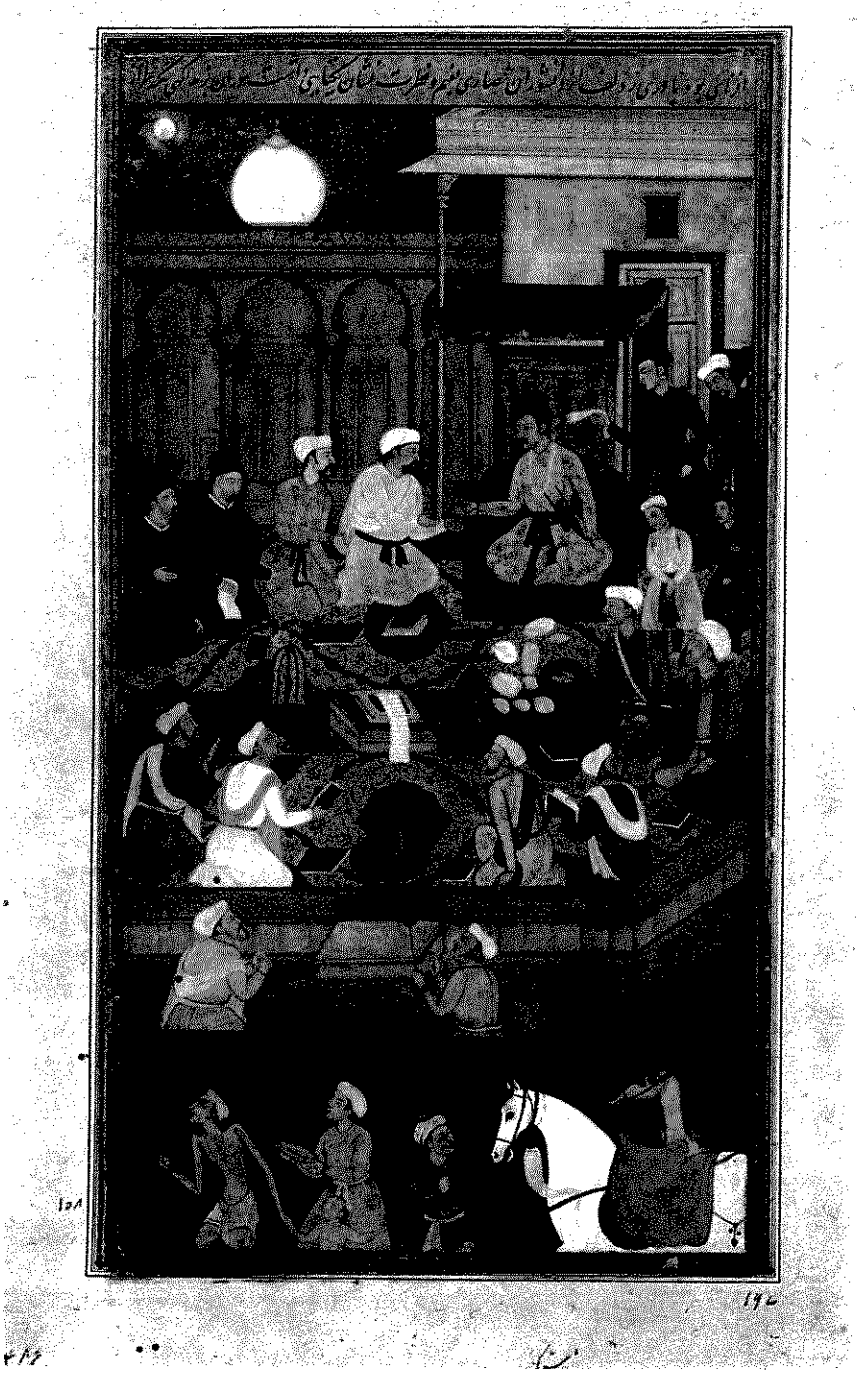

Figure 56 Akbar in discussion with men of religion. c. 1605, by Nar Singh, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Chester Beatty Library, Dublin [Ms. 3, f. 263]

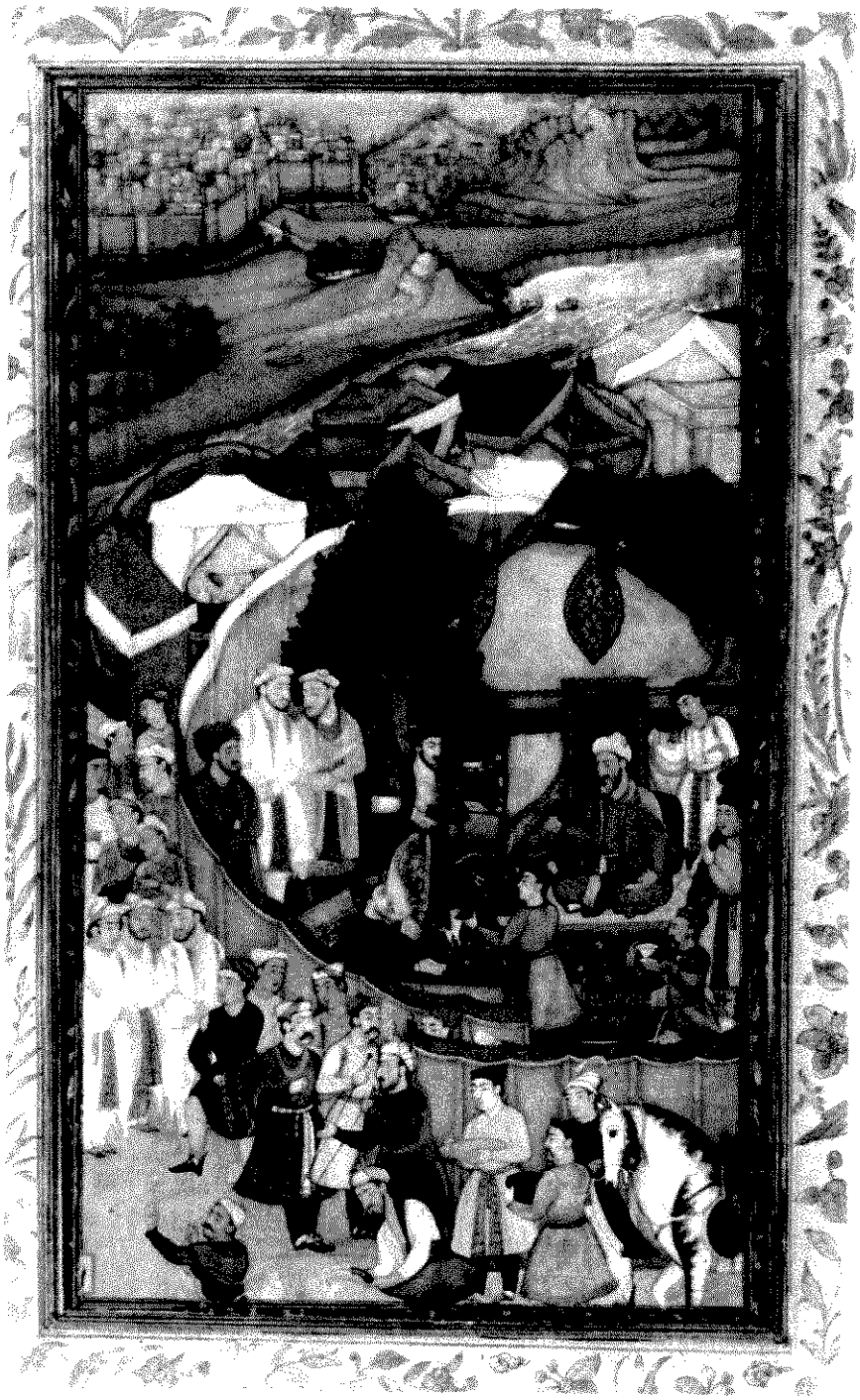

Figure 57 Da'ud dons the *khil'at* presented to him by Mun'im Khān, the Khān-i Khānān, in the Mughal camp. c. 1604, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC [F1952.31]

Figure 58 Celebrations at the circumcision of Akbar's sons. c. 1605, from an *Akbarnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland [1971. 76]

Figure 59 Jahangir receives his sons princes Khusrau and Parvēz. c. 1605–6, by Manohar, British Museum, London [1920 9-17 02]

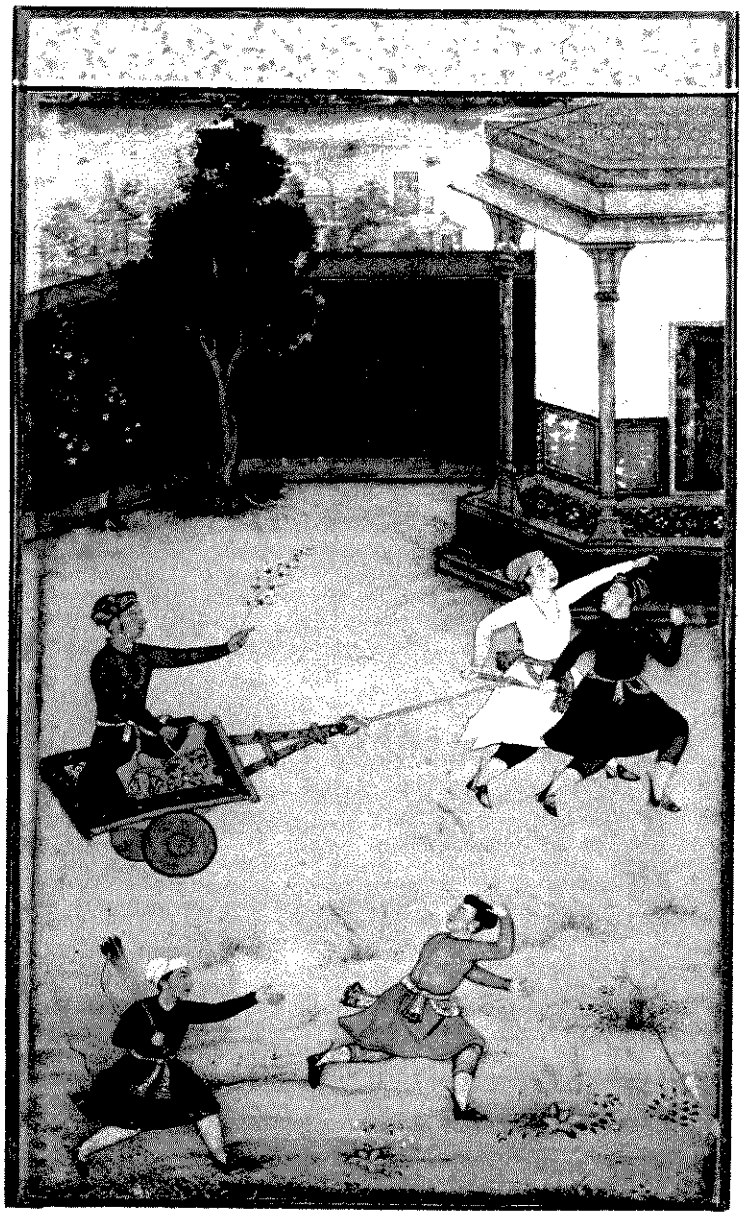

Figure 60 Young princes at play. c. 1605, private collection of C. N. Polsky [catalogue number not known]

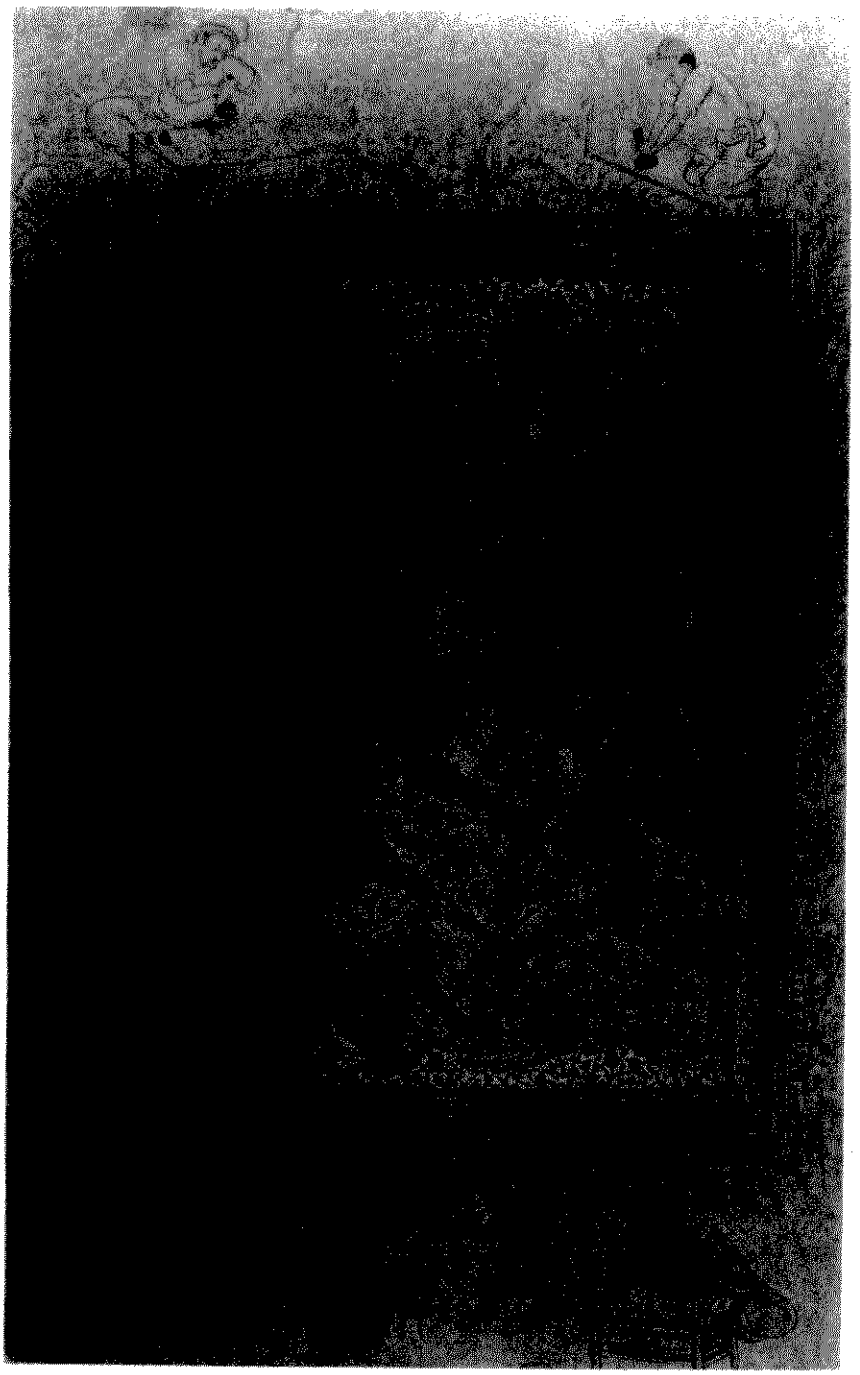

Figure 61 Bookbinding (margin painting) c. 1605–10, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC [No. 54. 116]

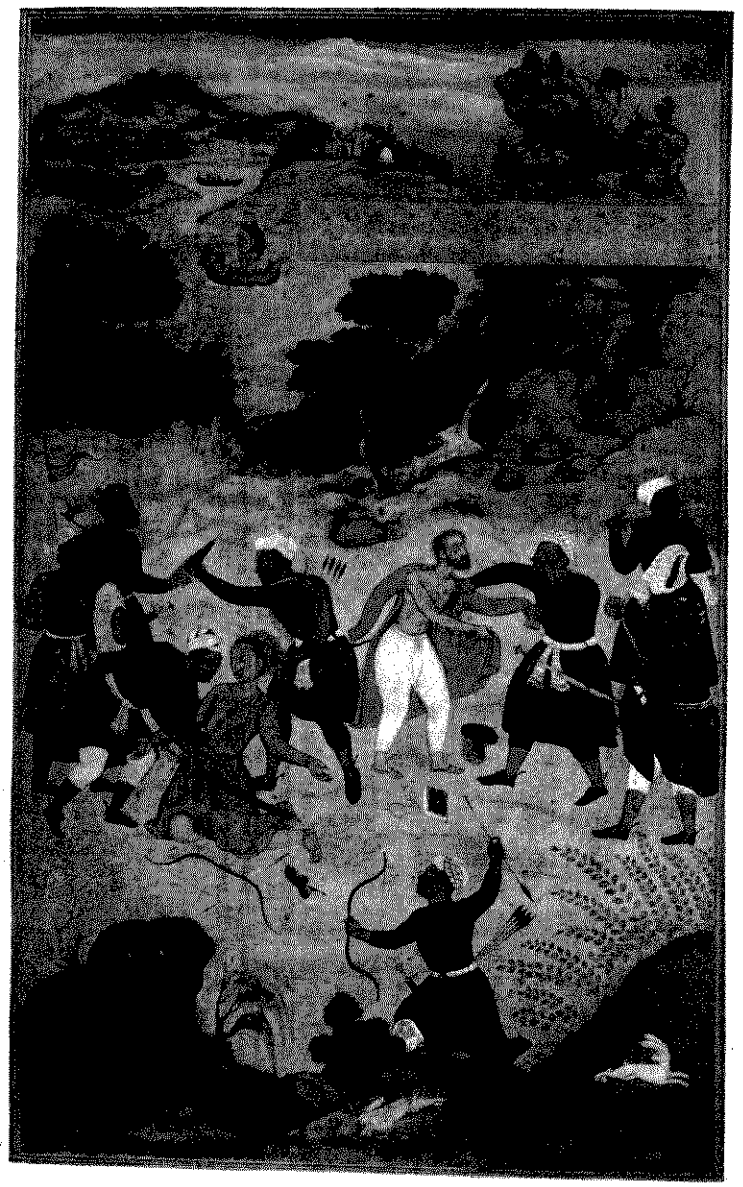

Figure 62 Sa'dī and the boastful youth. c. 1605–10, from a *Gulistān* of Sa'dī manuscript, British Library, London [OMPB. Or. 5302, f. 103a]

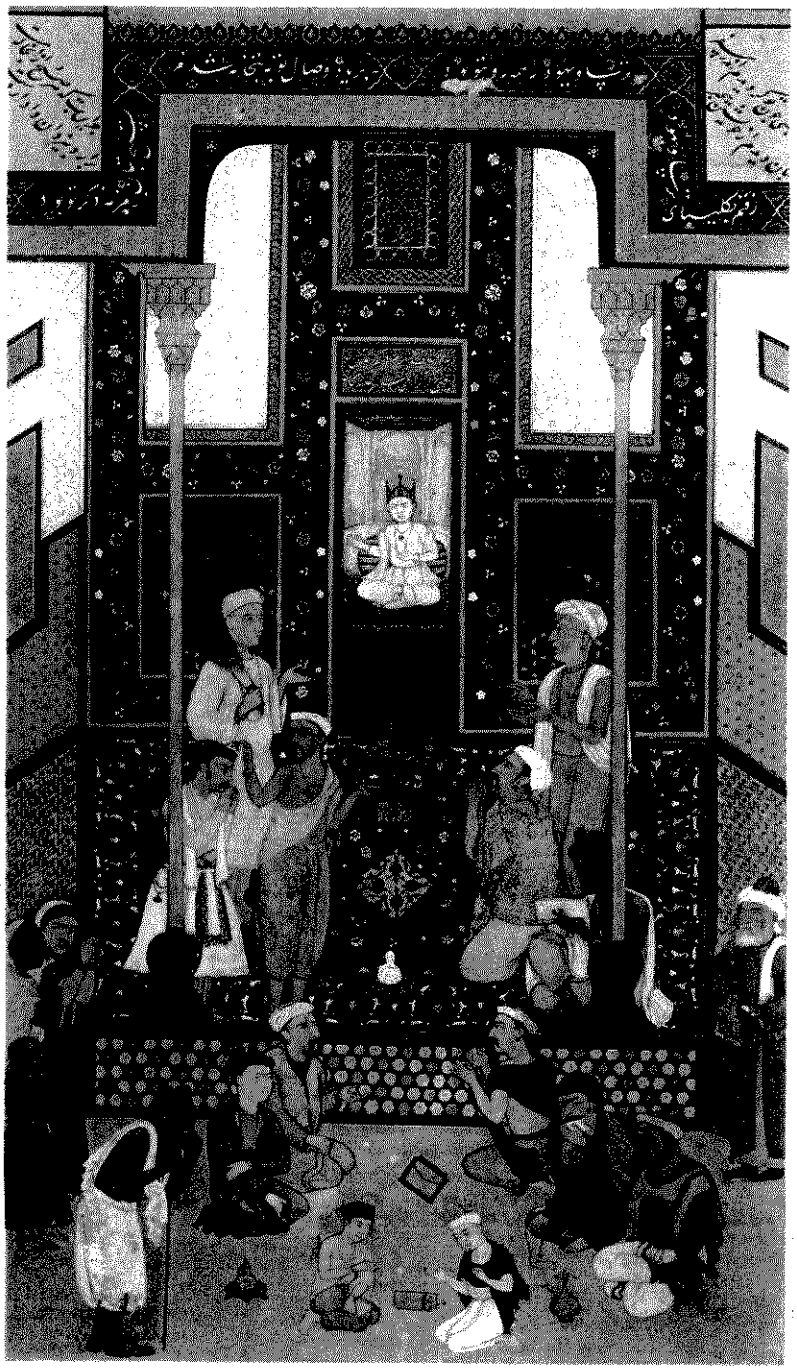

Figure 63 Sa'dī's visit to a Hindu temple. c. 1605–27 (reworked during Jahangir's reign over a mid-sixteenth century Bukhara painting), from a *Bustān* of Sa'dī manuscript, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge [1979. 20]

Figure 64 Jahangir's coronation celebrations. c. 1605–6, by Abū ul-Ḥasan, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg [HL. f. 21r]

