Imperial Agra of the Moghuls

By

Keshab Chandra Mazumdar, M.A.,

Lecturer in English,

Balwant Rajput College, Agra

Third Edition
Revised and Enlarged

Price Rs. 3-0-0

Imperial Agra of the Moghuls

BY

K. C. MAZUMDAR, M. A.
Lecturer in English,
Balwant Rajput College, Agra

WITH FOREWORDS BY

Mr. J. H. DARWIN, C.I.E., I.E.S.
Magistrate and Collector, Agra

AND

H.E Sir Hugh Bmfod, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Governor of C. P. and Berar

1946.

Published by

GAYA PRASAD & SONS
HOSPITAL ROAD, AGRA

Printed by Jagdish Prasad, B. Com.
at the Educational Press, City Station Road, Agra

DEDICATED

By permission

TO

His Highness the Maharaja, Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-ush-Shan, Wala Shikoh, Mahatasham-i-Dauran, Umadat-ul-Umra, Maharajadhiraja, Hisam-us-Saltanat, George Jivaji Rao Scindia, Alijah Bahadur, Shrinath, Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i-Malik-i-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darja-i-Inglistan.

MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR STATE

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

Too much can hardly be written about that entrancing period of Indian History—the age of the Grand Moghuls. The empire which they reared was, in the words of Macaulay, cne of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince or so large a revenue paid into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Hindustan amazed even travellers who had seen St. Pete 's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles.

This description, vivid as it is, is however little more than an outline. It needs the touch of one who, like the author of the present work, has ingered for many days among the edifices, which this dynasty has bequeathed to us, to fill in the foreground of the picture and bring back to life the figures of the past. Walls, it is said, have

tongues: and of none is this more true than of those which compose the monuments at Agra. Magnificent gateways, spacious courts, shady gardens, inlaid pillars, jewelled canopies, marble screens, latticed windows—all of these are instinct with messages: all of them still vibrate with the echoes of long-hushed voices. But their meaning cannot be understood without an interpreter who ic not only versed in the events of a by-gone age but who has also the insight which enables him to place himself, a silent spectator in the picture, and describe to us the pageant as it gradually unrolls itself. It then becomes easier for us to realise, when we visit the Hall of Public Audience at the Fort, how "Aloft in awful state the godlike hero sate on his imperial throne": or, when we tarry for a while in that noblest of all tombs, the Taj, how inimitably the Moghuls have enshrined in marble, just as Shakespeare did in verse, the form of one of whom it could well be said there-after that "Her eternal summer should not fade."

Though the author has perhaps little that is new to tell us, he has collected for us in a very agreeable form, many of the half-forgotten anec-

dotes which the writers of those days have delighted to retail about their princes: and it is these, together with the setting in which he places them and the touch of imagination which he adds, which give his work its value. He presents a series of kaleidoscopes which show us less the might of the Emperors in war, and their sagacity in statesmanship, than their ardour in those forms of relaxation which were prevalent at the time. In these days when life holds few periods of ease, and when even those have to be planned out carefully beforehand, so that the most may be made of them, it is often pleasant to recall an age when hurry was a thing unknown: when it was sufficient to start a campaign on a date fixed by astrologers and carry it out with due regard to the comfort and diversion of the court which accompanied the army: when an Emperor could dispose of grave matters of state with a summary order, and could spend much of the day in the apartments of his ladies or in the discussion of philosophy or religion: when political knots were cut and seldom unravelled. Without this leisure which permitted the Moghuls to supervise in person all that specially interested them—and their interests were

manifold—they would surely never have been able "to build like giants and complete like jewellers." So long as the Taj, the Jasmine tower, the Chisti shrine and Itmaduddoulah's tomb remain standing, it is this fact more than all else, which will impress the multitude of sightseers who visit Agra from afar,—this fact about a dynasty which above all others knew how to rule its people imperially.

Collector's House.
AGRA,
The 17th August, 1933.

J. H. DARWIN,
C. I. E., I. C. S.

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

I have heard with much pleasure that a second edition of Mr. K. C. Mazumdar's "Imperial Agra of the Moghuls" is to be printed. I must premise this Foreword to the second edition with the hope that Mr. Darwin's Foreword to the first edition will continue to find a place in the book. Mr. Darwin had a greater knowledge of Agra than I could hope to acquire during the few months I spent in the Division in 1934, but thanks to Mr. Mazumdar, I learnt more of the Fort in that short time than that I could otherwise have hoped to do.

I well recollect that I was paying one of my many visits to the Fort in Mr. Mazumdar's company, when the riots of 1934 broke out. It is perhaps due to him that, heresy though it may be to say so, I would give up the Taj if I had to choose between the Taj and the Fort. Magnificent as the tombs of the Moghuls are, it is in the forts of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri that we can realise the manner of their living, and life is surely more interesting than death.

The splendour of the public life of the Moghul Emperors, has been referred to by Mr. Darwin but the discomforts of their private lives must have been great. Making every allowance for the fact that the living rooms of the Emperor

and his suite as they stand to-day, were expanded by *Shamianas* erected in the surrounding courtyards, accommodation was cramped according to the standards of today. But it may be presumed that they built to suit their tastes and that the Emperor who "sat aloft, godlike, in awful state" in the hall of public audience preferred to relax in close association with his chosen companions. He had no palatial office in which to work in privacy, possibly because he had no files, and his imperial record room would be condemned as inadequated for a modern Tahsil.

But in this connection it is as well to realise that the great Moghul Emperors were essentially touring officers whose home was in the camp, whose palaces were mere temporary halting places in their rounds of visits of inspection to all quarters of their dominions. It was when the Emperor settled down in his capital at Shahjahanabad that the decay of the dynasty began. There is a moral in this for the present day.

Governor's Camp, H. BOMFORD.
Nagpur, C. P.
The 1st April, 1938.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

About eight years ago, one fine October evening, I for the first time paid a visit to the Taj and the Fort of Akbar at Agra. I loitered about deserted Khas Mahal, dreaming of the former grandeur of the place. The bewitching glare of the Moghul Court still seemed to haunt there. As the shades of evening began to thicken, the halls and apartments round me whispered into my ears their tales of bliss and despair from the eloquent past. The figures of Akbar, Jahangir, Nurjahan, Shah Jahan and Mumtaz crossed my mental vision, filling my heart with awe and amazement.

There was Akbar, sitting with his sons and grandsons, watching the elephant-fight. I asked him why his friend and courtier, Abul Fazl, was not with him. He cast a sad look on prince Salim, while his eyes glistened with tears. "Long live *Din Ilahi*," said I. The emperor re-set his crown, wiped his eyes and smiled in triumph.

I saw Nurjahan walking hand in hand with Jahangir in the *Anguri Bagh*, and reproving her

drunken lord for his follies and foibles. "I have reduced it now to five cups, darling, at your request," said the crest-fallen emperor. At this the proud queen felt flattered and presented Jahangir with a fresh phial of *itr* which her mother had prepared from roses. "But I must have a fine tomb for my father," said she, and the royal opium-eater drowsily nodded assent.

Next I saw Shah Jahan—thin, pale, helpless, captive—supported on the arms of Jahanara, as he lay dying in the Jasmine Tower, with his longing glance fixed on the last resting-place of his long-lost queen. "Is Aurangzeb come?" he gasped out. But there was no reply. Jahanara smoothed her father's pillow and hastened to moisten his lips with water. The next moment Shah Jahan heaved a deep sigh and sank down to eternal rest. The scene gave me a painful shock and I retraced my steps towards Amar Singh gate. There I discovered myself face to face with Shivaji who was leaving the Dewan-i-am all in a hurry, followed by Kumar Ram Singh of Jaipur. The great Marhatta leader looked red with indignation, as he had fallen out with Aurangzeb.

"How did the Emperor receive you?" I enquired. He rolled up his eyes, raised himself to his full height, unsheathed his *Bhawani*, thrust its blade into the air in mad fury and nearly lost his balance. Then he jumped upon his horse without the stirrup, and the next moment was gone.

I saw these and many others of the dead come back to life again. It was then that I conceived the idea of writing a book on Agra, the imperial city of the great Moghuls. I do not claim, however, to convey a message to the world through these pages. It is a book written by a cursory observer for whom the mediaeval structures of Agra and its neighbourhood have a great fascination. All that I have said here has been more vividly narrated by the Actors themselves or their Court historians. There is little in this small volume to attract the annalist or the antiquarian. It is "culled of many simples," and I am deeply indebted to all writers on the subject, both living, and dead. I shall feel amply repaid if my efforts to elucidate some of the wonders of the mediaeval East are found useful to the travellers who visit this city of the Taj.

I now release the book from the quiet corner of a closet with the following well-known lines of the poet whispered into its ears :

'Go, little book, God send thee good passage...
And specially let this be thy prayer,
Unto them all that thee will read or hear,
Where thou art wrong, after their help to call,
Thee to correct in any part of all."

AGRA,
August 1933. Keshab Chandra Mazumdar

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The Second Edition of Imperial Agra is published. In my Preface to the First Edition I wrote that I would mend the book "in any part or all" agreeably to any suggestion made by the learned readers. Luckily they have not asked me to recast the whole theme, which would have made the present publication unnecessary. On the contrary, they have expressed a desire that I should drag that great Moghul out of his quieter haunts and add greater emphasis to the pugnacious aspect of his character ; so that the book may be useful not only to arm-chair travellers, but also to those whose intererts lie deeper in the region of past Indian history.

This has naturally caused the present volume to increase in bulk. But when things increase in bulk, their prices rise in proportion. This is the author's justification for enhancing the price of the book.

AGRA,
1939.

Keshab Chandra Mazumdar.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

(*First Edition*)

I am grateful to Mr. J. H. Darwin, C. I. E., I. C. S., Magistrate and Collector of Agra for having written a Foreword to this book ; to Mr. L. N. Upadhyaya, B. A., T, D. (London), U.P.E.S., Lecturer, Training College, Agra, for his Map of the Agra City and to Mr. D. N. Sen, Accountant-General, Jaipur State, for a few photographs from some original Paintings of the Moghul School.

I have also to thank my learned colleagues, Messrs. B. C. Mukherji, M. A ; P. C. Goswami, B. Sc., L. T. ; B. N. Mehta, B. A., B. T. and A. H. Khan, D. M. C., for the help they rendered. My thanks are also due to my two beloved students, Messrs. Shiv Singh and Liladhar Singh for their helpful services.

But the name which is uppermost in my mind is that of Lieut. Rao Krishnapal Singh of Awagarh, Member of the U. P. Legislative Council, for his efforts to procure me some original Paintings of the Moghul School, which I acknowledge with genuine gratitude.

AGRA
1933

K. C. M.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

(Second Edition)

1. His Excellency Sir Hugh Bomford, Kt., C. I. E., I. C. S., Governor of C. P. and Berar has written a Foreword to the present edition.

2. Mr. B. N. Mehta, M. A., B. T. has drawn the map of the Agra City.

3. Mr. P. C. Goswami, B. Sc., L. T. has gone through some of the proof-sheets and made helpful suggestions.

AGRA,
1939

K. C. M.

REFERENCES

1. Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India, by Bishop R. Heber.
2. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by J. Fergusson.
3. Gazetteer of Agra, by H. R. Nevill.
4. Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, by Fanny Parkes.
5. Mediaeval India, by S. Lane-Poole.
6. History of Jahangir, by Beni Prasad.
7. History o Aurangzeb, by Jadunath Sarkar.
8. Travels in the Moghul Empire, by Bernier.
9. Badshah-Namah, by Mulla Abdul Hamid of Lahore.
10. Travels in India in the 17th century, by Thomas Roe and John Fryer.
11. The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, by E. W. Smith.
12. Confessions of a Thug, by Meadows Taylor.
13. Moghul Administration, by Jadunath Sarkar.
14. A History of Indian Shipping, by R. K. Mookerji.

OPINIONS AND VIEWS ON THE FIRST EDITION.

1. **Lord Willingdon** and **Sir George Stanley** were both "interested to read" the book.

2. **Sir Malcolm Haeily** found it "interesting and well-written."

3. **Sir John Anderson** "has read with interest a book which serves to recall very pleasantly his own visit to Agra."

4. **Dr. Ranbindra Nath Tagore** considered the book to be "a valued addition" to his Viswabharati Library.

5. "I congratulate you," said **the Hon'ble Mr. A. H. Mackenzie**, D. P. I., U. P., "on having produced a most interesting book. Your narrative is excellent and you have arranged the matter with great skill."

6. **"The Leader"**—Allahabad—congratulated the author "on the success that has attended his effort."

7. **Mr. C. W. Grant, Commissioner of Agra**, said that he had read the book "with great interest."

8. **Mr. Baynes, Collector of Agra**, said, "It appeared most interesting and attractive."

9. **Mrs. A. Jaffery**, an English tourist, said, added a precious jewel to the gem of all gems—the Taj,"

10. **"The Illustrated Weekly of India"**—Bombay, wrote: "All of them (the monuments at Agra) still vibrate with the echoes of long-hushed voices as you read this book."

11. **Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru** said : "I have read your book from cover to cover with very great interest and I feel sure that it will be found most interesting and informing by all those who are interested in Agra."

12. **H. H. Aga Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah—the Aga Khan**—thanked the author for the "interesting book."

13. **Rev. Canon A. W. Davies,** M. A., D. Litt., late Principal, St. John's College, Agra, wrote from Oxford :—

" I found the book very interesting and very much better than many similar books that I have read. The book admirably fulfils its purpose as a descriptive sketch for visitors to Agra."

14. **The Rt. Hon. Sir Reginald I. R. Glancy,** K. C. I. E., C. S, I., Member, Secretary of State's Council, wrote from India Office, London :

My dear Mr. Mazumdar.

I remember you very well and must thank you most sincerely for recalling yourself to my memory by such a charming gift as your "Imperial Agra of the Moghuls."

It brings back most vividly the delightful days I have spent in the most romantic place in the world. I only wish I could go there again with your book in my hand to guide me on my way. I am glad you have given us something free from technical terms and breathing the spirit of the times. Perhaps some day you may visit England, in which case please let me know.

Wit kindest regards and again with many thanks.

Yours sincerely,

R. I. R. Glancy.

CONTENTS

PART I

PART II

The Moghul Emperors (1526—1707)

PART III

Give Gems of Moghul Architecture

The Taj Mahal (*viewed from the Jumna*)

The following extracts from the speeches of Lord Curzon on Archaeology and ancient monuments will be found interesting.

A.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH BY LORD CURZON AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL ON FEBRUARY 7, 1900.

"If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the Rock-temple of the Brahmans stands on precisely the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, and the Mohammedan Masjid as the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of a despot and the sepulchre of a saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past, and helps us to read its riddles, and to look it in the eyes—these and not the dogmas of combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look."

"Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early European monuments, the age of the majority of Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured

monument in India is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot possibly be placed before the middle of the third century before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier."

"All the Norman and majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England and of western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is the-finest early Mohammedan structure in this country, was built within a century of Westminster Hall in London, which we are far from regarding an ancient monument. As for the later glories of Arabian architecture at Delhi, at Agra, and at Lahore, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which we regard as the last product of a dying architectural epoch, were already grey when they sprang, white and spotless, from the hands of the masons of Akbar and Shah Jehan ; while the Taj Mahal was only one generation older than Wren's Renaissance fabric of modern St. Paul's."

"To us the relics of Hindu and Mohammedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred."

"Every, or nearly every, successive religion that has permeated or overswept this country has vindicated its own fervour at the expense of the rival whom it has dethroned. When the Branmans went to Ellora, they hacked away the features of all the seated Buddhas in the rock-chapels and halls. When Kutub-ud-din commenced, and Altamash continued, the majestic mosque that flanks the Kutub Minar, it was with the

spoil of Hindu temples that they reared the fabric. carefully defacing or besmearing the sculptured Jain images, as they consecrated them to their novel purpose What part of India did not bear witness to the ruthless vandalism of the great iconoclast Aurangzeb ? When we admire his great mosque with its tapering minarets, which are the chief feature of the river front at Benares, how many of us remember that he tore down the holy Hindu temple of Vishveshwar to furnish the material and supply the site ? Nadir Shah during his short Indian inroad effected a greater spoliation than has probably ever been achieved in so brief a space of time. When the Mahratta conquerors overran Northern India, they pitilessly multilated and wantonly destroyed. When Ranjit Singh built the Golden Temple at Amritsar, he ostentatiously rifled Mohammedan buildings and mosques. Nay, dynaties did not spare their own members, nor religions they own shrines. If a capital or fort or sanctuary was not completed in the life time of the builder, there was small chance of its being finished, and there was very fair chance of its being despoiled, by its successor and heir. The environs of Delhi are a wilderness of deserted cities and devastated tombs. Each fresh conqueror, Hindu or Moghul, or Pathan, marched, so to speak, to his own immortality over his predecessor's grave. The great Akbar in a more peaceful age first removed the seat of government from Delhi to Agra, and then built Fatehpur Sikri as a new capital, only to be abandoned by his successor. Jehangir alternated between Delhi and Agra but preferred Lahore to either. Shah Jehan beautified Agra, and then contemplated a final return to Delhi. Aurangzeb marched away to

the south and founded still another capital, and was himself buried in territories that now belong to Hyderabad."

"From time to time a Governor-General, in an excess of exceptional enlightenment or generosity, spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient monuments. Lord Minto appointed a committee to conduct repairs at the Taj. Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra, Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Kutub Minar. Lord Hardinge persuaded the Court of Directors to sanction, arrangements for the examination, delineation and record of some of the chief Indian antiquities. But these spasmodic efforts resulted in little more than the collection of a few drawings, and the execution of a few local and perfunctory repairs."

"In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's Palace at Agra which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV., but had somehow never been despatched. In the same regime a proposal was made to lease the gardens at Sikandra to the executive engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation."

"In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Juma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the removal of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman."

"At an earlier date, when picnic parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they whiled away the afternoon by chipping out fragments of agate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen."

"When Fergusson wrote his book, the Diwan-i-Am or Public Hall of Audience, in the palace at Agra, was a military arsenal, the outer colonnades of which had been built up with brick arches lighted by English windows. All this was afterwards removed. But when the Prince of Wales came to India in 1876, and held a Durbar in this building, the opportunity was too good to be lost, and a fresh coat of whitewash was plentifully bespattered on the sandstone pillars and plinths of the Durbar Hall of Aurangzeb."

"Lord Northbrook, who was always a generous patron of the arts, issued orders in 1873 as to the duties of local Governments; and in his Viceroyalty Sir John Strachey was the first Lieutenant-Governor to undertake a really noble work of renovation and repair at Agra—a service which is fitly commemorated by a marble slab in the palace of Shah Jehan. The poetic and imaginative temperament of Lord Lytton could not be deaf to a similar appeal. Holding that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially Imperial than the preservation of national antiquities, he contributed in 1879 a sum of $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs to the restoration of buildings in North-west Provinces, and proposed the appointment of a special officer, to be entitled the Cura-

tor of Ancient Monuments, which, while it did not receive sanction in his time, was left to be carried out by his successor, Lord Ripon. During the three years that Major Cole held this post, from 1880 to 1883 much excellent work in respect both of reports and classification was done."

B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY LORD CURZON IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA ON MARCH 18, 1904, ON ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

"In the year 1898-99 the total expenditure of the Government of India upon archaeology was less than £3000, and this was almost exclusively devoted to salaries ; the total expenditure of all the local governments added together was only about £4000 in the same year. A sum, therefore, of £7000 per annum represented the total contribution of the Government of 300 millions of people towards the study or preservation of the most beautiful and valuable collection of ancient monuments in the Eastern world. The Government of India is now spending upon this object 2½ lakhs per annum, and the local governments 3 lakhs per annum, or a total of some £37000 a year. Thus not little by little, but by leaps and bounds, are catching up the errors of the past, and purging our national reputation of this great stain."

"It is given to but few to realise, except from books and illustrations, what the archaeological treasures of India are. I know of civilians who have spent a life-time in the country without ever seeing Agra, and who make pilgrimage to visit it when their thirty-five years are done. A Governor-General's tour gave him an unique chance, and I should have been unworthy of the task which I understood at the first meeting of the Asiatic Scciety that I attended in Calcutta five years ago, had I not utilized these opportunities to visit all the great remains or groups of remains with which the country is studded from

one end to the other. As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair."

"The Taj itself and all its surroundings are now all but free from the workmen's hands. It is no longer approached through dusty wastes and a squalid bazaar. A beautiful park takes their place ; and the group of mosques and tombs, the arcaded streets and grassy courts, that precede the main building, are once more as nearly as possible what they were when completed by the masons of Shah Jehan. Every building in the garden enclosure of the Taj has been scrupulously repaired, and the discovery of old plans has enabled us to restore the water channels and flower-beds of the garden more exactly to their original state. We have done the same with the remaining buildings at Agra. The exquisite mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Dowlah, the tile-enamelled gem of Chini-ka Roza, the succession of Moghul palaces in the Fort, the noble city of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, his noble tomb at Sikandra,—all of these have been taken in hand, slowly they have emerged from decay and in some cases desolation, to their original perfection of form and detail ; the old gardens have been restored, the old watercourses cleared out, the old balustrades renovated, the chiselled bas-relief repaired, and the inlaid agate, jasper, and cornelian replaced. The skilled workmen of Agra have lent themselves to the enterprise with as much zeal and taste as their fore-runners 300 years ago. I have had there the assistance of two large-minded and cultured Lieutenant-Governors in the persons of Sir Antony Mac-

Donnell and Sir James La Touche. Since I came to India we have spent upon repairs at Agra alone a sum of between £40,000 and £50,000. Every rupee has been an offering of reverence to the past and a gift of recovered beauty to the future; and I do not believe that there is a tax-payer in this country who will grudge one anna of the outlay. It will take some three or four years more to complete the task, and then Agra will be given back to the world, a pearl of great price."

"At Delhi and Lahore we have attempted, or are attempting, the same. The Emperor Jehangir no longer lies in a neglected tomb at Shahdera; his grandfather, Humayun, is once again honoured at Dehli. The military authorities have agreed to evacuate all the principal Moghul buildings in the Delhi Fort, and the gardens and halls of the Emperors will soon recall their former selves. I might take you down to Rajputana and show you the restored bund along the Ana Sagar Lake at Ajmer. There a deserted stone-embankment survived, but the marble pavilions on it had tumbled down, or been converted into modern residences. Now they stand up again in their peerless simplicity, and are reflected in the water below. I might bring you much nearer home to Gaur and Pandua in this Province of Bengal, in the restoration of which I received the enthusiastic co-operation of late Sir John Woodburn. A hundred and twenty years ago the tombs of the Afghan Kings at Gaur were within an ace of being despoiled to provide paving stones for St. John's Church in Calcutta. Only a few years back these wonderful remains were smothered in jungle from which they literally had to be cut free. If

the public were fully aware of what has been done, Malda, near to which they are situated, would be an object of constant excursion from this place. We have similarly restored the Hindu temples of Bhubaneshwar near Cuttack, and the palace and temples on the rock-fortress of Rhotasgarh. At the other end of India I might conduct you to the stupendous ruins of the Hindu capital of Vijayanagar, one of the most astonishing monuments to perished greatness ; or to Bijapur where an equally vanished Mohammedan dynasty left memorials scarcely less enduring. If I had more time to-day, I might ask you to accept my guidance to the delicate marble traceries of the Jain temples on Mount Abu, or the more stately proportions of the mosques at Jaunpur – both of which we are saving from the neglect that was already bringing portions of them to the ground or I might take you across the Bay of Bengal to Burma, and show you King Mindon's Fort and Palace at Mandalay with their timbered halls and pavilions, which we are carefully preserving as a sample of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese Kings."

"The exquisite little mosque of Sidi Sayid at Ahmedabad with the famous windows of pierced sandstone, which I found used a tehsildar's cutcherry when I first went there, is one more cleared an intact. The Moti Masjid in the Palace at Lahore, into which I gained entrance with difficulty because the treasury was kept there in chests beneath the floor, and which was surrounded with a brick wall and iron gates, and guarded by sentries, is once more free. The Choti Khwabgah in the Fort is no longer a church ; the Diwan-i-Am is no longer a barrack ; the lovely

tiled Dai Anga Mosque near the Lahore Railway station has ceased to be the office of a traffic superintendent of the North Western Railway, and has been restored to the Mohammedan community. At Bijapur I succeeded in expelling a Dak Bungalow from one mosque, the relics of a British Post Office from another. The mosque in the celebrated fort at Vellore in Madras is no longer tenanted by a police-instructor. The superb *mantapam* or Hiudu temple in the same fort is now scrupulously cared for. A hundred years ago the East India Company presented it to George IV when Prince Regent, for erection in the grounds of the Pavilion at Brighton, and only failed to carry out their design because the ship which had been chartered for the purpose very happily went to the bottom. Next it was used as an arsenal, and finally commissariat bullocks were tethered to its pillars. At Lucknow I recovered a mosque which had been used for years as a dispensary. At Ajmer I have already mentioned that the marble *baradari* on the bund is no longer the dining room of the Commissioner's house. At Mandalay the Church and the Club are under notice of removal from the gilded throne rooms of the Burmese sovereigns.

"In this policy, which I have so far described in relation to monuments in British territory, I have received the most cordial support from the Indian princes in their own States. The Nizam of Hyderabad was willing to do all that I asked him—I only wish that it had been a quarter of a century earlier—for the unique caves of Ajunta and Ellora. He undertook the cataloguing and conservation of a most interesting collection of old china, copperware, and carpets that had been

lying neglected for centuries at Aurungabad in the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The Maharana of Udaipur has willingly undertaken the restoration of the exquisite towers of Fame and Victory on the hill fort of Chitor, one of which could hardly have survived for many more years. The Maharaja Scindia threw himself with characteristic zeal into similar works in his magnificent fortress at Gwalior. The Begum of Bhopal did all that was required at the Sanchi Tope. Finally, there stands in the remote State of Dhar the huge rock-fortress of Mandu, certainly one of the most amazing natural spectacles in the world. Rising to a height of 1500 feet above the Nerbudda plain, it carries upon its summit, which is 30 miles round, a splendid group of deserted Mohammedan fortifications, palaces, and tombs. These we are assisting the State, which is not rich enough to assume the entire responsibility itself, to place in order. They were fast perishing, victims to ravages of the jungle, and to unchallenged decay."

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE Moghul emperors loved life and enjoyed it whole. They lived, as it were, one long dream of passion. Yet were they great men of action. Vast, and clad in iron, they stretched their enemies bleeding heaps upon the field, who sank senseless to the earth in the savage tussle of fight. Their foaming coursers and majestic elephants, urged into speed, took them through the enemy's ranks, and there they fought like ordinary soldiers, inspiring their men with heroic valour.

At the same time, their zest for a life of pleasure and enjoyment was strong and tameless. They laid aside their sword and sceptre, when "toil remitting, lent its turn to play." The dancing maids of their court, like the elves of the hills and groves, tripping along with printless foot, conquered their coldness. With light foot-steps these lovely damsels fluttered forward—their silver *nupuras* ringing out sweetly and clearly—while they shook the air with their musical laughter. Like a flash of autumnal sunlight was their winning smile; grace moulded their form and passion touched it with languor. Fancy unbound their hair and curled it into wavelets. Tenderness softened their eyes, smooth as the petals of a lotus, and deepened the shade of their lashes; while laughter visiting their faces at stolen intervals, kissed their cheeks into dimples. Fragrance floated on with them and

balmy sunshine streamed from their beauty. They joined hands round the throned monarch, and sprang into graceful dances; bending down near to him, calling to him in song ; and in song telling him of all the delights of love. Near at hand, golden vases brimmed full with fiery liquors, which added a lustier hue to the grosser fabrics of an enthralled mind.

We may visit the famous buildings of Agra at any stage of our life, but the feeling that invariably prevails is one of admiration for the builders. We flit about from the Fort to the Taj, from the Taj to Edmaduddaula, thence to Sikandra and down Akbar's road we go, all those twenty-three miles to Fatehpur Sikri, much quicker than the Moghul emperors ever traversed with their long retinue of servants, horses, camels, elephants, soldiers and harem women. We see nothing however, of the life that was lived in these mansions, now that the dead past has buried its dead. But as we move from place to place, and feast our eyes with the grandeur and beauty of these mighty edifices once teeming with life, we are constantly reminded of Akbar, the monarch of monarchs, of Jahangir and Nur Jahan, of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz, and of Aurangzeb, the misguided upholder of Islam. We naturally like to know how they lived and moved in private life, how they ruled their subjects and what status was enjoyed by women in those far-off days.

Historians tell us that the lives of women in those times, even of the highest rank, were very different from what we now observe in British India. Sir Thomas Roe describes how he once caught a glimpse of the wives of Jahangir. "At one side in a window were his two principal wives, whose

curiosity made them break 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; sometimes I could discern the full proportion. They were indifferently white, black hair smoothed up; but if (they) had had no other light, their diamonds and pearls had sufficed to show them. When I looked up, they retired, and were so merry that I supposed they laughed at me." The women were generally huddled together in a confused mass in the harem and the example of the emperor, so far as his treatment of women was concerned, was followed by the chief and nobles. The women were considered to be an object of luxury and enjoyment and were denied any social status of their own. There are instances to prove that they were purchased for the emperor in the open market. The renowned Udaipuri Begum of Aurangzeb, the most scrupulous of the Moghul emperors, had been purchased by his eldest brother, Dara, on whose execution, she was welcomed into the harem of Aurangzeb. Etmaduddaula, the father of Nur Jahan, tells us that as many as 5000 women nestled in the Moghul harems, employed in different capacities. The male issues of some of these women had to undergo solitary confinement for life, lest they should assert their rights, when set free. Only those women who were the emperor's favourites, could procure liberty for their sons, as well as a decent allowance for life, in the shape of a *Jaigir*. But such cases were few and far between.

Hawkins, who was very intimate with Jahangir, says that the daily expenses of the emperor's harem were thirty thousand rupees and that the emperor generally visited his women at noon, after

which he held the Durbar or watched the elephant-fights.

THE MOGHUL DURBAR

The Moghul Durbar was a grand affair and was held by Jahangir every afternoon in the Dewan-i-am of the Fort at Agra. As a matter of fact, all the Moghul emperors, from Akbar down to Aurangzeb, held their Durbars in this great hall during the time that they took up their residence in this imperial city which flourished in all its glory for nearly a century.