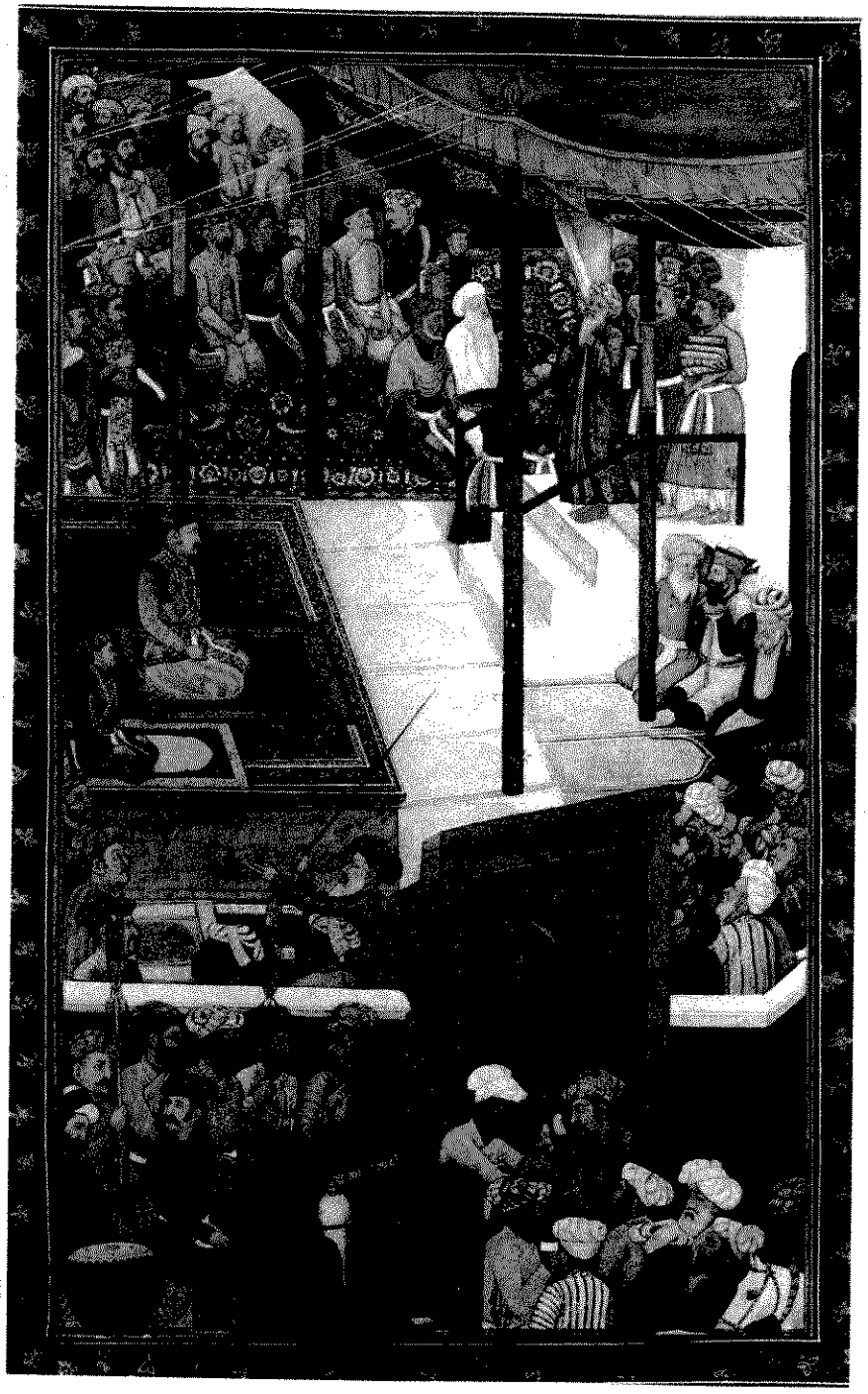

Figure 65 Jahangir in an *'īdgāh*. c. 1610, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Museum for Islamische Kunst, Berlin [I. 4596, f. 13]

Figure 66 The birth of Salīm. c. 1615–20, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [14. 657]

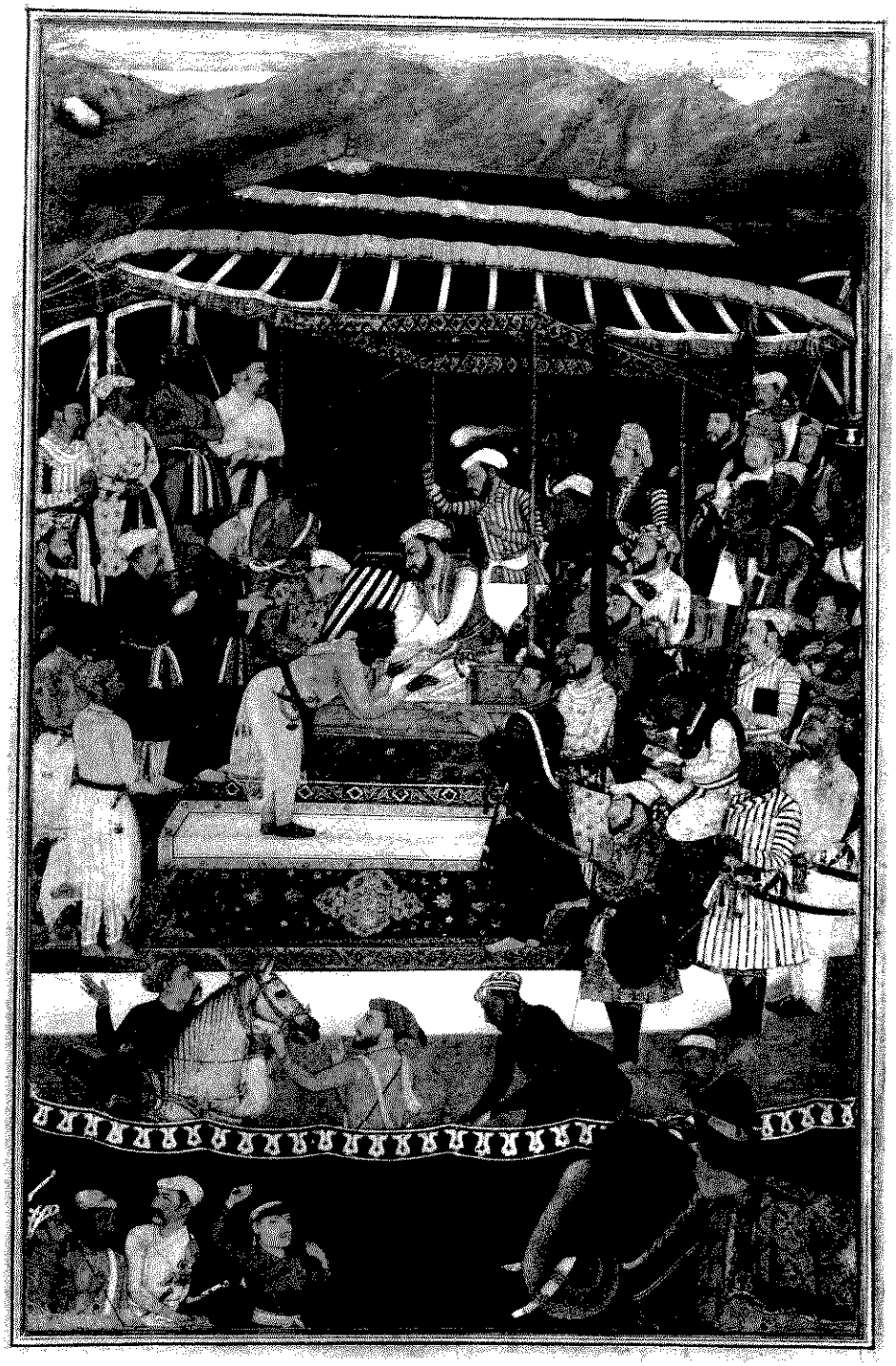

Figure 67 Rāṇā Amar Singh of Mewar submits to Prince Khurram, c. 1618, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 185-1984]

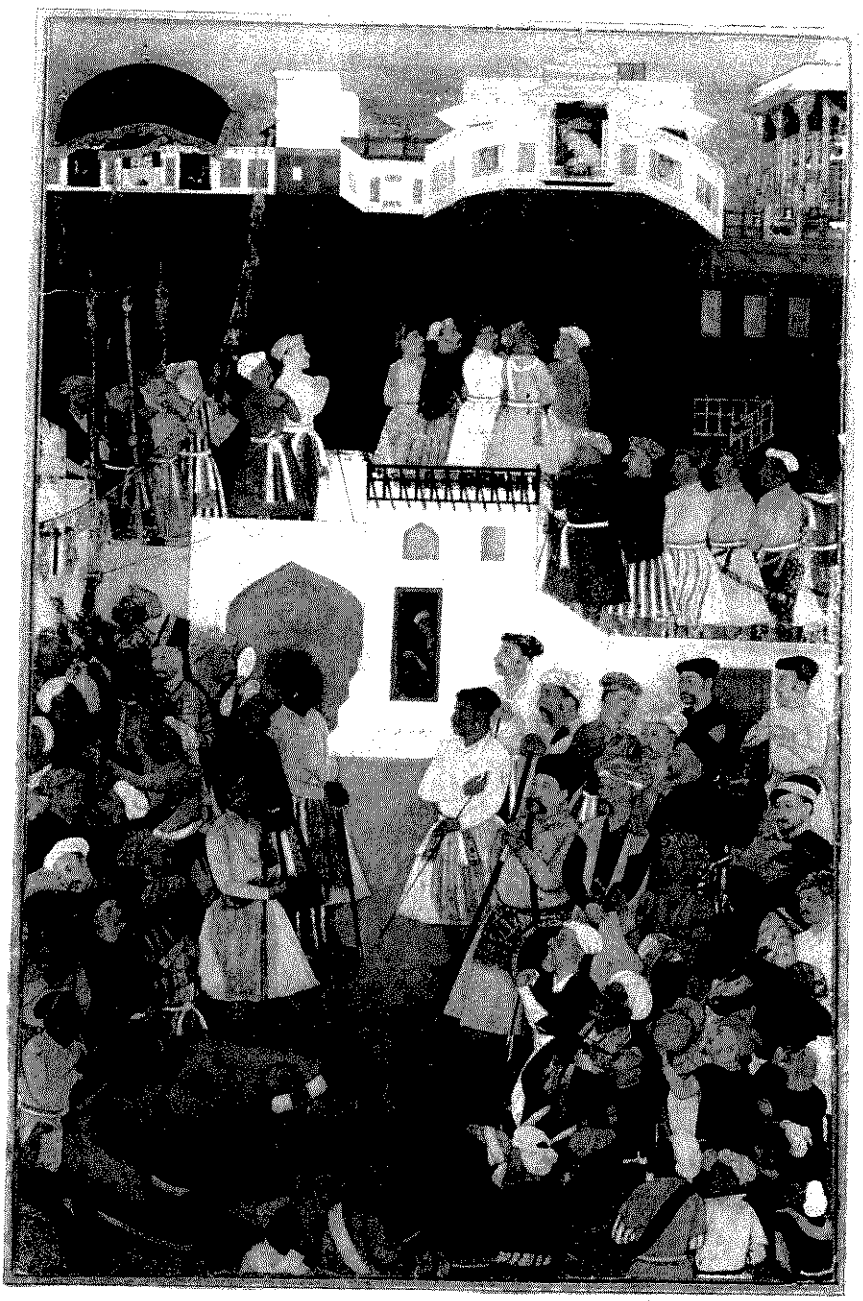

Figure 68 Jahangir at the *jharokā darshan*. c. 1620, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Geneva [M. 141]

Figure 69 Jahangir receives Parvēz at court. c. 1620, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [14. 654]

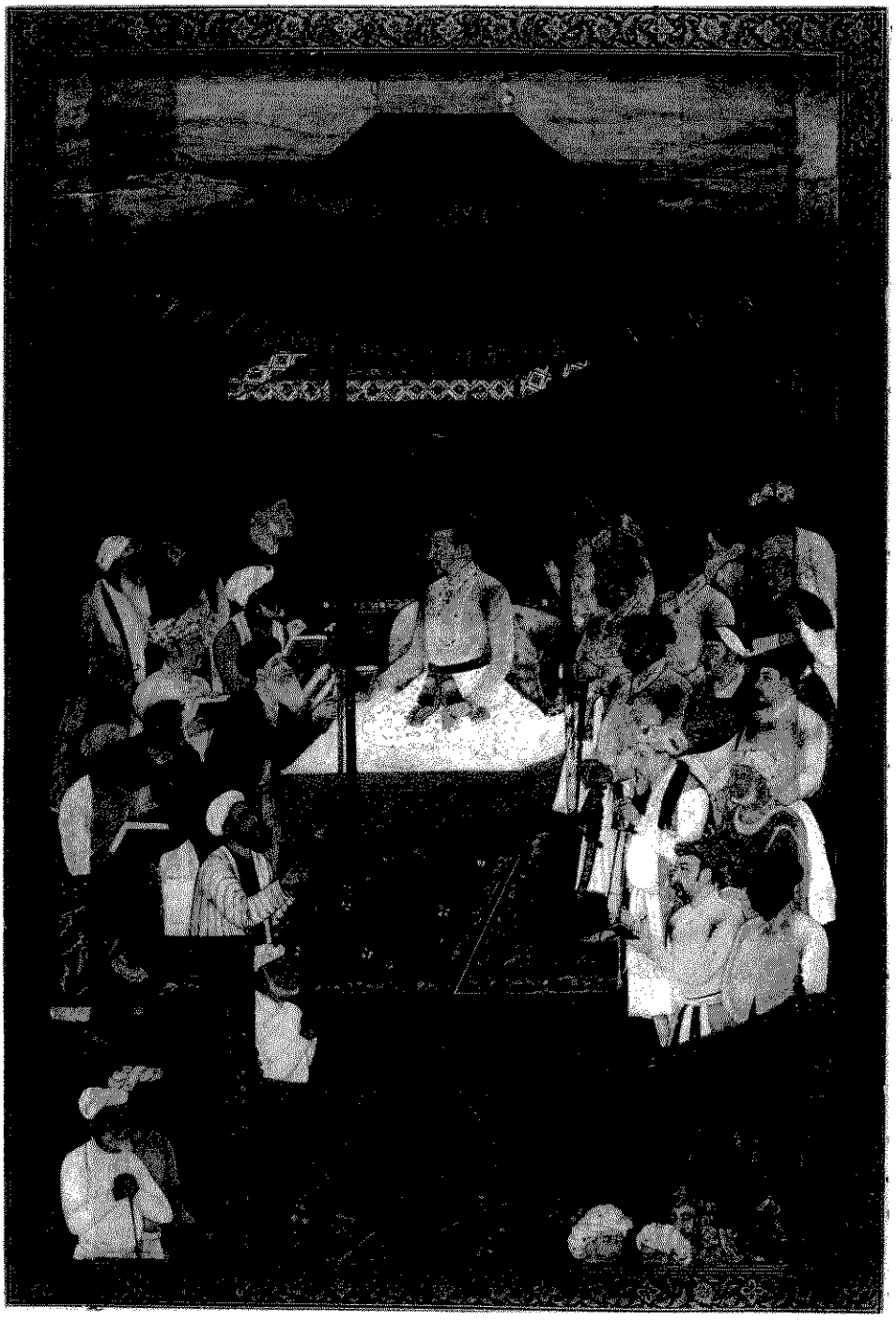

Figure 70 Jahangir presents books to Shaikhs. c. 1620, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC [F 31. 20]

Figure 71 Jahangir weighs Khurram. c. 1625, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), British Museum, London [1948. 10-9.069]

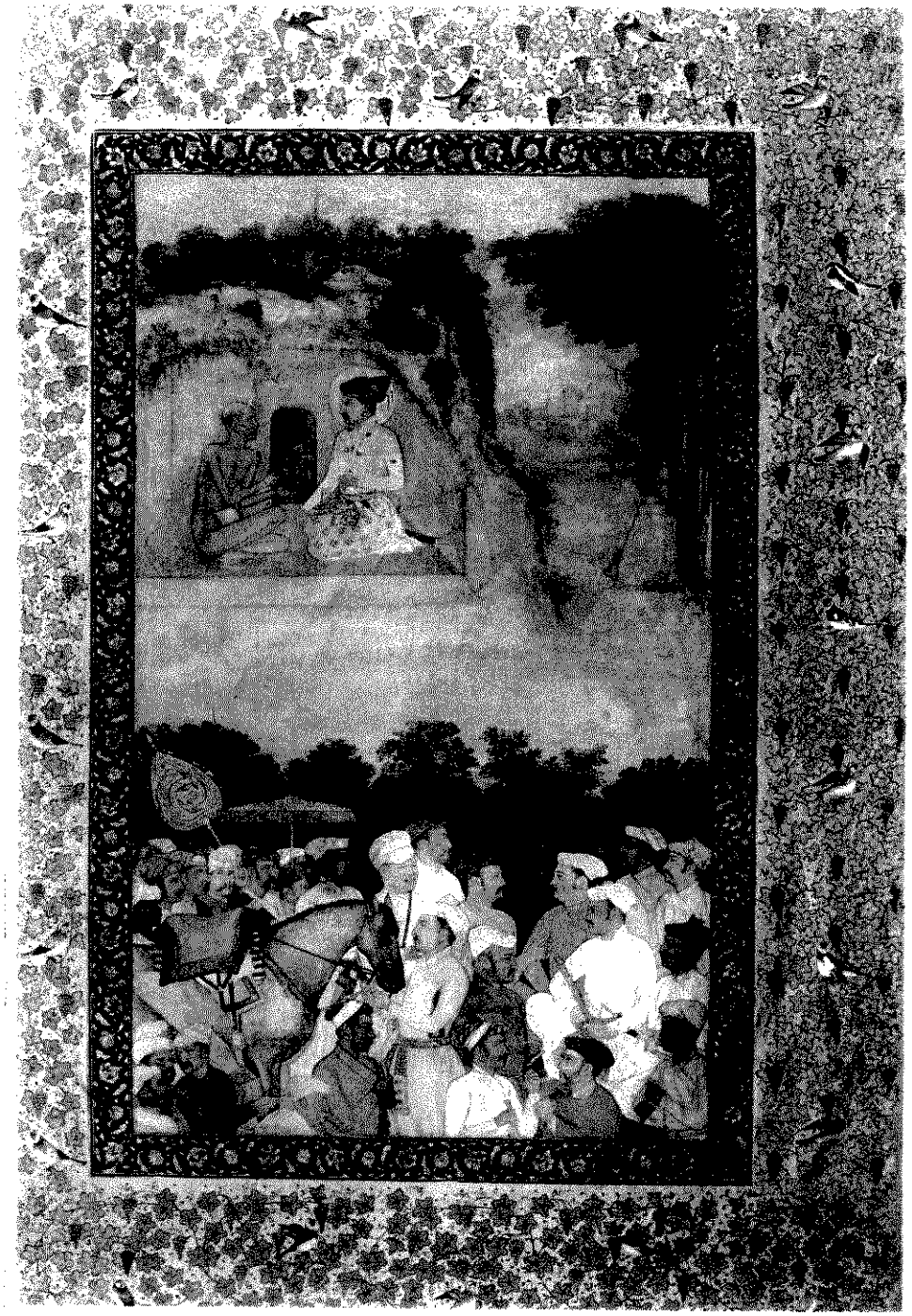

Figure 72 Jahangir converses with the sannyasi Jadrūp. c. 1620, from a *Jahāngīrnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous?), Muse'e Guimet, Paris [85EE1944]

Figure 73 Shaikh Phul in front of his Agra house. c. 1610, by Bishandās, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi [No. 5410]

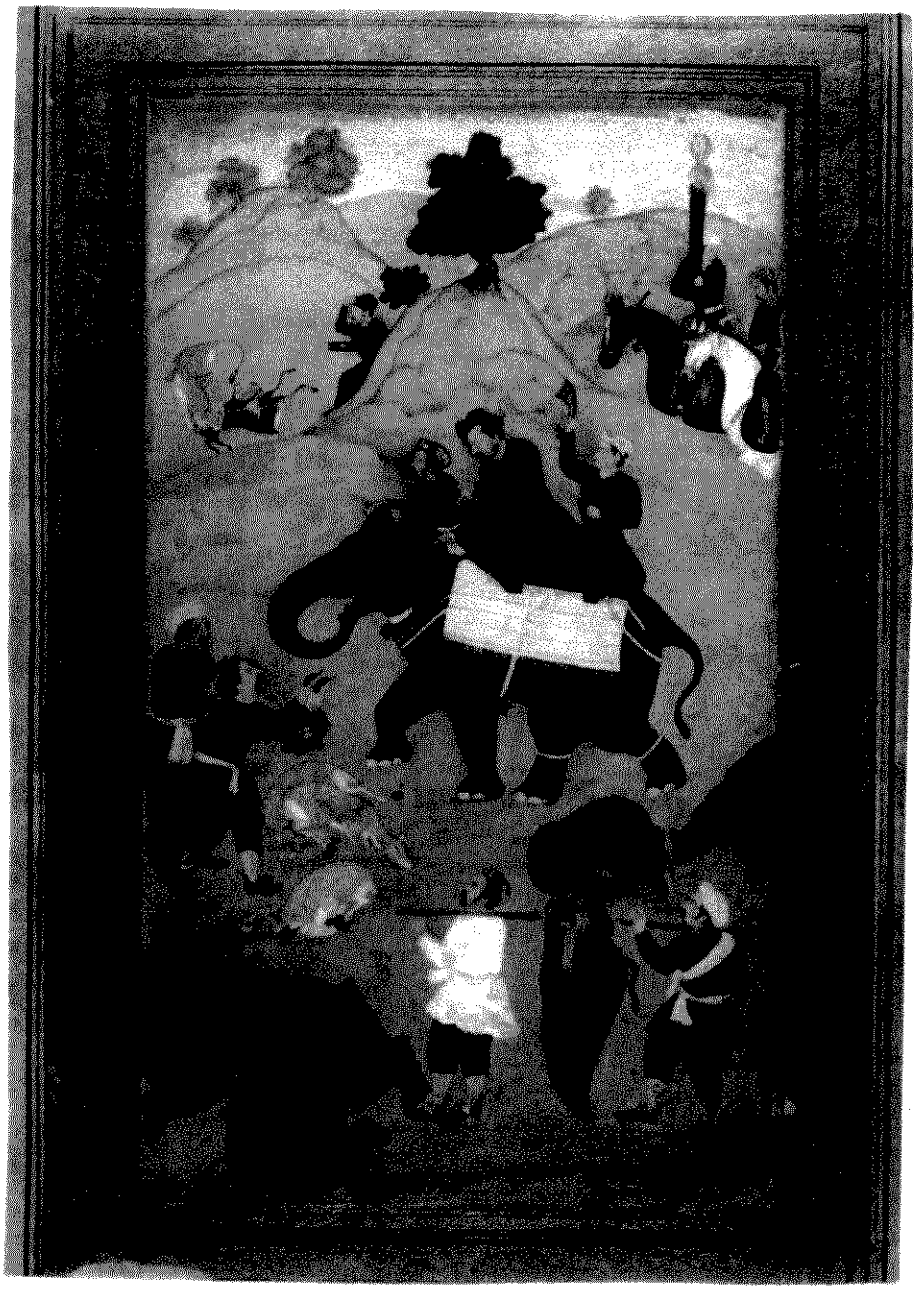

Figure 74 Jahangir returning from a hunt. c. 1610, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney [EP 1. 1968]

Figure 75 Jahangir receives Parvēz in a garden. c. 1610–15, from the 'Minto Album', Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 9-1925]

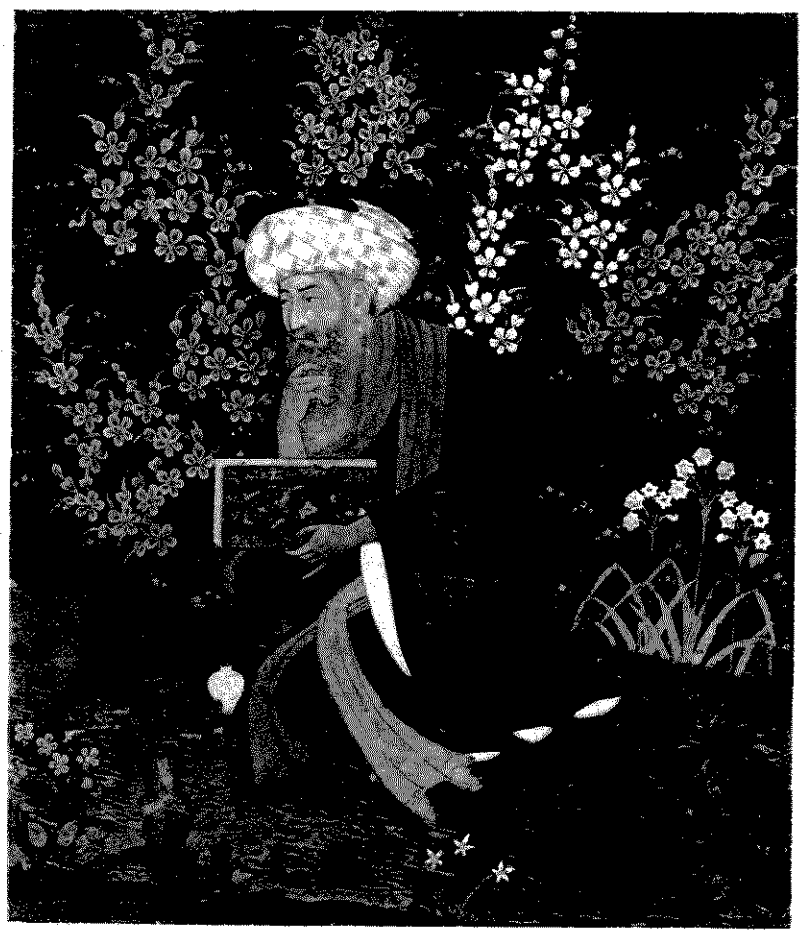

Figure 76 A man in contemplation. c. 1610–15, by Muḥammad ʻAlī, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [14. 633]

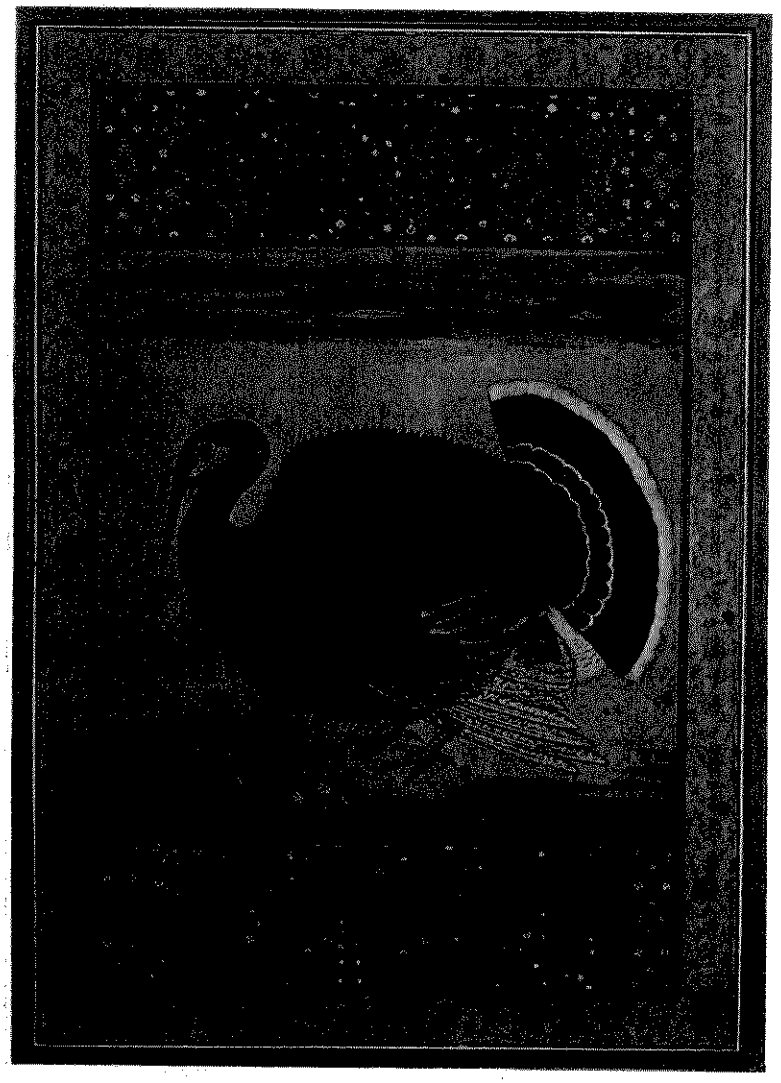

Figure 77 A North American Turkey. c. 1612, by Manṣūr, from the 'Wantage Album', Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 135-1921]

Figure 78 Jahangir holding a portrait of Akbar. c. 1614, by Abū l-Ḥasan and Hāshim, Muse'e Guimet, Paris [No. 3676B]

Figure 79 Jahangir with a falcon. c. 1615, by Manohar, Brooklyn Museum of Art [87. 234. 7]

Figure 80 Portraits of four Mughal courtiers. (Clockwise from top right) 'Ināyat Khān, Jamāl Khān Qarābul, Rāja Sārang Deo, 'Abd ul-Khalīq. c. 1615, by Bālchand, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [55. 121. 10. 29]

Figure 81 Jahangir gives preference to a Shaikh over monarchs. c. 1615–18, by Bichitr, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC [F42. 15]

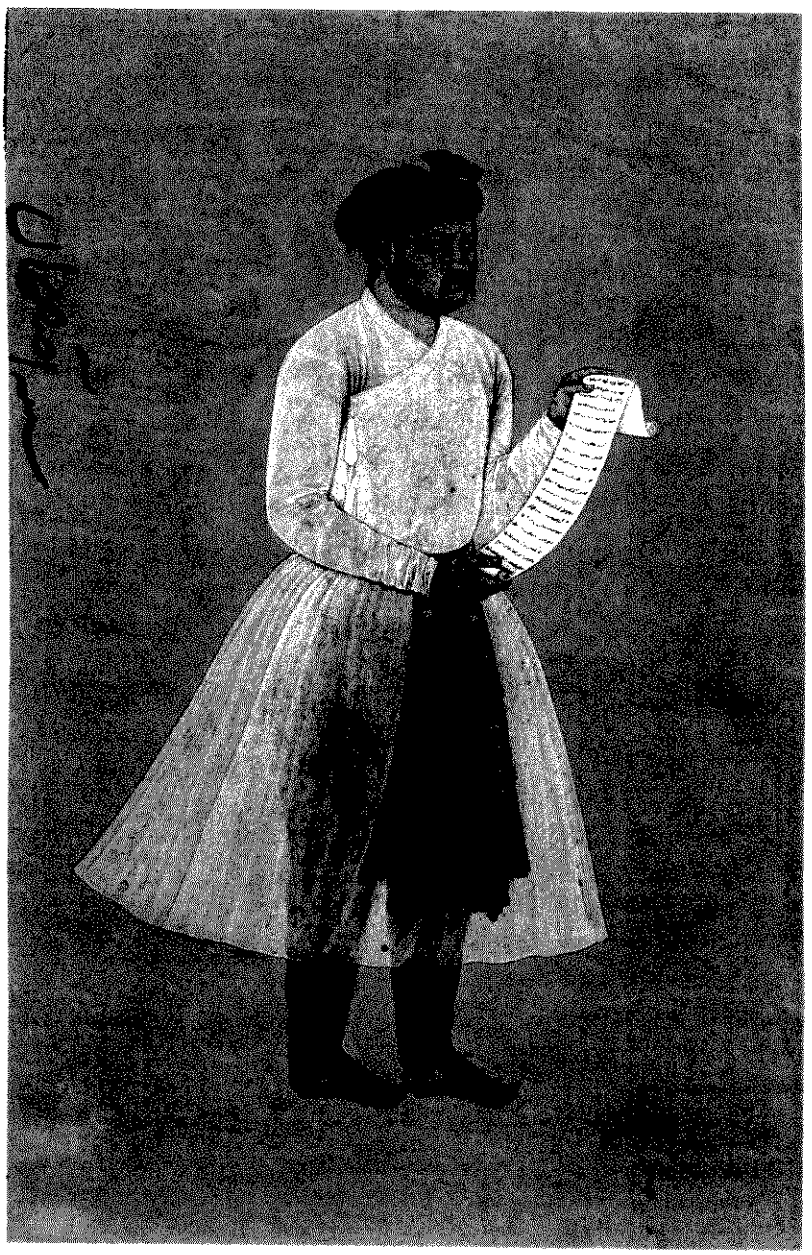

Figure 82 Portrait of the Mughal noble and Shah Jahan's father-in-law, Āṣaf Khān. c. 1616, Orientabteilung, Berlin [A117, f. 20b]

Figure 83 Prince Khurram. c. 1616–17, by Abū l-Ḥasan, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 14-1925]

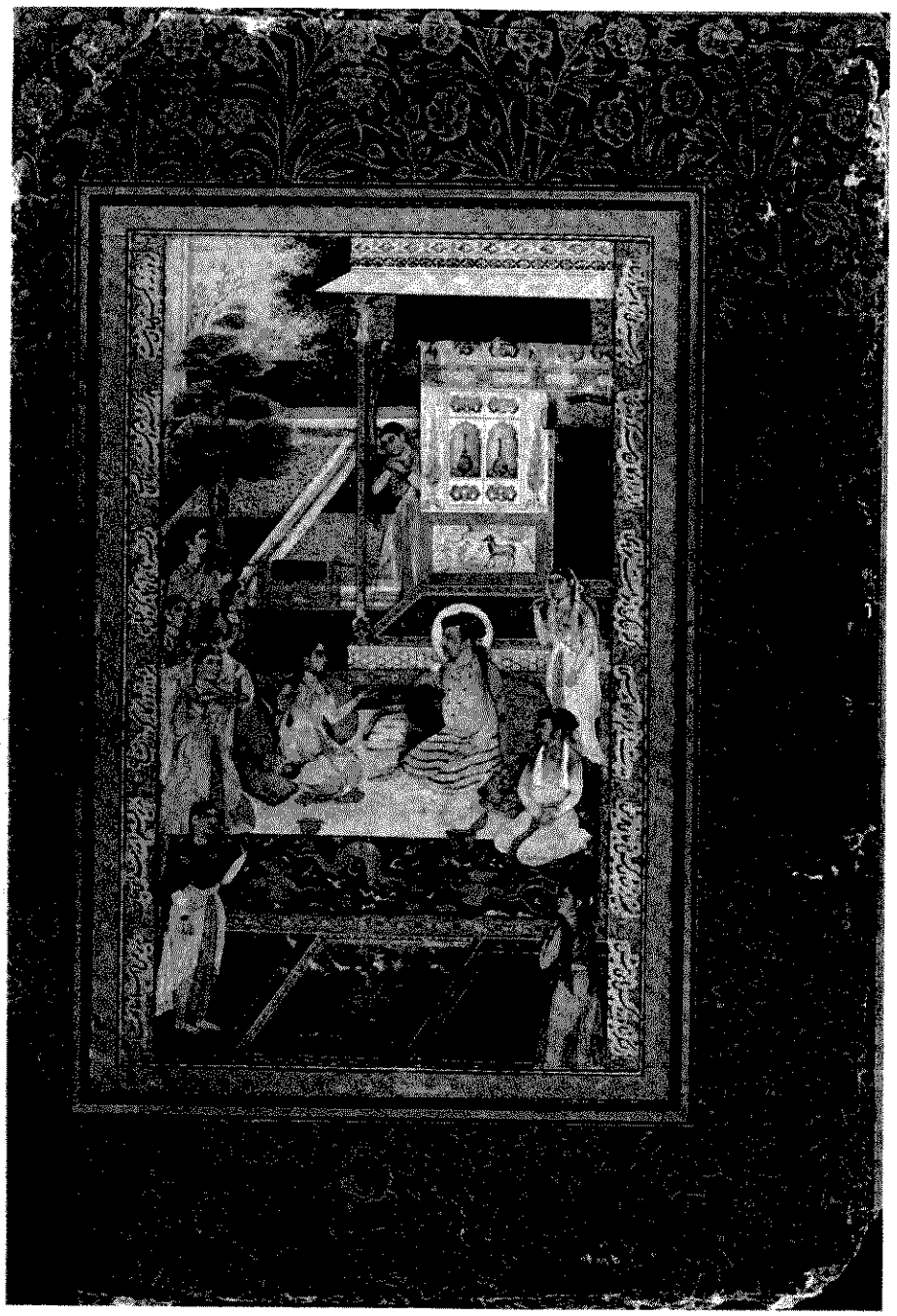

Figure 84 Jahangir and Khurram in the imperial harem. c. 1617, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC [F07. 258]

Figure 85 'Ināyat Khān dying. c. 1618, Bodleian Library, Oxford [Ms. Ouseley 171b, 4v]

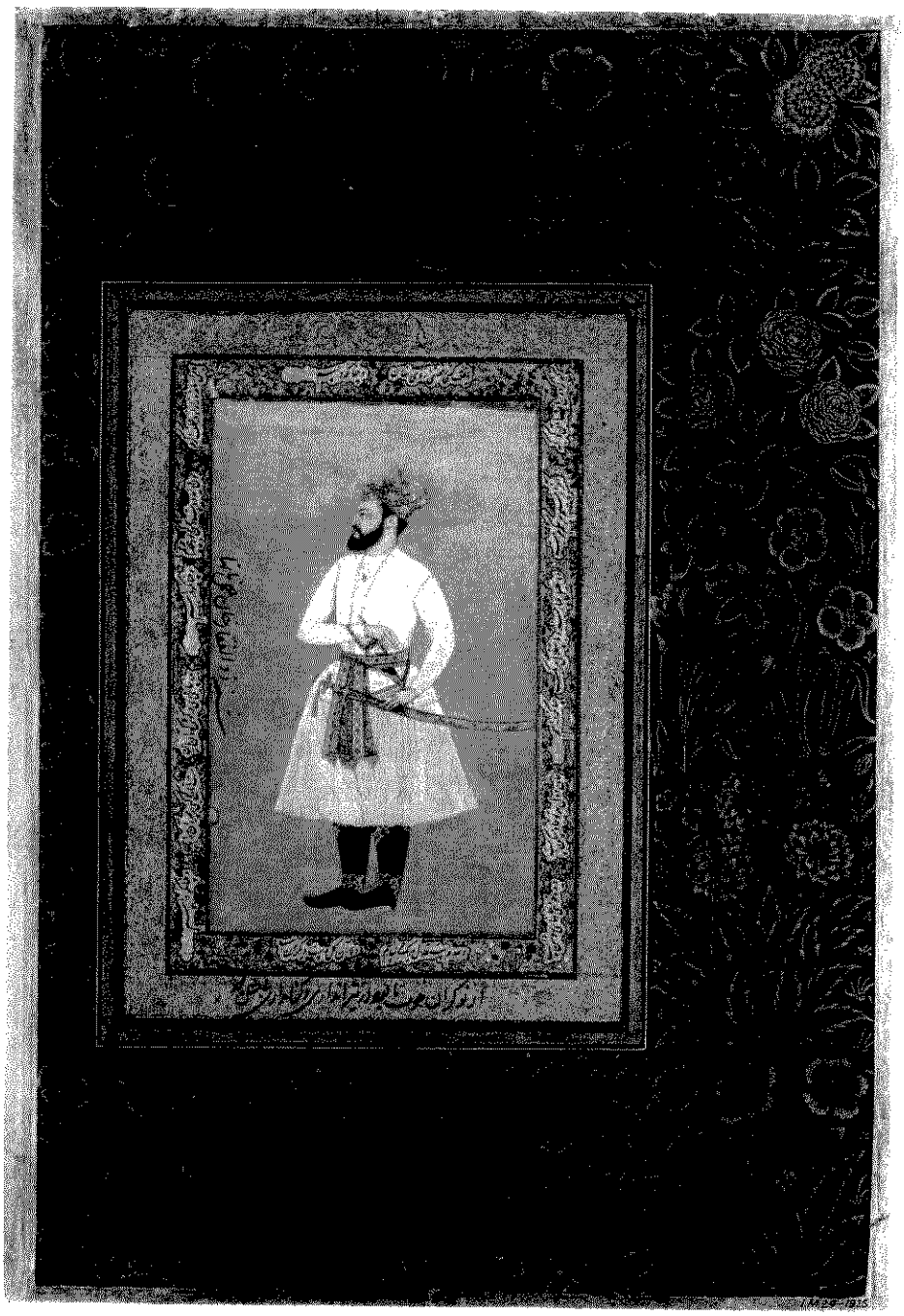

Figure 86 Portrait of the Mughal noble, Muḥammad Beg Ẕulfiqār Khān. c. 1618, by Nānhā, from the 'Minto Album', Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 24-1925]

Figure 87 Jahangir embracing Shah Abbas I of Persia. c. 1618, by Abū l-Ḥasan, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC [F45. 9]

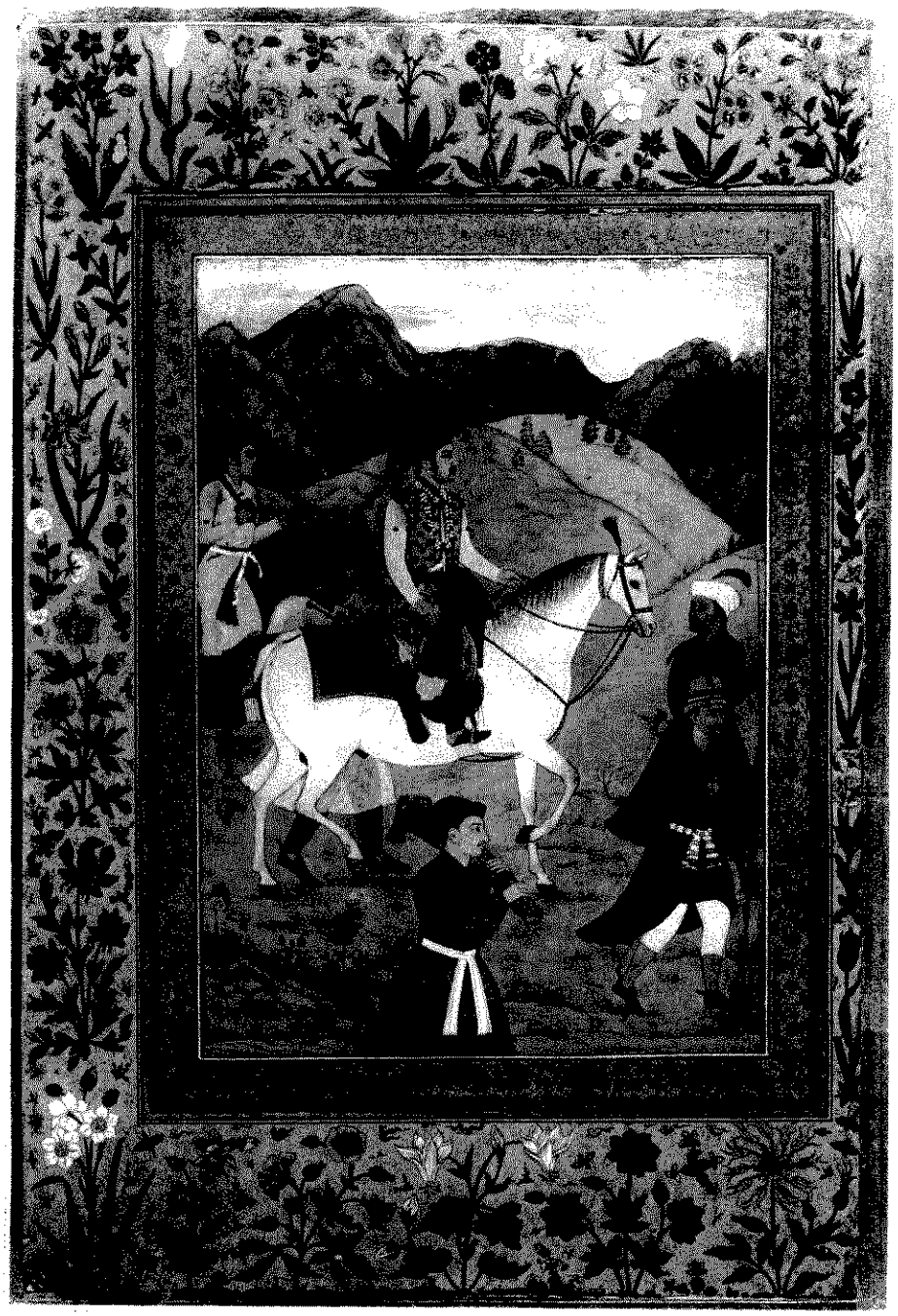

Figure 88 Khurram and his son, Dara Shikoh riding. c. 1618–20, by Manohar, from the 'Minto Album', Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 12-1925]