In the palaces of the great Moghuls, the Dewan-i-am was separated from the harem by a wall, in the centre of which was the *Jharoka* where after 12 noon, the Emperor, with some of his sons on either side, gave audience to all his subjects. The *Jharoka* was high enough to prevent a man from reaching the royal person from the floor of the hall. Eunuchs stood round the Emperor, performing the various duties allotted to each—some driving away flies with *Chamars* or with peacock's tails, and others cooling his body with the help of large fans. The Omrahs, Rajas and Ambassadors, with folded hands and eyes bent downward, kept standing before the throned monarch within an enclosure surrounded by silver rails.

Bernier very graphically describes how "during the hour and a half or two hours that this ceremony continues, a certain number of royal horses pass before the throne, that the king may see whether they are well used and in a proper condition The elephants come next, their filthy hides having been well-washed and painted as black as

ink, with two large red streaks from the top of the head down to the trunk, where they meet. The elephants are covered with embroidered cloth ; a couple of silver bells are suspended to the two ends of a massive silver chain placed over their back, and white cow-tails from Great Tibet, of large value, hang from the ears like immense whiskers. Two small elephants, superbly caparisoned, walk close to these colossal creatures, like slaves appointed to their service. As if proud of his gorgeous attire and of the magnificence that surrounds him, every elephant moves with a solemn and dignified step ; and when in front of the throne, the driver, who is seated on his shoulder, pricks him with a pointed iron, animates and speaks to him, until the animal bends one knee, lifts his trunk on high and roars aloud, which the people consider as the elephant's mode of performing the *taslim* or usual reverence."

After the elephants were exhibited other animals and birds, the most prominent of which were the rhinoceroses, antelopes and Bengal buffaloes so strong that they challenged even tigers ; leopards which were let loose for hunting deer ; and last of all, came the birds of prey employed for capturing hares, partridges and other birds.

Over and above all this, mounted soldiers also passed in review before the Emperor, and blades of swords were tried on dead sheep from which the entrails had been removed before they were brought before the royal presence. Petitions brought by the poorer subjects were also read here in the Emperor's hearing and most of the grievances were redressed on the spot.

The open court below the Dewan-i-am was covered over with a curtain tent larger and longer

than the hall itself and extended as far as the middle of the court. This place was enclosed by railings wrapped over with silver plates and was set apart for the common people. The pillars supporting the tent were similarly overlaid with silver. This gorgeous tent was red from without and lined with beautiful Muslipatam chintzes from within. As to the arched galleries round the court, every Omrah was permitted to adorn one of them at his own expense. So there was a spirit of emulation among the nobles, each trying to excel his neighbour in stateliness and splendour.

The emperor sat on his gorgeous throne at the upper end of the hall in splendid attire. His vest was delicately embroidered in gold and his turban bedecked with the costliest of jewels. Under the small gallery overhead where the emperor sat, there was a raised platform, enclosed with silver railings and spread with carpets reserved for the Omrahs and foreign ambassadors. The pillars of the hall were hung with rich tapestries, while the ceiling was covered with flowered satin canopies. The lower end of the hall was set apart for the gentry. The Rajas, Omrahs, ambassadors, generals and provincial governors stood with folded hands and with eyes fixed on the ground.

The inspection over, petitions were submitted to the emperor, whose word was law. There were no written codes and no advocates. Civil cases were generally decided according to the custom obtaining in the country, while criminal cases followed the wake of tradition or the imperial will. The commonest forms of punishment were death, mutilation or life-long slavery. Blinding, flaying alive, impaling, chopping off of hands, legs, noses and ears, and tearing off by blood-hounds were widely

practised. Another barbarous punishment inflicted on men of rank, guilty of high treason, was to sew them up in the fresh skin of an ass and thus suffocate them to death. It was not unusual to make the traitor sit on the back of a filth covered ass or elephant, with his face turned towards the tail and parade him through the streets. Such a punishment had been inflicted by Jahangir on his son, Khusru, and by Aurangzeb on his brother, Dara. Cowards and deserters were punished by having their beards shaved off and paraded through the streets in female attire, seated on the back of donkey There was hardly any sentence for long-term imprisonment. The state prison of any celebrity was the Fort of Gwalior. In all casss of capital punishment, the emperor's approval was necessary.

Each and every petitioner, from the highest nobleman to the meanest peasant, had to prostrate himself before the throne when summoned to the imperial presence. Both Akbar and Jahangir maintained this disgraceful practice which was abolished during the reign of Shah Jahan, only to be reintroduced by Aurangzeb. Only Sir Thomas Roe had the courage to protest against this ignominious court etiquette and was exempted by Jahangir from paying this customary homage. When addressing the emperor, the courtiers had to bend low and speak "in a bondman's key, with bated breath and whispering humbleness." The Durbar was generally held for two hours at noon.

Outside the tent in the court-yard below, and in the outskirts of the Fort, one could see singers, dancers and magicians—all plying a busy trade; jugglers surrounded by spell-bound spectators; snake-charmers with snakes coiling round their

necks and shoulders ; and fortune-tellers promising sterile women the birth of a much-coveted child.

There was a great quantity of eating and drinking, making love and hastening happy wedlock hours ; smoking, quarrelling, cheating, tittering, meeting and parting. There were quacks selling their vigour-producing drugs, bluffers imposing on simple folks, knaves, picking-pockets and the village urchins casting furtive glances at the tinselled dancers. There were rogues and buffoons hawkers and oil-men, wrestlers, huntsmen, all pushing and jostling and helping to augment the bustle and confusion that reigned over the place.

———

ELEPHANT-FIGHTS

Elephant-fights were a favourite sport for the Moghul emperors. These were held on the eastern side of the Agra Fort near the Jumna, immediately after the Darbar. Wrestling and fencing and combats between unarmed men and ferocious beasts also had their turn. This spot was specially selected for holding the sports to enable the Begums to witness the same from the palace windows.

Two wild elephants, separated by a mud walle, two cubits high, entered the arena and rushed against each other, goaded on by their *Mahouts*. The elephants fought with their tusks and trunks, wounding each other severely, while their loud and long yells resounded for miles together. There were generally two *Mahouts* on the back of eaco elephant, one of whom lost his life in the thick hf the furious onslaught. After a strenuous fight, the

victorious combatant would break through the mud wall and madly pursue the vanquished foe. Not even terrifying fire-works could check the progress of the infuriated victor. The poor *mahouts* who staked their lives in this dangerous warfare were richly rewarded for their pains; and in case of death or mutilation, their families were maintained at state expense. These men always took a last farewell from their wives and children before engaging in their dreadful task which played such a havoc with their lives.

THE NAUROZ

The Nauroz or Spring Festival was introduced by Akbar who took the idea from the Persians. The royal throne was placed under a richly-embroidered velvet canopy in the Dewan-i-am, the floor underneath being covered with cloth of gold. The Omrahs also laid out their own tents in close proximity to the emperor's each trying to outdo his brother in gaudiness and grandeur. It was also an occasion for conferring honours and rewards by the emperor upon his officers.

A Nauroz Bazar was annually held near the Dewan-i-am where the wives of the chief Omrahs and Rajas appeared as stall-keepers. Only the Emperor and the Begums of the palace had access to it. There were pleasant wit-combats between the emperor and his queens on one side, who came in as customers, and the wives of the Rajas on the other, who kept the stalls and sold their tinsel wares at fancy prices. It is said that was solemnly given out to be a real diamond, was once sold for

a lakh of rupees. The Rajas and Omrahs sent their ladies to the Bazar, so that they might pick up an acquaintance with the chief Begums of the imperial household.

The Nauroz festival was introduced by Akbar to draw his chiefs closer together; and with dancing and music, feasting and merry-making, the whole function was made an immensely enjoyable occasion. It was, however, abolished by Aurangzeb sometime after his accession to the throne.

Badaoni, the well-known historian of Akbar's reign, says, "His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bazars, which are held on New Year's Day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyments of the Begums and the women of the harem, and also for many other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of harem people, marriage contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings."

CHAPTER II

THE EMPEROR'S BIRTHDAY ANNIVESARY

NOTHER custom which was introduced by Akbar was that of weighing the emperor on his birthday. Like Nauroz, it was an occasion for great mirth and festivity. Sir Thomas Roe speaks of this as one of the greatest court festivals during the reign of Jahangir. A description of the the festival may be given here.

It was in a large and beautiful garden, similing with flowers, that the scales of massive gold were generally set up for weighing. The Omrahs sat there on carpets, awaiting the arrival of the emperor who came practically laden with diamonds and other precious stones all over his person. The rubies to his rings were "as great as walnuts' and "the pearls such as Sir Thomas' eyes were amazed at." "Suddenly he entered into the scales," says Roe, "sat like a woman on his legs. and there was put in against him many bags to fit his weight, which were changed six times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand rupees ; after, with gold and jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none ; it being in bags, might be pebbles ; then, against cloth of gold, silk, stuffs, linen, spices and all sorts of goods. Lastly, against meal, butter, corn. After he was weighed, he ascended his throne, and had basins of nuts, almonds, fruits, spices of all sorts made in thin

silver, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies; which seeing I did not, he reached one basin almost full, poured into my cloak."

The articles against which the emperor was weighed were given away to the poor and the needy. The cheif Omrahs were also weighed after and the emperor.

The birthday anniversary was characterised by great mirth and gaiety at court and also throughout the city. The day was spent in an unbroken whirl of dancing, music, eating, drinking, merry-making and wild revelry; while the night witnessed revels of a lustier description. Soon after dusk, the entire Fort was brilliantly illuminated. The whole place teemed with life. Omrahs, members of the royal household, soldiers, beggars, musicians, drunkards, magicians, hawkers, florists and daneing-girls with their paramours were the most conspicuous among the heterogeneous multitvde. Wherever you turned, you saw nothing but bright lamps, flowers and dancing women; smelt nothing but sweet fragrance, and heard nothing but the sound of melodious music The inner apartments of the palace also witnessed a scene that was far more gay and gladsome. Lamps of silver, of the most exquisite design, emitted a soft, soothing light; myrrh and frankincense were kept burning, which filled the air with sweet odour; and the garlands of flowers coiling round the marble pillars, bedsteads and the lovely persons of youthful Begums moving to and fro, in and about the Khas Mahal, charged the balmy breeze with intoxicating fragrance. Rose water flowed from many a fountain and played in the marble basin below. The *Itr* of roses which had been invented by Jahangir's

mother-in law, Asmat Begum, the mother of Nur Jahan, was used by the Emperor and his wives in great profusion. The ladies of the harem with their numerous female attendants, paced the hall and the adjoining apartments, dressed in rich silk of a variety of hues, and adorned with precious jewellerp. All seemed happy and gay and bent upon making the most of the delightful occasion. On this auspicious night the Emperor would be all kindness and courtesy to every one of his innumerable wives, and would refuse nothing. Jaigirs, allowances, ornaments and other gifts were theirs for the asking. Everyone of the ladies tried to appear in her best on this gala night, so as to attract the Emperor to herself. It was a great opportunity for winning the heart of the Emperor, and that opportunity was never missed. Of the female attendants of the chief wives, some danced, others sang; some played on the musical instruments, others sat in a circle round the emperor and exchanged looks of keen desire with the one man among many women. On went the dance; joy was unconfined. The light of a thousand lamps was reflected on the bejewelled fingers, hands necks, fore-heads, waist-hand and feet of the dancing maids, whose soft eyes sent a thrill through the omperor's heart. He eyed at one, caressed another, smiled at a third, drank from the hands of the next and so the cup of joy was kept full to the brim. But place intrigues, personal rancour and petty jealousies among the ladies of the court showed that peace was a thing unknown in the harem of the great Moghuls.

———

THE EMPEROR IN LIGHTER VEIN.

Pachisi was a favourite sport with the emperors. The arrangement of the Pachisi board is seen both at Agra and at Fatehpur Sikri. The game was played by the emperor with living pieces or fair-looking girls attired in gay clothes of various colours. They moved from one square to another with the throw of the dice, and the raised seat at one end of the open court at Fatehpur Sikri shows where the emperor sat while playing this ingenious game of chess with the slave-girls of his harem.

Not far off from the *Pachisi* court. are the apartments known as *Ankh Michouli* where Akbar is said to have played hide-and-seek at Fatehpur Sikri with the ladies of his harem. Both these imperial ninovations must have afforded a fund of mirth to the gay Zenana who either took part in or watched these lively pastimes.

———

CHAPTER III.

THE FORT AND PALACES WITHIN.

THE main gates of the Fort were guarded by Omrahs who generally lived in camps. The Rajput nobles preferred life in the open air and would never consent to live within the walls of the Fort. Life in these camps, either in times of peace or of war, was one of great jollity and sprightliness. Dancing girls and musicians were always in attendance, the livelier scenes being enacted particularly during the hours of the night. Flowers and garlands and fragrant waters filled the air with glee. The braided hair of the fair dancers shone with glittering gold and diamonds, while the fire of their eyes singed the hearts of their admirers beyond all hopes of repair.

The walls of the Fort were decorated with flags festoons and green leaves on cermonial occasions and the soldiers stood in a row, while music was played. Even at ordinary times, the Fort had a gay appearance and was like a busy bee-hive. All the requirements of the imperial household were manufactured within the Fort. Silk-weavers, goldsmiths, painters, tailors, carpenters, shoe-makers. linen-drapers - all had their workshops within the Fort. All the best artists and workmen of the country were there working from morn till night on a fixed salary.

Splendour and luxury marked the lives of the chief ladies of the court. Some of them had as many as one hundred female attendants. Their smallest wants were readily ministered to. They were always provided with rich jewellery and clothes. Their palaces were surrounded with groves and gardens and decorated with fine paintings. some of which were their own productions. At Fatehpur Sikri there was a Girls School adjoining the palace established by Akbar, for the education of the young ladies of his court. The palaces within the Fort, both at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, had underground chambers where the fair ladies could retreat at noon and idle away the sultry hours during the fierce hot weather. There were spacious roofs for them to sleep on during summer nights. They weare surrounded on all sides with pleasures of the eye—beautiful palaces and gardens, flowers and foliage, gold and jewellery--and moved in and about the royal palaces and pleasure-grounds like caged birds, singing songs of unrequited love to their fellow-sufferers, plucking the rose and the jasmine from the palace-gardens or wandering about the labyrinths of the basement apartments. Such was undoubtedly the life of the chief ladies of the Moghul court, but the hundreds and thousands that waited upon them, were no better than beasts of burden whose existence was synonymous with unremitting toil and unbroken slavery.

THE SHISH MAHAL.

The Shish Mahal was the bathing place and dressing-room of the Begums. It took its name from the innumerable tiny mirrors which were fixed upon the plaster of the walls and the ceilings of these apartments. Countless lamps used to hang

from the ceilng and reflect their beams on the surrounding walls and the shining floor. The beautiful designs of fish on the floor looked like living things as the water flowed over them from tho fountains playing within the apartments. The emperor disported himself here in the fragrant waters with his Begums whose youthful forms were reflected in the numberless mirrors pasted on the walls.

THE EMPEROR IN PUBLIC.

So far about the private life of the emperors, in public, however, their life was the awe and wonder of the East. Their Durbars dazzled the eyes of all who beheld them. But the thing that stirred people's imagination the most, were the imperial campaigns. The emperor sat in a gorgeous throne placed on the back of a richly-caparisoned elephant and marched out exactly at the time appointed by the court astrologers. It was not unusual for the ladies of the court to accompany the emperor. It was in one such campaign that Mumtaz Mahal accompanied Shah Jehan and died of child-birth at Burhanpur situated on the banks of the Tapti river in the Central Provinces. Thousands of soldiers stood in a row, their muskets being adorned with nice red flags. The Omrahs followed the emperor in gorgeous costumes. On the approach of the emperor the soldiers used to give a loud cry, "Long live the emperor!"

"On each side went two eunuchs that carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of white horse tail to drive away flies; before him went drums, trumpets and loud music, and many canopies, umbrellas and other strange ensigns of majesty."

CHAPTER IV

FIELD SPORTS OF THE EMPEROR.

AME was very abundant in the vicinity of Delhi and Agra along the banks of the Jumna where there were large tracts of uncultivated land covered with long grass. The road from Delhi to Lahore also provided plentiful scope for field sports. All these places were carefully guarded by the emperor's men, and even officers of the highest rank were not allowed to indulge in a chase within these prohibited areas. When the emperor was about to take the field, with a few chosen Omrahs and a large number of attendants the game-keepers came and informed the Grand Master of the Hunt of the various kinds of game available in their districts. Then sentries were posted to guard those particular tracts of ground, and the emperor entered at leisure upon the sports of the field, while the rest of the army which invariably accompanied him, marched on, carefully avoiding the selected tracts, towards the next halting place as previously announced.

The Moghul emperors used hunting excursions as occasions for enquiring into the condition of the people and the army. They often travelled in disguise, without giving any notice of their arrival, and examined into matters connected with taxation, punishing the oppressors and bringing relief to the oppressed. It was on such

Moghul Emperors Hunting Excursions

occasions that the Emperors made searching enquiries concerning lands which had been given away for benevolent work of various descriptions. This included endowments for research which were bestowed upon enquirers after wisdom, who had withdrawn from the world and made no distinction, as Abul Fazl says, between day and night, in searching after truth for the good of mankind.

During the hunt, tame leopards were generally employed for chasing deer. The hunting leopard was generally kept chained and blind-folded, and the first step was to make it see the herd followed by the black buck. The cunning leopard, when let loose, did not at once fall upon its victim, but played a thousand tricks, crouching, hiding, approaching, receding, staring and winding about till at last, approaching unawares and unperceived and all of a sudden, fetching five or six mad hounds, it succeeded in catching one of the herd with unerring aim and with the speed of lightning. After sucking the blood of the poor creature, it next proceeded to devour the heart and the liver with the greed of a glutton.

The lynx was also employed in the chase by the Moghul Emperors. It was a fierce, plucky, little animal, about the size of s fox and a face like a cat's, and with long, pricked ears. With eyestied up it was taken out to hunt, and when the wild game, like hares, foxes and deer, were too near, the hood was taken off and the game pointed out to it. With large, swift bounds, it came upon its unsuspecting victim, leapt upon its back, and getting forward. scratched its eyes out. In the meantime, the hunters approached and secured the game.

Tiger-hunting was essentially a royal diversion, the emperor and the princes being the only persons who enjoyed this sport. First of all, the retiring place of the tiger was ascertained by the game-keepers, after which an ass was kept tied near the spot. The tiger soon devoured the ass, quenched his thirst from a neighbouring pool or spring. and then went to sleep till next morning. Next day another ass was tied, and then another, and another, for several days, until the tiger became attached to the spot where he enjoyed a rich repast every day. Just before the emperor's arrival a sleek ass, which had been made to swallow a huge quantity of opinion. was again tied at the same place. This opium produced drowsiness in the tiger who was then enclosed on all sides by large nets which were drawn closer by degrees. This done, the emperor, in company with the Grand Master of the Hunt, approached on an elephant, attended by Omrahs, similarly mounted, and reaching near the net, fired at the tiger. The tiger at once made a spring at the elephant, but was checked by the surrounding wall of nets. Repeated firing at last brought the proud animal to such an extremity that he sank down lifeless to the earth. Later on, the carcass was brought before the emperor, carefully measured and recorded in books kept for the purpose. Akbar, a great sportsman, had ordered that the particulars of the guns used, should also be recorded. The "game-book" mentioned in Jahangir's Memoirs tells us that from the age of 12 to 50, he, a great lover of sport, had shot 17,167 beasts and birds, including 86 tigers, 10 alligators and feathered creatures of all descriptions.

———

CHAPTER V.

AGRA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Akbar had finally settled down in his imperial capital at Agra, it was one of the most populous and prosperous cities in the world. The fame of Akbar's extraordinary wisdom as a ruler, had travelled over to Europe and his spirit of toleration had become the popular talk. It was about this time that European travellers, being attracted by these reports, began to pour into India. They saw that Agra was a splendid city, almost semicircular in shape, fifteen miles long and about half as broad, stretching along the right bank of the Jumna. Its population at the commencement of Jahangir's reign was as large as that of London in those days, and many of the stone-paved streets of the city were lined with shops where goods from the various countries of Asia and Europe were sold.

———

DWELLING HOUSES OF THE PEOPLE

The houses of the rich people which were situated at a distance from the city, were commodious and airy, and looked very handsome ; but houses built on the city streets were neither

attractive nor symmetrical, and generally belonged to petty Omrahs, officers of justice and merchants. Some of these were certainly made of brick or stone, but mostly they were made of clay and straw, and had thatched roofs. In these smaller houses, built of mud and thatched with straw, lodged the common soldiers and the camp-followers of the army and of the royal household. During summer when the hot winds blew, fires were very common, and every year thousands of these thatched roofs were consumed, involving great loss of life. Purdah women were the worst sufferers, as they would rather perish than expose their faces before strangers. The whole city was no more than a collection of villages or a military encampment, and with hardly brighter amenities of life.

The houses of the Omrahs were situated either in the suburbs or on the banks of the Jumna, exposed to the pleasant northern breezes. They generally stood in the middle of a flower-garden, had spacious courtyards, with fountains playing at the entrance gate, and with cool underground apartments for repose during the hot noon. The ceilings of these were gild and painted, and the floors were covered with thick cotton mattresses with silk carpets spread over them. Large cushions, covered with brocade or velvet, were spread round the room for the company to lean upon. The sides of the rooms had artistically-cut niches which were adorned with flowerpots made of porcelain.

CHAPTER VI

MORE ABOUT AGRA

THE importance of Agra was chiefly due to its situation on the banks of the Jumna which at one time was the highway for traffic between the rich plains of Bengal and the very heart of Hindustan. The name "Agara" also appears in Ptolemy's Geography, written in the second century A. D. Even in prehistoric times it was a fortified place, being the frontier defence of the Aryans, while many places in the district are associated with the Pandavas by tradition. At the time of Raja Kansa it was a Hindu strong-hold, being known by the name of *Agraban*

In 1475 when King Edward IV was ruling over England, Badal Singh had built a fort at Agra, Badalgarh by name, which was demolished, about a century later, to make room for Akbar's magnificent fort. In 1492 Sikandar Lodi laid out the town of Sikandra after his own name, about the same time that Columbus discovered America. His son Sultan Ibrahim Lodi ruled over Agra until his defeat and death at the battle of Panipat in 1526. After his victory, Babar emphatically announced that unlike Timur's, his invasion was not a plunder, but a conquest. When the head of the fallen Ibrahim Lodi was brought to him at the time of evening prayers, he offered up thanks to the Supreme Being and sent his son

Humayun to Agra to seize the treasury. On arrival, Humayun was presented with the Kohinoor, along with other jewels, by the widow of the Raja of Gwalior who had fallen at Panipat. Humayun offered the precious diamond to his father who, however, asked him to keep it for himself. In his Memoirs, Babar hints at the execution of Ibrahim's mother who made an attempt to poison him by bribing the taster and one of the cooks who was formerly in her son's service. Two female slaves were also implicated in the crime. Babar had a providential escape, although he had swallowed a part of the poisoned dish of hare served at his table. The taster was ordered to be flayed alive, the cook was cut to pieces with a hunting knife, while the two female slaves were trampled to death by trained elephants.

Babar's early impressions of Agra were far from being happy. To him, one of the chief defects of Agra was the terrible heat and the want of artificial watercourses. However, he tried to make the best of a bad climate, and soon after reaching Agra, he passed the Jumna with the object of laying out a beautifully-planned pleasure garden, with an artificial stream; and he thoroughly examined the country for a suitable spot. At last, with a feeling of disappointment and disgust, he built a palace in Char Bagh which continued to be his residence till his death in 1530. Humayun succeeded his father at the age of twenty-three and was duly crowned at the Char Bagh palace. Every reader of history is acquainted with Humayun's various turns of fortune, "of disastrous chances, of moving accidents by flood and field, and of hair-breadth escapes" like those

of Othello, the Moor of Venice, and we need not repeat them here. On several occasions he was exposed to great disrespect from his followers, and Elphinstone relates how "he was more than once refused a horse, when it was almost necessary to his safety. A boat, which he had prepared to convey his family on his flight, across the Indus, was seized by one of his chiefs ; and during the terrible march to Amarkot, an officer, who had lent his horse to the mother of Akbar, on finding his own exhausted, compelled her to dismount ; and Humayun was obliged to give her *his*, and proceed on foot till he met with a baggage-camel."

The following account of Agra from the ***Ain-i-Akbari*** by the learned historian, Abul Fazl, will be found interesting :—

"Agra is a large city, the climate of which is esteemed very healthy. The river Jumna runs through it for five *Kose*. On both banks are delightful houses and gardens inhabited by people of all nations, and where are displayed the productions of every climate. His Majesty (Akbar) has erected a fort of red stone, the like of which no traveller has ever beheld. It contains alone five hundred stone buildings of surprising construction, in the Bengal, Gujrat and other styles. The artificers have decorated them with beautiful paintings. At the eastern gate are carved in stone two elephants, with their riders of exquisite workmanship. In former times Agra was a village dependent upon Bayana, where Sikander Lodi kept his court. Here His Majesty has founded a most magnificent city. On the opposite side of the river is the Char Bagh, a monument of the magnificence of that inhabitant of paradise, Humayun. The author of this book was born on

that side of the river. Here are the tombs of his ancestors together with that of his elder brother, Sheikh Faizi."

To a visitor with a historical bent of mind, Agra must appear as a vast museum with immense scope for research and investigation. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that nearly half the history of Moghul India is writ large on the walls of her historical monuments. For more han a century the fate of nearly the whole of ndia was decided by the royal court with its head-uarters at Agra. The pomp and magnificence of the city of Baghdad at the time of Harun-ul-Rashid sink into insignificance when compared with those of Agra.

Speaking of Indian princesses, particularly of the Moghul house, we must mention the names of Nur Jahan, Mumtaz and Jahanara Begum, every one of whom did so much for the architectural development of Agra. The tomb of Etmad-ud-daula owes its origin to Nur Jahan who built this monument over the remains of her illustrious father during the years 1622 and 1628. The Taj, "the most gorgeous romance of wedded love" was inspired by Mumtaz who, before she finally closed her eyes in death, asked Shah Jahan to build such a memorial over her grave as would be the wonder of the world. The Musamman Burj or Jasmine Tower adjacent to the Khas Mahal within the Fort was also built by Shah Jahan at a suggestion from her, soon after his laccession to the throne in 1628.

The Khas Mahal buildings—a beautiful block nrothree marble pavilions with their walls elaboqately carved in marble, and the ceilings painted

in matchless golden colours, now faded away, are said to have been designed by Jahanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jahan, who was now a lovely maid of twenty-two in 1636 when the Khas Mahal was erected by Shah Jahan. The splendid Juma Masjid standing opposite the Agra Fort, was built by Jahanara at a cost of five lakhs of rupees, between 1644 and 1649, the design of the mosque being entirely her own. It is said that most of the marble edifices erected by Shah Jahan were inspired by her.

Catrou says of her : "To a great share of beauty, Begum Saheb united a mind endowed with much artifice. The attachment she always had for her father, and the profusion of the avaricious Shah Jahan towards his daughter, caused a suspicion that crime might be blended with their mutual affection. This was a popular rumour, which never had any other foundation than in the malice of courtiers." Shah Jahan had unbounded confidence in her ; she looked after his safety and never permitted a dish to appear on the royal table which had not been prepared under her supervision. She had acquired such ascendancy in the court of her father that she exercised a great influence on the most weighty affairs of state. Her large allowances were greatly augmented by costly presents from various quarters, as she was entrusted with the management of some of the important negotiations.

Bernier relates how in those days the marriage of a princess was a rare occurrence in India, since an apprehension was always entertained that a royal alliance might render the husband powerful and induce him to aspire to the throne.

An interesting story which, however, is highly incredible, has been related by Bernier, concerning the amours of Jahanara Begum. "It is said that the Begum Sahib, although confined in a Seraglio, and guarded like other women, received the visits of a young man of no very exalted rank, but of an agreeable person. It was scarcely possible, surrounded as she was on all sides by those of her own sex whose envy she had long provoked, that her conduct should escape detection. Shah Jahan was apprised of her guilt, and resolved to enter her apartments at an unusual and unexpected hour. The intimation of his approach was too sudden to allow her the choice of more than one place of concealment. The affrighted gallant sought refuge in the capacious cauldron used for the baths. The King's countenance denoted neither surprise nor displeasure ; he discoursed with his daughter on ordinary topics, but finished the conversation by observing that the state of her skin indicated a neglect of her customary ablutions, and that it was proper she should bathe. He then commanded the eunuchs to light a fire under the cauldron, and did not retire until they gave him to understand that the wretched victim was no more." There is another story, also narrated by Bernier, showing how at a subsequent period the Begum Sahib formed another attachment, which also had a fatal end. We reproduce the story here for the sake of its novelty. Jahanara had a Persian steward, by the name of Nazer Khan, an accomplished and graceful noble-man who was the favourite of the whole court. Shaista Khan, proposed him for Jahanara's husband, which was very ill received by Shah Jahan who had already entertained some suspicion of an illicit intercourse

between the princess and this handsome nobleman. As a mark of distinction the king presented the betel, in the presence of the whole court, to the youth who, in conformity with court etiquette, was obliged to chew it immediately. Little did the unsuspecting lover know that he had received deadly poison, and indulging in dreams of ensuing bliss, he left the palace and got into his palanquin. The poison, however, was so strong that he fell back dead before he could reach home.

But these are some of the controversial topics of Moghal history and modern scholars have judiciously drawn a veil over them.