Figure 89 Jahangir. c. 1620, by Bālchand, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin [45. 1]

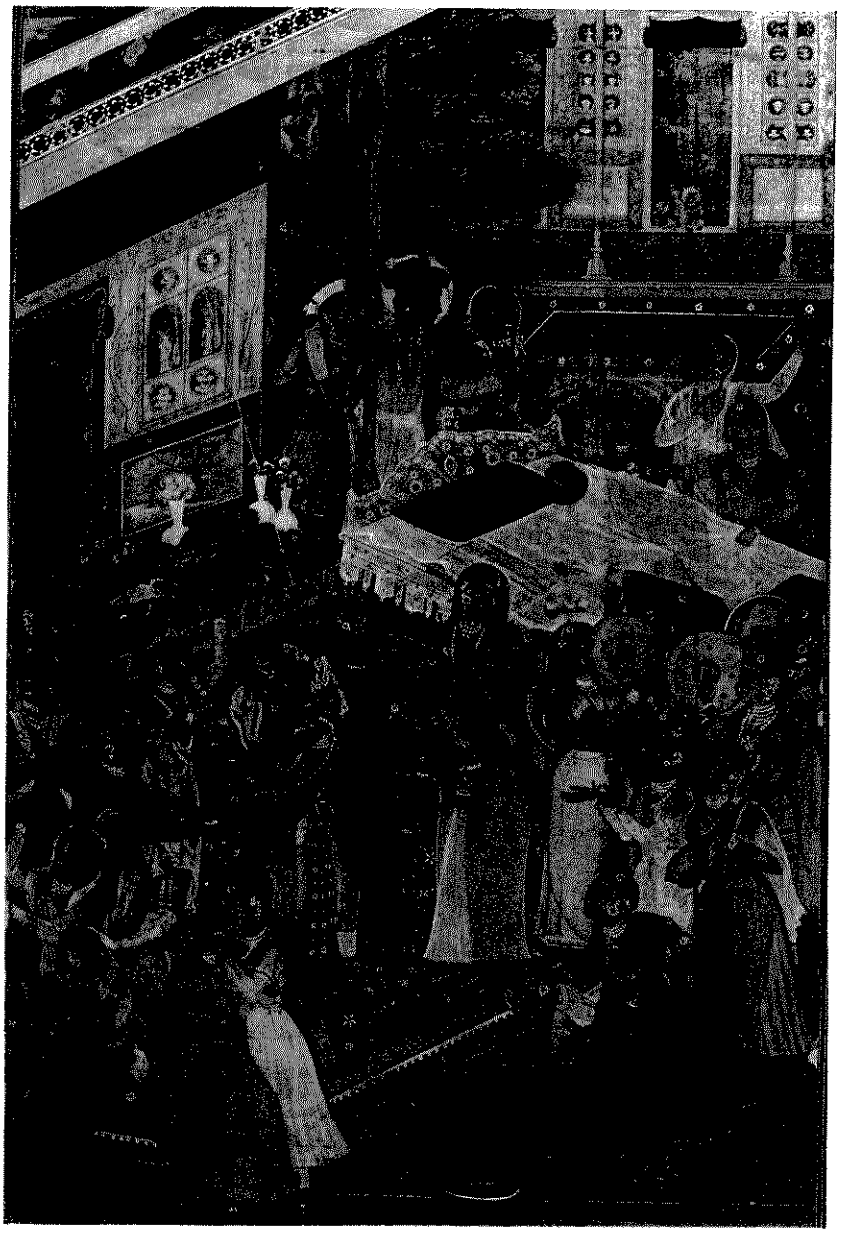

Figure 90 Jahangir in the harem during *holī* celebrations. c. 1620, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin [7A. 4]

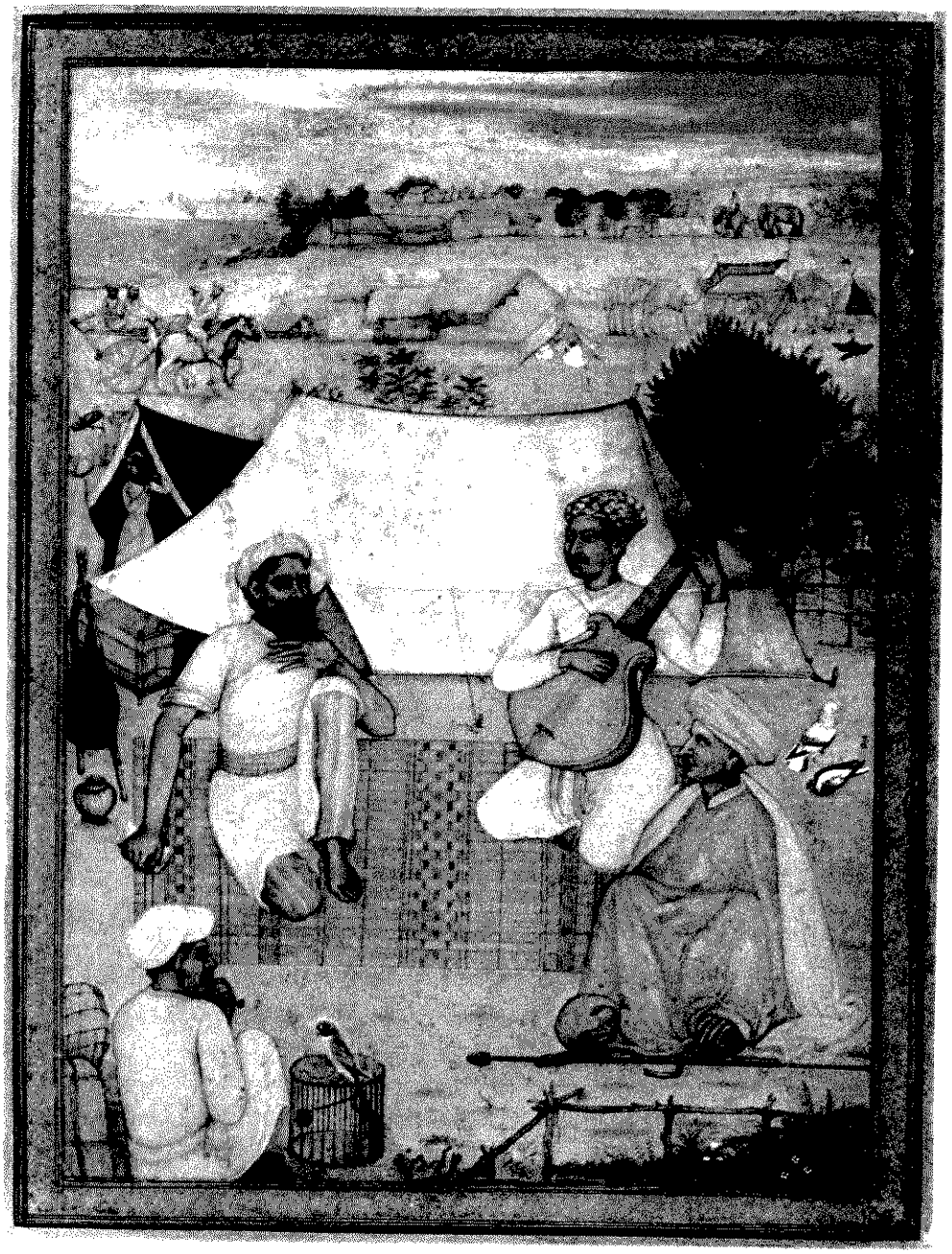

Figure 91 An outdoor concert. c. 1620–5, by Govardhan, from the 'Minto Album', Chester Beatty Museum, Dublin [Ms. 7, No. 11]

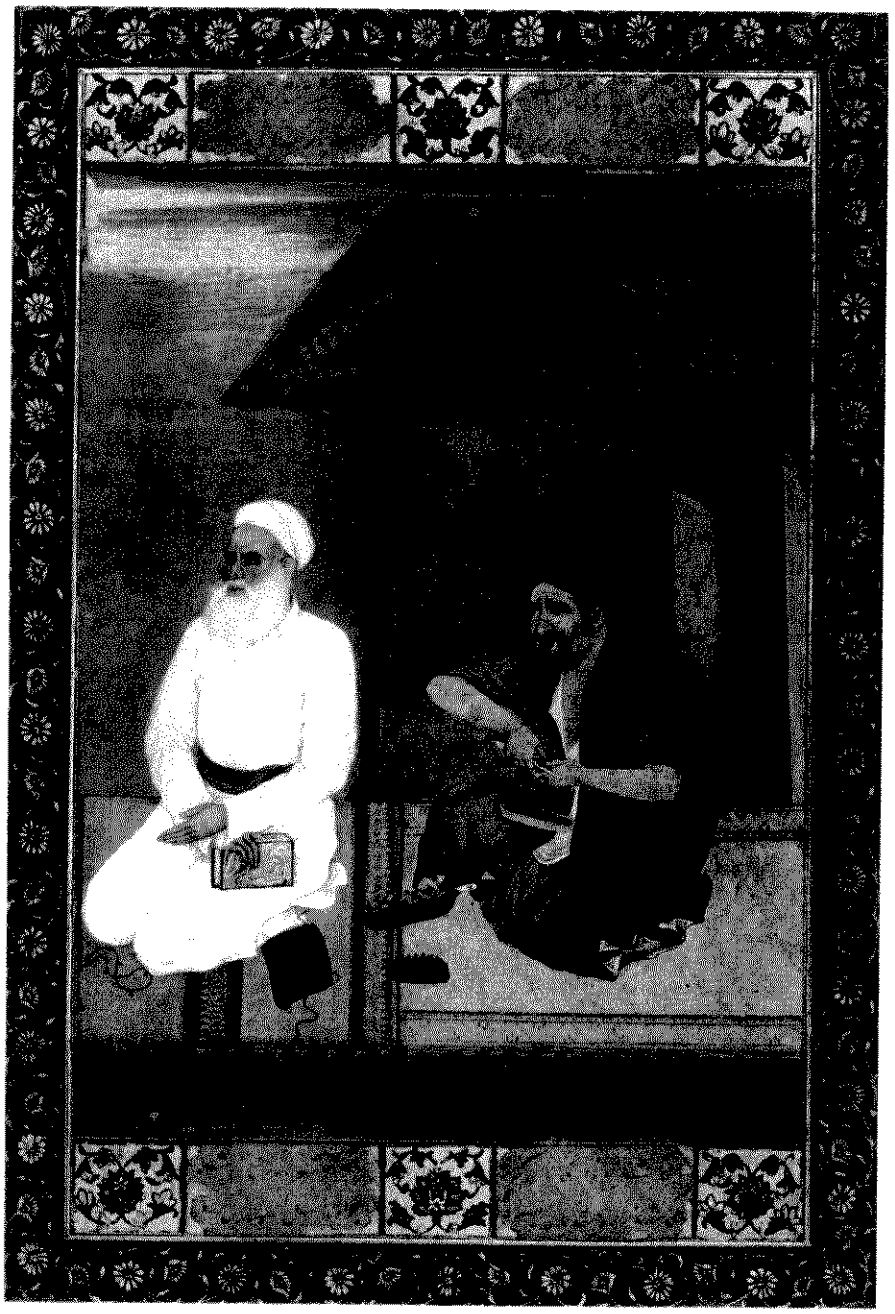

Figure 92 Shaikh Jāmī and an attendant. c. 1620–5, by Govardhan, Muse'e Guimet, Paris [No. 7173]

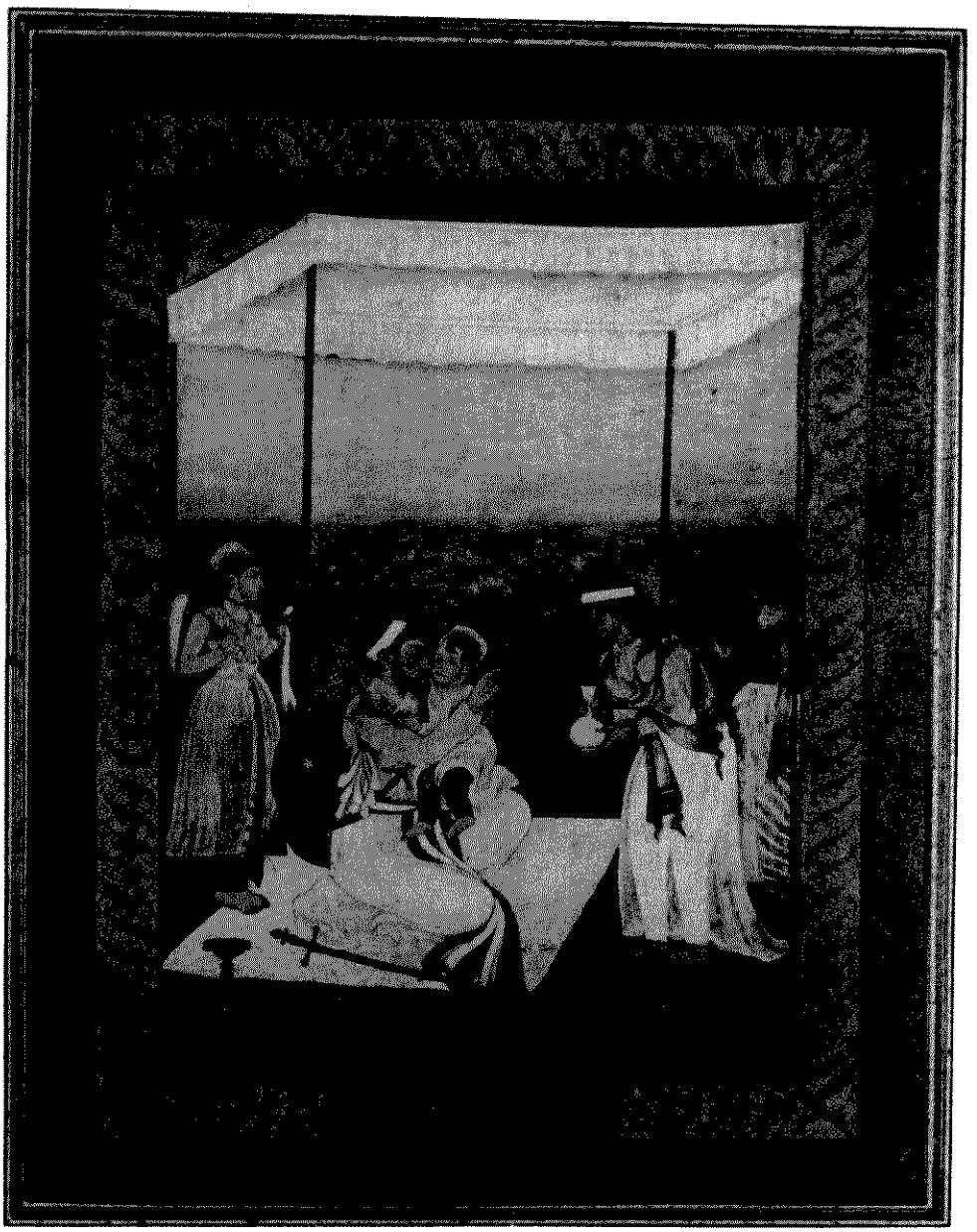

Figure 93 Khurram holding a child. c. 1621, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 90-1965]

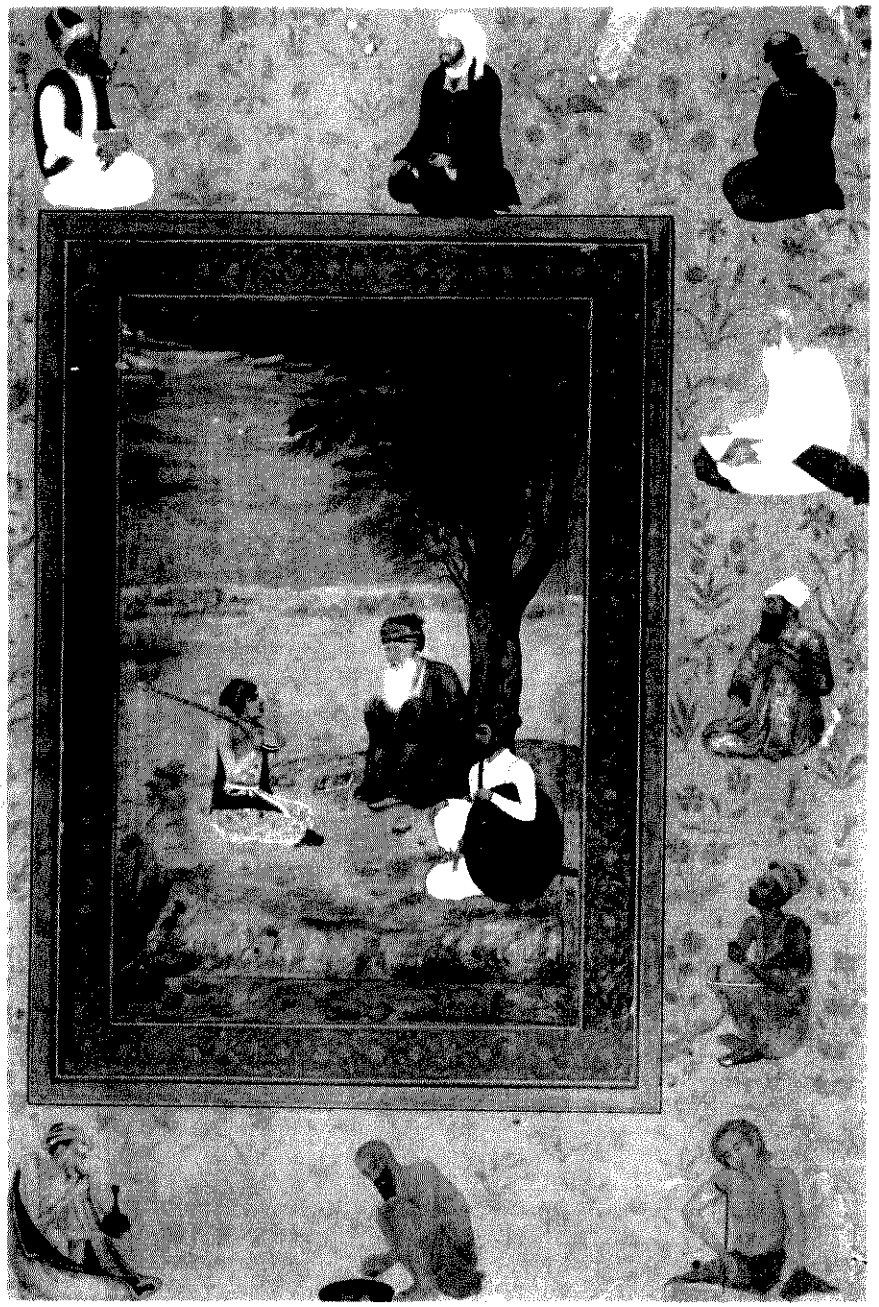

Figure 94 A dervish, a musician and a soldier seated under a tree. c. 1625, from the 'Late Shah Jahan Album', Chester Beatty Library, Dublin [Ms. 7, No. 26]

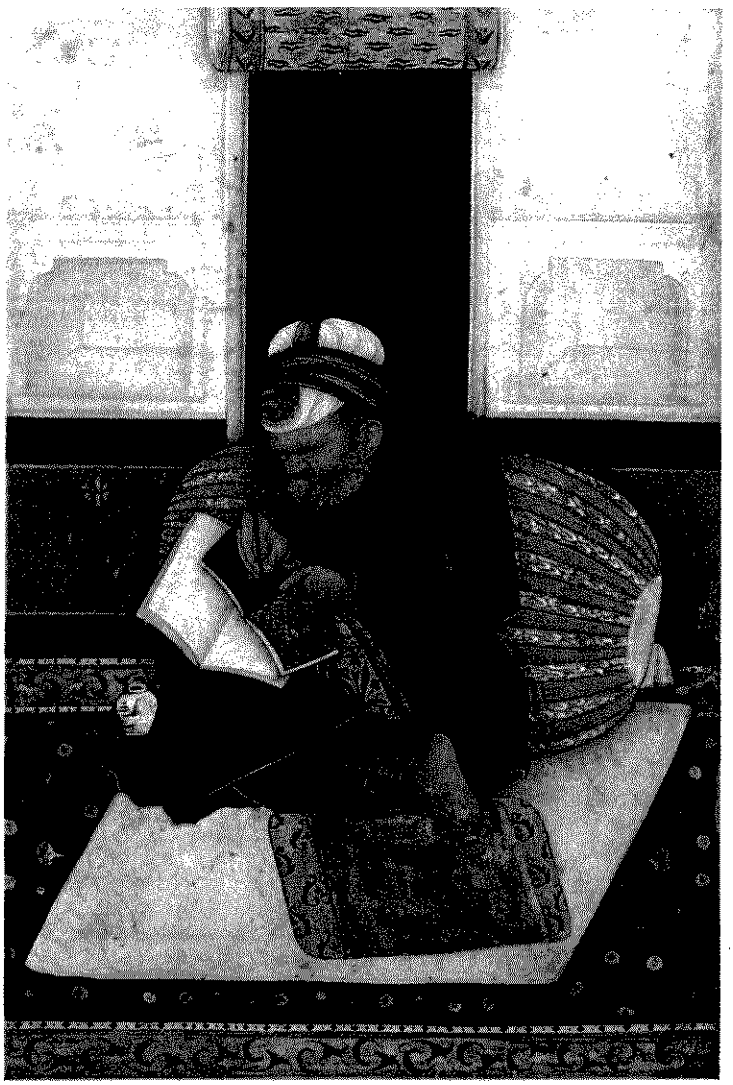

Figure 95 An old man writing. c. 1625, Harvard University, Cambridge [catalogue number not known]