The Dewan-i-am of Agra enshrines a most interesting episode which must be related here. It is Shivaji's interview with Aurangzeb, which took place on the 12th of May, 1666, the 50th lunar birthday of the emperor. The Hall shone with exquisite splendour. All the courtiers were there in their gaudy costumes. The enclosure below was decorated with rich canopies. The retainers of the nobles thronged the vast hall in their thousands. Owing to a natural curiosity to see so distinguished a warrior from the South, most of the merchant princes of the capital had also assembled there. Seating arrangements had also been made for the ladies of the harem, behind the tapestry, who burned with the same curiosity. The emperor had his own fears. Gossip had it that Shivaji was a wizard, with an airy body, able to jump across a distance of fifty yards upon the person of his victim. Special precautions were taken and the most loyal nobles and faithful guards stood in their appointed places, round the throne, with naked swords. The emperor was clad in mail, over which he wore a robe of muslin. Shivaji was

led by Kumar Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur, to the foot of the imperial throne. According to Chitnis, Shivaji did not make the salutation required by the Court etiquette, but Sabha Sad tells us that he made three *Salams*, reconciling himself to the act by mentally appropriating the first obeisance to the god Mahadeo, the second to the goddess Jagadamba and the third to his father Shahji. Shivaji placed the *nazar* before the throne, but was received without much notice. He was then asked to retire to a place reserved for commanders of 5000, the station which had been promised to his infant-son. He was unable to control his feelings of shame and humiliation, and even wanted to commit suicide on the very spot. Due to rage and indignation at the poor treatment accorded to him by the emperor, he fell into a swoon. On recovering his senses, he remonstrated with Ram Singh for the breach of his father's promises. He then left the Darbar in a rage without receiving the dress of honour usually presented on such occasions. Aurangzeb was taken by surprise at this unusual conduct and said that he would wait for a report from Raja Jai Singh regarding the promises he had made to Shivaji. Khafi Khan tells us that the jewelled crest, ornaments and an elephant which had been kept ready for Shivaji could not be presented owing to the unexpected termination of the audience. From this time Shivaji's thoughts were turned to the ways and means of making his escape but a strong guard had been posted round his residence under Fulad Khan, the police chief of Agra. This made Shivaji lose his heart entirely. He lamented day and night, holding Shambhaji to his breast. Three months passed in this way and all hopes of escape were at an end.

Among the ladies of the harem who had seen Shivaji in the Hall of audience, was a daughter of the emperor, Zeb-un-Nisa by name. She had heard of the brave exploits of the Maharatta Chief, and what she saw of him fully corroborated her former estimate of him as a true hero. She pleaded with her father that Shivaji's life might be spared, which, coupled with other grave political considerations, induced the emperor to refrain from taking extreme measures. Shivaji, however, was more than a match for Aurangzeb in craftiness, and every reader of history knows how he made his escape by a stratagem.

As years rolled on and successive Moghul emperors began to reside at Agra, palatial buildings of the great nobles began to rise on the banks of the Jumna, between Agra Fort and the Taj. These palaces generally belonged to Rajas, Omrahs, Kazis and other State officials. The city proper was practically inhabited by soldiers, shopkeepers, and the menial servants of the State. They lived in mud or thatched houses. The thatched shops frequently caught fire and the goods were destroyed. On all sides in the business quarters you saw nothing but unsightly thatched huts. All the ordinary inhabitants were very humble, working in mean attire, year in, year out. To appear wealthy and prosperous, was to court trouble. So, while the proud Omrahs, Generals and Muslim Jagirdars went about on elephants, horses and in palanquins on the public road in full splendour, the Hindu merchants kept themselves engaged quietly in their trade in a corner of the city. No brick-houses could be seen throughout the city, as there was no middle class. The whole population consisted of proud, wealthy noblemen on the one

hand, and humble, downtrodden inhabitants on the other. It was not till the commencement of the nineteenth century that a properly-constituted middle class began to make itself felt as a power in India.

LIFE OF THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES

Even during the palmy days of the Moghul empire, the life and property of the subjects were not safe. Sir Thomas Roe describes the insecurity of the public highways during the time of Jahangir. Thevenot mentions how in 1666, the year of Shah Jahan's death, the road from Agra to Delhi, the most frequented road of the time was infested with Thugs. They were professional assassins and ranged themselves in bands on the high roads. They won the confidence of innocent travellers under pretence of friendship and accompanied them for a few stages. At last after decoying them to a solitary spot, they strangled them to death and robbed their property. It is on record that a Thug named Buhram took as many as 931 lives in 40 years and that another, named Fateh Khan, murdered 508 persons in 20 years. In Bengal which was far away from the capital, these murders were more frequent, and were practised, not on the high roads, but mostly on the great rivers. The Thugs looked with pride and exultation on the daring murders they committed. Oudh, Gwalior, Rajputana, Malwa, Rewa and the Nizam's Dominions were the places most frequented by them. Before going to commit these heinous crimes, they always offered up prayers for the success of their enterprise. Grave-diggers were sent in advance to keep the graves ready for the would-be victims. An ideal spot of such graves was a low earthen mound

caused by some high land breaking into ravines and interspersed with small streams. Before falling on their victims, the assassins generally managed to get the party scattered over a wide area, and then, at a sign from the Chief, each man fell on the traveller assigned to him and took life out, with the help of a coin tied to the end of a handkerchief. Such was the condition of the Indian roads, and such the insecurity of life and property, when the Moghul power was at its zenith.

Colonel Meadows Taylor published his "Confessions of a Thug" when he was employed as a Captain in the army of the Nizam of Hyderabad. In this book he vividly describes the horrible deeds of the Thugs who moved from one part of the Moghul territory to another, killing men, plundering their goods, and leaving the dead bodies with marks of strangulation, by the roadside. Such was the life of travellers in those days, and no steps were taken to mitigate this evil. As a matter of fact, it was not considered to be a part of the duty of the Civil Government to keep the road safe for wayfarers. So long as the imperial treasury was kept well-supplied with revenue, the safety and comfort of the subjects were of little or no concern to the rulers.

But it must be acknowledged that the suppression of Thugs was not an easy affair. Only a well-organised government like the British Government could ever hope to accomplish the task. The Thugs were a sworn body of assassins who drew their inspiration from the goddess Kalee. They called themselves her votaries, and murder to them was an act of devotion and sacrifice. A Thug was never to break faith with the sacred guild to which he belonged. His pickaxe and his dagger which

he always carried with him. were the symbols of the great golddess' teeth and ribs respectively. His handkerchief or strangling cloth also owed its origin to her. He belonged to a hereditary clan which had struck its root deep into the soil. The miserable plight of the travellers of those days can, therefore, better be imagined than described. This was, however, only one of the many vexations which people had to endure in those far off days even when the Moghul rule had been firmly established in India. Life was hard, discomforts many, and personal liberty a dream and a hallucination. At home and abroad, peace of mind was a thing beyond conjecture. The people had no rights as against the State. The imperial will was the law of the land and the Emperor and the State were synonymous terms. A man might be a nohle grandee today, but a pauper the next, according to the caprice of the Emperor. Personal favourites of the monarch, with or without ability or learning rose by leaps and bounds. Some of the harem ladies wielded great influenca over their royal lovers and were instrumental in bringing about the ruin of many with whom they happened to be displeased. Even the highest officials were at the beck and call of the Emperor all the twenty four hours. The standard of morality was very low and much corruption prevailed. Even the biggest Omrahs were forced to marry the woman pointed out by the Emperor or his chief wives, though not infrequently under the temptation of Jagirs or high posts. There was no moral for social check prohibiting a man from marrying as many women as he liked, or keeping them in his employ for immoral purposes, as this sort of libertinism was the order of the day.

———

PART II

The Moghul Emperors

1526—1707

CHAPTER I.

BABAR (1526—1530.)

BABAR, the King of kabul, was a great adventurer. He was a soldier of fortune and had no genius for building up an empire. He lived in India only during the last five years of his life and died in 1530, in the forty-eighth year of his age. But before his death he had undoubtedly laid the foundation of a great empire which was to be completed by his grandson, Akbar.

After the battle of Panipat had been fought and won, Babar atonce sent a detachment of troops to occupy Agra. The spoil of the royal treasury was enormous. His eldest son, Humayun who had acted as one of his generals, received Rs. 3,00,000 and immense treasure, including the Kohinoor, then valued at 'half the daily expenses of the world.'

Babar says in his Memoirs that when he came to Agra it was the hot season. The heat was so oppressive that year, that many of his men died. The people were hostile and he could find neither grain for his army, nor fodder for his beasts. His troops grew discontented and longed to return to Kabul. Babar, however, put a stop to this murmuring by pointing cut to his Chiefs how a powerful enemy had been overcome and a mighty kingdom was at their feet. His firm determination not only changed the minds of his own men, but helped him to win over many of his enemies.

Soon, however, Babar had to meet his only formidable rival the great Rana Sangram Sinha of Chitor. In 1527 he encamped at Sikri and made elaborate preparations to meet the Rajput prince and his chieftains. It was at this juncture that Babar gave up drinking and destroyed his vessels of wine. Every man in the army swore by the Koran to crush the 'heathens.' The two armies met, and the Rajputs, after a heavy massacre, gave up all hope and fled.

Babar spent the last two years of his life at Agra in the garden palace at Charbagh on the left bank of the Jumna, trying to consolidate the new empire which he had conquered, but never loved. To him India was only a vast land of immense wealth, with none of the beautiful mountain scenery of Kabul. He died in his palace at Agra in the same year as Cardinal Wolsey died in England, and was buried at Kabul.

The story of Babar's death is somewhat extraordinary. His son, Humayun, whom he loved dearly, had fallen seriously ill, and it was apprehended that he might die. Babar was a great believer in the force of will and he atonce resolved to give up his own life for the sake of his son. He walked three times round the bed of his son and then exclaimed all of a sudden, "I have borne it away!" It is related by Muhammadan chroniclers that from this moment Humayun began to recover, but Babar was soon laid up with a severe disease of the intestines which paved the way to his death.

On his death-bed Babar had asked Humayun to take all possible care of his brothers and to live with them in peace after his accession to the

throne. It must be remembered that most of Humayun's troubles arose out of his great leniency to his brothers. He followed his departed father's wishes to the best of his power, refusing to see that leniency and kingly authority did not go together.

CHAPTER II.

HUMAYUN (1530—1539 and 1555—1556.)

HUMAYUN succeeded his father in December, 1530, at the twenty-third year of his age and was duly crowned in the Charbagh palace at Agra, where Babar had spent in peace the closing years of his wandering, unquiet life. The young prince was courteous, brave and accomplished, but was lacking in resolution and force of character. At the time of his accession to the throne, he had three formidable rivals ; his brother Kamran at Kabul ; the Afghans in the East ; and Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujrat, who was fast approaching towards Agra. Babar had only curbed Northern India which still remained unconquered. Sher Khan, the Afghan Chief, had never given up his dream of sovereignty. During Humayun's absence in Bengal to reduce the Afghan power, his brother, Hindal, came over to Agra and proclaimed himself emperor. In the meantime, Sher Khan proclaimed himself Sultan in Bihar under the title of Sher Shah.

When these tidings reached Humayun in Bengal, he was soon roused to action and proceeded with his army towards Buxar where he was suddenly checked by Sher Shah. Humayun's army was in a grievous plight and there was no hope of getting any help from Agra, as the country around was entirely in the hands of the enemy. A treaty was arranged, and Humayun

made ready to retire. But suddenly, at break of dawn, the Afghan army fell upon the unwary Moghuls and slew them almost to a man. Humayun returned to Agra in 1539, almost unattended, his life being saved by a water carrier who helped him across the Ganges on his water-skin.

Humayun next tried to unite with his brothers, Hindal, Askari and Kamran, but in vain. In the battle that was fought near Kanauj in 1540, Humayun sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Sher Shah and led a wandering life till 1555.

In 1542, while Humayun was passing through the deserts of Rajputana and Sind, a son was born to him at Amarkot, who came to be known afterwards by the name of Akbar the Great. Akbar's mother was Begum Hamida Banu, the daughter of Ali Akbar Jami, a Sayyad of the Prophet's race. Humayun then went over to Persia, and with the help of the Persian Monarch conquered Kandahar in 1545 and Kabul in 1507. In 1545 Sher Shah died at Kalinjar, fighting with the Rajputs, and in the course of the next ten years, the Afghan power gradually dwindled into insignificance at the hands of his successors. In 1555 Humayun came down from Kabul with a small army and took Agra and Delhi from Sikandar Sur, one of Sher Shah's nephews, who had proclained himself monarch. In this memorable fight with the Afghans, prince Akbar, a boy of thirteen years, fought like a brave general by the side of his father and won his laurels even at this tender age. In January, 1556, Humayun died in the forty-ninth year of his age, slipping down the steps of his palace library in the old fort at Delhi. He had just heard the

call for evening prayer, and in his hurry to join the same at the mosque, he came by this fatal accident. It is said that the Taj at Agra was built on the model of Humayun's tomb at Delhi, as designed by Akbar some years after his father's death.

Both Babar and Humayun failed to command respect from their Hindu subjects, as they looked upon these Moghal rulers as no better than plundering ruffians. Akbar was the first Moghul King who had succeeded in winning the homage of the Hindus, in his capacity as a ruler. The most rigid and degrading slavery is moral and intellectual slavery, and Akbar's superior political instinct had taught him that he should aim at more than physical conquest, if he wanted to lay the foundation of an empire in India.

Akbar
in Hindu dress

Akbar

The nine 'Gems' of Akbar's Court

CHAPTER III.

AKBAR (1556—1605).

AKBAR ruled over Hindusthan for nearly half a century and was the true founder of the Moghul empire in India. After the battle of Panipat on the 5th of November, 1556, the young king of thirteen years became ruler over the north-west portion of India. In 1558, the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne of England, Akbar took up his quarters in the old fort of Badalgarh at Agra. Two years later, he took the reins of government into his own hands from his tutor and regent, Bairam Khan, who was Humayun's sister's husband. In 1562 Akbar married the daughter of Raja Behari Mal of Amber (modern Jaipur) and made the Raja a general of 5000 horses. He also allowed the princess full freedom to observe the rites and ceremonies of her own Hindu faith. He married weves of various religious faiths and it is said that there were more than 5000 women in his harem.

A description of the Moghul harem has been given by Nur Jahan's father who was one of Akbar's trusted ministers. The women were divided into small groups, and each group was commanded over by a woman selected for the purpose. Again, there was a woman selected for the command of all the groups together. The Chief Matron of the harem generally wielded great influence at Court. In the early years of Akbar's

reign, his foster-mother, Maham Anga, occupied this position. A separate room was allotted to women of higher rank and proper employment was assinged to everyone. Thus the whole harem looked like a busy beehive. The salaries varied according to the status of these women. Ladies of the first rank drew a monthly allowance varying from Rs. 1000/- to Rs. 1600/-. The ordinary servants received wages which varied from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 51/- per month according to the nature of the work entrusted to them. The treasurer of the harem had also instructions to supply them with their necessaries according to rank. There were strong guards in and about the harem, and any indiscreet conduct was punished with death. Women guards were posted in the inside of the harem, while eunuchs kept watch at the outer gate. Women of proved fidelity were appointed to guard the royal apartments and were highly paid. Sometimes decent Jaigirs were conferred upon special favourites of the emperors in the latter part of the Moghul rule and these Jaigirs were managed by the State on behalf of these women.

The most striking feature of Akbar's reign was his deep and abiding confidence in his Hindu officers like Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and Todar Mal. He knew that they were a great asset to the empire, not only as trustworthy generals but also as able administrators. In the course of the first twenty years of his reign, Akbar made himself master of practically the whole of Northern India, from Kandahar to Bengal, down to the Narbada in the South. All this was achieved with the voluntary help of Hindu rulers, since Akbar's conquests were always followed by good administration. The land revenue system that

was introduced by Todar Mal, an able Rajput financier, recognised the cultivator as the owner of the soil and he was required to pay one-third of the produce to the State, the other two-thirds being retained by himself. Even at this rate, the income from land revenue alone on the year of Akbar's death in 1605 was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Thirty Crores of rupees.

Akbar, as a man, was deeply sensitive to all forms of religious faith and he abolished the tax on Hindu pilgrims, as he thought it was wrong to put any hindrance in the way of a man's religious practices. He himself went on an annual pilgrimage to the great Saint's tomb at Ajmer, worshipped the Sun and the sacred fire like the Parsis, and had *Havan* performed within the precincts of his palace. He listened to the doctrines of Christian missionaries and ordered a translation of the Bible. He had great reverence for Hindu Yogis and loved to discuss the various systems of Hindu philosophy with them. Akbar gave up meat under the influence of Jain teachers who were given a hearty welcome to his court. In accordance with the Parsi custom, a sacred fire was kept burning at his court at all hours of the day. Christian Fathers were invited from Goa to enlighten him on the tenets of Christianity. He had great reverence for the Granth Sahib and for the Sikh Gurus. Above all, he was greatly influenced by the mystic doctrines of the Sufis, which he learnt from Faizi, the poet, and Abul Fazl, the scholar. Akbar hated forms and ceremonial rites and his new religion, "Divine Faith" revealed elements of truth contained in Islam, Hinduism and Christianity. Akbar was a frugal eater and took only one meal a day. He ate very little meat and later on gave it up

completely and was an early riser. The day was spent in transacting the business of the State ; and the various discussions on philosophy, poetry, history and politics were carried far into the night. He owed very little to learning, but he could give a very scholarly solution of the most difficult problems on any subject. He was a great lover of sports and chased the wild tiger all alone through the thickest of the forest. He plunged, man and horse, into the Ganges in full flood and swam across to the opposite shore. His feats remind us of Julius Cæsar leaping in the 'angry flood" of "the troubled Tiber chafing with her shores" on a "raw and gusty day," and buffeting the roaring torrent with "lusty sinews."

The last days of Akbar were not happy. His two sons, Murad and Danyal died of excessive drinking. His eldest son, Salim was practically a rebel and proclaimed himself king at Allahabad in 1602. By the death of Faizi in 1595, Akbar had lost one of his most valued friends and his grief knew no bounds when Prince Salim caused the murder of Abul Fazl in 1602. His death was hastened by the intrigues within his own family circle. In October, 1605, Akbar died in the fort of Agra at the age of 65 years—two years after the death of queen Elizabeth in England.

During the reign of Akbar, Ghee was sold at the rate of 15 seers for a rupee ; rice at the rate of 2 maunds for a rupee, and in Bengal at a much lower rate ; wheat was sold at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds for a rupee ; oil at the rate 1 md. 25 seers for a rupee ; and sugar at the rate of 30 seers for a rupee.

WEAPONS FOR THE PRIVATE USE OF THE EMPEROR.

Abul Fazl tells us in his Ain-i-Akbari that all weapons for the use of His Majesty had names, and a proper rank was assigned to each of them. Thus there were thirty swords, one of which was daily sent to His Majesty's sleeping apartments. The old one was returned, and handed over to the servants outside the Harem, who kept it till its turn came again. Their names were *dulikhana* (two scratcher,) *seh-likhana* (three scratcher,) *jamdhar* (death-bringer,) and so on.

———

DRINKING WATER OF THE GREAT MOGHULS.

The Moghul Emperors took great care in the matter of good drinking water. We read in the Ain-i-Akbari that there was a separate State department for the supply and cooling of drinking water and also for the supply of ice which was then brought in the form of snow from the Himalayas. The care of the department was committed to proper persons by Akbar. Both at home and on travels he drank Ganges water and employed trustworthy persons on the banks of the Ganges who despatched the water in sealed jars. When the Emperor was at Agra or Fatehpur Sikri, the water came from Soron ; and at other times, from Hardwar. For cooking purposes, rain-water, mixed with a little Ganges water, was used. Experienced men were often appointed as water tasters.

BELIEF IN ASTROLOGY.

The Moghul Emperors had great faith in astrology. Even in wars, the armies did not commence the fight until the propitious moment for attack had been ascertained. No journey was undertaken, no great General chosen and appointed to assume the command, without consulting the State astrologer. Even in trifling matters, like the purchase of a slave, the sinking of a well, the wearing of new clothes, etc., the astrologer was consulted.

The ordinary bazar astrologers were both Hindu and Muhammadan. They were considered by the credulous public as infallible oracles, and they told a poor person's fortune for a single pice. Young women, wrapping themselves from head to foot, visited these astrologers and whispered to them all the happenings in their lives—of love and hate, of death and bereavement—revealing every secret without the least reserve.

Nur Jahan

Jahangir

CHAPTER IV.

JAHANGIR (1605—1628.)

ON Akbar's death, Jahangir was crowned at Agra in October 1605, the same year that the Gunpowder plot was detected in England. Two years after, he married the grand-daughter of Raja Man Singh of Jaipur. In 1608, the year of Milton's birth, he took in hand the completion of his father's tomb at Sikandra. In the meantime, the people of England had heard of the name and fame of Akbar as a wise and liberal ruler. More than a century ago, Vasco-de-Gama had landed at Calicut in 1498 and Indian trade had by the beginning of the seventeenth century passed into the hands of the Portuguese from those of the Mohammadans. The Dutch had already come to India by the end of the 16th century and the first East India Company was formed in 1600. In 1612, English factories were established at Surat and Indian foreign trade came under the control of the English. About the same time, European travellers began to pour into India. William Hawkins had already come to Agra in 1609 and had access to Jahangir's court. He was a sailor and could speak Turkish. He soon became very intimate with the emperor, as he could drink level with Jahangir, the "talented drunkard." He married an Armenian lady and was addressed by the emperor with the title of 'Inglis Khan.' Hawkins observes that the

emperor's yearly income at this time was fifty Crores of rupees. There were 500 drinking cups, each made from a single piece of ruby. There were 300 elephants for the emperor's personal use only. The emperor was very fond of watching elephant-fights and sports between men and wild animals.

He generally got up at early dawn and said his prayers. He then appeared at the Darshan Darwaza, and after some sleep and dinner, retired to his women. He held his Durbar from noon till 3 p. m. and heard all complaints.

After having repeated his afternoon prayer, he took his meal and drank several cupfuls of strong wine. Then after taking opium, he went to sleep. At about 1 o'clock at night he was awakened and his supper was somehow or other thrust into his mouth. He then slept till morning.

Sir Thomas Roe came to India in 1615, as the ambassador of King James I of England. The English traders occupied a very humiliating position in India in those days. "Englishmen," says Lane Poole, "were flouted, robbed, arrested, even whipped in the streets."

Sir Thomas Roe was a scholar, a critic, a merchant and a true Elizabethan courtier. He was sent out to India to redress all those wrongs which Englishmen suffered in India in those days. Both Jahangir and his son, Shah Jahan, who was governor of Surat at that time, acknowledged the manly dignity of Roe and granted him as many privileges as any stranger could hope to secure. Jahangir grew as familiar with him as he was with Hawkins and chatted with him for hours over his cups.

At this time Nur Jahan was all in all in the State and the empire was practically governed by her. However, she was very kind to all who sought her support and distributed charity with an open hand All went well until she tried to secure the succession for prince Shahriyar, the emperor's youngest son who had married Nur Jahan's daughter by a former husband. Shah Jahan who was the best general of his time, rose in rebellion, but being defeated, made his submission. At this time Mahabat Khan was the commander of the army and naturally wielded great influence in the State. He was Nur Jahan's only rival and so she was bent upon depriving him of both life and living, if he refused to give over to her the control of the army. When things came to such a pass, Mahabat Khan cleverly imprisoned the emperor at an unguarded moment. Nur Jahan rode at the head of the emperor's army and put up a tough fight, but was defeated. She however effected the escape of Jahangir by her shrewd intelligence and won over the army to her side. Mahabat now went and joined Shah Jahan. But Jahangir died soon afterwards, in his sixtieth year and the whole machination of Nur Jahan fell through. Prince Shahriyar was put to death and Shah Jahan ascended the throne in 1628 with the help of Mahabat and his father-in-law, Asaf Khan. Nur Jahan put on her mourning clothes and retired into private life. She died at Lahore in 1648, eighteen years after the death of her husband.

(One of the greatest calamities which befell India about the middle of Jahangir's reign was the Plague which began in the Punjab and spread over Delhi and Agra, carrying away thousands, both rich and poor.)

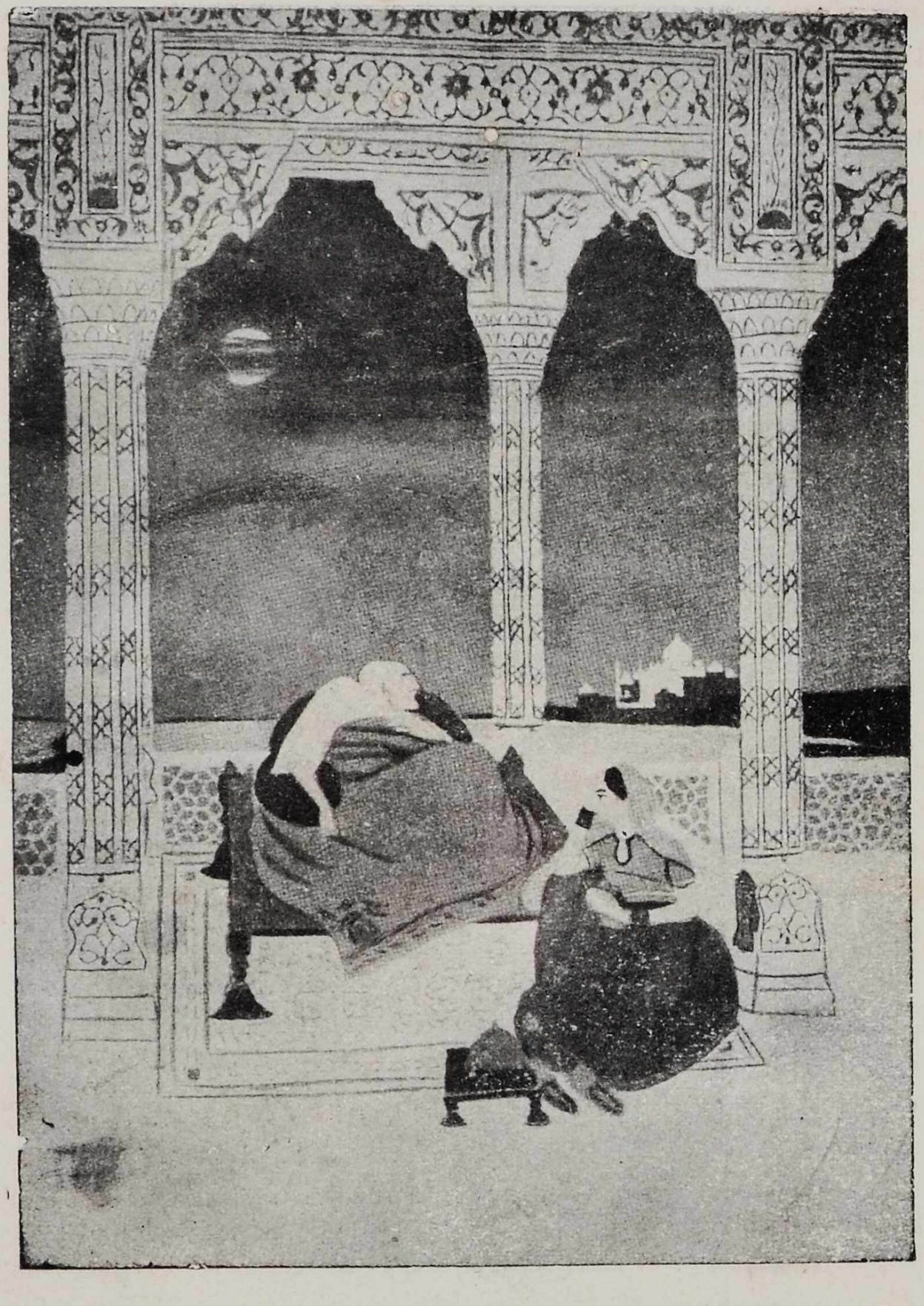
CHAPTER V

SHAH JAHAN (1628—1658)

WE have already mentioned how in 1628 Shah Jahan was proclaimed emperor at Agra through the efforts of his father-in-law, Asaf Khan and the great Moghul general, Mahabat Khan. In his early youth Shah Jahan was so grave and serious by nature, that his father, Jahangir advised him to take to drinking. He was the son of Jodhabai, a daughter of the Rana of Jodhpur, The sternness of his nature gradually mellowed down after his accession to the throne; and after the death of his wife, Mumtaz in 1630, he became quite a changed man. He was the most popular and yet the most magnificent of the Moghul emperors. He was liberal towards the Hindus and tolerant towards the Christians. Mandelslo, who was at Agra during Shah Jahan's reign, observes that it was the most splendid city of India at that time, with wide, paved streets and flourishing trade. Fine lodgings were provided to foreign traders and there were public baths scattered all over the city. The population was so large that two lakhs of fighting men could be easily raised at a short notice. The artillery, field pieces and gunpowder were India's own manufacture and were as old in their origin as those made in any country in Europe. Agra was the capital of Babar and Akbar, while Shah Jahan laid the foundation of a new city after his own name, called Shahjahanabad in 1639. He, however, did

Shah Jahan

Mumtaz Mahal



Shah Jahan taking a last glance at the Taj
on his death-bed.

not abadon Agra, as Akbar had left Fatehpur Sikri. During the latter part of his life, Shah Jahan lived mostly in his newly-built city except in summer which was spent in the valleys of Ajmer and Kashmir. Splendid marble buildings of Shah Jahan are still standing by the side of lake Anasagar at Ajmer. As years rolled on, the emperor grew fond of luxury and ease ; and as the burden of State was a great hindrance to the enjoyment of the delights of the eye which he had cultivated, he pined for relief.

In 1657, Shah Jahan fell sick at Delhi and was believed to be dying. Dara at once assumed the reins of government and took the emperor to Agra, as the imperial treasures were still kept there. Each of the four sons of the emperor wanted to secure the throne for himself.

Bernier first arrived at Surat during the reign of Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was about seventy years old when Bernier arrived and he was afflicted with a serious malady which inspired his four sons with projects of ambition, each laying claim which lasted for about five years. During a period of eight years, Bernier was closely attached to the court as physician.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONDITION OF THE PORTUGUESE DURING THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN

AS Jahangir had no prejudice against Christians, he had permitted the Portuguese to establish themselves in Hughli, hoping at the same time, to derive great benefit from their commercial relations with India. The Portuguese also undertook to keep the Bay of Bengal free from the ravages of Mugg pirates.

But Shah Jahan had no liking for the Portuguese, partly because he was a more rigid follower of Islam than his father, but chiefly because the Portuguese had refused all aid to him when in 1621, during his revolt against his father, he had applied to them for help in the shape of trained soldiers and war materials. The immediate cause, however, of Shah Jahan's displeasure was their refusal to set a great number of Moghul subjects free, whom they had been keeping in their service as slaves, and because of their encouragement of Mugg pirates.

Shah Jahan proceeded to punish the Portuguese in his usual tactful manner Large sums of money were first squeezed out of them by threats or inducements; and when they failed to meet his heavier demands, Shah Jahan captured Hughli and ordered that the whole Portuguese population should be sent off to Agra as slaves.

"The handsome women, married as well as single," says Bernier, "became inmates of the seraglio; those of a more advanced age, or of inferior beauty, were distributed among the Omrahs ; little children underwent the rite of circumcision, and were made pages ; and the men of adult age, allured. for the most part by fair promises, or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the feet of elephants, renounced the Christian faith."

Inconceivably cruel as the act may be, we know that to treat the vanquished foe with ruthless cruelty had become a general practice with the House of Timur. In 1402 that formidable Tartar conqueror came into conflict with Bayezid who was a ruler of the Ottoman Empire. but was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Angora. After his victory, Timur compelled Bayezid's wife, Despina, a Servian princess of uncommon beauty and graceful bearing, to wait on him at his meals and to serve him with drinks in a state of nakedness before her husband who was made by Timur his foot-stool on such occasions. Bayezid was unable to bear this most inhuman act of cruelty and died of a broken heart at the age of forty-eight.

Shah Jahan also had the Portuguese Church at Agra, erected by the kind permission of his tolerant father, demolished. This was long before his capture of Hughli where the Portuguese had settled with the permission of Jahangir. This large and beautiful church at Agra had a very high steeple and it also had a bell which could be heard from the remotest corner of the city.

———

BURIED TREASURE OF SHAH JAHAN.

Manouchi, the Venetian doctor, says in his Memoirs that with the coming of old age, Shah Jahan's passion for gold and silver surpassed all his other vices. He allowed his Omrahs to plunder the people with impunity and then seized on the wealth they had extorted. Thus his tributes and extortions made him the master of an enormous treasury. To preserve all this wealth in safety, he ordered two spacious subterranean rooms to be made under his palace at Delhi. One of these rooms contained piles of gold and the other silver. For greater security, he got these metals melted and made into big, bulky sizes, so that they could not be easily conveyed away. Like the proverbial miser, he spent most of his time in these underground vaults to feast his greedy eyes on his prodigious treasure, pretending that he loved the soothing coolness of the place.

TAVERNIER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PEACOCK THRONE

The celebrated Peacock Throne was commenced by Timur and completed by Shah Jahan. The keepers of the king's jewels assured Tavernier that this great work had cost Rs. 1,070,0000000 (Rupees one thousand and seventy crores.)

Shah Jahan had seven magnificent thrones of which the Peacock Throne was the best and the costliest. It measured 6 ft. long, and 4 ft. broad. "Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed

the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns which sustain the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars which are more than 18 inches long are covered with gold, inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies and emeralds"—[*Tavernier.*]

In the centre of each of these bars, there was a large ruby from the famous mines of the Upper Oxus, with four emeralds round it, which formed a square cross. Along the whole length of the bars, there were similar other crosses, arranged in such a manner, that in one the emerald was in the centre of the four rubies, and in another the ruby was surrounded by the four emeralds; while the intervals between the emeralds and rubies were covered with diamonds. In some parts again, pearls were set in gold. In one of the longer sides, there were four steps to ascend the throne. There were three pillows placed upon the throne, one at the Emperor's back which was large and round, and the other two at the sides were flat. A sword, a mace, a shield and a bow with arrows in a quiver were kept suspended from the throne. The steps, the pillows and the weapons were covered over with precious stones.

Tavernier says that he counted the large rubies, of which there were about 108, the bigger ones weighing about 200 carats, and the smaller ones 100 carats. There were about 116 emeralds, each weighing from 30 to 60 carats, of good colour, but none of them entirely flawless.

The inner side of the canopy to the throne was covered with pearls and diamonds, and all

round there was a fringe of pearls. Above the canopy there was a most artistically-designed peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other stones of various colours. The body of the peacock was of gold inlaid with precious stones. In front of its breast there was a large ruby, from whence there hung a pear-shaped pearl of yellowish colour, weighing about 50 carats. On either side of the peacock, there was a large bouquet made of various kinds of flowers of gold inlaid with precious stones. In full view of the Emperor could be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond weighing about 90 carats, with rubies and emeralds round it, on the side of the throne facing the court. "But that," says Tavernier, "which in my opinion is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round, and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each." Two umbrellas of red velvet, embroidered and fringed all round with pearls, one on either side of the throne, stood at a distance of 4 feet, the poles of which were 8 feet high and were covered with diamonds, pearls and rubies.

When Shah Jahan was virtually a prisoner in the fort of Agra, he was planning to complete a piece of workmanship he was adding to the Peacock Throne with certain jewels in his possession. Aurangzeb was very keen on having these jewels and made his demand accordingly. "The captive monarch," says Bernier, "indignantly answered that Aurangzeb should be careful only to govern the kingdom with more wisdom and equity ; he commanded him not to meddle

with the throne, and declared that he would be no more plagued about these jewels, for that hammers were provided to beat them into powder the next time he should be importuned upon the subject."

CHAPTER VII

THE FOUR SONS OF SHAH JAHAN

DARA

DARA had many good qualities, but his greatest defect was that he held too high an opinion of himself. Catrou says, "No sooner had Dara begun to possess authority, than he became disdainful and inaccessible. A small number of Europeans alone shared his confidence. The Jesuits specially, were in the highest consideration with him. These were the Fathers."

Thus few people ventured to advise him or disclose the secret machinations of his brothers. When angry, he insulted even the greatest Omrahs, but his anger was only a momentary spark, and no more. Though he publicly professed Islam, in private he was a Hindu with the Hindus and a Christian with the Christians. Henry Busse had great influence over Dara's mind, and it is said that "had his counsels been followed, it is probable that Christianity would have mounted the throne with Dara." He gave large pensions to Hindu Pundits, and the reason assigned by Aurangzeb for causing him to be executed was that he had turned an infidel

There are people, however, who say that really speaking, Dara was devoid of all religion, but that he assumed these appearances, and became by

turns a Christian or a Hindu from political considerations. He wanted to secure the co-operation of the powerful Hindu Rajas of the empire and of the Christians who were pretty numerous in his artillery corps.

Sultan Sujah

Sujah, the second son of Shah Jahan, was wiser and firmer of purpose than Dara and enjoyed the friendship of many great Rajas like Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. He was, however, entirely given to his pleasure and revelled in wine and women in whose company he could pass whole days and nights. He was often guided by his whims and distributed his favours indiscriminately.

Among the Mohammedans there are two leading sects, called Shias and Sunnis. The Persians who believe that the true successor of Mohammed was his son-in-law named Ali, are called by the Turks as Shias or heretics; whereas the Turks who believe Osman to be the only legitimate successor, are called by the Persians as Sunnis. Sujah declared himself to be a Shia though his father and brothers were Sunnis. As the Persians held the most important positions in the Moghal Court, Sujah hoped to secure their sympathy and support in time of need.

Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb the third of Shah Jahan's sons, was an astute politician and a perfect master of dissimulation. He distributed his presents very liberally, but only among those on whose support he

actualy counted He was all the time working his way to future elevation, although outwardly he affected severe contempt for worldly prosperity. He declared that the only desire of his heart was to become a Fakir and spend his days and nights in prayer and deeds of piety. All persons, including Shah Jahan, held a very high opinion of him, but Dara looked upon him with eyes of suspicion and called him a Namazi. Indeed, most historians say that Aurangzeb feigned a devotion he never felt at heart, since his life was one of intrigue and uninterrupted political contrivance.

There is, however, another school of historians who declare that Aurangzeb is a man "more sinned against than sinning ;" that his devotion was sincer and his purpose honest; but that the love he bore to religion was at fault. He began as a reformer, but ended as a bigot. He wanted to achieve that solidarity in the sphere of religion which can be gained only by the power of the spirit, and not by the force of arms or crude human device He rode roughshod over the feelings of men, with the result that the affections of a large section of his subjects were in a great measure alienated, which, in the end, brought about the downfall of the Moghul empire.

MURAD

Murad was the youngest of the four brothers, greatly lacking in engaging presence and address, and very fond of the pleasures of the table and of the excitement of the chase. He kept no secrets, dectested the intrigues of the court and was credulous to the extreme. He had too much confidence in himself and in his trusty sword. Hopelessly

wanting in discretion, he fell and was caught in the snare that Aurangzeb had spread out for him.

THE FOUR PRINCES AND THE AMBITION OF EACH

The four sons of Shah Jahan bore deadly hatred against one another, and were ambitious of setting up independent principalities ; so the emperor was in perpetual dread of their having recourse to arms. The court was divided into four separate factions, and Shah Jahan trembled for his personal safety. For a time he was actuated by the thought of keeping them imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, but they were now far too powerful to be dealt with that way. Under the circumstances, he adopted another method of keeping the princes apart from one another and away from him. Dara was appointed Governor of Kabul and Multan ; Sujah was appointed to rule over Bengal; Aurangzeb in the Deccan ; and Murad in Gujrat. All the princes went to their respective places, but Dara, whose expectations to succeed to the throne were high, did not leave the Court. During the absence of his brothers, Dara's influence grew to an astonishing height.

He was authorised to issue orders and is the only instance of a prince of the Moghul race being allowed to be seated in the presence of the Emperor. As a matter of fact, he occupied a throne, slightly lower than that of the Emperor, specially prepared for him, and placed among the Omrahs. Shah Jahan, however, kept up a secret correspondence with Aurangzeb of whose ability he held a very high opinion.

At the time when Aurangzeb was the Governor of the Decan, Mir Jumla, a highly talented Persian, a renowned soldier whose business ability was acknowledged and admired all over the country, was the Wazir of the King of Golconda and the Commander of his army. He was the possessor of an enormous amount of wealth, as apart from what he acquired from his rich office, he carried on extensive commerce by sea and land with distant countries. The diamond mines of Golconda which he farmed under false names brought him fabulous wealth. Thevenot says that he possessed 20 maunds weight of diamonds which were counted by the number of sacks which contained them. He not only commanded the armies of the King but also had a large body of European troops in his own pay. Mir Jumla used to sell his best diamonds to the Portuguese.

The jealousy of the King of Golconda having been aroused, Mir Jumla wrote a letter to Aurangzeb at Daulatabad, the capital of the Deccan, asking permission to throw himself under his protection, and suggesting a plan for the conquest of Golconda. Under the guise of an ambassador from Shah Jahan Aurangzeb was advised to proceed towards Golconda at the head of five thousand of his best cavalry and obtain possession of the King's person and kingdom. Mir Jumla agreed to defray the whole expense of the expedition and pay Rs. 50,00 /- daily during the time warlike operations were in progress.

Aurangzeb proceeded towards Golconda and was about to seize the King who, according to custom, had arranged for Aurangzeb's reception,

when an Omrah who was in the conspiracy, being moved with compassion, cried out, "Take heed, Oh King, this is no ambassador, but Aurangzeb who has come to secure your person." Great was the king's fright when he heard this, and mounting his horse, he fled off to the fort of Golconda. Aurangzeb besieged the king in his ortress but was obliged to return to the Deccan under the peremptory orders of Shah Jahan.

Next, Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla began to plan great enterprises and the union of the two certainly paved the way to Aurangzeb's greatness.

Mir Jumla was invited to the Court of Shah Jahan at Agra when he carried the most magnificent presents which included the world renowned diamond the Kohinoor or "mountain of lustre. This was about the year 1657 when the diamond was still uncut and weighed 756 English carats. The name Kohinoor is said to have been given to this diamond, by Nadir Shah who plundered it in 1739 from Aurangzeb's descendant, Mohammed Shah, and carried it away to Persia. It then passed through the hands of Ahmad Shah Durani in 1751, Shah Sujah in 1795, Ranjit Singh in 1813, and on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, through Lord Lawrence, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

As the diamond passed through several hands and was subjected to cutting and grinding at different stages, the weight has now been reduced to $106\frac{1}{16}$ carats.

In the meantime, the undisguised attempts of Dara to become paramount in authority filled the heart of Shah Jahan with anxiety, who was now

more than seventy and a physical wreck. Attempts to seize the throne had already begun among his four sons. In Delhi and Agra, Dara collected big armies ; in Bengal Sujah began stengthening his forces; Aurangzeb in the Deccan and Murad in Gujrat levied similar forces.

Meanwhile, Shah Jahan's illness got worse and he was given out to be dead. Shah Jahan had ascended the throne by putting his own brothers to death, and history was going to repeat itself.

Sujah, who had amassed great wealth from the rich country of Bengal, raised a large army and was the first to take the field. He marched rapidly towards Agra inspite of the express command of Shah Jahan requiring him to return to Bengal.

Aurangzeb also put his forces in motion in the direction of Agra, but as he was rather lacking in men and money, he tried artfully to win Murad over to his side and wrote to him as follows :—

"I need not remind you, my brother, how repugnant to my real disposition are the toils of government While Dara and Sultan Sujah are tormented with a thirst for dominion, I sigh only for the life of a Fakir. But, although renouncing all claim to the kingdom, I nevertheless consider myself bound to impart my sentiments to you, my friend, whom I have always tenderly loved. Dara is not only incapable of reigning, but is utterly unworthy of throne, inasmuch as he is a *kafir* and held in abhorrence by all the great Omrahs.

Sultan Sujah is equally undeserving of the crown ; for being avowedly a heretic, he is, of course, an enemy to Hindusthan.

Will you then permit me to say that in you alone are to be found the qualifications for ruling a mighty empire ? This opinion is not entertrained by myself only ; it is likewise the opinion of the leading nobles, who esteem you for your matchless valour.

With respect to myself, if I can exact a solemn promise from you that, when king, you will suffer me to pass my life in some sequestered spot of your dominions, where I may offer up my constant prayers to Heaven in peace, I am prepared immediately to make common cause with you, and aid you with my counsel and my friends, and to place the whole of my army at your disposal. I send you One Hundred Thousand rupees, of which I entreat your acceptance, as an earnest of my best wishes. The time is critical ; you should, therefore, not lose one moment in taking possession of the fort of Surat, where I know the vast treasure of the State to be deposited." (*Bernier*).

Murad was elated with joy, exhibited the letter everywhere, assumed the authority of a king, soon collected a large army of young adventurers and sent three thousand men to lay siege to the fort of Surat.

Aurangzeb next contrived by stratagem to obtain command over Mir Jumla's army and urged Murad to hasten his march towards Agra and fixed a place for the two armies to meet together. The meeting of the armies was celebra-

ted with pompous rejoicings and Aurangzeb repeated at frequent intervals his lofty protestations of love for Murad. He addressed him as "Your Majesty," and showed him all the humility due from a subject to his king.

The two armies accelerated their march towards Agra, and Shah Jahan's condition, who was now almost a prisoner in the hands of Dara was indeed miserable. An army was sent against Sujah and another was kept ready to meet the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Murad.

Sulaiman Shikoh, Dara's eldest son, aged about five and twenty, an able soldier whom Shah Jahan wanted for his successor in preference to Dara, was selected to command the troops to check the progress of Sujah. Raja Jai Singh I of Jaipur, one of the richest, and perhaps the ablest man in the whole empire, was appointed as his counsellor. After a heavy cannonade on both sides, Sujah was forced to fly in confusion.

In the meanwhile, Aurangzeb was advancing with great activity and resolution. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, whose influence and ability were no less than those of Raja Jai Singh and Nawab Kasim Khan, a commander of 5,000, were appointed to lead the imperial army against the advancing forces of Aurangzeb. According to the French officers in Aurangzeb's artillery, these two commanders might have obtained an easy victory, but for the secret orders of Shah Jahan to avoid coming to an engagement which would result in profuse bloodshed in an unnatural fratricidal war. But no inducement would deter Aurangzeb from his purpose. The indecision of the imperial army brought about its own ruin

Kasim Khan fled from the field, leaving Raja Jaswant Singh alone to face the danger. Of the eight thousand Rajputs whose devotion for the Raja was unflinching, only six hundred survived with whom the Raja, greatly distressed in mind, returned to Jodhpur.

Referring to the devotion of Rajputs to their chieftain, Bernier says that they were trained from generation to generation in the art of war and were required to appear in the field the moment they were summoned by the Raja who assigned them lands for their maintenance. Even from childhood they were accustomed to the use of opium. On the day of battle they increased the dose which filled them with animation. They were always prepared for death and never deserted their chief. It was for this reason that the Moghul emperors appointed Hindu Rajas to high commands in the army and conferred upon them equally dignified positions as on the Omrahs of their own race.

Blochmann points out that India never became wholly a Mohammadan country and that in course of time the recruitment of the army was made by the rulers chiefly from the Hindus. "The invaders were few and the country was too large and too populous. The waves of immigration from Turan were few and far between, and deposited on Indian soil adventurers, warriors and learned men, rather than artisans and colonists. Hence the Mohammedans depended upon the Hindus for labour of every kind, from architecture down to agriculture and the supply of servants. Many branches they had to learn from the Hindus, *e.g.* the cultivation of indigenous produce, irrigation, coinage, medicine, the building of houses, and

weaving of stuffs suitable for the climate, the management of elephants and so forth." (*The Calcutta Review, 1871.*

Raja Jaswant Singh's wife was a daughter of the Rana of Udaipur. Bernier relates the kind of reception the Raja received from her on his return to Jodhpur, which serves as a specimen of the spirit which animated the Rajput ladies of Hindusthan:—

"When it was announced that he was approaching with his gallant band of about five hundred Rajputs, the melancholy remnant of nearly eight thousand, at the head of whom he had fought with noble intrepidity, quitting the field from necessity, but not with dishonour, instead of sending to congratulate the gallant soldier on his escape, and console him in his misfortune, she dryly commanded that the gates of the castle should be closed against him. 'The man is covered with infamy,' she said, 'and he shall not enter within these walls. I disown him for my husband and these eyes can never again behold him No son-in-law of Rana can possess a soul so abject. He who is allied to his illustrious house must imitate the virtues of that great man ; if he cannot vanquish, he should die.' The next moment the temper of her mind took another turn. 'Prepare the funeral pile', she exclaimed 'The fire shall consume my body. I am deceived ; my husband is certainly dead ; it cannot possibly be otherwise;' and then again, transported with rage, she broke into the bitterest reproaches. In this humour she continued eight or nine days, refusing the whole of that time to see her husband." (*Bernier*)

Now let us turn our attention to Aurangzeb.

He advanced towards Agra very slowly, which was strictly regulated by the information he received from his friends at the royal court from day to day. In the meantime, Dara had collected the largest army that any Indian prince ever commanded. There were eighty pieces of cannon, twenty-two thousand foot and more than a hundred thousand cavalry. This immense army was swelled to an incredible number by the addition of camp-followers and traders who supplied the army with provisions and other necessary articles. The army commanded by Aurangzeb and Murad consisted of forty to fifty thousand men of all arms; Dara took his army towards the river Chambal and awaited the arrival of Aurangzeb's army. Aurangzeb advanced towards the Jumna and encamped at a place now known as Fatehabad. Dara took up his position on the banks of the Jumna, between Agra and the enemy's forces.

For several days the two armies remained in sight of each other without the least sign of coming to an engagement. Dara was the first to prepare for battle. "He placed the whole of his cannon in front, linked together by chains of iron, in order that no space might be left for the entrance of the enemy's cavalry. Immediately in the rear of the cannon, he ranged a line of light camels, on the forepart of whose bodies small pieces of ordnance were fixed; these the rider could charge and discharge at pleasure, without being obliged to dismount. Behind these camels was posted the most considerable part of the musketeers The rest of the army consisted principally of cavalry, armed either with sabres or with sabres and bows and arrows."

Dara was mounted on the back of an elephant,

so was Aurangzeb. The battle raged long and loud and for some hours, the issue remained undecided. Dara gave undeniable proofs of invincible courage, but in the end, Aurangzeb with the help of Murad, had his efforts crowned with an unexpected and almost miraculous victory.

Aurangzeb's raging passion for sovereignty was, however, concealed under the garb of piety and asceticism. He insessantly declared before others that his firm resolution was to live and die as a Fakir. He also called himself the dutiful subject of Murad, the future king, in whose name all negotiations were entered into.

Raja Jai Singh, one of the principal officers of the victorious troops commanded by Sulaiman Shikoh, was requested to join hands with Aurangzeb and seize the person of his master. Jai Singh arrived at his own decision as to the line of conduct he should pursue. He straightway proceeded to Sulaiman Shikoh's tent, spoke to him of the overtures made to himself by Aurangzeb and advised him to seek refuge in the mountains of Srinagar, the capital of the Garhwal Rajas. Shikoh proceeded to the mountains with his wife and family and was received by the Raja of Srinagar with due honour.

Aurangzeb and Murad despatched a message to Shah Jahan, assuring the aged king of their undiminished respect and affection. Aurangzeb further declared that he had come to Agra to receive the commands of his august parent in person. Shah Jahan had no confidence in his protestations, but affected to approve of his conduct. He sent a trustworthy eunuch requesting Aurangzeb to visit him, so that arrangements might be made to put

an end to the distracted state of affairs in the kingdom.

Aurangzeb, however, did not venture within the walls of the fortress as he mistrusted his father and went on postponing the date of his visit. He had received secret messages from Roshanara that several robust Tartar women, fully armed, had been kept ready for the purpose of falling upon him as soon as he appeared before Shah Jahan. Meanwhile he sent his son Sultan Mahmud who took possession of the fort and made Shah Jahan virtually a prisoner. He disregarded the offers of the unhappy king, to make him his successor and replied that he was not authorised to see His Majesty but to return forthwith the keys of every gate in the fortress, to enable Aurangzeb to come and kiss the feet of his reverend king and father in safety. After a long protest of two days, the keys were ultimately delivered into the hands of Sultan Mahmud. Next, by the orders of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan, Jahanara and all the women of the seraglio were closely confined in the fort, and many of the gates were walled up. Aurangzeb knew that Shah Jahan secretly supported the cause of Dara and that he had sent him two elephants laden with gold mohurs for raising a new army. So Aurangzeb wrote a letter to his father, the concluding part of which ran as follows :—

"Is he (Dara) not, properly speaking, the cause of your imprisonment ? and is it not owing to him that I have so long been deprived of the pleasure of throwing myself at your feet, and discharging the duties, and paying the attentions you have a right to demand from an affectionate son ? It only remains for me to beg that you will pardon what now seems so strange in my conduct, and to

recommend to exercise of patience under the temporary loss of liberty ; for be assured that, as soon as Dara shall be rendered incapable of disturbing our repose, I shall fly to the citadel, and with my own hands open the doors of your prison." (*Bernier.*)

Soon after this, Shaista Khan was appointed governor of Agra, and Aurangzeb and Murad set out in pursuit of Dara and took the road to Delhi. They halted at Muttra and Aurangzeb invited his credulous brother to supper. A dreadful plot was in progress. Aurangzeb had already marked him out for his victim. He greeted Murad with great courtesy, wiped the perspiration and dust from his face with his own hand and gave him all the honours which an ambitious monarch might expect from his most loyally devoted subject. At the end of the feast, large quantities of the best and strongest wines were brought in, when Aurangzeb retired, as he was a total abstainer. His men, according to the plot, got Murad heavily drunk, who lay under the table in a hopeless state of intoxication His sword and dagger were then taken away from him. Aurangzeb now re-appeared, waked Murad with a few sharp kicks and ordered the drunkard to be bound hand and foot and carried inside. In vain did poor Murad cry and resist. He was fettered and hand-cuffed and conveyed to Delhi in a closed *howdah* used for women, where he was kept imprisoned in an ancient citadel.

Aurangzeb at once took into his service the troops under the command of Murad and resumed the pursuit of Dara who was continuing his retreat on the road to Multan. Aurangzeb marched day and night at the head of the army, and often

went unattended like Napoleon in advance of his troops, which filled them with courage and inspiration. He ate dry bread and slept on the bare ground like the ordinary soldiers who composed his army.

Having ascertained that Dara was proceeding towards Sind, and not towards Kabul which was governed by the great general Mahabat Khan, an enemy of Aurangzeb, the ambitious prince retraced his steps towards Agra with all possible expedition, leaving behind some eight thousand men to keep watch over the movements of Dara

Aurangzeb soon learnt that Dara had made himself master of Ahmedabad and that he had formed an excellent garrison of Pathans, with an artillery consisting of the English, French, Portuguese and Germans as gunners whom he had promised to raise to the rank of Omrahs when he became an emperor.

In the meanwhile Sujah had crossed the Ganges at Allahabad and was fast advancing with a big army. The contest soon began and Aurangzeb was the first to take the field. A great slaughter ensued. Aurangzeb's embarrassment knew no bounds. An arrow killed the man who was guiding his elephant. He was reduced to the last extremity and was about to fall into the enemy's hand. But as luck would have it, he was soon crowned with victory and Sujah was compelled to fly for his life.

A serious disagreement now arose between Aurangzeb and his eldest son, Sultan Mahmud who along with Mir Jumla, had been sent in pursuit of Sujah at the head of a powerful army. Sultan Mahmud

became impatient of paternal control and frequently alluded before Mir Jumla and others to the skill and courage he had displayed in the capture of the fort of Agra, which had frustrated and shattered all the plans of Shah Jahan. These remarks soon reached the ears of Aurangzeb, who became filled with apprehension and distrust. He at once commanded his refractory son to return to Dehli, who, on his way to the place, was suddenly seized by a body of armed men, forced into a closed *howdah* and conveyed to the Moghul state prison in the fort of Gwalior where he died in 1676. Murad was similarly consigned to the fort of Gwalior. Aurangzeb, after remaining for sometime in the neighbourhood of Agra, went to Delhi where he assumed all the prerogatives of a king.

It was at this time that Dara collected a large number of troops and hastened from Ahmedabad to Ajmer, hoping that as he approached Agra, accompanied by Raja Jaswant Singh who had promised to join him with all his forces, his friends and supporters would flock round his standard. But this was not to be. Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur pointed out to Raja Jaswant Singh the extreme folly of espousing the cause of Dara, whose ruin was inevitable. So Jaswant Singh was persuaded to remain aloof, while Aurangzeb marched on Ajmer with a powerful army. Dara knew that the contest was sadly unequal, but he was determined to conquer or to die. It was about ten in the morning when the action commenced. But treason was lurking where Dara had least expected it. His pieces of artillery, so it transpired afterwards, were charged only with blank cartridges. The battle was soon a complete rout, and Dara, to avoid capture, instantly quitted the field.

Dara was now in a miserable plight. It was the hot season and the drought prevailed. The march back to Ahmedabad would take more than a month through the territories of hostile Rajas, who had now espoused the cause of Aurangzeb. He was even destitute of tents and the bare necessaries of life. It was in this condition that Dara at last came within a day's journey from Ahmedabad. While he was expecting to enter the city on the following day, he received a letter from the Governor whom he had left in charge of the place, informing him that the gates of the city were locked against him. So Dara had to stop at the caravansarai.

It was at this time that he met Berneir who was on his way to Agra, and induced him to accompany the party as a medical attendant. Bernier thus describes the sad plight in which Dara found himself at the time :

"The cords of the *kanats* or screens, which concealed his wife and women (for he was even without a tent) were fastened to the wheels of the carriage wherein I reposed. This may appear almost incredible to those who know how extremely jealous the great men of Hindusthan are of their wives, and I mention the circumstance as a proof of the low condition to which the fortunes of the Prince were reduced. It was at break of day that the Governor's message was delivered and the shrieks of the females drew tears from every eye. We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, gazing in speechless horror at each other, at a loss what plan to recommend, and ignorant of the fate which perhaps awaited us from hour to hour. We observed Dara stepping out, more dead than alive, speaking now to one, then to another ;

stop-ping and consulting even the commonest soldier. He saw consternation depicted in every countenance, and felt assured that he should be left without a single follower; but what was to become of him? Whither must he go? To delay his departure was to accelerate his ruin."

"During the time," continues Bernier, "that I remained in this Prjnce's retinue, we marched, nearly without intermission, day and night; and so insupportable was the heat, and so suffocating the dust, that of the three large oxen of Gujrat, which drew my carriage, one had died, another was in a dying state, and the third was unable to proceed from fatigue. Dara felt anxious to retain me in his service, specially as one of his wives had a bad wound (erysipelas) in her leg; yet neither his threats nor entreaties could procure for me a single horse, or camel, so totally destitute of power and influence had he become."

From the above description we can easily understand how complete and far-reaching were the machinations of Aurangzeb and how his threats and promises were equally effective.

Dara was in great perplexity. Ruin stared him in the face. At this juncture he remembered an old acquaintance, an Afghan, by the name of Malik Jiwan, whose life he had twice saved when Shah Jahan had condemned him to be thrown under the elephant's feet for high crime and misdemeanour. He made up his mind to meet this powerful chief and seek his assistance, as his territory lay near by. But Dara's wife, with tears and entreaties, tried, to prevent him from following this design. Dara, however, turned a deaf ear to these

solicitations, and advanced towards the territory of the Afghan chief. Malik Jiwan at first received Dara with marks of honour, but the sight of a few mules laden with gold, still in Dara's possession, excited his cupidity. During the night, the chief's armed men seized the gold, deprived the women of their jewels, tied Dara to the back of an elephant as ordered by Malik Jiwan who sent him off to Delhi in a most degrading condition as required by Aurangzeb.