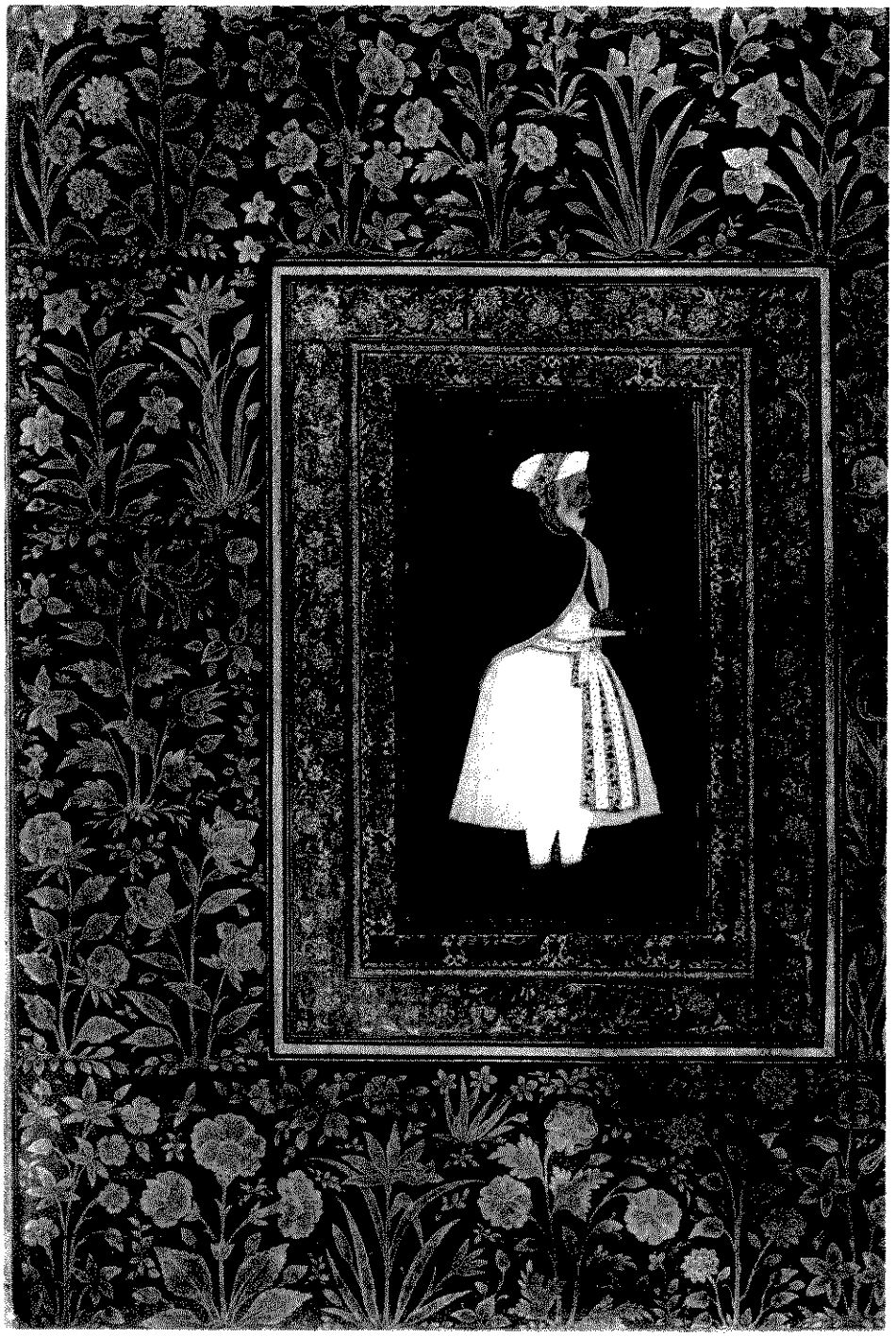

Figure 96 Portrait of the Mughal noble, 'Abd ur-Raḥīm Khānkhānān. c. 1626, by Hāshim, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, New York [F. 39. 50a]

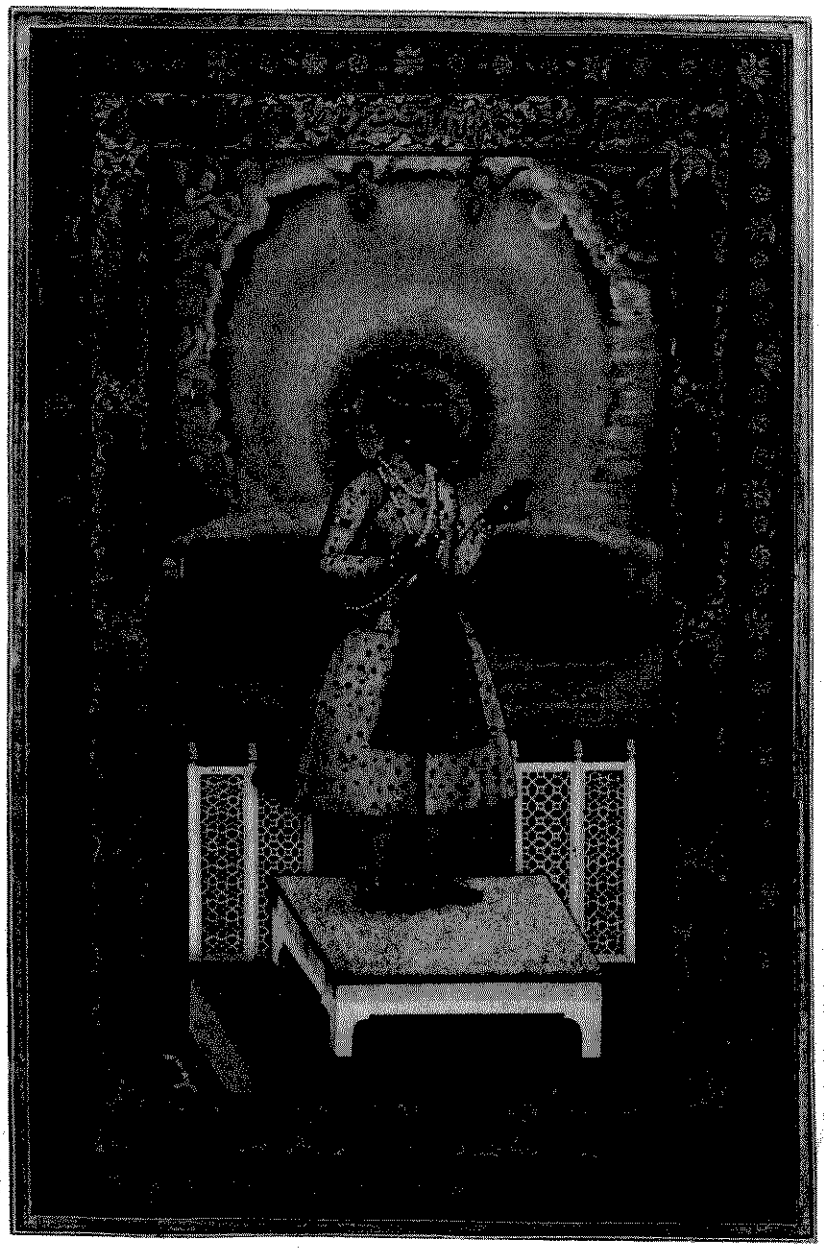

Figure 97 Shah Jahan. c. 1627–8, by Chitarman, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [55. 121. 10. 24r]

Figure 98 The Mughal noble, Āṣaf Khān. c. 1628–30, by Bichitr, from the 'Minto Album', Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM. 26-1925]

Figure 99 A prince (unidentified) surrounded by scholars in a garden. c. 1630, from the 'Minto Album', Chester Beatty Library, Dublin [Ms. 7, No. 7]

Figure 100 Four ascetics. c. 1630, Muse'e Guimet, Paris [MA. 2471]

Figure 101 A man with his prayer-beads. c. 1630, British Museum, London [1949-2-12-05]

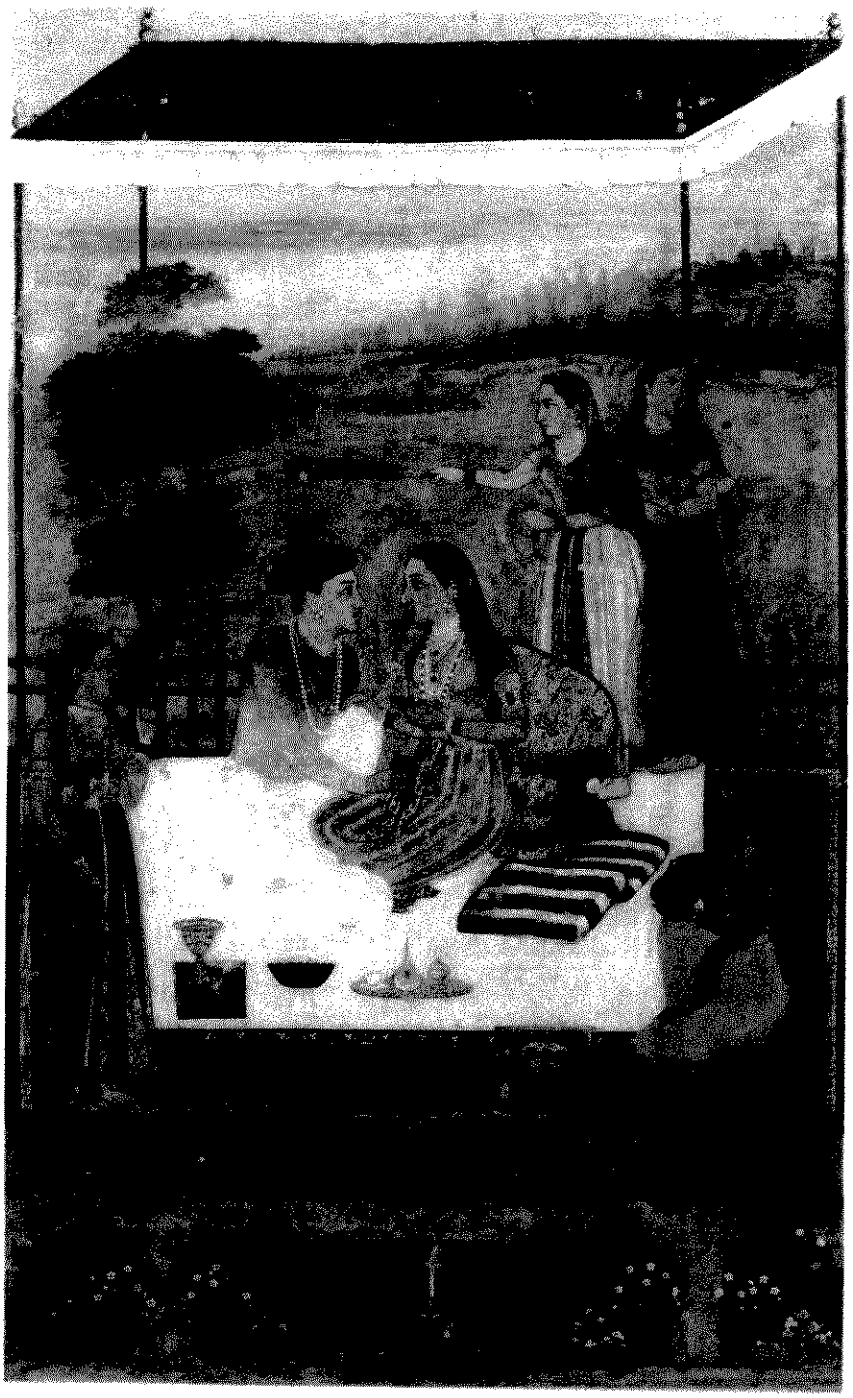

Figure 102 A prince and his wife (unidentified). c. 1633, by Bālchand, Harvard University, Cambridge [catalogue number not known]

Figure 103 Prince (?) and ascetics. c. 1635, from the 'Late Shah Jahan Album', Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland [71. 79]

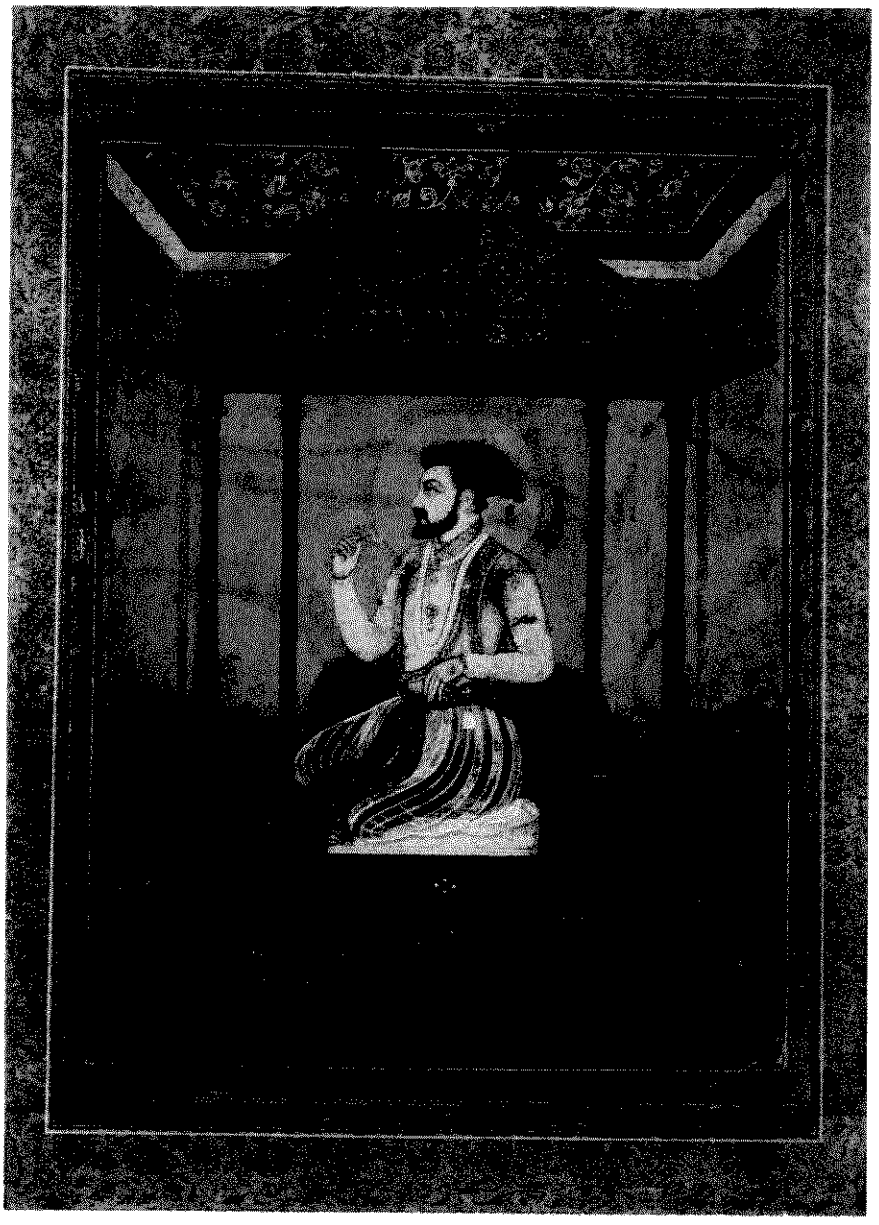

Figure 104 Shah Jahan on the Peacock throne. c. 1635, by Govardhan, Harvard University, Cambridge [651. 1983]

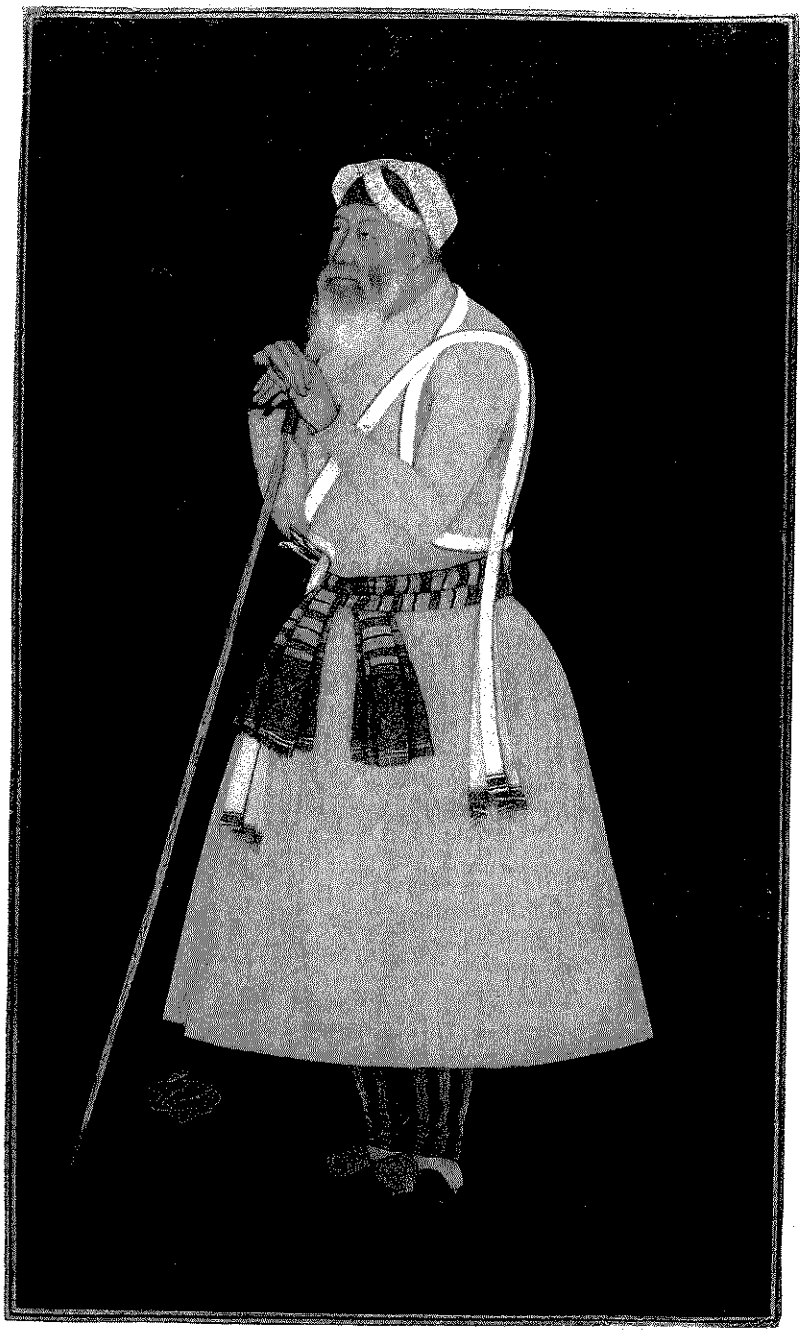

Figure 105 Portrait of the Mughal noble, Mirzā Rustam. c. 1635, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles [M. 78. 9. 14]

Figure 106 A young lady under a tree. c. 1635, from the 'Dara Shikoh Album', India Office Library, London [Ms. Add. Or. 3129, f. 34]

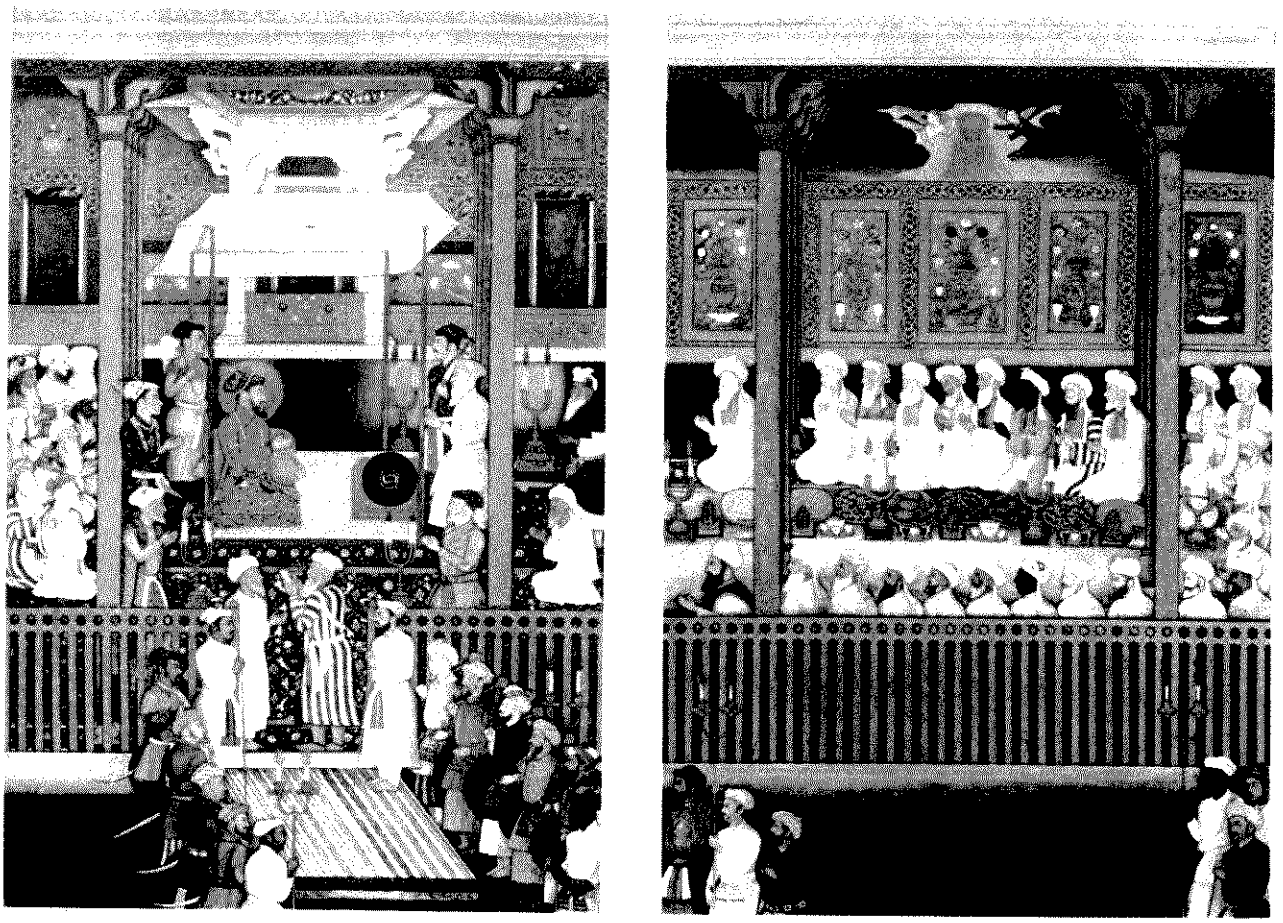

Figure 107 A celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday at the Hall of Public Audience, Agra. c. 1635, from the 'St. Petersburg Album', Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC [42. 17 (left), 42. 18 (right)]