"When the unhappy Prince was brought to the gates of Delhi," says Bernier, "it became a question with Aurangzeb whether, in conducting him to the fortress of Gwalior, he should be made to pass through the capital. It was the opinion of some courtiers that this was by all means to be avoided, because not only would such an exhibition be derogatory to the royal family, but it might also become the signal for revolt, and the rescue of Dara might be successfully attempted. Others maintained, on the contrary, that he ought to be seen by the whole city ; that it was necessary to strike the people with terror and astonishment, and to impress their minds with an idea of the absolute and irresistible power of Aurangzeb It was also advisable, they added, to undeceive the Omrah and the people who still entertained doubts of Dara's captivity, and to extinguish at once the hopes of his secret partisans. Aurangzeb viewed the matter in the same light ; the wretched prisoner was therefore secured on an elephant; his young son, Sipihr Shikoh, placed at his side, and behind them, instead of the executioner, was seated Bahadur Khan (one of Aurangzeb s officers). This was not one of the majestic elephants of Pegu or Ceylon, which Dara had been in the habit of mounting,

pompously caparisoned, the harness gilt, and trappings decorated with figured work and carrying a beautifully painted howdah, inlaid with gold, and a magnificent canopy to shelter the Prince from the sun ; Dara was now seated on a miserable and worn-out animal, covered with filth ; he no longer wore the necklace of large pearls which distinguish the princes of Hindusthan, nor the rich turban and embroidered coat ; he and his son were now habited in dirty cloth of the coarsest texture, and his sorry turban was wrapt round with a Kashmir shawl or scarf, resembling that worn by the meanest of the people."

Dara was led through the public places of Delhi. Immense crowds assembled. Weeping and lamentation was heard everywhere. Piercing and distressing shrieks rent the air. But such was the dread which Aurangzeb's power had inspired in the minds of the populace, that not a soul was stirred, nor a sword drawn to deliver the Prince from his ignoble bondage. After a short discussion it was decided that Dara should be pnt to death immediately and that his son Sipihr Shikoh should be conveyed to the prison of Gwalior.

The tragic seene of the atrocious murder, the charge of which was entrusted to a slave named Nazir, is described by Catrou who took it from the narrative of Manouchi, an eye-witness, and runs as follows :—

"Dara was waiting in his prison the decision of his fate, when his son was taken from his arms to be conveyed to the citadel of Gwalior, the ordinary place of confinement for Princes. When the father found himself deprived of his son, he rightly judged that it was time to think of preparing

for death. The Christian sentiments, with which the Missionaries had endeavoured to inspire him, were revived in the closing hour of his life. He was heard to say more than once: "Mahomet has destroyed me, Jesus Christ, the son of the Eternal will save me."

Nazir and four other assassins entered Dara's apartment. They all threw Dara to the earth, while Nazir fell upon him and chopped off his head.

"When Dara's head was brought to Aurangzeb," says Catrou, "he examined it with an air of satisfaction; he touched it with the point of his sword; he opened the closed eyes to observe a speck, that he might be convinced that another head had not been substituted in the place of the one he had ordered to be struck off. Afterwards, following the counsel of Roshanara Begum, he caused it to be embalmed, enclosed in a box and conveyed to Shah Jahan, to be offered to him in the name of Aurangzeb. When the packet was opened, and he beheld the head of the son he so tenderly loved, the good old man fell into a swoon. The Princess, Jahanara Begum, made the air resound with her cries."

Khafi Khan says that Dara's wife, Nadira Begum, the daughter of Sultan Parwez, the second son of Jahangir, and the mother of Selaiman Shikoh and Sipihr Shikoh died while her husband was in Malik Jiwan's territory. Dara's daughter was sent to Jahanara Begum at the latter's request.

Aurangzeb now turned his attention to Sulaiman Shikoh who felt that he was no longer safe

in the territory of the Raja of Srinagar (Garhwal) where he had taken his shelter. He was making his way towards Great Tibet, but was wounded and overtaken, conveyed to Delhi and imprisoned in the ancient citadel of Selimgarh (built by Selim Shah Sur) in the middle of the Jumna, and now in ruins.

After sometime, Aurangzeb commanded Sulaiman Shikoh to be brought into the presence of all the courtiers. Bernier, who was an eye-witness to this dismal scene, describes it as follows:—

"The fetters were taken from the Prince's feet before he entered the Chamber wherein the Omrahs were assembled; but the chains, which were gilt, remained about his hands. Many of the courtiers shed tears at the sight of this interesting young man, who was tall and extremely handsome. The principal ladies of the court had permission to be present, concealed behind a lattice-work, and were also greatly moved. Aurangzeb, too, affected to deplore the fate of his nephew, and spoke to him with apparent kindness: 'Be comforted,' the king told him, 'no harm shall befall you. You shall be treated with tenderness. God is great and you should put your trust in Him. Dara, your father, was not permitted to live, only because he had become a *Kafer*, a man devoid of religion.' Whereupon the Prince made the *salaam*, or sign of grateful acknowledgement, lowering his hands to the ground, and lifting them, as well as he was able, to his head, according to the custom of the country. He them told the king, with much self-possession, that if it were intended to give him the *poost* to drink, he begged he might be immediately put to death. Aurangzeb promised in a solemn manner, and in a loud voice, that

this drink should most certainly not be administered, and that his mind might be perfectly easy."

(The poost is a slow poison made of crushed poppy-heads which were allowed to soak for a night in water and then administered to the victim The drink had the effect of emaciating those who partook of it by taking away all appetite for solid food and making them lose their intellect slowly, and then ultimately die. Being a form of secret death, this method was applied to members of the royal family, as it bore no outward signs of laying violent hands on one of the blood royal)

But inspite of his solemn promise this poison was administered to both Sulaiman Shikoh and his brother Sipihr Shikoh by Aurangzeb's command and they both died in prison in the fort of Gwalior in the gilded turrets above the Hathipol or Elephant Gateway, most sumptuously built of green and blue stone.

As Murad was still very popular, a novel procedure was adopted in sending him out of the world. The sons of Ali Naki, a Saiyad descendant of the Prophet, being pressed by some of Aurangzeb's friends, brought a charge against Murad, alleging that while he was Governor of Gujrat, he had put their father to death at Ahmedabad to get possession of his vast wealth, and they now loudly called for justice. Murad had shed the innocent blood of a Saiyad and nothing less than the offender's head would satisfy the aggrieved sons. A mock trial was held, but none of the courtiers could venture to say a word in favour of the accused, partly because he had shed the sacred blood of the venerable descendant of the Prophet,

but mainly because they knew that the whole procedure had been designed by Aurangzeb to rid himself of his imprisoned brother. An order for the offender's head was given, with which the sons of the Saiyad proceeded to their destination.

The only rival of Aurangzeb who was still at large was Sultan Sujah, who in dread of being overtaken by Mir Jumla, proceeded towards Dacca for safety He appealed to the king of Arrakan for a temporary asylum, after which he planned to go to Persia or Turkey. A large number of jolly boats were lent by the king of Arrakan to Sultan Sujah who embarked on board these vessels with his wife, sons and daughters and was given a hearty reception at Arrakan by the king. Sujah still possessed a large amount of gold and sivler, as well as precious gems which excited the cupidity of the king who demanded one of Sujah's daughters in marriage. At the same time, Mir Jumla had offered the king in the name of Aurangzeb, large sums of money for delivering up Sujah. The helplessness to which the Prince was reduced is indescribable. He endeavoured to escape into Pegu, but was pursued and overtaken within a few hours after his flight. Sujah and his eldest son fought like lions, but at length his whole family, consisting of his wife, his three sons and his daughters, were all seized and carried away.

As regards the fate of Sujah it is said that he was found among the slain. It was once reported at Delhi that he was at Masulipatam; another report said that he was seen near Gujrat; another, that he was in Persia, and so on. But the fact probably is that he was killed in his attempt to escape from the assailants sent by the King of Arrakan to capture him.

The catastrophe which befell Sujah's family is painfully shocking. All of them were thrown into prison and brutally treated. After some time, the king took a fancy for Sujah's eldest daughter and married her and set the whole family at liberty. But this concession was not to last long. It soon reached the king's ears that a conspiracy was formed against him by some of the servants of Sujah's eldest son, at which he felt so exasperated that he ordered for the whole massacre of the family, including even the princess he had so lately espoused, although she was in an advanced state of pregnancy.

This, in brief, is the history of the great war which lasted for nearly six years, from 1655 to 1661, leaving Aurangzeb the sole monarch of the great Moghul empire. His lust for dominion made Aurangzeb a cruel son, a suspicious father and a treacherous brother; and his most inhuman behaviour towards Murad is one of the severest blots on his character. Catrou says that the fetters and chains with which Murad was bound, were of silver and that Aurangzeb had caused them to be made a long time previously, and which he often showed to his son, Sutlan Mahmud, by way of warning.

To his second son, Sultan Muazzam, he used to say, "The art of ruling is so delicate that a king's jealousy should be awakened by his very shadow. Be wise, or a fate similar to that which has befallen your brother (Sultan Mahmud) awaits you. Indulge not the fatal delusion, that Aurangzeb may be treated by his children as was Jahangir by his son, Shah Jahan, or that, like the latter, he will permit the sceptre to fall from his hand." (*Bernier*).

———

CHAPTER VIII

DEATH OF SHAH JAHAN

SHAH JAHAN wanted to meet Aurangzeb after his victory, but the latter sent his son, Muhammad who made the old emperor virtually a prisoner within ihe fort of Agra. He was never allowed to leave the place even for a day for the rest of his life. Of course, Aurangzeb kept himself concealed from the sight of his father all through the years that he kept him captive.

But Aurangzeb's rivals were still at large. Murad was a valiant soldier, but a drunkard and a tool in the hands of Aurangzeb, imprisoned and at last put to death after three years. Dara was declared an apostate and done to death in 1659. Shuja was hunted away to the hills after a fresh defeat, and there he perished. Aurangzeb was formally crowned in 1659. A year before this, Cromwell had died in England and Charles II was soon after restored to the throne in 1660.

Aurangzeb appointed Shaista Khan as the Governor of Agra Fort in which the worn and deposed emperor was kept in close captivity. All the gates of the Fort were walled up and the palace of Shah Jahan was kept under a strict guard. Harem women were the only companions of the unhappy emperor at this time. All his Austed counsellors had accepted office under aurangzeb. Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son otA urangzeb, was employed to keep a strict

watch over his grand-father, while an unbroken relay of guards baffled all the efforts of the infirm, old man to regain his liberty. No one was allowed to see him without Aurangzeb's written order to Muhammad Sultan. He was not allowed to carry on any private correspondence with anybody. All his letters were open to inspection by Aurangzeb's men, All hopes of Shah Jahan to regain his power, were now shattered. But his love of pomp and luxury still lingered on. His death gradually declined, and he frequently spoke to Jahanara, his nurse and companion in one, of his approaching death. His time was spent chiefly in reading the Quran and in repeating the prayer at all the prescribed hours. Monday, the 22nd of January, 1666, was the day when Shah Jahan breathed his last, wept over by his loving daughter, Jahanara and the ladies of the harem. He did not lose his consciousness even to the last moment but uttered words of consolation to the sobbing ladies and attendants. And then, as the shades of evening began to fall and his vitality sank lower and lower, he beckoned Jahanara to raise and support his head in an inclined position, and as he cast a longing, lingering look on the tomb of his beloved Mumtaz Begum, he sank down to rise no more.

Jahanara was a pious old maid and had shared her father's long captivity, during which she had entreated Shah Jahan again and again to forgive Aurangzeb ; and it was due to her that the enraged father could be induced, only a few days before his death, to sign a pardon in favour of his erring son and the usurper of his throne.

Shah Jahan was loved by his subjects for his

acts of charity which, however, were usually inspired by his wife.

Once, when Shah Jahan was going through the revenue reports of a certain province, it came to his notice that the revenue collected in a certain village was higher by far than in previous years. The Wazir was at once called to his presence for explaining the difference. The Wazir said that the increase was due to the fact that a new tract of land had appeared on the river having receded a little. On further enquiry the land was found to adjoin a rent-free piece of land. Then Shah Jahan grew in wrath and said that the water of the river had receded in response to the prayers of the poor and that it was a gift of God to the afflicted. The Fauzdar who had collected revenue from this new land was at once dismissed for his oppression, as the story goes, of the poor.

Shah Jahan had breathed his last in the Musamman Burj and his parting words to Jahanara were to see that his remains were buried by the side of Mumtaz whom he loved so dearly. The corpse was removed to the adjoining hall and enclosed in a sandal-wood coffin, while preparations were set afoot for burial the next morning. Shah Jahan on his death-bed had directed how his funeral should be celebrated, and Jahanara was anxious that the solemn ceremony should be conducted with "the officers of Stare carrying the coffin on their shoulders ; all the rich men and nobles of Agra and its environs, and all the scholars, theologians and popular leaders of the capital, walking beside the bier with bare heads and feet ; the common people in their tens of thousand, forming the rear of the procession ;

gold and silver being scattered on both sides every now and then as they moved on." But the whole scheme had to be abandoned, as Aurangzeb neither arrived in person nor sent any instructions. The coffin was quietly conveyed to the Taj, in a boat, over the river, and the earthly remains of Shah Jahan the Magnificent, were buried beside those of Mumtaz in a most humiliating and niggardly style

Aurangzeb arrived at Agra in February, 1666, and made Jahanara the chief lady of the court on the eve of his Coronation. It was near about this time that the Great Plague and the Great Fire broke out in London and the London Gazette was first issued. Milton's Paradise Lost was also published a year after the death of Shah Jahan. Jahanara died in 1681—fifteen years after the death of her father, and ten years after the death of her younger sister, Princess Roshanara who had rendered Aurangzeb tremendous help in the War of Succession. The two sisters stood poles apart so far as their sense of duty towards their father was concerned.

All that Aurangzeb did to expiate his sins against his departed king and father was to enclose the tombs of his parents with a delicately carved marble screen which is one of the best specimens of the artistic susceptibility of the age.

CHAPTER IX

AURANGZEB (1659—1707)

AURANZEB came to the throne by the law of the survival of the fittest. His eldest brother, Dara, had no title to the crown as the Mohammadans do not acknowledge the law of primogeniture. It is the faithful who should inherit the throne, irrespective of every other consideration. It was therefore necessary for Aurangzeb, after his extremely inhuman treatment of his father and brothers to come forward as the greatest champion of Islam. After securing the throne with the help of mean and cruel intrigues, he pretended as if sovereignty had been thrust upon him by God, in order that he might carry out the religious reforms so badly needed at the time. It is said that "his imperial robe of state thinly veiled the Dervish's frock that he wore beneath it." He kept fasts, ate no animal food and drank nothing but water. He often slept on the ground by way of penance. He knew the whole of the Quran by heart. He was respected by all for his puritanic habits, but never really loved, because of his suspicious nature. He trusted neither his officials, nor his sons. His eldest son, Mohammad Sultan was kept confined in the State prison of Gwalior. The Emperor sometimes sent artists to take his son's portrait, in order to ascertain how his prisoner fared. His discipline was rigorous even to cruelty. In the field of politics, he was moved by the consideration not merely of justice, but also of expediency.

If the limits within which clemency may be legitimately exercised are transgressed, clemency is bound to have its effect on the foundation of the entire political structure, weaken the prestige of the political authority and bring into disrepute the administration from which that clemency originated. Viewed from the standpoint of the governed also, punishment of the offender for breach of law gives them a sense of security which would otherwise be absent. This fact was fully recognised by Aurangzeb.

During the time of Aurangzeb, Delhi was the chief capital, although the Emperor very frequently came to Agra and held his eourt there.

In May, 1666, Shivaji, now 40 years old, was induced by Raja Jai Singh and his son, Kumar Ram Singh to pay a visit to Aurangzeb's court at Agra. Raja Jai Singh was a famous ruler of Jaipur and a trusted general of the Emperor. Perfect safety was promised to Shivaji while he remained at the imperial capital. Accompanied by his son, Shambhuji, he arrived at the Dewan-i-am at the time when the Emperor's birthday was being celebrated. Grandeur and solemnity prevailed all round. Shivaji was introduced to the Emperor by Kumar Ram Singh but was not received as warmly as he had expected. He felt sorely grieved at heart and made loud complaints against such mean reception, within the hearing of the Emperor. He took out his sword and was going to put an end to his life on the spot. A sensation was thus created in the court; and being over-powered with wrath and indignation, Shivaji drooped down unconscious. He was taken away from the hall and placed in charge of Ram Singh in Jaipur House at Agra, virtually a prison-

er. A strong guard was planted round the house, and all hopes of escape were at an end. Luckily his life was spared by the Emperor through the intercession of Raja Jai Singh and his son. All his protests to the Emperor failed to bring him liberty ; and the louder he protested, the firmer grow the hoops of bondage.

Now the time came when Shivaji protested no more. He knew that the only way to extricate himself from the clutches of the wily Emperor was by a stratagem. Himself an adept in this art, he could outdo Aurangzeb in craftiness when the occasion demanded it. He pretended to be affected with heart-trouble and began to send presents of sweetmeats in baskets of enormous size to priests and Brahmins, with a view to propitiate his evil stars. One August evening, when the sky was overcast with clouds, and a pleasant shower was expected every moment, the soft, cool breeze sent a happy thrill through the hearts of the Emperor's unwary guards, grown overconfident through their royal prisoner's resignation, Shivaji made good his escape in one of the huge baskets and took the road to Muttra, disguised as a *sadhu*. After a long and circuitous journey through Benares and Puri, he reached home after an absence of nearly ten months and surprised his pining mother with his sudden and exexpected re-appearance in the garb of a mendicant. On his return to the Deccan, Shivaji took up the work of conquest with redoubled activity, but his meteoric career was cut short by his sudden death in 1680.

Now let us return to Aurangzeb. He was entirely free from the vices and luxuries of kings and even denied himself the most innocent pleasures. He was very faithful to his wives, the

chief among whom were the Aurangabadi Begum and the Udaipuri Begum.

Having finally secured the throne to himself after his father's death, Aurangzeb proceeded to Delhi which continued to be the chief capital till 1682. After this, the seat of government was shifted to Ahmedabad, Burhanpur and other places situated in the Deccan.

His suspicious nature made Aurangzeb extremely unhappy in private life, and he always feared lest he should meet the same fate in his old age as his father had endured through him.

We may note here that while Aurangzeb was steadily pursuing a policy of self-aggrandisement in India, the Greenwich Observatory was founded in England (1675), the Telegraphs were invented (1687), the Bank of England was incorporated (1694) and St. Paul's Cathedral was opened (1697). The Fort William of Calcutta was also founded the following year (1698), which was only eight years after Charnock had received at Sutanuti a grant of land from Aurangzeb and laid the foundation of Calcutta which was made the capital of a Presidency in 1707—the same year that the Emperor gave up the ghost at the good old age of eighty-nine. It is interesting to note that at the time of Shah Jahan's death, the income of the Moghal empire from land revenue was rupees forty-six Crores which grew up by leaps and bounds to rupees sixty-five Crores during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign.

Although in his general deportment Aurangzeb was highly unbending, yet his behaviour towards foreign ambassadors was most courteous

and condescending. When the Hollanders sent an ambassador to Aurangzeb, by the name of Adrichem who was director of the Dutch factory at Surat from 1662 to 1665, he succeeded in obtaining from Aurangzeb a concession, dated Delhi, the 29th October, 1662, which conferred valuable privileges upon the Dutch in Bengal and Orissa. After Adrichem had performed the Indian ceremony of the *salaam*, Aurangzeb expressed a desire that the ambassador should advance and salute him like a European. The Emperor was in the habit of detaining all foreign ambassadors as long as possible with a view to receive their homage and to number them among his attendants at the Durbar.

But it must be acknowledged that although Aurangzeb was fond of the display of power and imperial splendour, he fully understood the obligation imposed upon the sovereign and was ready to die sword in hand in defence of the kingdom. Public weal caused him great solicitude. He spent many a sleepless night in devising means to promote it and never indulged in low and sensual gratification. He never delegated his power to anybody and was never swayed by considerations of his personal ease and enjoyment. He believed that being placed on the throne, he had been sent into the world by God to live and labour, not for himself, but for his subjects. He used to quote Sadi who said, "Cease to be kings! Oh, cease to be kings! or determine that your deminions shall be governed only by yourselves."

After Aurangzeb had been firmly seated on the throne, an embassy came from Ethiopia—from

the Christian king of Africa. The Abyssinian king had sent to Aurangzeb a present of twenty-five choice slaves, nearly half of whom being of a tender age, were fit to be made eunuchs.

Aurangzeb very often declared that the art of governing was so delicate that the king must suspect his own shadow. In spite of the fact that he loved his sons, he kept the them all away from his side, lest they should treat him in the same manner in his old age as he had treated his father. He dragged on a solitary existence, lived unloved and died unwept. His dying words were that his life had been a great failure as he had done no good either to the country or its people. "Let no useless coffin enclose my breast," said he, "and let no structure be raised over my grave." And his wishes were duly fulfilled. All the great Moghul Emperors have their tombs, but Aurangzeb has none.

The Moghul Emperors from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb, were tne most powerful monarchs of their own times, wielding more authority over their subjects than did any other royal potentate of the age. Even the weal or woe of the private lives of the people depended upon the humour of their rulers.

But this sovereignty of the almighty Moghul was not to last for ever. In 1681 Aurangzeb was compelled to go south to carry on the Deccan Wars, and the Northern provinces, including the Agra province, were gradually drained of their financial and military resources. Owing to the insufficiency of troops in the capital and the rich cities of the north, robber tribes began to assert

themselves and the prestige of the all-powerful Moghul was on the wane. It was at this time, during the absence of Aurangzeb and his trusted generals in the Deccan, that Agra and its suburbs suffered terribly at the hands of the Jats, led by their daring chief, Rajaram. Manouchi describes how in the year 1688, the Jats plundered Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, under the leadership of Rajaram. "They began their pillage by breaking in the great gates of bronze which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plates of gold and silver, and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them."

Rajaram's nephew, Churaman, founded a new line of rulers at Bharatpur which is sill occupying the dignified position of a faithful ally of the British with whom it lay to bring together and ably control the various heterogeneous elements of India, after all the vicissitudes and troubles through which she had passed during the dismemberment of the Moghul Empire in India.

CHAPTER X

THE MOGHUL ARMY.

THE common horsemen served under the Omrahs and were divided into two classes; those who kept two horses bearing the Omrah's marks on the thigh were supposed to be paid at the rate of Rs. 50/- per month, while those who kept only one horse were to receive not less than Rs. 25/- per month. The Omrah's accounts with the emperor were calculated on this basis, although the pay of these horsemen depended largely on the generosity of the Omrahs. The foot-soldiers received the lowest pay, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per month. When the Moghuls were still unskilled in the management of artillery, high salaries were paid to English, French, German, Dutch and Portuguese artillery men. During Shah Jahan's time, some of them were paid Rs. 200 per month; but later on, their pay was reduced to Rs. 32 per month, when the Moghuls had themselves become skilled in the art.

The Moghul artillery was of two kinds, light and heavy. The light artillery or the artillery of the stirrup, consisted of fifty or sixty fieldpieces, all made of brass. Each piece had two ammunition chests and was mounted on a carriage drawn by two fine horses. This light artillery generally accompanied the king's army and was further strengthened by hundreds of camels, each of which had a small field-piece attached to its back. It always kept near the king's person and follow-

ed him in his journey even to the game preserves (which were carefully guarded), whenever he was disposed to shoot or hunt.

The heavy artillery did not alawys follow the Emperor, but kept on the high road as it could not move along difficult passes. Some of these cannon were so heavy that twenty yoke of oxen were required to drag them along. Sometimes when the road was steep or uneven, elephants were employed, in addition to the oxen, to push the wheels of the carriage with their heads.

Soon after the Moghuls had begun to employ Europeans in their artillery, they began to organise their army into regular artillery corps. The heavy artillery of Shah Jahan was under the command of Reuben Smith, an Englishman. Shah Jahan dismissed a large number of Indian gunnners and employed Europeans in their place, as the latter were superior not only as highly-disciplined guners, but also in the mechanical skill of gun-foundry and artillery practice.

The European artillery-men of Shah Jahan had the same uniform as the Moghuls, namely, breeches, turbans, etc., but they had certain privileges, not enjoyed by other officers of the army. They were exempted from sentry duty around the palace, and in the field of battle, they only levelled and fired the heavy guns, the work of cleaning and loading being done by their Moghul assistants. During hours of relaxation, they consumed huge quantities of country liquors which they had the privilege of distilling, and made merry with their wives of whom they kept a varied assortment. During Aurangzeb's time these European gunners had not only had their salaries substantially

reduced, but were also subjected to sentry duty. The right of distilling liquor which had been enjoyed by all Europeans since Akbar's time was subjected to drastic control by Aurangzeb, and any European breaking the drink laws made by him for purposes of prohibition, was paraded through the streets as a lawless scoundrel.

TRAVELS OF THE MOGHUL EMPERORS.

The Moghul Emperors invariably travelled in military pomp. They had two private camps, one of which went in advance of the other, so that at the end of a journey, they might find the camp fully ready for their use. We learn from the Ain-i-Akbari that "each encampment required for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts and 100 bearers." The heavy poles and the bulky tents were carried by the elephants, while the smaller tents were borne by the camels. The bearers carried the more valuable articles for the personal use of the Emperor, such as the procelain used at the table or the gilt and artistically painted beds which were too delicate and fragile to be carried in carts along with the kitchen utensils and other heavy luggage.

The place of encampment was carefully chosen by the Grand Quarter-master on arrival at the destination, great attention being paid to the symmetry of the entire camp. Tents for the use of His Majesty were pitched on a raised square platform of earth, after the selected ground also a square, had been properly levelled. The whole place was surrounded by *kanats*, eight feet high and printed with rich calico. At 9 o'clock in the

morning, assembled the Emperor and the Omrahs in the royal camp for transacting State business. In the evening the nobles again met the Emperor in a second tent which was his private apartment, to pay their respects to His Majesty. There was a third tent where the Emperor met only his chief ministers to discuss important affairs of State. Beyond this was the gorgeous tent for the exclusive use of the Emperor, encompassed with *kanats* lined with Musulipatam chintzand richly decorated with fringes of silk or satin.

Next were the beautiful tents of the Begums and their female attendants. All these tents were supported by gilt pillars, all nicely painted, the floors being spread over with costly carpets on thick cotton mattresses.

The grand entrance or the royal gate was generally at the eastern end of the camp enclosure where some stately horses, gorgeously equipped, were always kept in a state of readiness to answer any emergency,. Field pieces were ranged on either side of this gate, which fired a salute as the Emperor made his entry. Near by, was the *Naubat Khana*, where *nakarahs* or kettle-drums, full four feet high, were played upon by a man with a pair of sticks. The number of these drums usually went up to twenty pairs, to which must be added cymbals, trumpets and variously shaped horns, to form an idea of the ear-splitting music that was produced there.

Adjacent to the tent of the *Naubat-Khana* was the one known as the *Chauki-Khana* where, once a week, each Omrah was required to mount guard for a period of 24 hours.

There were various other tents within a short distance for minor officers and eunuchs; for horses, elephants, lions and rhinoceroses intended for ceremony and parade; for leopards and birds of prey employed in field-sports; for large Bengal buffaloes which, with their prodigious horns, attacked the lion. There were also tents for the arms of the Emperor, for rich harnesses and the Ganges water and betels, alongside the kitchens and pantries. The magnificent royal quarters were always in the centre of a very large army, through the whole extent of which were laid out the principal bazars in the form of a wide street, from which the army was supplied. The plan of the encampment was drawn up before the commencement of the expedition and even the Omrahs were not permitted to change the place once allotted to them by the Quarter-master.

On such occasions, the Emperor's mode of travelling was that he was carried in a litter on men's shoulders. At the end of each of the four poles of the litter were two carriers, who were relieved by eight others at regular intervals. More often he travelled in a *howdah* placed on the back of an elephant with magnificent trappings; but when the weather was nice and pleasant, he preferred to ride on horseback. A large number of Rajas and noblemen followed the Emperor on horse-back during these marches. Footmen and mounted soldiers also accompanied the Emperor on his right and left in large numbets, to keep the way clear. Trumpers and cymbals were played as the Emperor marched on.

Chaudols were used for the ladies of the court, while travelling. These were gorgeously painted

and "covered with magnificent silk nets of many colours, enriched with embroidery, fringes and beautiful tassels." Stately litters, gilt and covered with silk nets, suspended between two small elephants were also largely used. When ladies were carried on the backs of elephants, the animals were made to wear massive bells of silver hanging from their necks and the silken nets which covered the latticed *howdah* had rich embroidery work. Each *howdah* contained eight women attendants, four on either side.

Strict *purdah* was, however, observed. Any man, however exalted his rank might be, if found too near or seen casting a vulgar gaze, was mercilessly beaten by the eunuchs and footmen who accompanied the procession. Bernier relates how on one occasion he narrowly escaped being treated in a like manner. His spirited horse and his good sword helped him to steer clear of his assailants. In Persia, that old Mohammadan country from which the Moghuls borrowed a large portion of their manners and customs, a still worse state of things prevailed. There, a man's life was forfeited even if he were within sight of the eunuchs who accompanied the seraglio; and towns and villages through which the seraglio were to pass, had to be vacated by the male population on pain of death.

THE IMPERIAL VISIT TO THE MOSQUE FOR PRAYER.

Every Friday the Emperor visited the mosque for prayer. Six well-dressed horsemen on prancing steeds, stood before the fortress gate, whose duty it was to clear the way as His Majesty advanced towards the mosque on an elephant, gorgeously

caparisoned, or in a *Chaudol* on the shoulders of men beautifully attired. The roads leading to the mosque were carefully watered to keep off the dust, and were lined by hundreds of musketeers who formed a sort of avenue from the fortress gate to the mosque. A few chosen Omrahs accompanied the Emperor on stately horses, and dispersedly among them were seen the mace-bearers, carrying gold and silver maces.

CHAPTER XI.

MOGHUL ADMINISTRATION.

THE Moghul administration was virtually a military rule and all power rested with thesovereign. To the people of his own race the Emperor was the head of both the State and the Church, but as regards non-Muslims, the government followed the policy of least socialistic interference. The State also did very little for the progress of education or the growth of art on a national scale. Individual artists were, however, patronised at the sovereign's own sweet will.

With certain modifications, the Government retained its military character to the last.

In Moghul India there were no private capitalists or large scale manufacturers. Only cottage industries were in vogue. But as the needs of the State for manufactured goods were too numerous, it was compelled to manufacture the articles it required. The custom of distributing *khelats* or robes of honour by the Emperor to every mansabdar (of whom there were as many as 11,500 in 1690) twice a year, to the higher nobles, to the princes of the blood, to the Hindu Rajas and sometimes to converts to Islam, meant that the Government should store up a huge stock of such robes to meet the annual demands. So the State was required to maintain a large number of *kar-khanas* in many of its larger cities where skilled artisans were employed on daily wages. The

same method was employed for the production of articles required for the royal household.

LAW AND JUSTICE

The Moghul Government defended the country from foreign invasions and internal dissensions, and undertook to protect life and property in the more important cities within the kingdom. But in the vast rural areas, it made the villagers responsible for the protection of their own life and property and that of travellers passing through the neighbourhood. The village chowkidar was, of course, there. He was not paid by the State, but maintained by the village community.

As regards the Fauzdar, it was idle to expect him to protect the rural areas when his jurisdiction extended over vast territories. All that he could be expected to do was to check or punish organised raids by notorious dacoits and curb the rebellious activities of local zamindars.

During the Moghul period, the fountain of justice was the Emperor himself. Wednesdays were particularly reserved for holding a court of law instead of a public Durbar, and this practice was precisely followed by both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

At about 3 A. M. in the morning the Emperor came direct from the Darshan Darwaza to the Dewan-i-Khas and dispensed justice till 12 A. M., or even later. The highest law-officers of the Crown, the Qazis, the Ulemas, the learned jurists and the Kotwal were all there. The gathering offered a more scholarly and reverential appearance than a modern High Court of law in India.

Unless a courtier's presence was specially needed, he was not allowed admittance. The Emperor heard the petitions one by one very attentively, pondered over the cases, consulted the jurists on the spot, and finally pronounced judgment.

It is said that Jahangir had kept a golden chain hanging from his palace-window in Agra Fort for people to tie up their petitions to reach the royal presence direct.

The whole department of law and justice was, however, in a disorganised state; and what Shakespeare says of his own England regarding "the law's delay" and "the insolence of office" were visibly manifest here.

In villages and smaller towns, distribution of justice by the State was conspicuous by its absence, and the people generally settled their differences by an appeal to the Panchayats. When, however, the decision of the Panchayats did not satisfy them, they generally took the law into their own hands.

THE MOGHUL SOVEREIGN AND THE OFFICERS OF STATE.

The Moghul sovereign being also the supreme head of the army, the State was essentially a military State, and the Emperor enjoyed absolute authority. The regular forces had to obey the monarch and not any other person in the State. Only another man with superior military force could stand against or supplant him. The ministers had no voice in the management of the State. They were appointed or dismissed at the sweet will of the Emperor. The Dewan was the highest

officer, but the other ministers were merely his subordinates and might very well be called his secretaries. Most of the important affairs of State were decided by the Emperor in the consultation with the Dewan alone. The ministers carried on the administration only when the Emperor was busy in his own pleasures. But an emperor like Aurangzeb looked into every detail of the administration and might well have said with Louis XIV of France—"The State—I am the State." The Moghul Emperor was also, in theory, the head of the church and the defender of faith of a certain section of his subjects.

The Wazir or Prime-Minister was virtually the Dewan or head of the revenue department, although no Hindu Dewan was ever called the Wazir. The Wazir also had control over the other departments and was expected to command an army like every other important officer of the Moghul period. He often acted as the Emperor's representative in court ceremonies. Some of the Wazirs who had a sound knowledge of Persian were required to draft letters to foreign potentates on behalf of the Emperor.

The Moghul artillery was generally placed under the command of a Turkish or Persian officer recruited from abroad.

The Moghul government had also an officer called the Censor of public morals, whose function was to check such practices as were forbidden in the Quran, such as drinking wine, *Bhang* and similar other liquid intoxicants, although opium and *ganja*, being dry intoxicants, were allowed The Censor was also expected to check gambling and all forms of immorality. During the time

of Aurangzeb one of the duties of the Censor was to break down newly-built temples. The Censor was directed not to allow public women to reside in the cities, as it was a violation of the Quranic precepts.

The Dewan was, so to say, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the revenue collection and expenditure in all parts of the empire were entirely under his control. His written sanction was necessary for all large transactions and payments. He had to submit to the Emperor almost daily, an abstract of the State income and expenditure, and read out a few details here and there at the bidding of his master.

The Dewan's office had also to inspect the accounts of the various departments connected with the royal household. A few of those departments may be mentioned here.

(*a*) The Rewards department, (*b*) the Fines department (*c*) Nazar to the Emperor (*d*) funds of the chief Begums (*e*) cash in the harem (*f*) advances made to officers (*g*) food for the cattle (*h*) articles in the Jasmine tower of the Agra Fort (*i*) cook's department (*j*) bedding department (*k* betel-leaf department (*l*) China-ware department (*m*) scents department (*n*) palace chapel department (*o*) fodder department (*p*) gold embroidery department (*q*) sharbat-khana (*r*) library (*s* fruits (*t*) food for the hunting leopards (*u*) *sadanand* or any kind of dry intoxicant (*v*) palace extension and repair (*w*) pictures (*x*) house-rent from nobles and others (*y*) clothes department (*z*) silver-ware, etc., etc.

During the Moghul rule, it was one of the duties of nobles to mount guard round the palace

at night by turns and the list of this *chauki* was drawn up and signed by the Wazir every morning, before commencing any other work. The Wazir's office maintained copies of all papers signed by the Emperor.

The second highest officer of the state, who stood just to the Dewan was the High Steward or Controller of the royal household or as he has been otherwise called, "the Dewan of expenditure." In addition to his other duties the High Steward had to make arrangements for the marriages of the princes of the royal household.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

In the provinces, the form of Moghul administration was more or less a copy of what existed in the imperial capital. The provincial governor or Subedar acted the part of the Emperor and the provincial Dewan occupied the position of the Wazir. The Moghul officials had a detestation for villages, hence the provincial capital was the centre of all administrative activity. The contact with the villages was not very intimate, and what little of it existed, was through the Fauzdar at the sub-division, or the officers of the revenue department.

Every month the Subedar had to send two despatches to the imperial court, reporting the important occurrences within his jurisdiction.

Although the provincial Dewan was subordid nate to the Subedar, yet a sort of rivalry existe- between the two, as the former was appointed by the imperial Dewan and was directly responsible to him. Like the Subedar, he had to send a report

twice every month regarding the occurrences in his province and other matters connected with the revenue.

The Fauzdars were directly under the Subedars and were responsible for the maintenance of peace and order within their jurisdiction.

If a local zamindar refused to pay revenue, or otherwise defied the orders of the Fauzdar, the latter was empowered to crush the zamindar by setting up his enemies against him and by making a grant of his land to his rival.

The Kotwal or Chief of the city police was a very important functionary. He was required to not only arrest thieves, criminals and pick-pockets, patrol the city at mid-night, but also employ watchmen and sweepers to report to him the occurrences of every part of the city. The watchmen were posted on the public streets and had to keep watch from sunsent till dawn, by turns. The sweepers went twice a day to every house with the ostensible purpose of cleaning it, but was really a spy who reported to the Kotwal all that he noticed in his rounds. As regards punishment of criminals, the Kotwal had to take written orders from the Qazi, and not to act on his own initiative.

NEWS-REPORTERS.

There were several classes of news-reporters who sent news-letters to the Emperor from the various provinces. Of them, the Khufia-navis or secret-writer was a spy from the Central Government whose name and activities were hardly ever known to the local authorities. He kept the royal court secretly informed of all that was passing in

his locality. These secret report-writers were highly valued by Aurangzeb.

THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF MOGHUL RULE.

During the Moghul period, the inhabitants of one province felt themselves quite at home in another province, as in all the provinces of the empire the same kind of administrative machinery was in operation. Persian was the official language everywhere, and the coins of the different provinces were similar to one another. Traders were free to move from place to place, over the vast country, without fear of molestation. The Mahommedans also developed historical literature, which the Hindus, being a race of philosophers, had entirely neglected as a thing unworthy of pursuit.

As regards contact with the outer world, communication by sea was established with Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Turkey and Abyssinia. There was also commercial intercourse with Sumatra, Java, Siam and China.

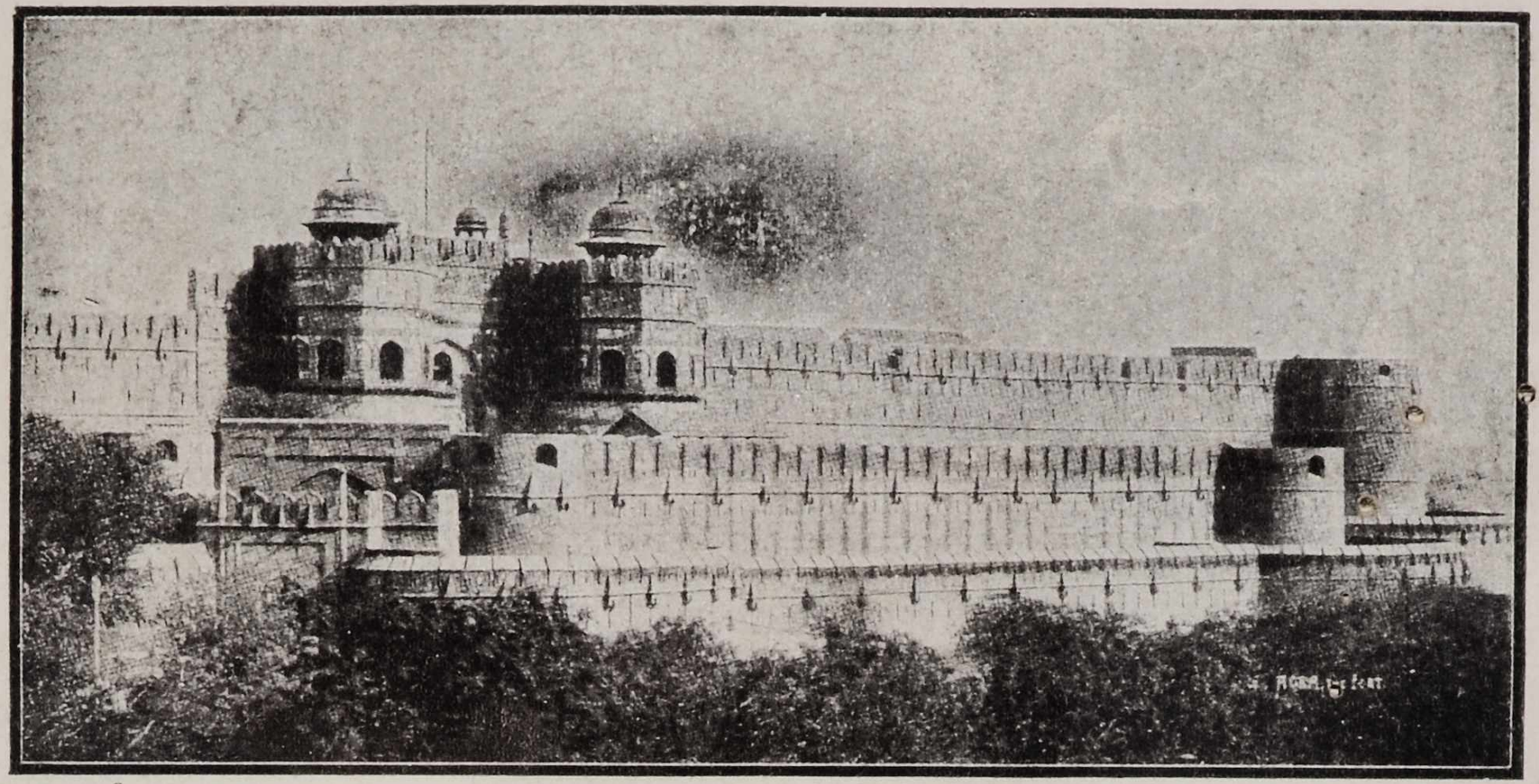
Islamic influence can also also be traced in the dress of the upper class Indians and the popular literature of the country. Military organisation, the like of which India had never witnessed before, was introduced—the military tactics being borrowed from Europe through Turkey and Persia.

In painting and architecture there was a distinct revival. During the time of Akbar, Hindu painting was mingled for a time with Chinese painting, after which most of the foreign characteristics were discarded, and a new school, known as the Moghul School of Painting, captured the field.

The Muhammadans also adopted some of the Hindu customs and beliefs, and invariably married local women, some of whom were converts from Hinduism. As we still notice to-day, Muhammadan saints were adored by the Hindus, and to this, a stout champion of Hinduism like Shivaji, was no exception. Hindus and Muhammadans took part in each other's festivals in a true spirit of brotherhood.

PART III

Five Games of Moghul Architecture



Agra Fort

CHAPTER I

THE AGRA FORT

IN 1565, a year after the birth of Shakespeare, Akbar started building the Fort in the ninth year of his reign. It was completed in 1574—three years after the Harrow School had been established. The construction was made under the supervision of Qasim Khan as the chief architect at a cost of rupees thirty-five lacs. Several additions have been made since the time of Akbar, by Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. It was built on the ruins of the old fort named Badalgarh which had been partially reconstructed by the Lodi Kings.

The Fort stands on the right bank of the Jumna and the exterior walls look almost semicircular in shape, the whole circuit being about a mile and a half. The double wall and the four gates of red sandstone are the same to-day as they were in Akbar's time. The outer wall is fort feety high and the inner one, seventy feet. There were two ditches round the fort, the outer one of which, 25 feet wide, has disappeared. The inner ditch which still exists, is thirty feet wide and was made by Aurangzeb. The two most prominent bastions which stand facing the river at the northern and southern extremities, are known as the Shah Burj and the Bangali Burj respectively.

Of the four gateways, the most imposing one is the Delhi gate on the North-west, with a massive tower on either side, and ornamented with

inland marble work of a beautiful design. There is an inner gateway reached by a sloping ascent up the drawbridge and is known generally by the name of Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate and is said to have been erected in commemoration of Akbar's victory over two Rajput heroes of Chitor, namely Jaimal and Feteh Singh who offered the Emperor a very tough fight in the defence of their motherland. Two elephant statues which once stood over this gateway, and after which the gate took its name, have now disappeared. To the right of this gate there is an inscription showing that Akbar took up his residence in this fort in 1600. By the year 1574 both the forts of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri had been completed, and the latter continued to be the royal abode till the year 1585. From 1586 to 1599 the seat of government was Lahore, after which Akbar returned to Agra and lived in the fort until his death in 1605. The Naubat Khana was located at the top of the Delhi Gate, and music was played when Emperor passed through the gate on his elephant.

The Amar Singh Gate stands at the southern extremity of the fort and leads to the spacious courtyard in front of the Dewan-i-am. The whole structure of this gate was at one time covered with brightly glazed tiles of blue enamel. It is not clear why the gate was named after a Rajput. Some say that Amar Singh was a Rajput Chief who was beheaded in the Darbar of Shah Jahan in 1644. Another version says that a Rajput adventurer by the name of Amar Singh rose to rank and position in Jahangir's court with the nelp of an old courtier who sought the hand of the young and beautiful daughter of Amar Singh in marriage. Importunities having failed, the old man out

of sheer revenge approached Jahangir with the fame of the maiden's beauty, and implored him to acquire her for the royal harem. One evening the house of Amar Singh was raided by the Emperor's men, and seeing no way of escape, the desperate father stabbed his daughter to death. He immediately took horse, rode straight to the fort and demanded an explanation from the Emperor. He was, however, atonce secured by the imperial guards and cut to pieces then and there, under orders from the Emperor. The gate through which he came to seek his retribution and then met his well-deserved death, was named the Amar Singh Gate, to commemorate the Emperor's wrath against all such rash and impudent knaves as had the audacity to raise a finger of revolt against the imperial will.

There is still another version which says that this Amar Singh was no other than the eldest of Rana Pratap's seventeen sons, who had ascended the throne in 1597. In 1599 Akbar directed Prince Salim and Raja Man Singh to invade Mewar. But the expedition proved unsuccessful and Akbar concluded a truce with Amar Singh in 1603. On his accession to the throne, Jahangir sent a larger force against the Rana of Mewar, which ultimately ended in a truce between the Rajputs and the Moghuls. In 1608 the Emperor sent another force against the Rana under the command of Mahabat Khan who compelled the Rajputs to fly for shelter to the hills and jungles. Other expeditions were sent against Amar Singh from time to time, but the brave Rajputs remained unconquered. In 1613 Jahangir transferred his court to Ajmer and appointed Prince Khurram to lead the expedition. In 1614 the Prince marched at the head of a large

army and reduced Amar Singh to a miserable plight. Negotiations were opened for peace in which the Rana agreed to acknowledge the Moghul supremacy. Chitor was restored to the Rana but he was ordered never to fortify or repair it. Jahangir's joy knew no bounds at the submission of the great Rana of Mewar whom Akbar had failed to bring under his control. Jewelled swords and daggers, horses and elephants were presented to the Rana under instructions from Jahangir, and it was on this occasion that the Emperor named the gate leading to the Dewan-i-am, after Amar Singh, to commemorate his victory over the invincible Rana of Mewar, and had his life-size statue on horseback placed below the Darshan Darwaza at Agra, along with that of the Rana's heir-apparent, Kunwar Karan Singh who had fought so well in Mewar's struggle for life and liberty.

The Water Gate, now closed entirely, is situated in the centre of the base facing the river and was formerly used as a passage for boats coming into the fort through the ditch around, which was oined to the river. The waterway provided an easy access from the Fort to the Taj Mahal along the breast of the Jumna.

There was a fourth gate just under the Jasmine Tower which was used by the populace when they came to have *Darshan* of the Emperor. The gate was walled up by Aurangzeb when he made Shah Jahan a captive inside the fort.

The Moghul emperors, as we know, thought it highly expedient to be seen by their subjects every morning at the Darshan Darwaza, to remove any likelihood of the spread of false rumours of their death through intrigues in the palace, and

consequent dislocation of government. We must remember that such wild rumours were not an unusual feature of the Moghul rule in India.

THE DEWAN-I-AM

OR

HALL OF PUBLIC AUDIENCE.

The Dewan-i-am is an extensive hall built of red sandstone, with a big enclosure in front, measuring 600 ft. by 370 ft. The Hall itself was meant for the accommodation of nobles, chiefs and officers; while the enclosure below was thronged by the common people who came from all parts of the kingdom with their petitions to be submitted to the Emperor. The whole place was covered with men, elephants, horses, camels and bullock-carts, and the scene might well be compared with that in modern law-courts in important Indian cities. Anxiety set in the face of both the culprit and the defendant, since everything lay at the whim or mercy of the Emperor. The strict observance of codes of law, either in cases of civil or criminal procedure, was conspicuous by its absence. Perfect silence was maintained while the Emperor was holding his court, and breach of court etiquette was punished very severely.

This hall was originally built by Akbar in the latter part of his reign when he was permanently residing at Agra, but several additions and alterations were made during the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

The marble gallery of three arches for the Emperor's throne, with the windows of lattice-work on either side, for the ladies to watch the proceed-

ings of the court, were added by Shah Jahan; while the credit of covering the pillars, arches and ceiling with white stucco plaster and adorning them with fine lines of golden paint, goes to Aurangzeb who is also said to have made some alteration in the design of the pillars and arches which have a beauty of their own.

There is a large slab of marble beneath the throne-gallery from which the grand Vizier presented to the Emperor the petitions of the public and conveyed His Majesty's decisions in turn. It was formerly fenced round with silver railings.

It was in this Hall that Shivaji visited Aurangzeb in 1666, the year of the Great Fire of London. Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur, a renowned general of the Moghul army, was entrusted with the task of sending Shivaji to Aurangzeb's court at Agra. He and his son, Kumar Ram Singh who was his father's agent at the capital, assured Shivaji that he would not be harmed in any way by the Emperor. Shivaji reached Agra on the 9th of May, attended by his son Shambhuji, seven officers and a retinue of 4000 men. At the time of starting, he was presented with a lac of rupees for the expenses of his journey. The day appointed for his audience with the Emperor was the 12th of May, which was the Emperor's birthday, and the Dewan-i-am shone with exquisite splendour. The enclosure below was decorated with rich canopies and all things looked bright and gay. Shivaji was led by Kumar Ram Singh to the foot of the imperial throne and then asked to retire to a place reserved for commanders of 5000 or third-grade nobles. Shivaji felt so much humiliated that he was on the point of committing suicide with his sword on the very spot, and was only prevented

by Ram Singh. Due to rage and indignation at the poor treatment accorded to him by the Emperor, he fell into a swoon and was subsequently removed, on his recovering his senses, to Jaipur House, at a short distance from the Fort and was placed under the care of Ram Singh. A strong guard was posted round the House, under orders from the Emperor, and Shivaji, was practically made a prisoner. About three months passed in this way; until at last, he made his escape by a stratagem which has been related already.

THE MINA BAZAR.

It was built by Akbar for the use of the ladies of the court. Only women dealers were allowed to sell their goods here. Sometimes the wives of princes and nobles took the place of common dealers and sold their flimsy articles and trinkets to the Emperor and the ladies of the palace at exorbitant prices. None of the male sex except the Emperor was allowed to come within the four walls of this Fancy Bazar. The building is an unassuming structure of red sandstone with open apartments for the dealers, but has very romantic memories connected with it. During the Nauroz festival the ladies plied very good trade here. What with smart repartees and word-combats, sly hints and pleasant gestures, the place was filled with a holiday halo and splendour which could not be met with elsewhere within the walls of the Fort. It is said that once a piece of sugarcandy was vouched by a fair lady to be a piece of diamond and was sold for a lac of rupees.

It is related of Akbar that he once forgot himself so far as to run after the beautiful wife of his

court poet, Prithviraj, the younger brother of the Raja of Bkaner. The lady herself was the daughter of Sakta Singh, a near relation of Rana Pratap of Mewar. She managed to escape this dishonourable assault and ran horrified from the Mina Bazar to the ladies of the court for protection. The incident created such a sensation that Akbar never attended the Mina Bazar for the rest of his life. Prithviraj left the Emperor's court in disgust and all the Rajput nobles took the assault as an insult offered to the noble womanhood of Rajputana. This inglorious event has left a blot on the pure and attractive personality of Akbar.

THE MOTI MASJID
OR
THE PEARL MOSQUE.

This splendid mosque, the best of its kind in the whole of Asia, was commenced by Shah Jahan in 1647, the ninenteenth year of his reign and was completed in 1654—when the British Commonwealth was supreme in England—at a cost of three lacs of rupees. The outside walls are built of red sandstone, while the interior is made up entirely of marble. The walls measure 234 ft. from east to west, and 187 ft. from north to south. The spacious court in front of the mosque is also paved with marble, with a beautiful central tank, 37 ft. square, which reflects the image of the mosque within its bosom. The interior of the mosque which is 142 ft. by 56 ft., is divided into three parts by rows of pillars on which rest the magnificent arches and the three domes of white marble, which look like silver bubbles from a distance. On either side of the mosque there are

separate chambers for the ladies of the court, which are screened off by marble lattice-work. The with floor of the mosque is inlaid with yellow marble and there is a Persian inscription on the front arch in black ; otherwise the whole structure gives the impression of pure white, in and out, above and below.

JAHANGIR'S CISTERN OR BATH.

Within the spacious court of the Jahangiri Mahal there is an enormous stone bowl hewn out of a single block, 8 ft. in diameter and 4 ft. 9 in. high, which was used by Jahangir as his bath and was constructed in the year 1610.

THE DEWAN-I-KHAS

OR

HALL OF PRIVATE AUDIENCE.

It is an exquisite work of art, erected by Shah Jahan in 1637, by the side of the Jumna during the same time that the Taj was being built. The artistic marvels of Persian sytle – the flower-beds, the flowers, the twisted leaves and branches— are so tender and delicate that one can clearly see here the hand of the architects of the Taj which was begun in 1631 and completed in 1648. The building consists of two halls and measures 65 ft. long and 34 ft wide. It is made of white marble and the beautiful carving and artistic inlaid work places it among the best architectural productions of the age. One of the arches towards the river-side Dewan-i-Khas was struck by a shell from the cannon of Lord Lake in 1803 and was partly

broken. Its marble flooring is said to have been dug out and carried away by the Jats.

THE MACHHI BHAWAN OR FISH PALACE.

It is situated at the back of the Dewan-i-am and is connected with it by a communicating door. It consists of a courtyard measuring 200 ft. by 150 ft. which is surmounted by a roofed gallery in the upper storey, on the north, west and south. On the east there is a terrace in front of the Diwan-i-Khas, and there is reason to believe that formerly it had marble roof which was broken down and the marble carried off to Dig and Bharatpur by the Jats as building material for their own palaces. The place is known as Machhi Bhawn, as during the time of the Moghul Emperors there were tanks of marble for the fish in the courtyard below, to which water was conveyed by artificial channels from the Jumna. These tanks were carried off by Raja Suraj Mal of Bharatpur. They were filled with gold fishes which provided merry sport to the Emperor and the Zenana of the palace. A faint idea of the Machhi Bhawan at Agra may be gathered from the existing one at Lucknow.

On the terrace or raised platform in front of the Dewan-i-Khas are placed two thrones, one of black slate and the other of white marble, the former having been used by Jahangir at Allahabad in 1602 as his own royal seat when he rebelled against his father. We are told that Akbar subsequently became reconciled with his son and invested him with the full powers of an emporor before his death.

THE NAGINA MASJID
OR
THE GEM MOSQUE.

It was a private mosque, chiefly for the female worshippers of the palace and is connected with the Zanana by a screened passage along the roof of the Dewan-i-am. It is built of white marble with three domes supported by arches resting on rows of pillars. The place is certainly a secluded nook for devout worshippers and rightly deserves the name of Gem from the artistic delicacy it reveals in small miniature.

SAMAN BURJ
OR
JASMINE TOWER.

It is known both as Saman Burj, Jasmine Tower or Musamman Burj, Octagonal Tower. It was built by Shah Jahan for his beloved wife Arjumand Banu, otherwise known as Mumtaz Mahal Begum. It was here that Shah Jahan closed his eyes in death in January, 1666, gazing steadfastly on the tomb of his beloved Arjumand-the Taj Mahal—visible at a distance of a mile down the Jumna. His dying eyes fed on the beauty of the Taj where was enshrined his once priceless possession on earth and whose memory he was cherishing with all the depth of his first love for the last 36 years. The Saman Burj is enclosed by highly artistic screens of marble, while the octagonal tower above, delicately inlaid with patterns of jasmine flower and overtopped by a cupola, greatly adds to the charm of its beautiful surroundings. In front of the Burj the pavement

is made up into squares in coloured marble for the Emperor to play the game of *pachisi* in which the women of the harem were used as chess pieces. They moved from point to point as the game proceeded, affording a fund of merriment and laughter to the Emperor and the lovely women folk of the palace. This seems to have been one of the most favourite games of the Moghul Emperors as we come across the same sort of chessboard arrangement in the palace at Fatehpur Sikri also.

It is now difficult to say for certain where Shah Jahan was actually imprisoned. Opinion is divided. Some say that the place of incarceration was the Nagina Musjid or Gem Mosque, which can hardly be taken as correct. Whatever blame may be attached to the character of Aurangzeb, it must in justice be said that he was not so inhumanly cruel to his father as he has been almost unusually described. Aurangzeb knew full well that his royal father could not for a day live in such a tiny cell as the Gem Mosque. The Khas Mahal within the Agra Fort and Shah Jahan's new Fort at Delhi show that ample means and vast splendour were indispensable to him and were his as of right. A man of Aurangzeb's sagacity could not fail to recognise this, specially because Shah Jahan's old subjects bore great affection to their deposed Emperor. The sentence Aurangzeb had pronounced on his father was demanded by the rules of statecraft as he understood them according to his own light. He would however, never torture his father's person or interfere with his slightest animal comforts, unless for very strong reasons of State. All that he wanted was to keep him away from his advisors and to deprive him of his liberty, so that the kingdom might not fall into the hands of one of his brothers.

The place of Shah Jahan's incarceration can no other than the Saman Burj where he also died at last, as has been related above. This view is all the more strengthened by the fact that there exists in the immediate neighbourhood of the Saman Burj a privy which must have been specially constructed for the use of Shah Jahan during the period of his imprisonment, to make this portion of the marble palace as self-sufficient as possible, and to minimise the chances of Shah Jahan's escape. The extent to which the great Moghuls had developed their aesthetic sense, would never allow them to build an unsightly room so near to a superb structure like the Saman Burj, unless it were for the exigencies of the occasion.

THE KHAS MAHAL

The Khas Mahal was built by Shah Jahan in 1636, the eighth year of his reign. It is a beautiful block of three marble pavilions standing on an elevated platform on the side of the Jumna. The Emperor with some of the chief ladies of the court used to reside here. The central pavilion measuring 70 ft. by 4[illegible] ft. is joined to the two side ones by means of doorways. The Burj mentioned above is separated from the side pavilion on the north by a marble screen. The walls which are elaborately carved in relief, are still seen in their original artistic grandeur, but the beautiful golden painting on the ceilings has all disappeared. An idea of this Moghul painting with beautiful floral patterns in gold may be gathered from the part which was sought to be restored under the orders of Lord Curzon. The

side pavilion or the south was the residence of Shah Jahan's eldest daughter, Jahanara, who shared her father's captivity within the Fort from 1658 to 1666. This palace contained the portraits of all the Moghul emperors by the most eminent artists, which were removed by Raja Suraj Mal of Bharatpur. On the space below, under the windows of the central hall of this palace, elephant-fights were held, and culprits condemned to death were executed. Death sentences, however, were very rare then.

THE ANGURI BAGH
OR
VINEYARD.

It is situated in front of the Khas Mahal in a big courtyard measuring 235 ft. by 170 ft. It was made by Akbar for his harem women, with sets of chambers on three sides. The garden is laid out in artistic flower-beds with a central tank and fountain, and is divided into four parts by means of pavements. It is said the soil for the garden was brought from Kashmir for the purpose of growing luscious grapes for the imperial household.

THE SHISH MAHAL
OR
PALACE OF MIRRORS.

It is so named because the walls and ceilings of the two halls adjoining each other are covered with small fragments of looking-glass set in plaster and arranged in most beautiful designs. The reflection of light on these tiny pieces of looking-glass has a charming effect. Each one of these

halls has a marble tank which was kept full to the brim without overflowing by an arrangement which has disappeared with the destruction of the Hammam or baths in the adjoining compartment, now closed. One of these tanks contained tepid water and the other cold water in which, and on the marble floor carved and inlaid with beautiful designs of fishes, over which rolled an unceasing current of water, giving them an appearance of living things, disported the Emperor with his many wives; while the innumerable tiny lamps hanging from the ceiling, reflected their beams all around; and the fountains emitting fragrant water played with the locks of the lovely Begums whose well-shaped limbs, only partially revealed, were reflected on the numberless mirrors from which the chamber takes its name.