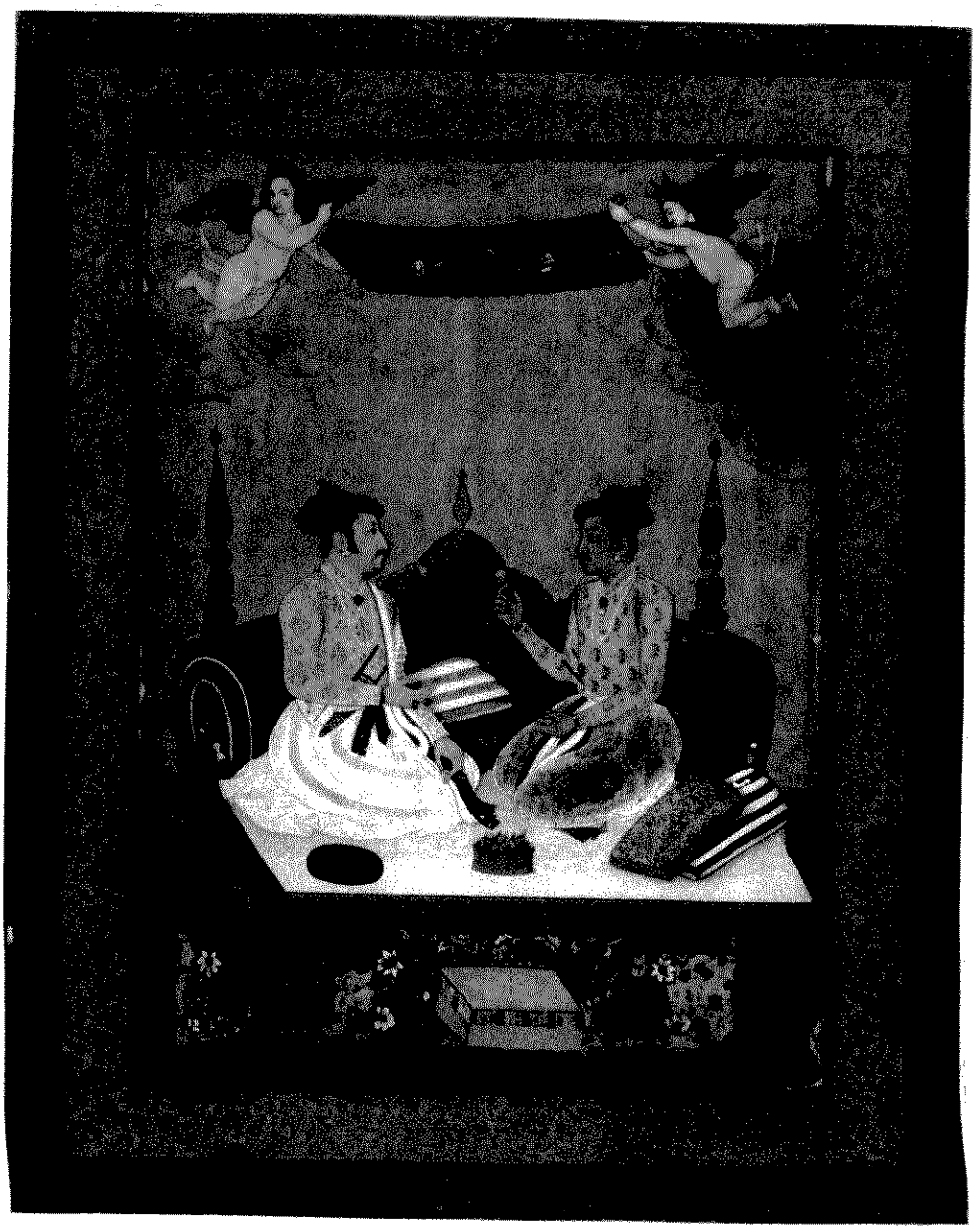

Figure 108 Shāh Shuja' and Maharaja Gaj Singh of Marwar partake of betel nut together. c. 1638, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles [M. 80. 6. 6]

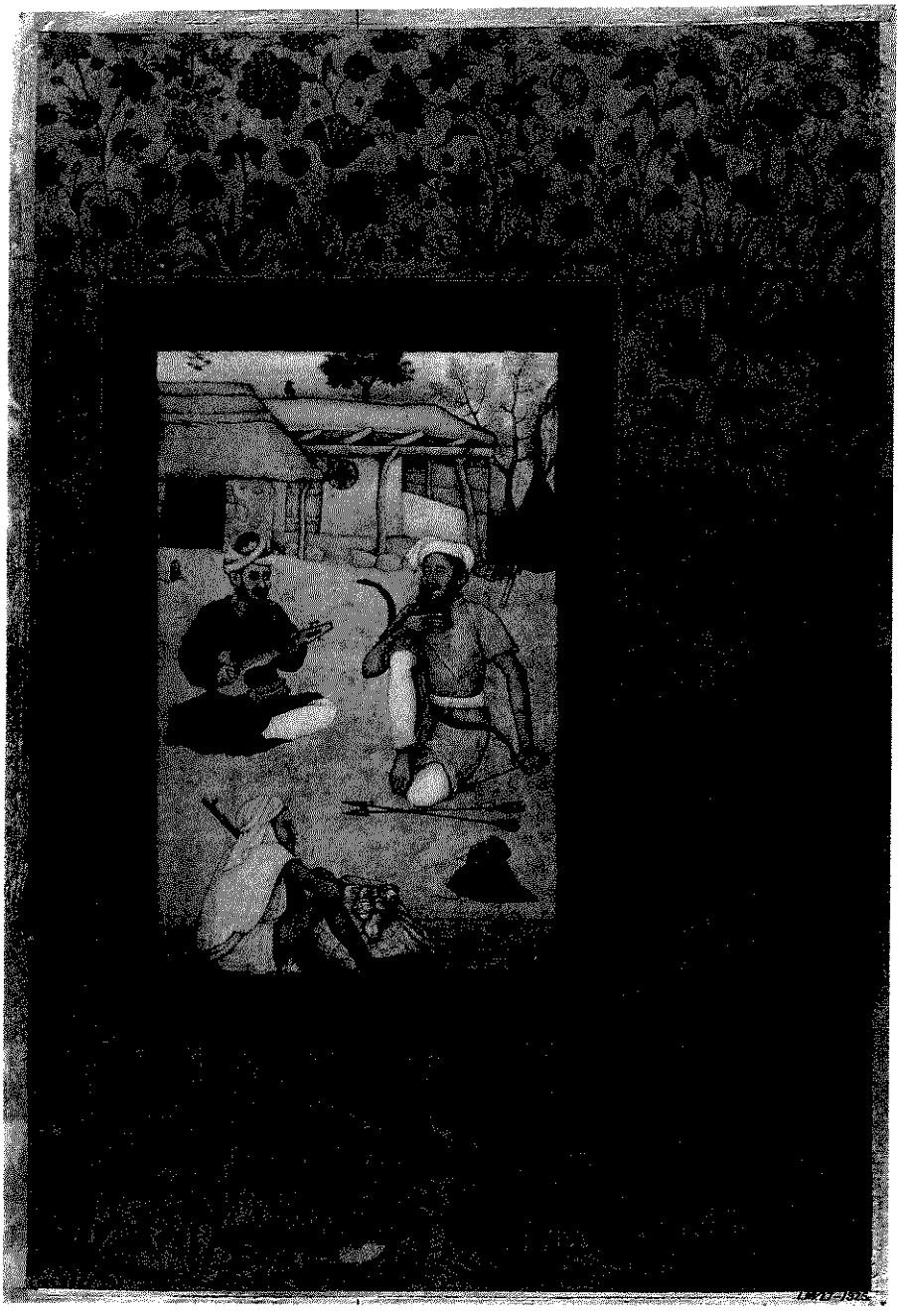

Figure 109 Two musicians performing outdoors. c. 1640, by Bichitr, from the 'Minto Album', Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IM 27-1925]

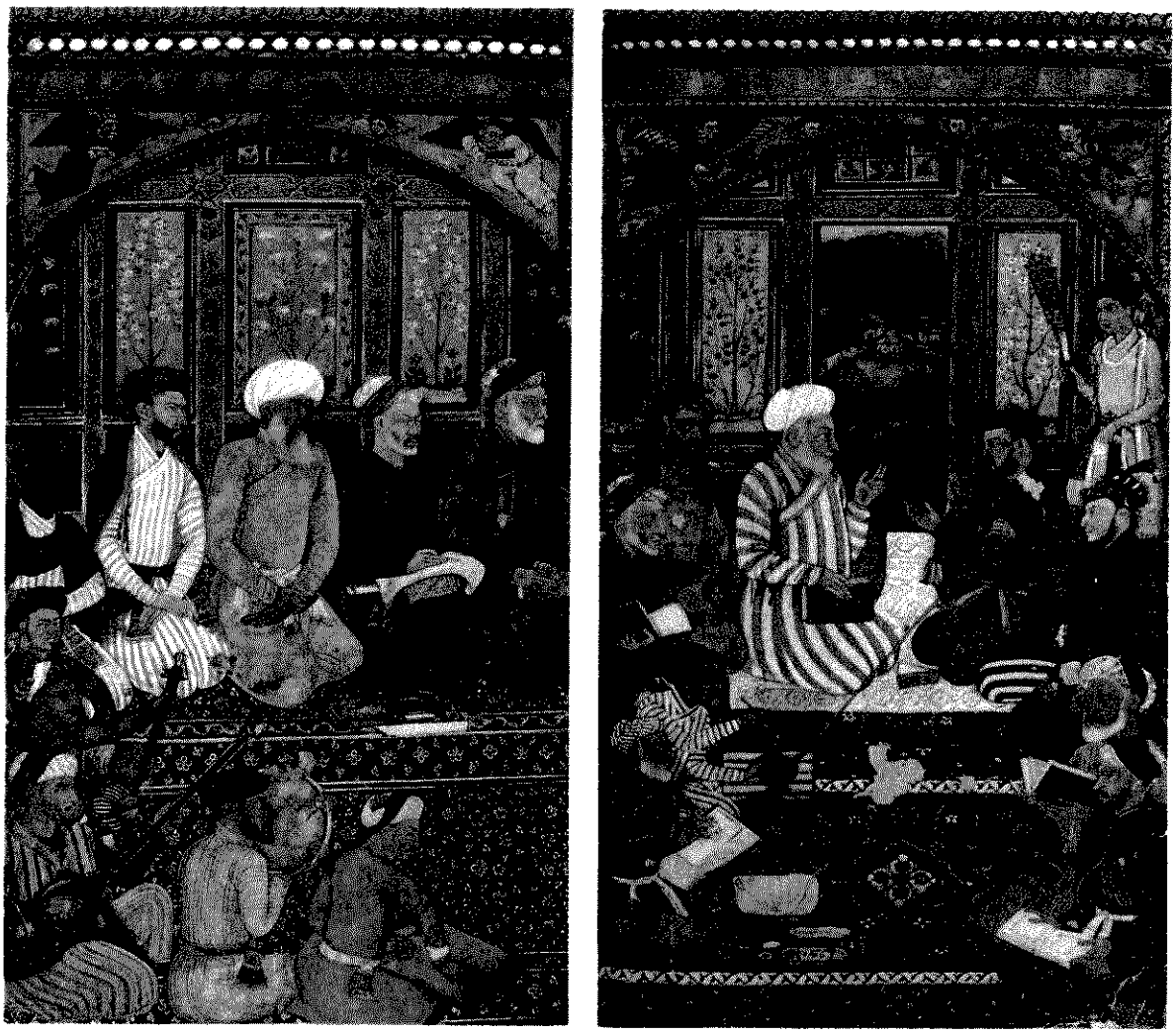

Figure 110 Zafar Khān in the company of poets, scholars, musicians, a painter and attendants in his *dīwānkhāna*. c. 1640, from a *Maṣnavī* of Zafar Khān manuscript. India Office Library, London [Ms. Ras. Loan 3, f. 25v (left), Ms. Ras. Loan 3, f. 26r (right)]

Figure 111 A procession scene within the grounds of the *dīwān-i 'ām*, Delhi. c. 1650, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago [1975. 555]

Figure 112 (Detail) Humayun seated in a landscape. c. 1650, by Payag, from the'Late Shah Jahan Album', Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC [S86. 0400]

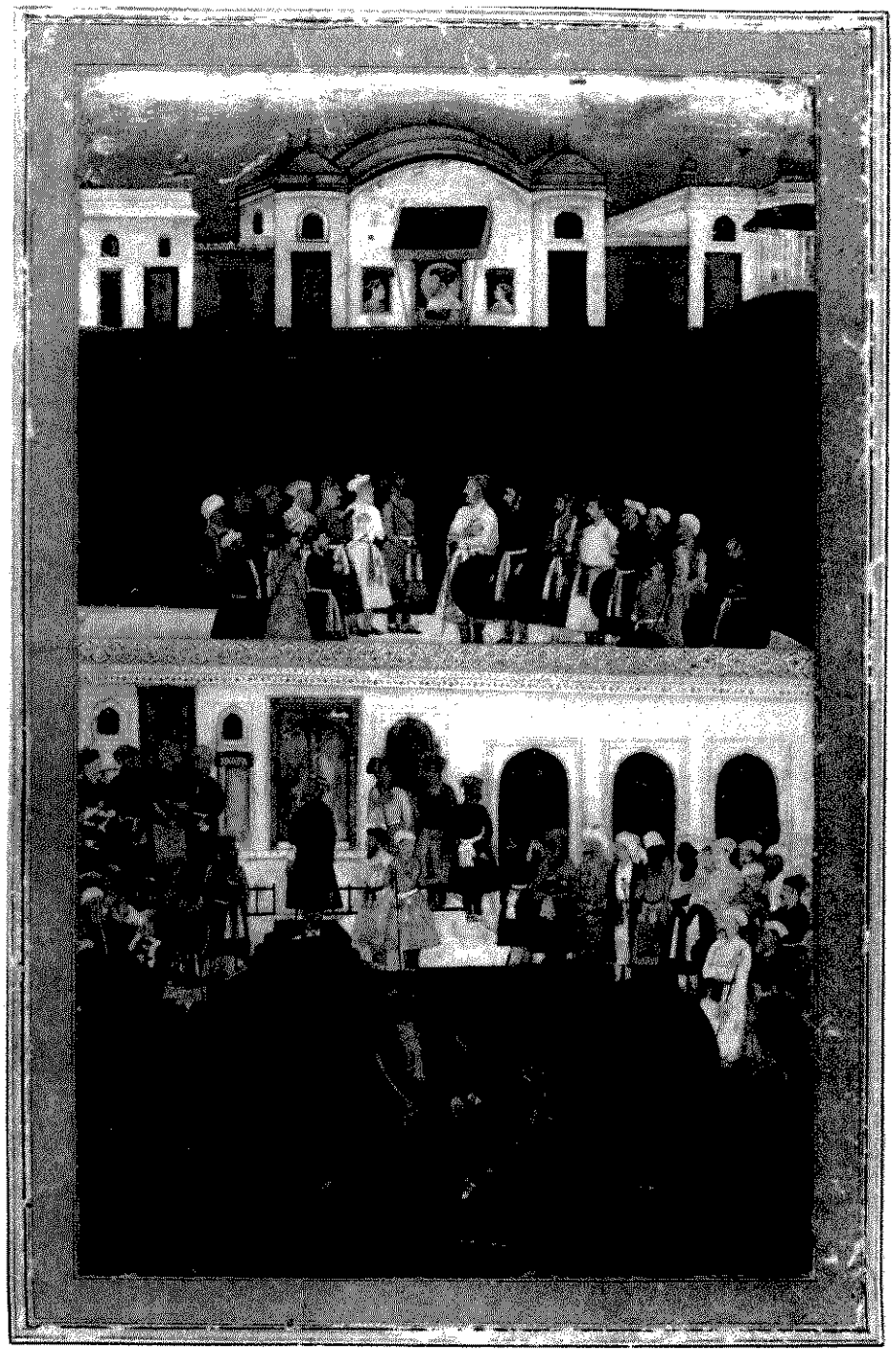

Figure 113 Shah Jahan at the *jharokā darshan*, Delhi. c. 1650, D. A. J. Latchford Collection, Bangkok [catalogue number not known]

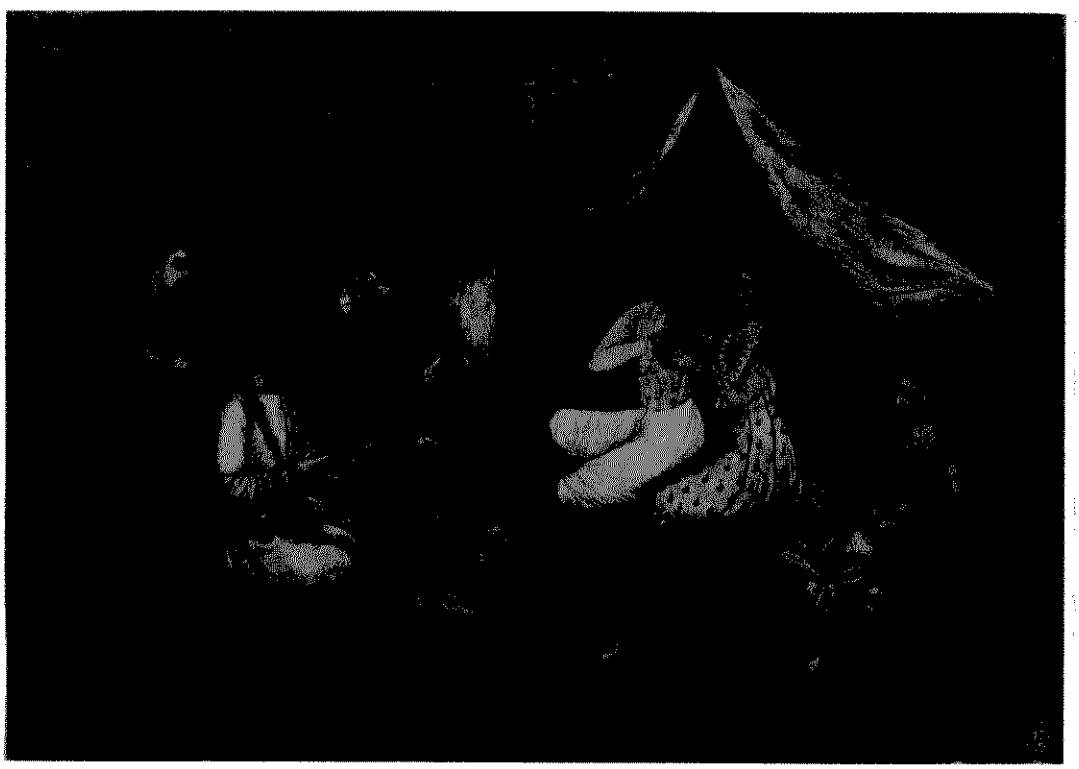

Figure 114 A prince at camp. c. 1650, Terence McInerney Collection, New York [catalogue number not known]

Figure 115 Soldiers listen to an outdoor performance by two musicians. c. 1650–5, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin [Ms. 7, No. 20]

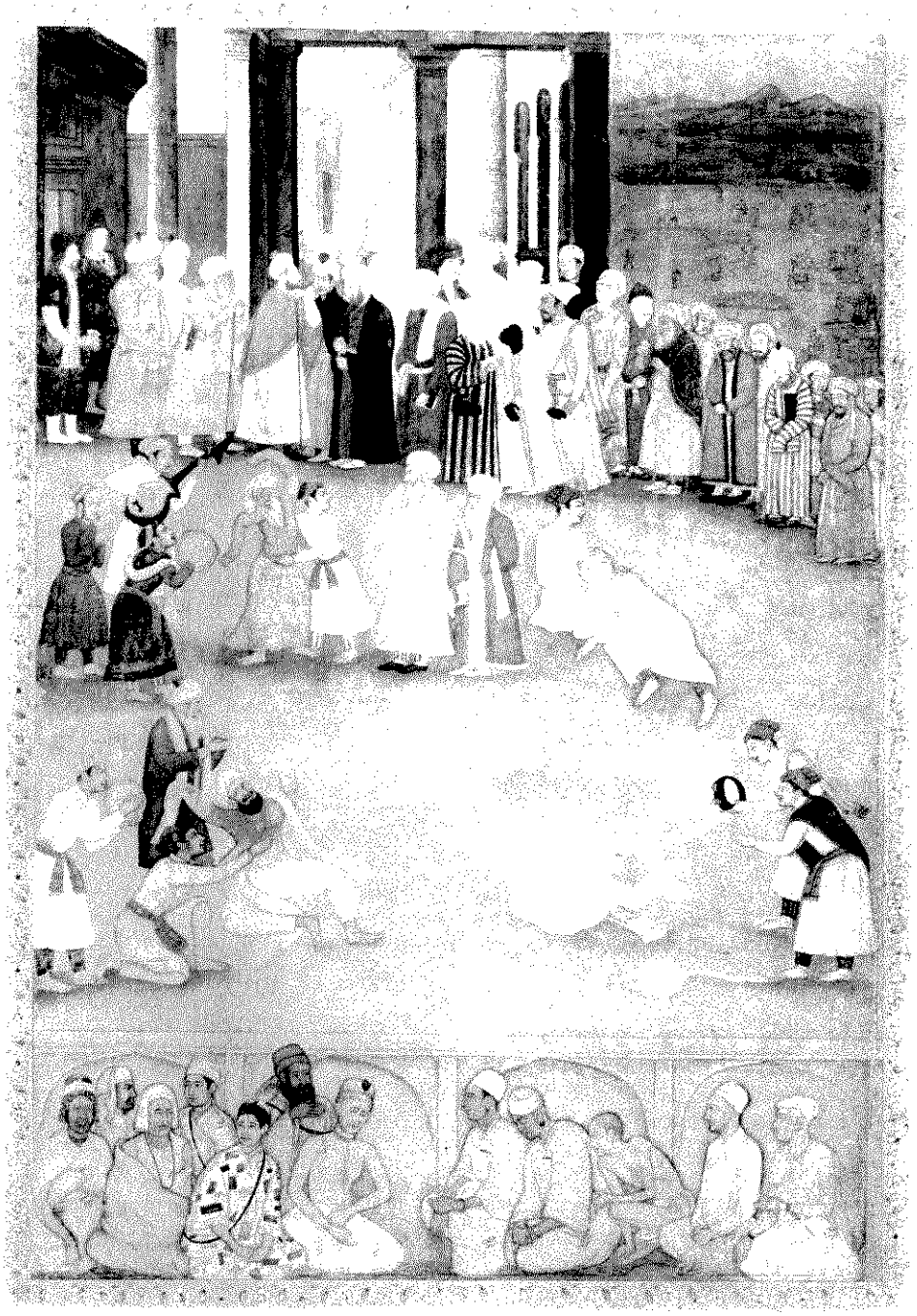

Figure 116 Sufis in ecstasy. c. 1650–5, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [IS 94-1965]