THE TEH KHANA
OR
UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS.

Under the platform of the Khas Mahal there are underground chambers, known as the Teh Khana, where their fair damsels of the court retired at noon from the terrible summer heat of Agra and passed the long hours of the day in pleasant jokes and merry-making. Some of these underground chambers were also used as cells for State offenders.

THE JAHANGIRI MAHAL
OR
THE PALACE OF JAHANGIR.

This two-storeyed structure was built by Akbar in the latter part of his reign and was the residence

of Jodh Bai, Jahangir's Hindu wife. The bracket-shaped capitals supporting the stone beams, the absence of arches and the Hindu character of its architecture show how widely it differs from other specimens of Moghul buildings at Agra, and what a close affinity it bears to those at Fatehpur Sikri. The influence of the architecture of Jaipur and the neighbouring Rajput States is clearly visible in the construction of the lotus flowers with a pair of birds under them, and in the rich ornamentation of the exquistely carved pillars of the Mahal. Situated at the south of the vineyard, it occupies an area of about 260 ft. by 250 ft. The green and blue tiles above the balcony in the upper storey are in an excellent state of preservation and conclusively prove that glazed tiles of various colours were manufactured in India even in those far-off-days. Some traces of the profuse colouring can still be found in the interior of these buildings, but mostly they present a sombre look, and it is only the wealth of carved ornamentation and vastness of structure that throws a charm over the place. Akbar allowed freedom of worship even to the inmates of the harem and built a Hindu temple for Jodh Bai, which was subsequently demolished by Aurangzeb.

— — — —

CHAPTER II

THE TOMB OF ETMAD-UD-DAULA

THE tomb of Etmad-ud-daulah is situated on the left bank of the Jumna. This nobleman was the father of Nur Jahan and rose to be the Prime Minister of Jahangir. He died in 1622, and the building was started the same year by his illustrious daughter. It was completed in 1638, the same year that Jahangir died and was buried at Lahore.

Etmad-ud-daula, otherwise known as Mirza Ghiasuddin Muhammad, was the son of a high official in Persia who had come in contact with Humayun during his sojourn to that country. Ghiasuddin's father was a cultured and learned man and had gradually risen to a high position. But the death of his father and the intrigues at court brought on distress and despair, and Ghiasuddin was obliged to leave his country and seek his fortune elsewhere. He had heard of the fame of Akbar, the ruler of Hindustan, and so turned his steps thither with his wife, Asmatul-Nisa, his two sons and a daughter. While they were crossing the desert, they were in imminent danger of perishing through hunger and thirst. Their condition became still worse when, in this trying situation, the wife of the Mirza gave birth to a female child in the jungles of Kandahar. The story of Nur Jahan's birth has received a romantic setting at the hands of Muhammadan historians, which is given below.

At this time the distress of the family knew no bounds. They were all starving—they were nearly starved to death. The children were crying for food and both the husband and the wife felt much distressed at heart. There was no comfort to be found anywhere. Death, they knew, would end all their miseries and they prayed to God for death. But that much-coveted death did not come—it never comes to those who welcome it. Days passed, weeks followed and the distress of the good Mirza and his family had no prospect of being relieved.

The Mirza was no at all happy with the newborn baby—it was a great burden along the tedious journey of India—it was a great obstacle to their free movement. They must leave the child to perish in the jungle and proceed forward. But the mother—how could she leave the beautiful baby there in the woods? The child was born on a full-moon night and was as lovely as the moon. How to leave this lovely child to the very clutches of death? She would never agree. But the Mirza was adamant. So after a great altercation and much ruffling of spirits on either side, the child was left to the mercy of the Supporter and Preserver of all. They moved on with a heavy burden pressing on their hearts. The mother looked back from time to time to see the child she had cast away, and wiped tears of grief from her eyes, till at last she could see no more. In her heart she dedicated the child to God.

A merchant with his caravan was passing that way, when he caught sight of a little baby over whom a huge serpent was holding its hood like an umbrella to keep out the sun from her face and be child was laughing with glee. The mer-

chant did not know what to do. He dared not molest the serpent lest it should bite the dear child. So he pondered a while and concluded that God must have sent the serpent there to portect the helpless child. He stood amazed, fixed to the spot, when, lo ! the serpent contracted its hood, turned sharply away and vanished in the twinkling of an eye. The kind-hearted merchant advanced towards the child in great joy and took the soft and tender thing in his arms.

But now there was one great difficulty. The child was too young and needed careful nursing. The merchant looked hither and thither for a woman who could give her milk, but could find none. So he fed the child for some days on camel's milk but as luck would have it, he met the family of the Mirza himself, after crossing over to India. When the merchant had heard the whole story he gave the child to her mother along with some money, predicting at the same time many great things about the child's future. The mother was filled with ecstasies of joy and praised God in the words quoted below, which have been preserved in all popular stories of Nur Jahan's birth. " O Lord, Thy mercy never leaves the helpless ; Thou art the keeper of our honour. Thou makest no delay in showing mercy ; so, oh ye seekers of mercy, be not despondent." The whole of this story reads like a romance, but the Persian chroniclers accept it as true to the letter.

The parents of Nur Jahan soon came over to India and the Mirza presented himself at Akbar's court at Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar saw that he was a man of parts and readily took him into service. His learning, culture and administrative capacity helped him on to a high position in the State,

while his youngest daughter whom Akbar used to call as Mehr-un-Nisa, had free access to the Emperor's palace, and her dignified bearing, even at this early age, made her an object of attraction to all who saw her. Her intelligent talk very much pleased Akbar, and he began to love her as his own daughter. She often visited the ladies of the harem with her mother, and so attracted the notice of Jahangir who loved her company immensely.

The story goes that one day Jahangir was flying pigeons, while Mehr-un-Nisa stood wacthing. The prince gave her two pigeons, and in loving words requested her to hold them fast for him. But suddenly one pigeon got loose and flew away. Jahangir was annoyed and asked her how the pigeon escaped. She held out the other bird, and as she let it fly away, told him in a soft voice that the bird had escaped in that manner. The prince was very much struck with the simplicity of the tender girl, and from that moment began to love her in secret. She, in her heart, admired the prince's frank and open traits of character. This was the process. Soon, however, Akbar came to learn that his son and heir wanted to make the daughter of Mirza Ghiasuddin, a servant of the State, his wife. Akbar never approved of this match. He married her instead to Sher Afghan Khan and made him the ruler of Burdwan at the same time.

Jahangir could not forget Mehr-un-Nisa. So, as soon as he came to the throne, in 1605, after Akbar's death, he sent his friend Qutbuddin Khan who had succeeded Raja Man Singh as governor of Bengal in 1606, to Sher Afghan, with the express demand that he should divorce his wife, to leave the way open for the Emperor to marry her.

This being refused, Sher Afghan was murdered and Mehr-un-Nisa was sent as a prisoner to the Emperor's palace at Agra. Another account says that Sher Afghan was torn to pieces by Qutb-uddin's retainers on account of his insubordination and rebellious spirit. He is also said to have been guilty of treason. The widow, however, was so much overpowered with grief and indignation, that she refused to see the face of Jahangir for six years, and spent the whole time in mourning the death of her departed husband. Before this, Jahangir had already been married to Jodh Bai, daughter of Udai Singh, the Mota Raja, in 1586, and to other wives of various nationalities. At last, after repeated inducements and entreaties from the Emperor, the widow gave her consent and they were married in 1611, the year when the Authorised Version of the Bible was published. After the wedding, Jahangir changed her name to Nur Jahan or Light of the World. Her father was raised to the position of a Prime Minister, which he continued to fill till his death in 1622.

Nur Jahan was all in all to Jahangir and it was she, and not her royal lord, who ruled the kingdom. At this time, the revenue derived by the State from land alone was nearly thirty crores of rupees a year.

But Nur Jahan had not forgotten the merchant who had saved her life in jungles of Kandahar. She sent for him to the palace and gave him large sums of money. On his death a memorial was built for him at Kandahar at an enormous cost.

At first Nur Jahan wanted that the mausoleum of her father should be carved out of gold and silver. But she was told by the architects that marble would be more durable and also less liable

to suffer from the ravages of thieves and plunderers.

The tomb of Etmad-ud-daula has been spoken of as an architectural gem of the highest purity, in which both the mosaic and inlaid work has attained its perfection. The decorative work is similar to that exhibited in the Taj as the Taj, was begun only three years after this tomb had been completed.

The garden enclosure of the tomb measures 180 yds. each way, in the centre of which on a raised platform of red sandstone, 150 ft. square, stands the tomb proper, of the choicest white marble, with an octagonal tower at each of the four corners. The garden itself is enclosed by walls on three sides, while the fourth is left open unto the Jumna. The gate leading to the garden is a double-storeyed structure of red sandstone, artistically set in marble mosaic. Both the interior and exterior walls of the tomb are exquisitely ornamented with inlaid work, the beauty of which is really indescribable.

The cenotaphs of Etmad-ud-daula and his wife Asmat-ul-Nisa are made of Khattu or yellow stone and lie in the central chamber. There are other chambers surrounding the central one, where the remains of other members of the family lie desposited, including those of Asaf Khan, father of Mumtaz Mahal and brother of Nur Jahan. (As for Nur Jahan, she was buried at Lahore in 1646 close by the side of Jahangir's tomb.)

There is a marble pavilion above the central chamber, with its roof resting on twelve pillars which are joined to one another by means of beautifully-pierced marble screens.

The gold and silver paintings in the chambers had disappeared, but were partially restored by Lord Curzon in 1905 before the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales, to convey to them an idea of the original.

CHAPTER III

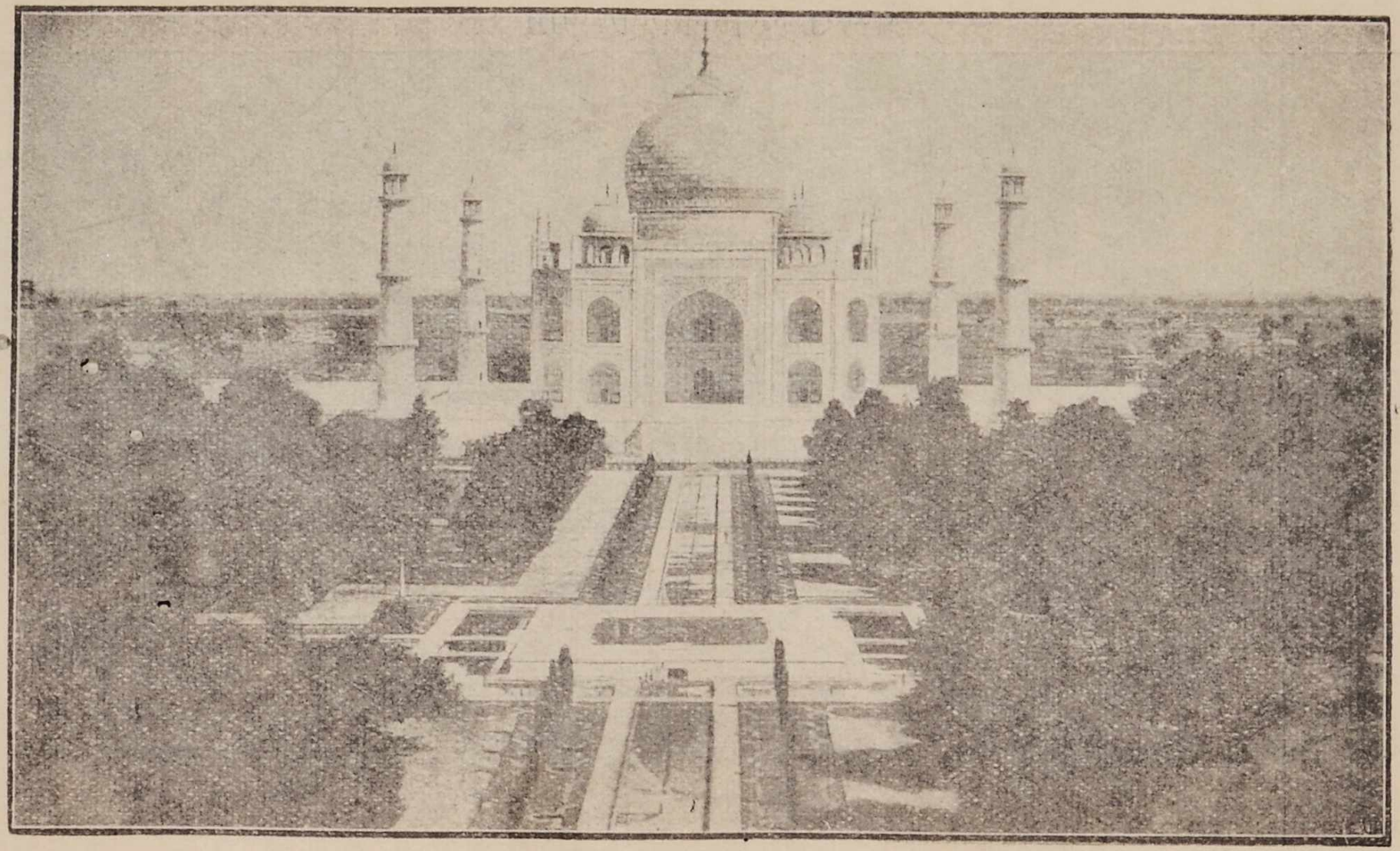
THE TAJ MAHAL.

VEN those who have described the Taj, have made a confession on that it is indescribable. Shah Jahan himself, the builder of the Taj, describes its tender beauty by saying that the nymphs of Paradise love to rub off the dust of its threshold with their eyelids. Again, remembering his beloved wife, he says that the sight of the Taj makes the pining heart heave melancholy sighs, and moves even the planets to tears. It was love and love alone soft, profound. heart-eating love—that impelled the royal lover to immortalise his beloved by rasing this noble edifice of marble which has been variously called "a dream," "an elegy," "a sigh of broken heart"—all expressing only a fraction of the deep emotion which rent that true lover's heart to pieces.

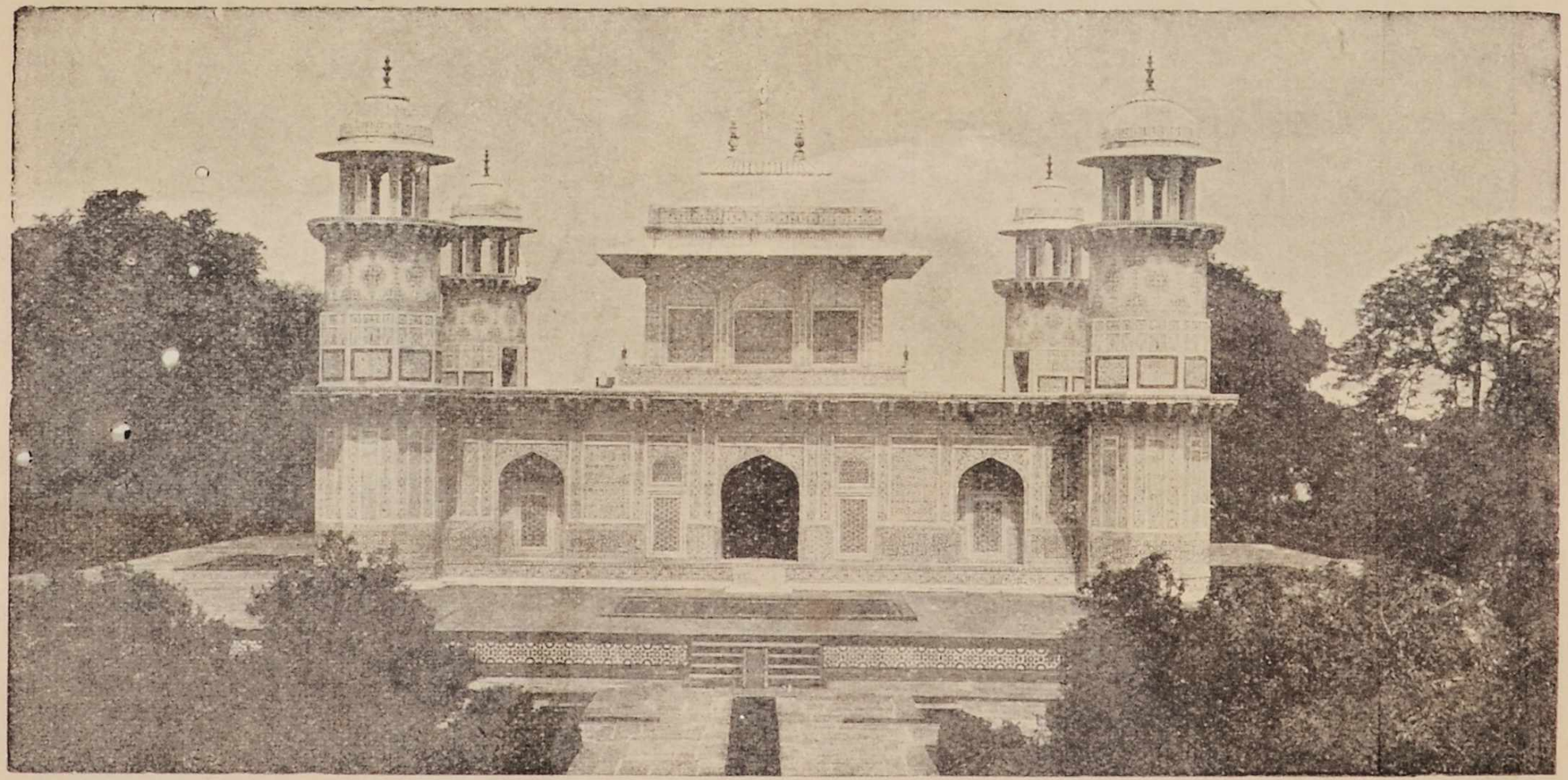
Shah Jahan was an Emperor, but an ardent. vehement lover all the same; and his love for Arjumand was no less fervent than that of Romeo for Juliet. The Taj is "the most gorgeous romance of wedded love."

Lord Roberts in his "Forty-one Years in India" says :

"Neither words nor pencil could give to the most imaginative reader the slightest idea of the all-satisfying beauty and purity of this glorious conception. To those who have not already seen it, I would say—Go to India. The Taj alone is well worth the journey."



The Taj



Etmaduddaula's Tomb

Professor Oscar Browning of Cambridge observes : " There are morningites and eveningites, moonlighters and mid-dayers, but they are all agreed that the Taj is the one incomparable building in India and in the world.....See the Taj. It will fascinate you so as to deprive you of all power of laudatory expression and it will haunt you ever after till your dying day."

Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman asked his wife, when she had gone over the Taj, what she thought of the building. She replied that she could not tell him what she thought, as she did not know how to criticise such a building, but she could tell him what she felt, " I would die tomorrow to have such another over me."

Havell remarks that the Taj is " India's noble tribute to the grace of Indian womanhood."

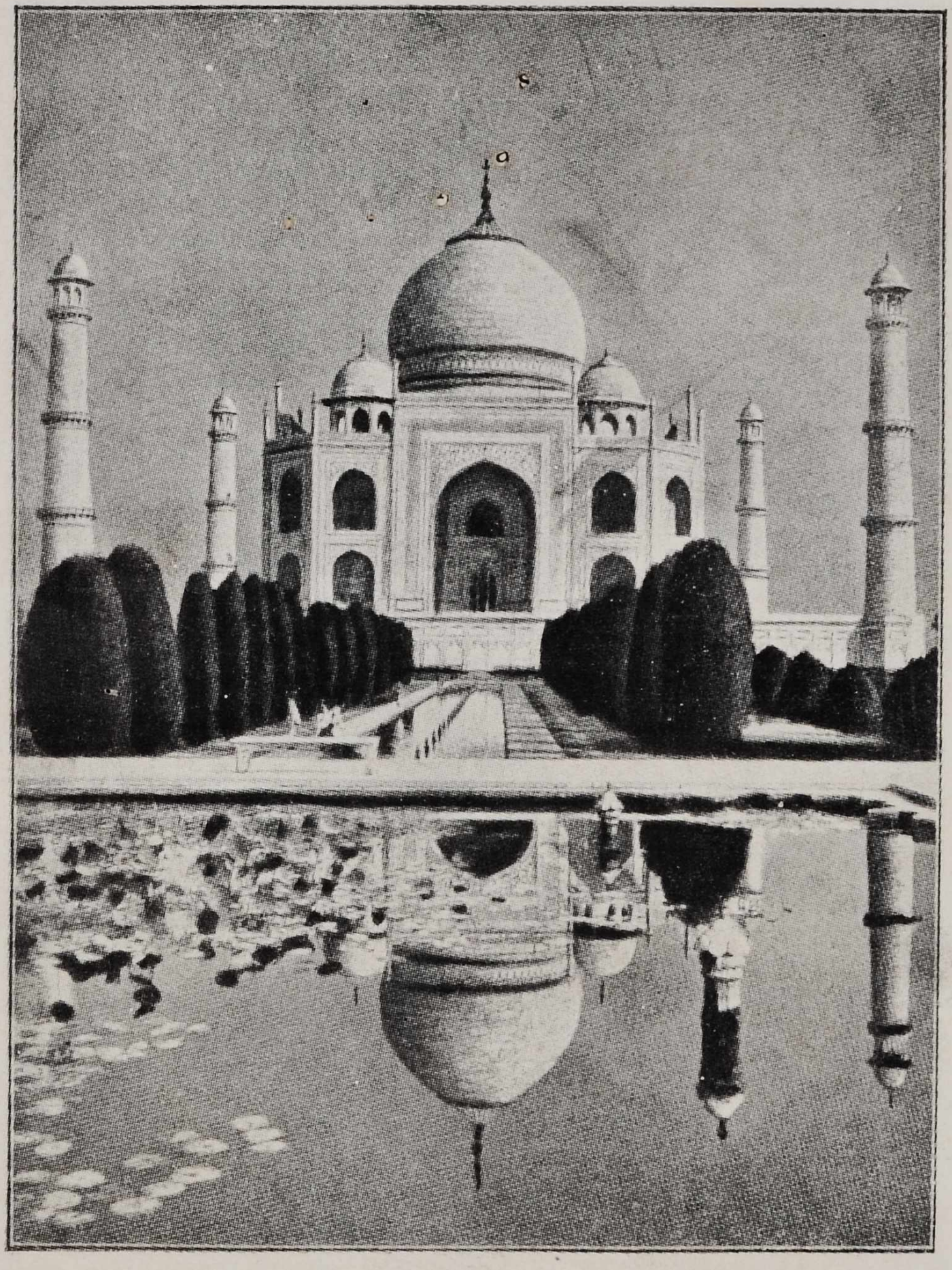
Mumtaz Mahal was exquisitely beautiful, but it was a beauty arising not from features which were indeed fine, but it was her magnanimity, sweetness of temper, innocence and feminine grace which cast a spell all round her, that formed her real beauty. The sense of her beauty grew on you every moment as you looked at her face and adored her in your mind. Her eyes gleamed with a serene light, and while they pleased you, they also inspired a feeling of awe and worshipful esteem. They had a look of command and the words, authority and virtue were imprinted on them. Her firmness was delicately charming and her tenderness of heart bore no traces of weak understanding. Her voice was sweet and sonorous, possessing at the same time the accent of a superior being. Her knowledge of the art of government, though elementary, was very accurate. No person was less corrupted than she was, by the

power and position that she was the mistress of. If she had any faults, her winning graces put such a thick veil over them, that they passed off unnoticed. She lived to be the admiration of every body with whom she came in contact, and to be the happiness of one who was her royal consort. Shah Jahan was the happiest of the Moghal Emperors so far as conjugal love went, since he knew how to take as well as to give. On the other hand, the love of Mumtaz was a blind devotion, an utter submission ; a trust and belief even against herself and against the whole world where her royal lover was concerned.

The dome of St. Peter's at Rome is 133 feet high and 53 feet in diameter, while the principal dome of the Taj is 80 feet high and 58 feet in diameter.

Tavernier says that he witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of the building of the Taj. According to him, twenty-two years were spent on the work, during which twenty thousand men were employed day and night. "It is said," adds Tavernier, "that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work because, from want of wood, they had all to be made of brick, as well as the support of the arches."

The Taj Mahal acquires its name from Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Shah Jahan, whose remains lie buried here. Her original name was Arjumand Banu Begum and she was the daughter of Asaf Khan, son of Etmad-ud-daula and brother of Nur Jahan. Her mother's name was Diwanji Begum. On the death of Etmad-ud-daula, Jahangir raised Asaf Khan to the position of his prime minister. The family of Etmad-ud-daula was an exceptionally talented one, both in the male and in the female line. Both Nur Jahan and her niece



Taj Mahal

captured the hearts of their royal lovers, which was due to something more than their physical charms alone. What, then, was the "witchcraft" they used ? Sharp intelligence, feminine grace, benignity of heart and a high sense of womanly self-respect helped them to become sovereigns over a sovereign's heart. The charms of physical beauty wear off with passing years, but the superior charms of the head and the heart create a new fascination from hour to hour and captivate the mind with irresistible force. Jahangir was frivolous and was ruled by Nur Jahan, He acknowledged her superiority and felt happy that she was governing him as well as his subjects. Mumtaz Mahal was Shah Jahan's loving mistress, his comrade, his counsellor. She inspired him to acts of charity and benevolence, brought him the message of real conjugal love which was divine in character, and filled his heart with mercy for the weak and the needy. These teachings the emperor could never forget, and this is the reason why Shah Jahan cherished the memory of the beloved queen of his heart to the very hour of his death. On the 22nd of January, 1666, in the 75th year of his age, he passed away, as he set reclining against the arms of his eldest daughter, Jahanara who had shared her father's captivity, gazing with steadfast and longing eyes on the Taj, the last resting-place of the treasured mistress of his heart, whose los he had mourned for the last 36 years.

Arjumand Banu was born in 1592, and as she grew up, became well-versed in letters, painting and music. She had just passed her nineteenth year when Shah Jahan married her in 1612. She was one of the most accomplished girls in an age when Nur Jahan was the chief lady of the court

which had received from her a fresh impetus towards the development of art and letters.

Shah Jahan spent eighteen years of happy married life, in the course of which Mumtaz bore eight sons and six daughters, of whom seven survived her. Jahanara Begum was born in 1614; Dara, 1615 ; Raushanara Begum, 1617; Aurangzeb 1618 ; Murad, 1624 and the last, Gauharara Begum at Burhanpur in the Central Provinces in 1630, at whose birth the queen breathed her last.

Mumtaz could not bear a moment' s separation from her husband and accompanied him even to the most dangerous of his military expeditions. She had accompanied him to Burhanpur where the emperor encamped on his way back to Agra after crushing a rebellion in the Deccan by Khan Jahan Lodi. She expired at the birth of her last child, retaining full consciousness to the hour of her death. But before she finally closed her eyes, she asked the emperor to grant her two boons, namely, that he should not marry again and that he should build such a memorial over her grave as would be the wonder of the world. We know that both her wishes were literally fulfilled.

Mumtaz Mahal was at first buried in a garden at Burhanpur. After six months the body was brought over to Agra and interred in the garden of Raja Jai Singh, great-grandson of Raja Man Singh, where it lay under a temporary pavilion until the grand mausoleum was constructed. The garden of Jai Singh was taken over from him in exchange for another plot of land of the same value, and the edifice was erected.

Shah Jahan was so much overpowered with grief, that for years together he denied himself all pleasure and amusement ; and when the ladies

which had received from her a fresh impetus towards the development of art and letters.

Shah Jahan spent eighteen years of happy married life, in the course of which Mumtaz bore eight sons and six daughters, of whom seven survived her. Jahanara Begum was born in 1614; Dara, 1615 ; Raushanara Begum, 1617; Aurangzeb 1618 ; Murad, 1624 and the last, Gauharara Begum at Burhanpur in the Central Provinces in 1630, at whose birth the queen breathed her last.

Mumtaz could not bear a moment' s separation from her husband and accompanied him even to the most dangerous of his military expeditions. She had accompanied him to Burhanpur where the emperor encamped on his way back to Agra after crushing a rebellion in the Deccan by Khan Jahan Lodi. She expired at the birth of her last child, retaining full consciousness to the hour of her death. But before she finally closed her eyes, she asked the emperor to grant her two boons, namely, that he should not marry again and that he should build such a memorial over her grave as would be the wonder of the world. We know that both her wishes were literally fulfilled.

Mumtaz Mahal was at first buried in a garden at Burhanpur. After six months the body was brought over to Agra and interred in the garden of Raja Jai Singh, great-grandson of Raja Man Singh, where it lay under a temporary pavilion until the grand mausoleum was constructed. The garden of Jai Singh was taken over from him in exchange for another plot of land of the same value, and the edifice was erected.

Shah Jahan was so much overpowered with grief, that for years together he denied himself all pleasure and amusement ; and when the ladies

At first a wooden model of the Taj was prepared, and when the same had been approved by the emperor, the construction began. Artists and architects were sent for from all parts of India and even from distant countries like Turkey and Persia. The chief architect of the Taj was Muhammad Isa Afandi of Turkey, who was assisted by Muhammad Sharif of Samarkand, each drawing a salary of rupees one thousand per month. Muhammad Hanif of Agra was the chief engineer; Ismail Khan of Turkey was the domemaker; Manohar Singh of Lahore, Bansidhar of Multan, Mohan Lal of Kanauj and many others were employed in executing inlaid work; Amanat Khan of Persia and Muhammad Khan of Baghdad were calligraphers; Zadir Zaman Khan of Arabia was the general artist; Ata Muhammad of Bukhara was the sculptor; Abdulla of Delhi, Muhammad Sajjan of Balkh and Shakrulla of Multan were masons; and Baldeo Das, Amir Ali and Raushan Khan of Multan were flower-sculptors. We also learn from the Badshah-Namah that Mir Abdul Karim and Makramat Khan supervised the construction of the mausoleum. The design was made by Muhammad Isa on the model of Humayun's tomb at Delhi and all the work was executed by men of Asiatic origin. The story that Geronimo Verroneo, a Venetian by birth, was the architect of the Taj, is a myth.