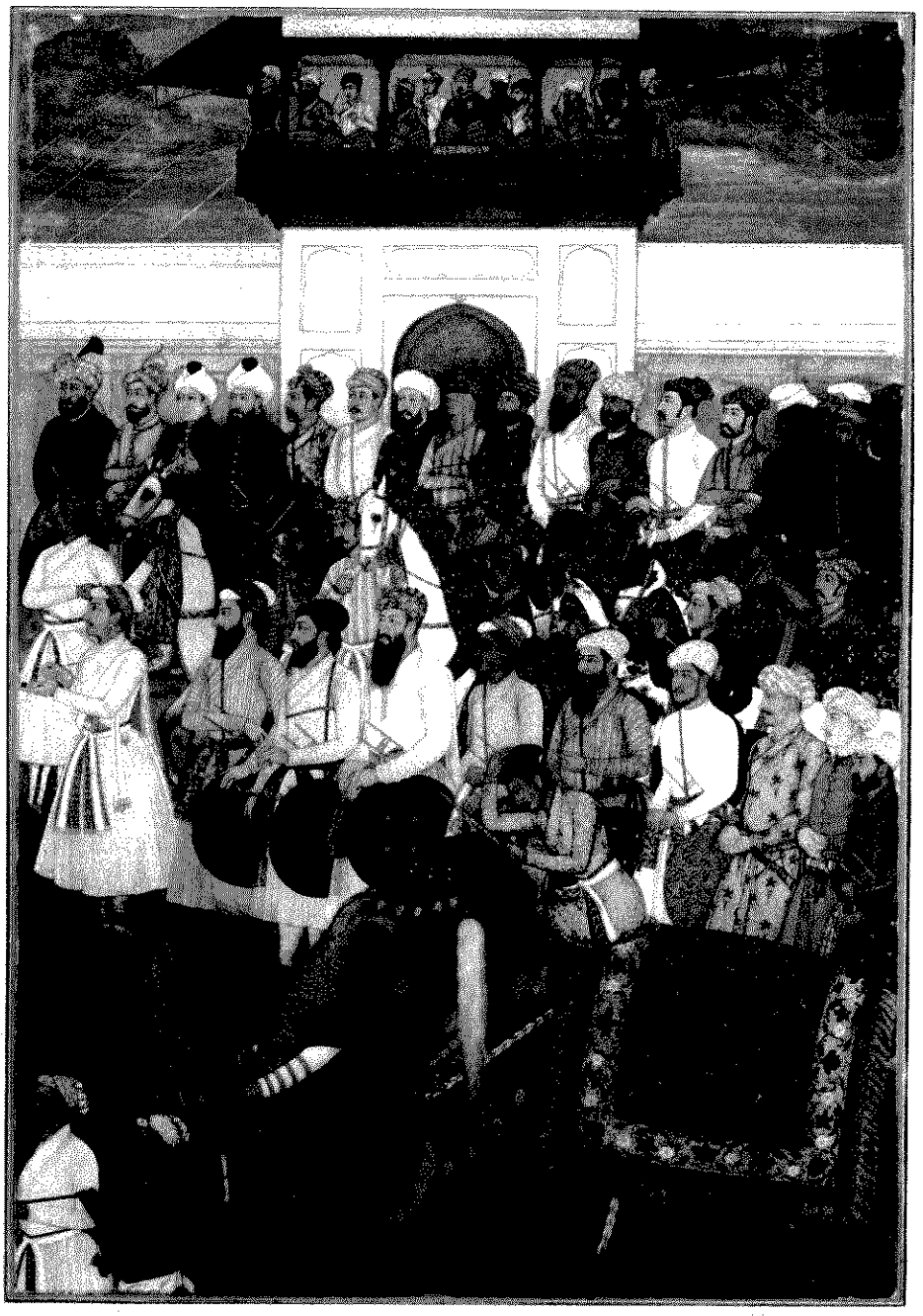

Figure 117 Nobles assembled view Jahangir receiving Khurram upon the princes arrival from the Deccan at Mandu. c. 1640, by Murār, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript, Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 49A]

Figure 118 Nobles assembled view Shah Jahan receiving his three eldest sons and Āṣaf Khān during his accession ceremonies at Agra. c. 1630, by Bichitr, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 50B]

Figure 119 Shah Jahan receives his three eldest sons and Āṣaf Khān during his accession ceremonies at Agra. c. 1638, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 51A]

Figure 120 The weighing of Shah Jahan during his forty-second lunar birthday celebrations at Agra. c. 1635, by Būlā, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 70B]

Figure 121 The weighing of Shah Jahan during his forty-second lunar birthday celebrations at Agra. c. 1635, by Būlā, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 71A]

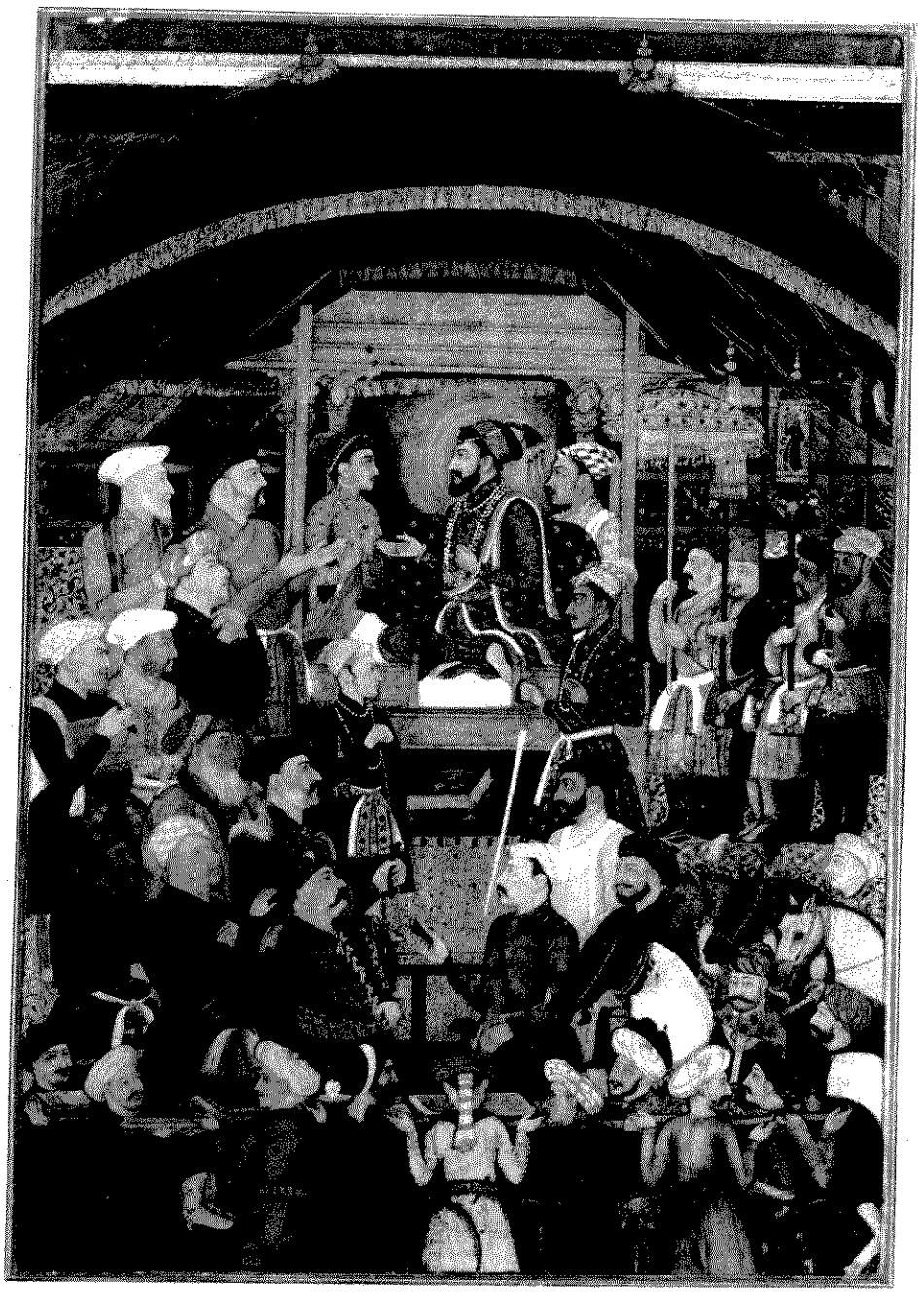

Figure 122 Shah Jahan receives the Persian ambassador Muḥammad Beg at Burhanpur. c. 1633, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 98B]

Figure 123 The delivery of presents for Dara Shikoh's wedding along the riverfront at Agra. c. 1635, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 120B]

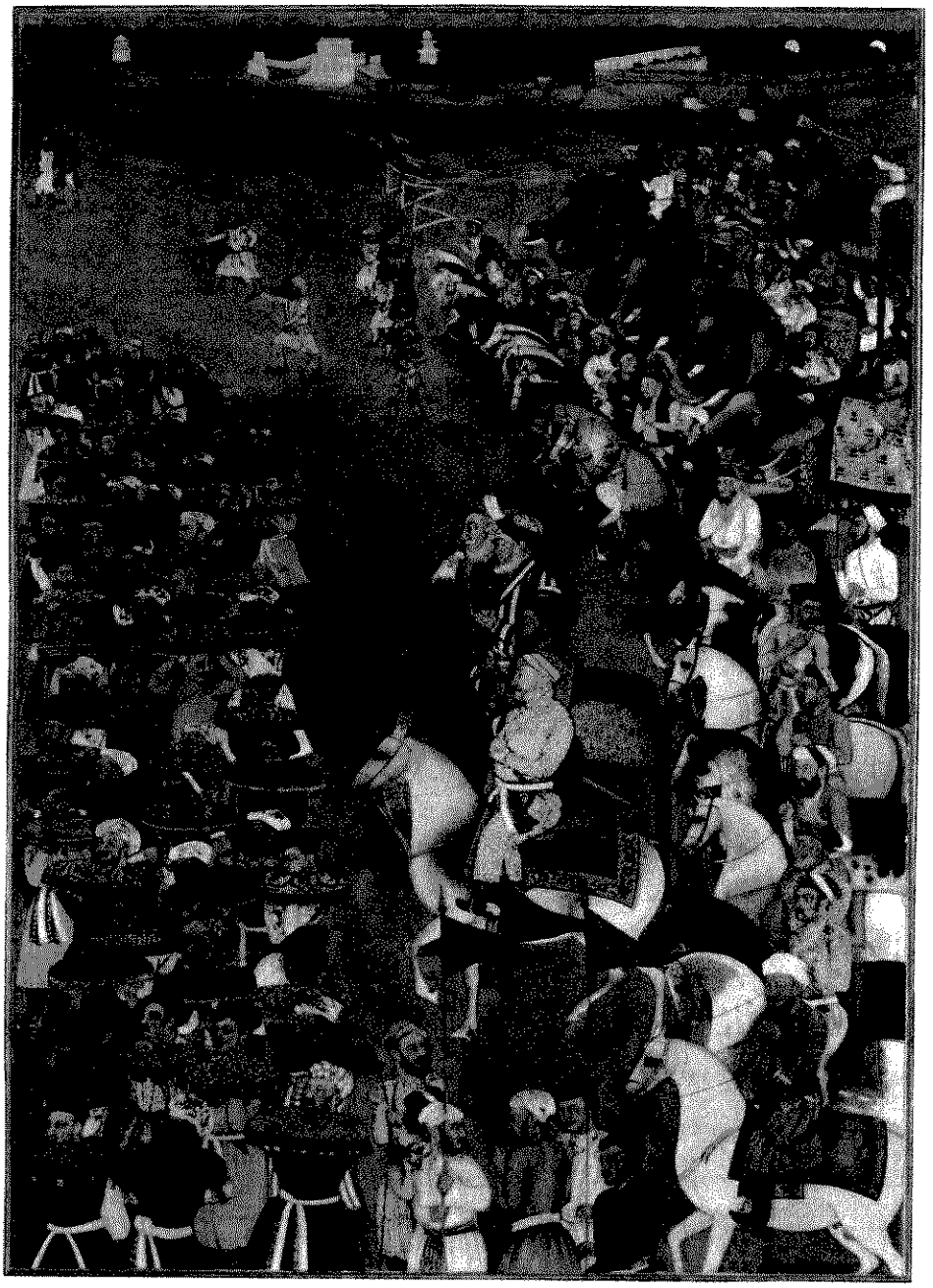

Figure 124 The delivery of presents for Dara Shikoh's wedding along the riverfront at Agra. c. 1635, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 121A]

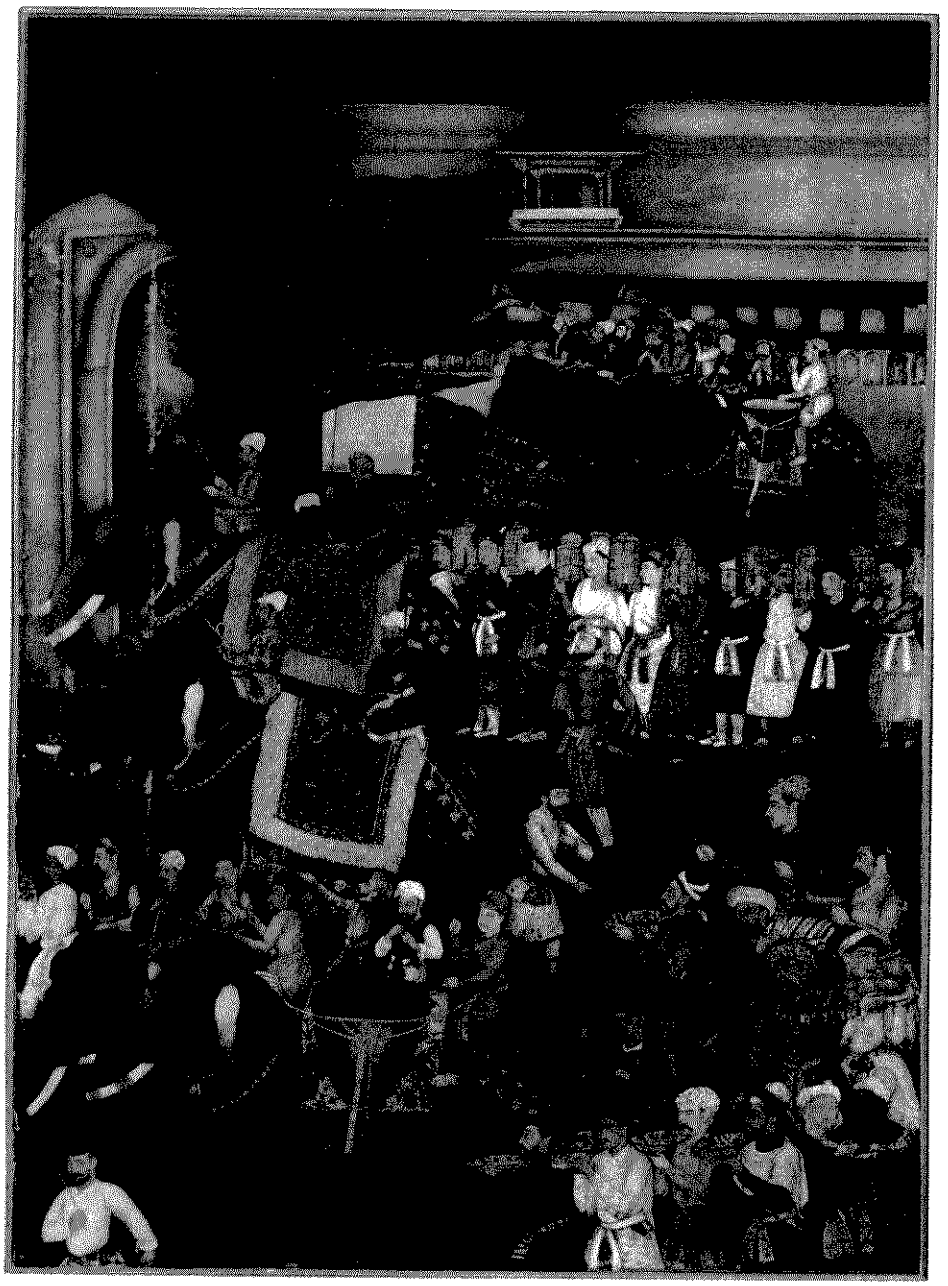

Figure 125 Dara Shikoh's wedding procession at Agra. c. 1635, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 122B]

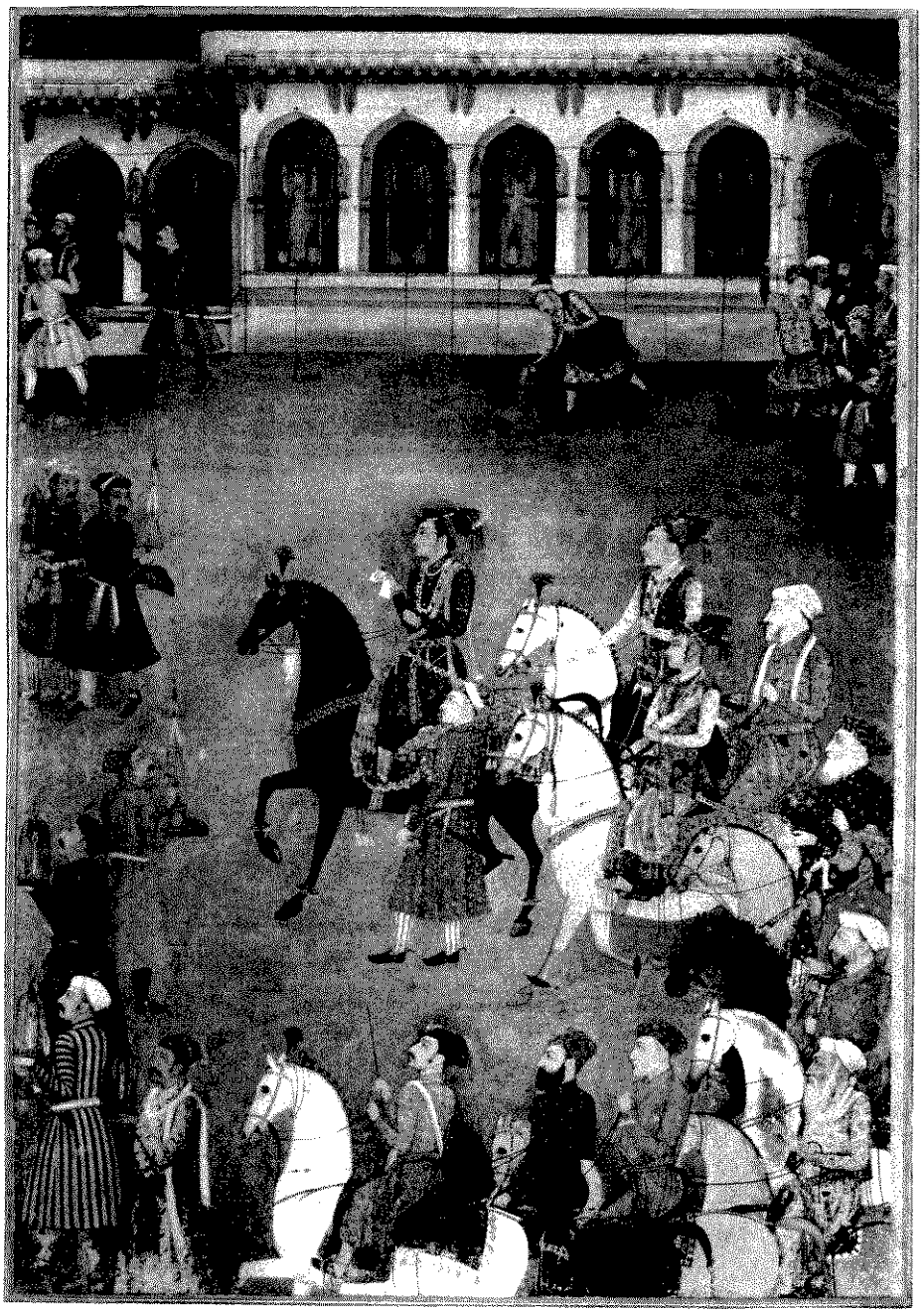

Figure 126 Dara Shikoh's wedding procession at Agra. c. 1635, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 123A]

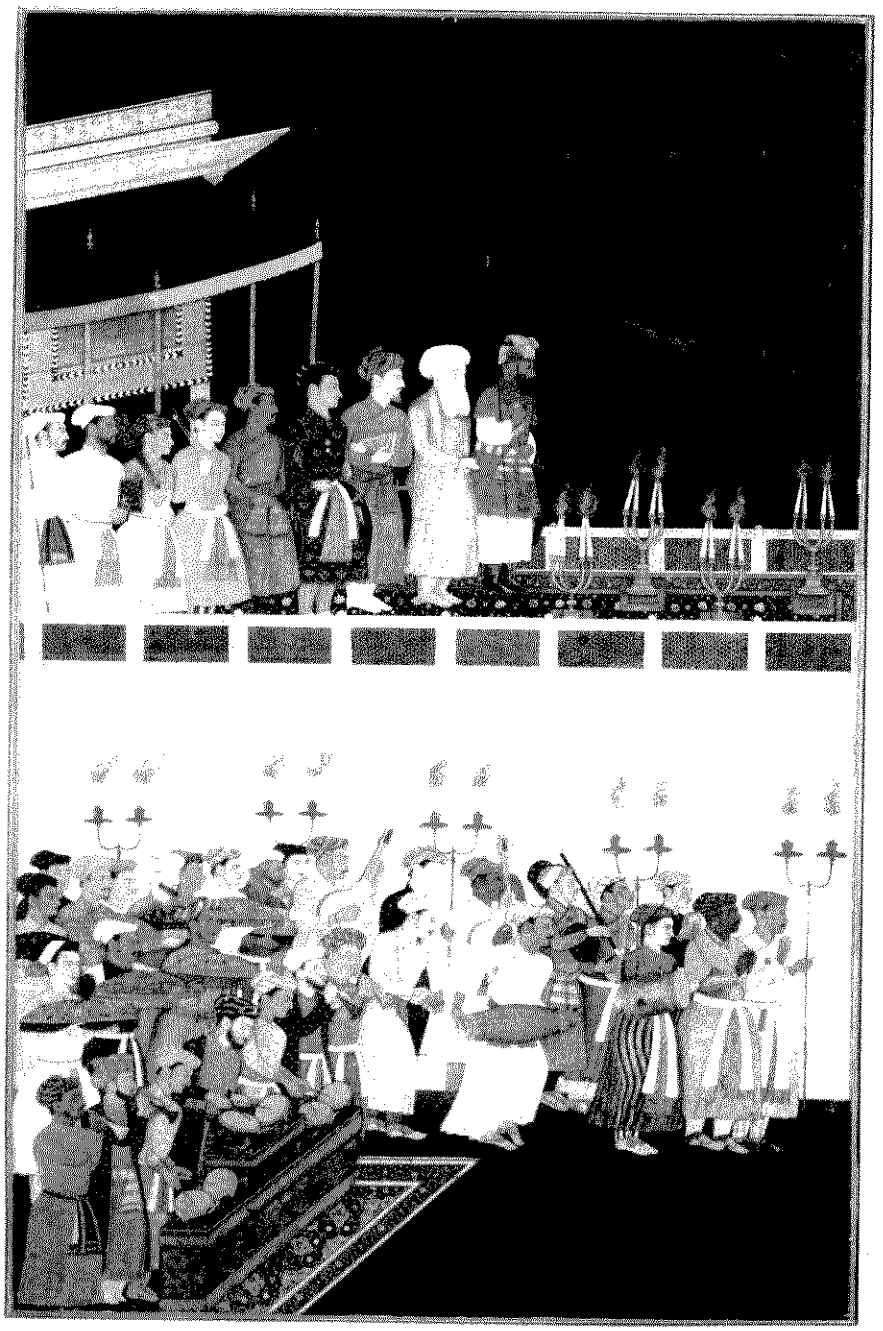

Figure 127 Musicians perform while Shah Jahan honours Dara Shikoh at his wedding at Agra. c. 1635, by Bulāqī, son of Hoshung, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 124B]

Figure 128 Shah Jahan honours Dara Shikoh (in the Hall of Private Audience) at his wedding at Agra. c. 1635, by Bulāqī, son of Hoshung, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 125A]

Figure 129 The wedding procession of Shāh Shuja' at Agra. c. 1635, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 126B]

Figure 130 The wedding procession of Shāh Shuja' at Agra. c. 1635, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 127A]

Figure 131 Aurangzeb combats an elephant along the Agra riverbank. c. 1635, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 134A]

Figure 132 Shah Jahan honouring Aurangzeb at his wedding at the *dīwān-i khāṣ*, Agra. c. 1640, from a *Pādshāhnāma* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Royal Library, Windsor Castle [n. 773, 218B]

Appendices

Appendix A: *Bhāgavata Purāna* Miniature Paintings

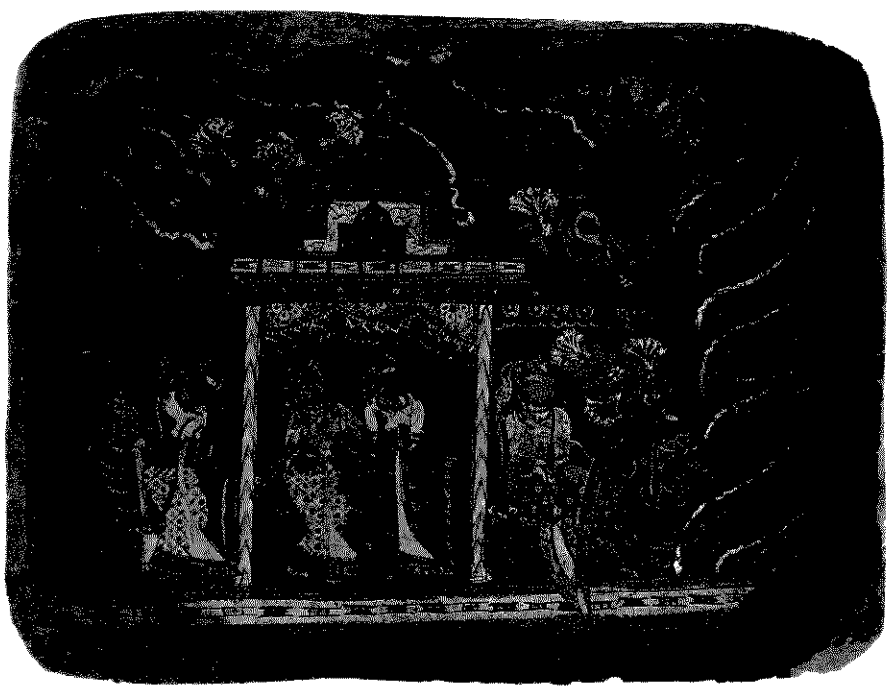

Figure 133 Krishna defeats Trināvartā, the whirlwind demon. c. 1525–40, Delhi–Agra region, from a *Bhāgavata Purāna* manuscript, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC [F1987. 4]

Figure 134 Krishna and the gopis. c. 1525–40, Delhi–Agra region, from a *Bhāgavata Purāna* manuscript (same manuscript as previous), Brooklyn Museum [80. 41]

Appendix B: Peter Mundy's Sketches of Mughal India

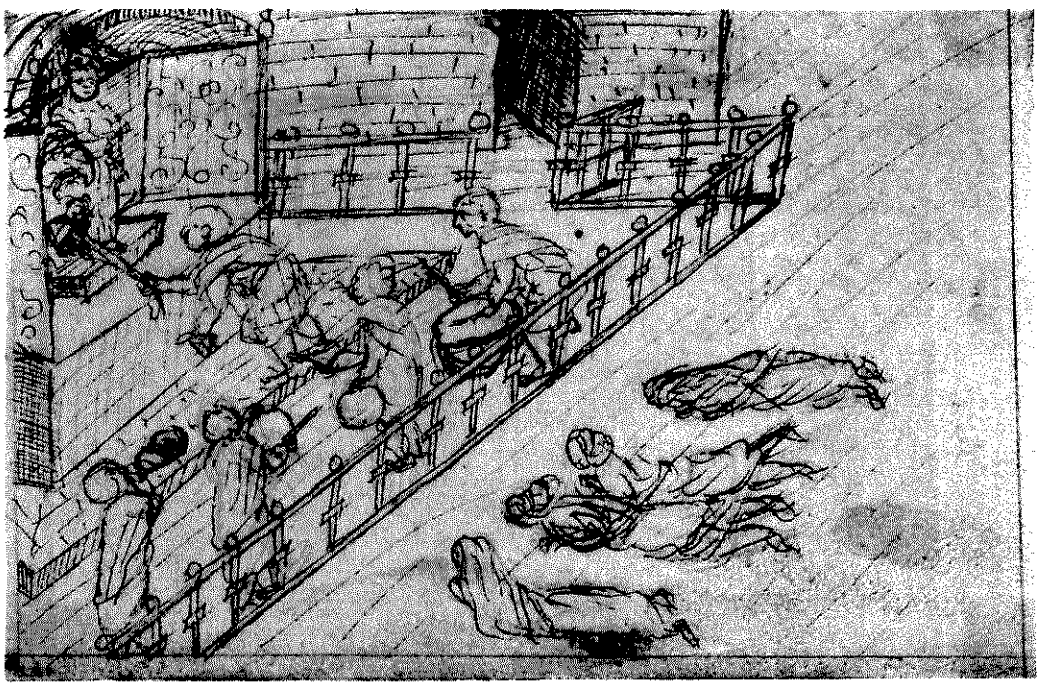

Figure 135 Hindu temple scene at Varanasi. c. 1632, from Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, In Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, Bodleian Library, Oxford [Rawlinson Ms. A. 315]

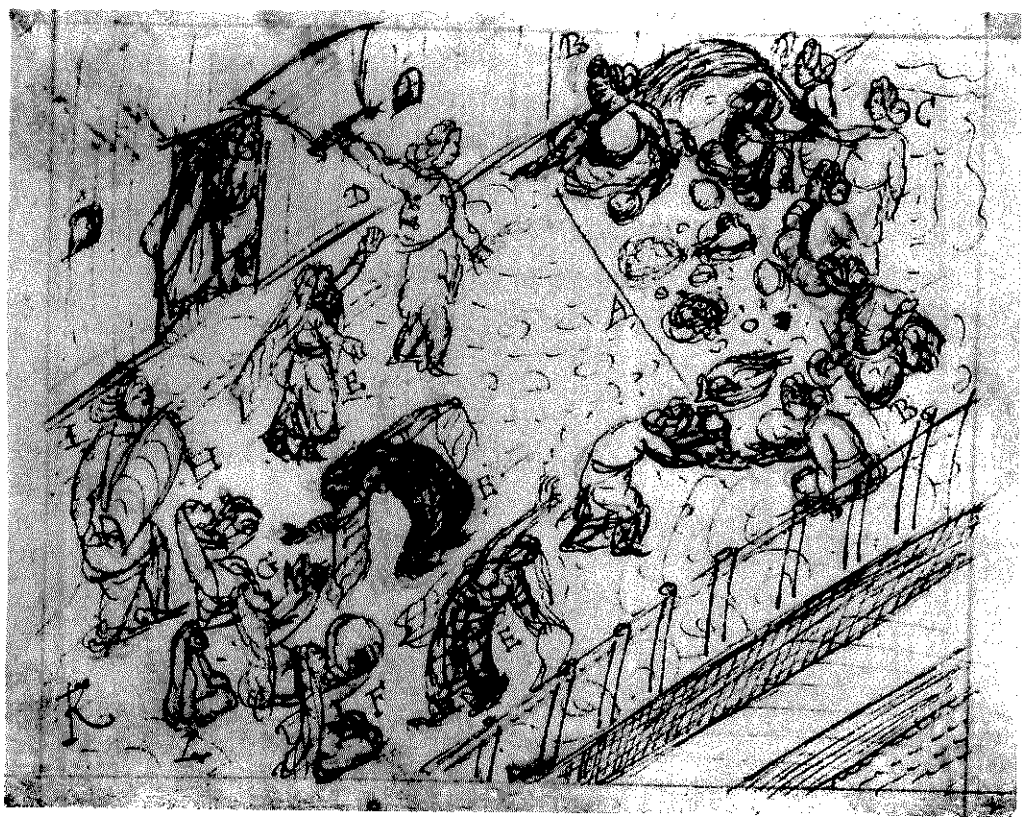

Figure 136 A banquet. c. 1632 (same manuscript as previous), Bodleian Library, Oxford [Rawlinson Ms. A. 315]

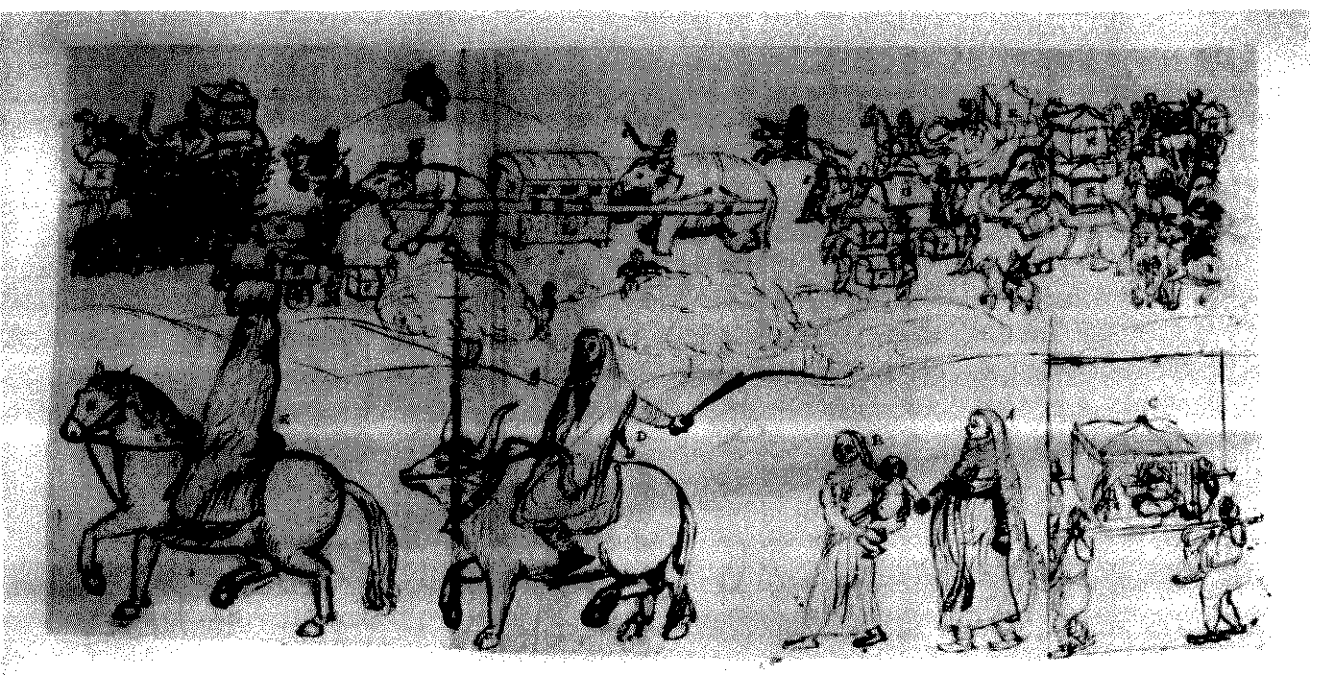

Figure 137 Women of different classes travelling. c. 1632 (same manuscript as previous), Bodleian Library, Oxford [Rawlinson Ms. A. 315]

Appendix C: A Late Eighteenth Century Indian Painting of the Red Fort at Delhi

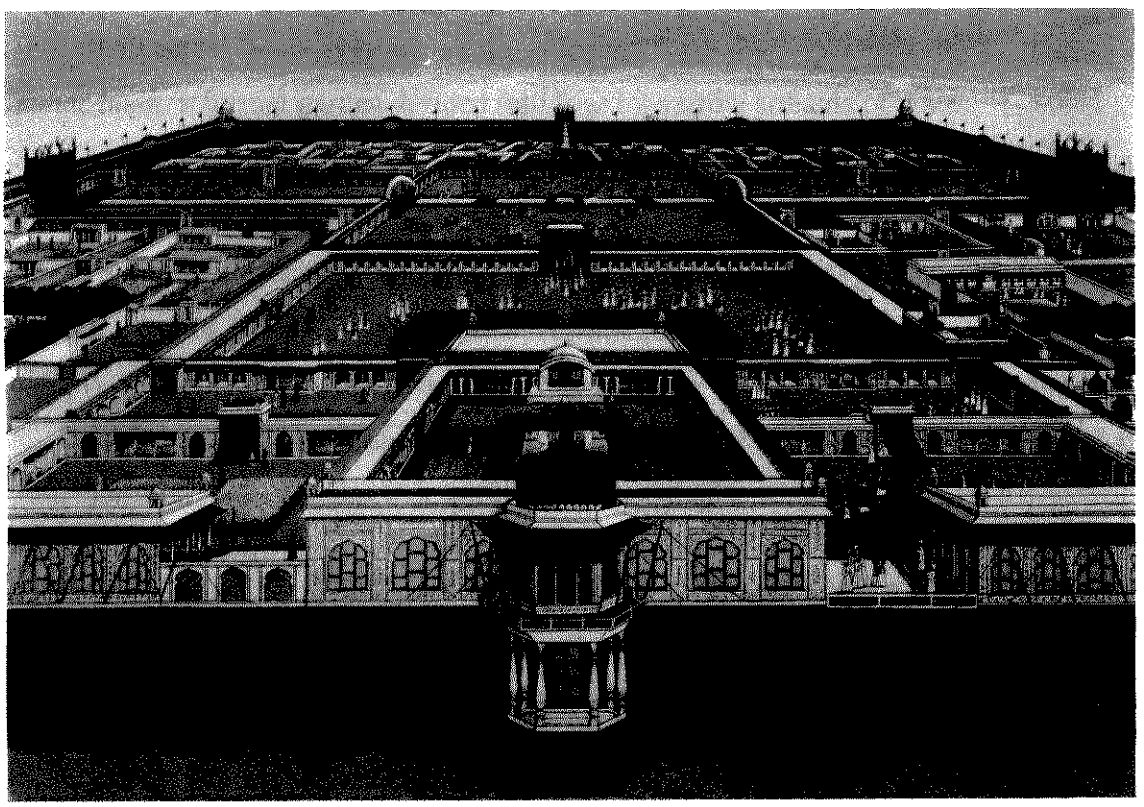

Figure 138 A bird's eye view from the east of the Red Fort at Delhi, showing the emperor entering the *dīwān-i Khāṣ* on the right. c. 1780-90, Lucknow, India Office Library, London [Add. Or. 948]

Select Glossary

Aḥadī, an elite trooper of the Mughal army, directly under the emperor's command

Amīr ul-Umarā', a high title amongst the Mughal nobility

Bīgha (i.e. *bīgha-i Ilāhī*, employed for *madad-i ma'āsh*) a unit of measure equivalent to 0.59 acres[1]

Chahār bāgh, a formal garden divided into four by narrow streams of water

Chihal-sitūn, a forty pillared hall of Iranian design adopted by Shah Jahan for his halls of audience

Dām (i) a unit of currency, equivalent to 40 rupees during Akbar's reign, to 30 rupees at the end of Jahangir's, and to16 rupees in 1660[2]

Dām (ii), a unit of weight, approximately 20.93g, there were 28 *dāms* to a *ser* at the start of Akbar's reign, 30 *dāms* to a *ser* at the time of the *Ā'īn*, 36 *dāms* to a *ser* under Jahangir, and 40 *dāms* to a *ser* under Shah Jahan[3]

Dārogha, a supervisor

Dhrupad, a form of singing with musical accompaniment, with its origins in Hindu temple devotional music

Dīwān-i 'Ām, the public audience hall in the imperial fort

Dīwān-i Khāṣ, the private audience hall in the imperial fort

Dīwānkhāna, the sitting room in a house

Farmān, an imperial decree

Ghaṛi, a unit of time, the equivalent to twenty-four minutes or a sixtieth of a day

Ḥalwa'i, a maker of sweets and savoury snacks

Ḥammām, a bath, public or private

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[1] Irfan Habib *The Agrarian*, pp. 406-419

[2] Chandra, 'Standard', in Raychaudhuri and Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic*, Vol. I, p. 464

[3] Habib, *The Agrarian*, pp. 420-22

Īrānī, a Mughal noble of Persian origin, the majority of whom were Shiite Muslims

Jamdhar, a uniquely Indian dagger with the hilt set at ninety degrees to the blade

Jharokā darshan, the window from which the emperor displayed himself each morning to the public

Jizya, a tax on non-Muslims

Kārkhāna, a workshop

Khil'at, a robe of honour

Kichrī, a dish of rice and lentils

Kotwāl, the city prefect

Madad-i ma'āsh, land granted by the state to men of religion, the revenue from which was a source of livelihood

Māhākavīrāi, the title of poet laureate in Hindi poetry at the Mughal court

Maḥalla, a city quarter

Malik ush-Shu 'arā, the title of poet laureate in Persian poetry at the Mughal court

Man, a unit of weight equal to 40 *sers* throughout the period, but as a *ser* was made up of varying amounts of *dām* (see *dām*, above), a *man* was the equivalent to approximately 23.44kg at the start of Akbar's reign, approximately 25.11kg at the time of the *Ā'īn* in 1595, approximately 30.14kg during Jahangir's reign, and approximately 33.48kg during Shah Jahan's reign[4]

Manṣabdār, an officeholder of the Mughal empire

Mīr Bakāwal, the head steward who was in charge of the kitchen

Murraqqa', an album in which miniature paintings were pasted

Naqqārkhāna/Naubatkhāna, the area of the fort where the imperial musical ensemble performed

Naskh-ta'liq/Nasta'liq, a form of the Arabic script, popular in Iran where it was invented, and in India throughout the period under review

Pān, betel nut

Pān dān, a betel nut case

Qawwāli, Sufi devotional singing, accompanied by musical instruments

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[4] Ibid., pp. 420-2

Ṣadr, the theologian employed at the court in charge of religious affairs and charitable grants

Sar-o-pa, a full set of clothes presented as *khil'at*

Ser, a unit of weight, equal to 28 *dāms* at the start of Akbar's reign and thus approximately 586g, 30 *dāms* at the time of the *Ā'īn* in 1595 and thus approximately 627.75g, 36 *dāms* during Jahangir's reign and thus approximately 753.5g, and 40 *dāms* during Shah Jahan's reign and thus approximately 837g[5]

Ṭakauchiya, the tunic worn at court, tied at the left or right of the body

Tūrānī, a Mughal noble of Central Asian Turkish origin, the majority of whom were Sunni Muslims

[5] Ibid., pp. 420-1

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