The Taj was begun in 1631, a year after Mumtaz's death, and completed in 1648 at a cost variously stated at fifty lakhs to three crores of rupees. At this time the income of the State from land-revenue alone was more than thirty-seven crores of rupees. Twenty thousand workmen were employed in the construction who lived

in a newly-founded colony opposite the main gate of the Taj, called Mumtazabad, and now known as Tajganj. The Mumtazabad gate facing the main gate of the Taj can still be seen.

As regards materials for the building, the white Makrana marble was brought from Jaipur, the red sandstone from the neighbourhood of Fatehpur Sikri, diamond from Panna, turquoise from Tibet, lapis lazuli from Ceylon, jasper from Cambay, malachite from Russia, cornelian from Baghdad, chrysolite from the Nile and various other precious stones and jewels from various parts of the world. Some of these were presented to the emperor by the rulers of other countries or by the nobles of his own court. It is said that during the construction of the Taj an inclined cart-road like that in modern hill-stations had to be made for the purpose of carrying heavy stones to a height of nearly 250 ft. This road was about two and a half miles in length, as the slope was very gentle. We know that some of the loftiest temples in India like the temple of Jagannath at Puri, were made in the same way.

Between the fine gate of red sandstone and the grand portal of the Taj, lies a spacious quadrangle enclosed by rooms, which was known by the name of Jilo-Khana. Most of these rooms have now disappeared.

The portal of the Taj bears a good resemblance to the gate at Sikandra, the red sandstone structure being profusely inlaid with marble. There are four domed cupolas at the four corners above the central arch which is flanked by two-storeyed rooms on either side. The small domes, eleven in number, just above the archway, with slim minarets at the extremities, greatly heighten the

beauty of the whole structure. The gate rises to a height of 100 ft. and there are flights of steps leading to the top. One thing to be particularly noticed here is the marvellous skill with which the letters in black have been inscribed on the gate. They seem to be of the same length and thickness, both above and below, although there is a distance of 80 ft. intervening. The same skill has been exhibited on the other gates of the Taj buildings for which credit should be given to Amanat Khan of Shiraz, who used to draw a salary of rupees one thousand per month. The passages inscribed are taken from the Qoran and the aim of both the architects and artists was to give the whole place a look, and the whole atmosphere the joy and sublimity of Paradise, according to Islamic conception, as here the remains of Mumtaz were to be laid. This was the feeling—a deeply religious and sacred feeling—which found its outlet and apt expression in the silent, yet speaking language of the edifice of the Taj. The fervent love of the subjects for the queen who had died a premature death at the age of thirty-eight, only two years after Shah Jahan's accession to the throne, was awaiting an expression, the result of which was the splendid mausoleum of the Taj. Mumtaz had conquered the hearts of her people as did Rani Ahalya Bai in this country, or Queen Victora in England, or rather in the whole of the British Empire. Her religious fervour, her charity and benevolence, her clemency and motherly affection for subjects were widely known and admired, which produced their genial effect on the minds of those architects, sculptors and masons who planned the building, held the chisel or constructed the grand edifice by laying one piece of marble upon another. The sorrow for the sudden

and untimely death of their beloved queen sat deep in their hearts; and they longed, in harmony with the feelings of the emperor, to build her a memorial which could be likened unto Paradise—a fit abode for the remains of the departed soul. To them Mumtaz was still a living force, an inspiration, a nymph of the air they breathed, a goddess of the art by which they yearned to perpetuate her memory. They laid on her a garb of white marble and adorned it with jewels to make it resemble the white muslin shroud, interwoven with gold and silver embroidery which covered her body at the time of her burial.

As we pass through the main entrance, under the vaulted roof of the octagonal chamber, we notice a beautiful lamp hanging from the centre, which was presented by Lord Curzon.

The garden of the Taj encloses an area of 1860 ft. by 1000 ft. within lofty walls of red sandstone. There is a marble reservoir of water in the centre of the garden which is approached by pathways down the steps of the gate. The Taj stands on a marble platform 313 ft. square and 22½ ft. above the ground. A row of cypress trees, newly replaced, and standing on either side of a long, thin pool of water, alongside the pathways, greatly magnify the beauty of the whole surrounding. Most of the old fruit-trees that once stood here at the time of Raja Jai Singh have been removed as they obstructed the view of the Taj from a distance. The oldest tree in the garden is a semal, with a girth of a nearly 50 ft. which is said to be more than four centuries old. It stands close to the eastern wall of the enclosure, while the temporary resting-place of Mumtaz is situated within a short distance from the western wall and the mosque

proper.

The buildings known as the Mosque and the Jamaat-Khana or gathering place, stand on the west and the east of the Taj respectively. They are exactly the same in outward structure, being made of red sandstone, with domes and arches of marble and similarly ornamented with inlaid work. The mosque can accommodate more than five hundred worshippers, the seats being marked off on the floor for each individual. The exact image of the gilt pinnacle of the Taj with the crescent is inscribed on the pavement in front of the Jamaat-Khana and measures 30 ft.

The mausoleum stands on a double platform: the first one, of red sandstone, is 4 ft. high, in the centre of which stands another of marble 18½ ft. higher than the first, paved with alternate squares of black and white. At each corner of the marble platform, stands a lofty marble minaret, rising to a height of 162½ ft. above the ground. Each minaret has three galleries, with a flight of 164 steps in the interior, leading to the open cupola at the top.

The mausoleum is of pure white marble and stands in the centre of a chequered marble platform mentioned above. It is 186 ft. square, with a central archway on the four sides, each measuring 66½ ft. high. The central dome on the roof with the gilt pinnacle, has a diameter of 58 ft. and there are four domed cupolas at the four corners. A flight of stairs from the marble platform descends into the underground vaulted chamber where lie the remains of Mumtaz and Shah Jahan. The tomb of the queen is in the centre of the enclosure. Above this vaulted chamber, in an octagonal room, are the cenotaphs of

the queen and her consort, the latter, having been placed here by Aurangzeb in 1666. The cenotaphs are beautifully carved and profusely inlaid with gems in flowered patterns. Shah Jahan had placed a golden screen round the cenotaph of Mumtaz, but got it removed afterwards. At present the cenotaphs are enclosed by a marble screen, octagonal in shape and very delicately carved and finely pierced in floral patterns. It was made in ten years and had a door of jasper. Passages from the Qoran are beautifully inscribed on the external arches of this building, and it is said that as many as fourteen chapters of the Qoran have found their place on the walls of the imperial buildings at Agra. Emerald, sapphire, onyx, cornelian, jasper and other precious stones have been profusely used in executing the inimitable inlaid work which decorates the interior of this exquisitely artistic mausoleum.

A pall of pearls which used to cover the tomb of Mumtaz at the time of Shah Jahan's reign, disappeared long ago, together with the silver doors of the mausoleum, both of which are believed to have been carried off by plunderers.

On the cenotaphs are inscribed the names of the emperor and his wife, and the years of their death. Mumtaz breathed her last in 1630, while Shah Jahan died after a lapse of about 36 years.

The ninety-nine beautiful names of God are inscribed on the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal together with passages from the Qoran. These passages remind the true believers of the infinite mercy of God and His promise unto them of the bliss of Paradise. "Do not make us, Oh Lord," it is written on her tomb, "bear what we have not strength to bear." And again, "He is God, besides Whom

there is no God; Who knoweth both the present and the future." And so on.

The tomb of Shah Jahan also bears similar inscriptions. "Despair not of the mercy of God: He forgiveth all sins". Again, "Ye shall have your rewards on the day of judgment.....The present life is delusive and preparatory."

During Bernier's time the underground chamber was opened once a year with great ceremony and only Muhammadans were allowed admittance. Diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other precious gems adorned these tombs, but have now disappeared.

The intervening space between the tombs of the emperor and his wife is only six inches, that of Shah Jahan being placed here by Aurangzeb, as stated above.

Shah Jahan had the intention of building another mausoleum for himself on the other side of the Jumna—a fit counterpart of the Taj—and of connecting the two by a marble bridge. The foundation had already been laid, when the scrambling for power amongst his sons and the emperor's captivity put an end to the scheme. After Shah Jahan's death, Aurangzeb had the remains of his father interred by the side of Mumtaz. "The remains of my parents," said he, "should lie buried side by side, as they loved each other so strongly." Aurangzeb had no eye for architectural beauty. His wacthword was economy. To build another mousoleum like the Taj, thought he, would be "wasteful and ridiculous excess."

The Taj with the gilt pinnacle rises to a height of 243½ ft. from the garden level, and is higher than the Qutb Minar at Delhi by a little more than 5 ft. It is a lovely sight when this lotyf

edifice, with "the aerial grace of its domes, rising like marble bubbles into the azure sky," is reflected on the breast of the slowly-gliding Jumna on moonlit nights. Formerly the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal was opened with much ceremony only once a year, and none but Muhammadans were allowed to enter the small chamber, lest the peaceful sanctity of the place should be disturbed.

For a good distant view of the Taj, one should see it from three different places. First, from the top of the gateway; secondly, from the marble platform in the centre of the pathways leading to the Taj; and lastly, from the top of one of the minarets at the four corners of the platform on which the mausoleum stands.

We conclude this chapter by adding that Shah Jahan, with his usual farsightedness, had assigned the income of thirty villages, amounting to a lakh of rupees, for the upkeep and maintenance of the Taj.

CHAPTER IV

THE TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDRA.

AFTER capturing Agra, Sikander Lodi laid out the town of Sikandra in 1492. The many ruins of buildings lying about the road from Agra to Sikandra lead to the irresistible conclusion that Sikandra formed a part of the city of Agra in those days. In 1495 Sikander built the famous Baradari which in 1623 was adopted by Jahangir as the tomb for his mother, Mariam-uz-Zamani, the Hindu wife of Akbar. Sikandra is now only a small village, at a distance of about 5 miles from Agra.

Lord Curzon's last work before he left India was to restore the four mutilated minarets of the large gateway at Sikandra, which had remained without their upper storeys for nearly 150 years, since they were destroyed, according to the popular belief, during the invasion of the Jats of Bharatpur in the middle of the 18th century.

The foundation of the famous tomb of Akbar at Sikandra was laid by the emperor himself in 1603, the year of the death of Queen Elizabeth in England. Akbar died in the year 1605, and left the tomb to be completed by his son and successor, Jahangir. It is said that the total cost of construction was somewhere in the neighbourhood of rupees fifteen lakhs. The edifice was finally completed in 1613—a year after the English factories had been established at Surat. It

is recorded by Muhammadan chroniclers that Jahangir walked on several occasions with bare feet from Agra Fort to Sikandra to visit his father's tomb and "rubbed the head of supplication on the threshold," as he had made the last days of Akbar very unhappy.

The surrounding walls of the mausoleum are pierced by four gateways—one in the centre of each side. The minarets above the main entrance had been destroyed by the Jats during their occupation of Agra in 1764, but were re-built by Lord Curzon before the visit of the Prince and the Princess of Wales in 1905, and it is said the work was carried on day and night continually. This gate is 74 ft. high and is of red sandstone like the other three. The minarets at the four corners above the main gateway are of marble and are three-storeyed, their height from the roof being 86 ft. There are flights of steps within, leading to the summits of these minarets, which command an excellent view of Fatehpur Sikri and the Taj. The doors of the gate were formerly of sandalwood, and were either carried off by the Jats or destroyed during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

The garden within which the mausoleum is laid, measures nearly 150 acres, while the marble platform on which the tomb has been erected covers an area of 400 ft. square. The tomb occupies a central position and is a five-storeyed building, the storeys above the ground-floor becoming smaller and smaller, as the tomb ascends higher and higher. Thus the whole assumes a tapering shape like a Buddhist Vihara and may well be compared to the Panch Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri. The tomb proper is approached by a passage inclining downwards and bears neither any inscription

nor any mark of grandeur. Here lies the great emperor, shorn of all earthly splendour, buried in the dust out of which man is made. A marble tombstone marks the grave within the underground vault and a hush prevails all over the place.

The second, third and fourth storeys above the ground-floor have the same design and the same kind of ornamental arches and domes of marble. The topmost storey is entirely made of marble and was built by Jahangir. The marble trellis-work of the enclosing walls of the terrace, the minarets and the balconies greatly magnify the beauty of the place and the fine carvings and intricate designs baffle description. A clear view of the domes of the Taj can be obtained through the windows of the surrounding walls.

A tombstone hewn out of a single block of marble is placed in the centre of the terrace, and a mable pedestal stands at the head, on which the famous diamond, the Kohinoor, used to lie. Both the cenotaph and the pedestal are artistically carved. The ninety-nine names of God are engraved on the sides of the tomb, while the words "Allahu Akbar"—"God is great" and "Jalla Jalalahu"—"May His glory be glorified" are written on the northern and southern ends of it.

It is said that a canopy of gold and silver brocade used to cover the tomb, which was carried off by the Jats, along with the armour and royal garments of Akbar which used to lie by the side of the real tomb in the vault below.

CHAPTER V

THE FORTRESS OF FATEHPUR SIKRI

FATEHPUR SIKRI lies at a distance of 23 miles from Agra and is only a few furlongs from the old village of Sikri. In 1527 Babar encamped here before proceeding to attack Rana Sangram Singh of Chitor. The name Fatehpur or "town of victory" was probably given to it by Akbar. The fortress is about 7 miles in circumference and is surrounded on three sides by lofty walls 50 ft. high and 6 ft. deep. On the fourth side there is a big artificial lake constructed by Akbar.

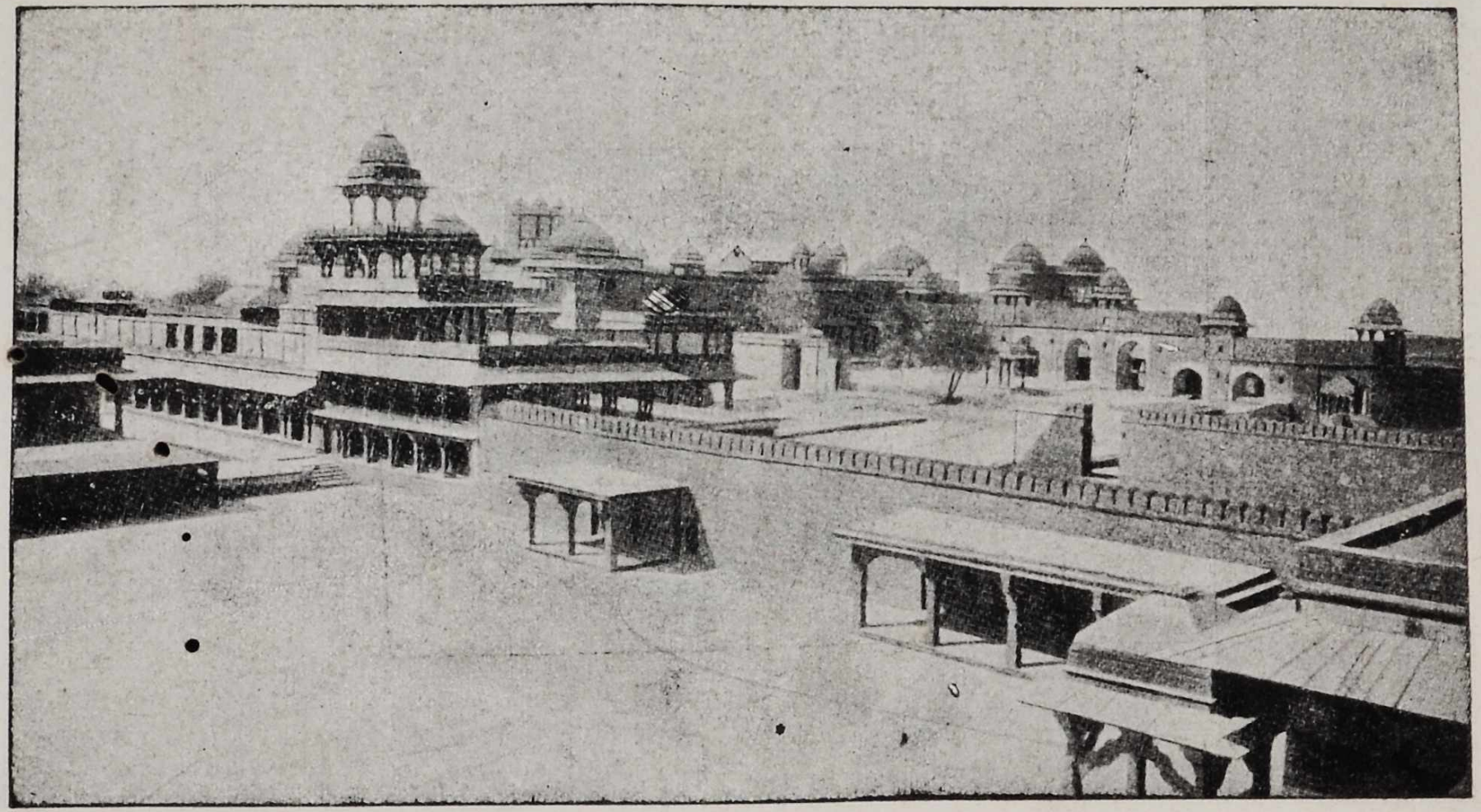
The city was very thickly populated at the time when Akbar held his court here, but now presents a deserted look. The principal roads and the bazar at Fatehpur Sikri are paved with stone, which was done at the time of Akbar.

In 1569 Akbar paid a visit to Sheikh Salim Chishti, a Muhammadan hermit, ninety years old, who lived here in a cave in one of the hillocks near the stone-cutters' mosque. The learned Sheikh was a pious and spiritually-gifted man from the family of Hazrat Khairuddin and well-known for his high penances. He was born at Delhi in 1479 and was considered to be the most learned among the Muslim theologians of Western Asia when he came and settled down at Fatehpur Sikri in 1564, after spending eighty-five years of his life in Muhammadan centres of learning—in Syria, Arabia and other places. Red sandstone

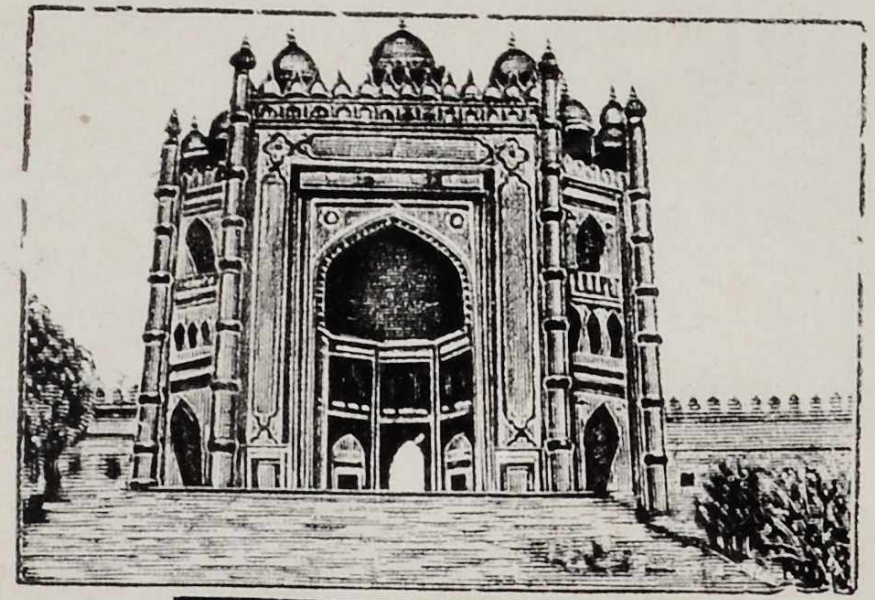
being found here in large quantities, the place has long been inhabited by many stone-cutters. They hailed Saint Salim on his arrival and built a mosque for him sometime before the foundation of Akbar's fort and palace.

At this time Akbar was twenty-seven years old, but he had no issue. He had gone on pilgrimage to Ajmer, and as a result of his earnest prayers at the tomb of Hazrat Muinuddin Chishti for an heir to the throne, he received indications through a dream that he should go and see the holy Saint at Sikri and seek his prayers and benedictions for the fulfilment of his heart's desire.

The Emperor at once hastened to Sikri, and on meeting the Saint, fell at his feet. The holy man was telling his beads, and even before he had heard Akbar, told him that his desire would be granted. But there was one condition. Akbar must promise to give his son to the service of the pious Sheikh. This, of course, was readily agreed to. It was not long before Akbar came to know that his Hindu wife, Mariam-uz-Zamani, the sister of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber, was pregnant. Agreeably to a suggestion from the Saint, Akbar built a palace near the mosque, which came to be known by the name of Rang Mahal, and he sent his pregnant wife to reside at Sikri. In one of the rooms of this palace, now in ruins, prince Salim, afterwards known as Jahangir, was born in the year 1570. Abkar's joy knew no bounds and he named his son after the holy Saint. Enormous sums of money were given away in charity, and all the State prisoners were released. Soon a new city, with its palaces and domes, towers and proud gates, began to rise



Fatehpur-Sikri



GATEWAY FATHPUR SIKRI.

and construction was complete by the year 1574, the same year that the Agra Fort was completed. Fatehpur Sikri was the emperor's residence till 1585, after which Akbar removed his seat of government to Lahore and stayed there till 1599. He returned to Agra in 1600 and lived in his newly-erected Fort until the time of his death in October, 1605.

The statement generally made that Akbar removed his capital from Fatehpur Sikri to Agra at the request of Sheikh Salim Chishti, since the pomp and gaiety of the court was a source of disturbance to the Saint's penances, is entirely false and baseless, as the holy Saint died in the year 1571, which was three years before the construction of the royal palaces at Fatehpur Sikri were actually complete.

During the great Sepoy mutiny of 1857, some of the mutineers lodged themselves within the walls of Fatehpur Sikri, and it was some time before they could be driven out of the place.

THE BARADARI

As we go up the ridge, we come across a building richly decorated with carving and enclosed by a verandah. It has only one room in the centre, and was probably the dwelling-place of one of Akbar's courtiers It is a Baradari or a structure with twelve doors.

THE NAUBAT KHANA

As we enter by the Agra gate, the first building that meets the eye on the main road is the place of the court musicians who played a trium-

phal march whenever Akbar made his entrance into the city. It consists of a court surrounded by small rooms and has four gateways. The northern and southern gates have Muhammadan arches, while those on the east and west have Hindu brackets.

MINT AND TREASURY

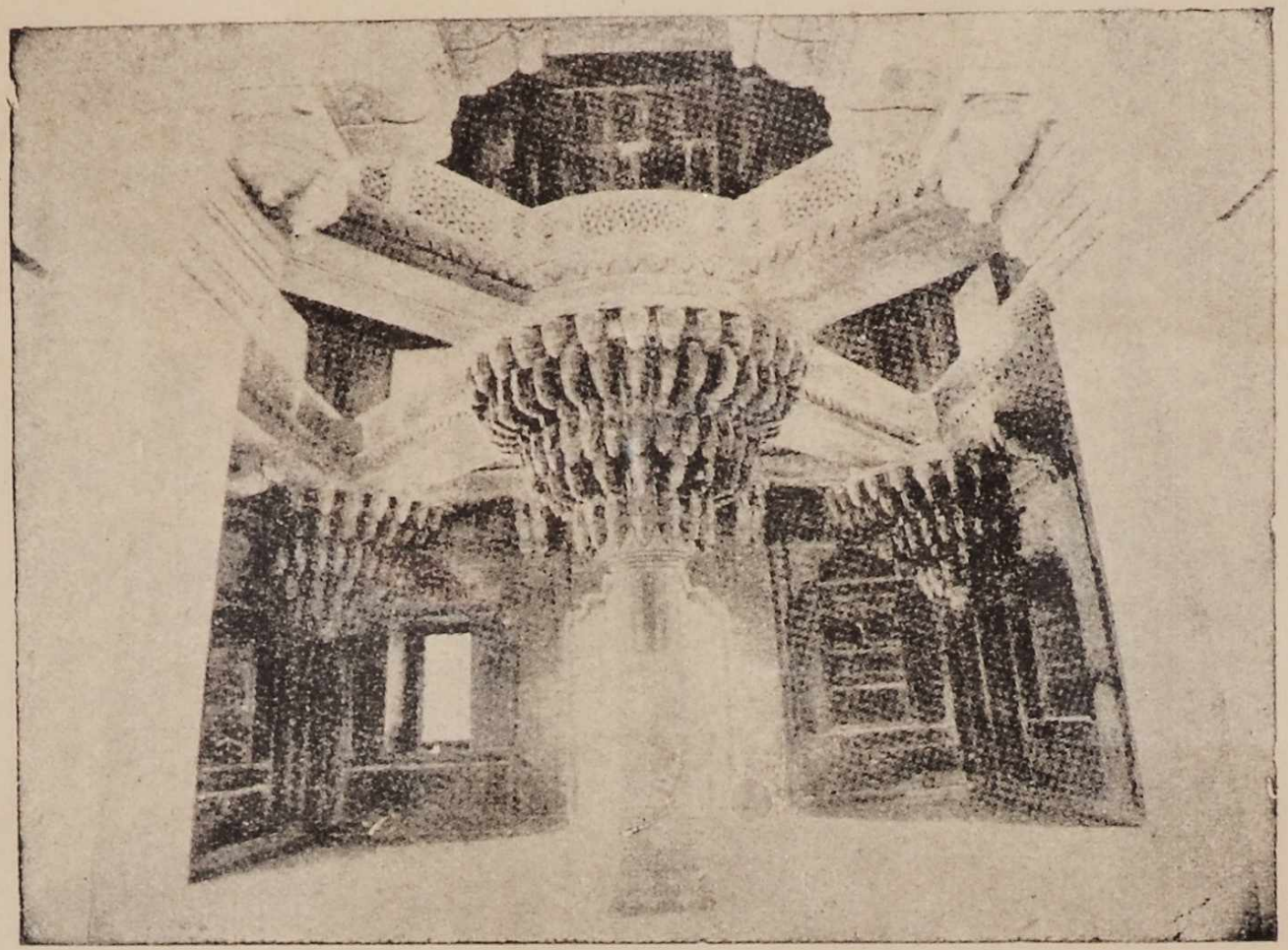
The first of the palace buildings on the summit of the hill is the mint where coins were struck during the time of Akbar. The treasury stands on the opposite side of the road. Portions of these buildings have now disappeared.

THE DEWAN-I-AM

The great court of the Dewan-i-am measures 368½ ft. by 181 ft., and is surrounded on all sides by covered walks. The Chamber of the Dewan-i-am is to the west of this court and is enclosed by a verandah, in the eastern portion of which was the Emperor's seat between two screens of red sandstone, where sat His Majesty, hearing petitions and dispensing justice.

THE HAMMAM
OR
BATHS

The baths were a necessary adjunct to all Moghul palaces and buildings, and the Hammam of the Turkish Sultana at Fatehpur Sikri with its elaborate arrangements for the supply of hot and cold water is a good reminiscence of the great Moghul's love for the luxury of baths.



Dewan-i-Khas (also known as Ibadat-Khana)

The baths were also used by the physicians of those days as a place for the healing of various kinds of diseases, aud those known as the Hakims' baths and situated close by the physicians' quarters, consist of several chambers and are beautifully adorned with plaster work. It is said that sometimes the Emperor himself resorted to these baths for pleasure and invigoration. An elaborate process was involved in the treatment administered to the patients, a description of which may be found in the medical books of the East. There is a huge well near by, sunk in the hard rock, which supplied water to these baths.

THE DEWAN-I-KHAS

OR

HALL OF PRIVATE AUDIENCE

This building with its octagonal column surmounted by a huge circular capital in the form of a *Sesh Nag* of Hindu mythology, has a peculiar charm of its own. It was constructed in the year 1574 and stands to the right of a great court measuring 756 ft. by 272 ft , while the Khas Mahal is situated on the side opposite. It looks like a two-storeyed building from a distance, but really consists of a single chamber with a big column in the centre, at the top of which was placed the Emperor's throne with seats for ministers or foreign embassies at four corners of the room. It was the most private apartment for the deliberation and despatch of important State business, and from the mode of its construction and the seclusion of the spot provided excellent protection from the unscrupulous activities of eavesdroppers.

It is said that this place also represents the Ibadat-Khana or Hall of Worship where Akbar used to discuss the different forms of religious faith with high priests and men of letters. The discussion often continued for days and nights together before a definite conclusion was arrived at. Akbar was a real seeker after truth and his mind became unsettled in matters of religion after his contact with the mystic poet Faizi and his brother, Abul Fazl, a reputed scholar and a man with a speculative turn of mind. Hindu ascetics, Muhammadan fakirs and Jesuit fathers were all welcome, and gathered on the floor below. Akbar would often descend from his throne on the top of the central column and sit with the men on the floor to discuss religious and philosophical problems. He was gifted with the power to appreciate different points of view, not only in religion, but also in the affairs of State, and so held the balance steady in everything that claimed his attention, The architecture of the Dewan-i-Khas is pre-eminently Hindu, which speaks for Akbar's cosmopolitan tastes. The open space by the side of the Dewan-i-Khas was the garden of the Turkish Sultana or Tambolan Begum.

In the great quadrangle of the Dewan-i-Khas the pavement is laid out in squares of black and white, where the Emperor used to play the game of *pachisi*, using the slave girls as chess pieces. An elevated stone slab in the centre shows where the Emperor sat. Here was the great Moghul in lighter vein. The pachisi court was formerly screened off from the surrounding edifices.

THE ASTROLOGER'S SEAT

Akbar had great reverence for Hindu *Yogis* and was a firm believer in their astrological calculations. The small square chamber with finely artistic pillars, close to the Dewan-i-Khas, was reserved for a Hindu *Yogi* whose astrological knowledge was a marvel of the age.

ANKH MICHAULI

Not far off from the *pachisi* court and behind the astrologer's seat, are three rooms with staircases leading to the roof, where the Emperor is said to have been in the habit of playing hide-and-seek with his harem women. The tradition is so persistent that it cannot but be supported as a fact.

THE KHAS MAHAL

This building was completed in 1574 and is now in a dilapidated condition. It stands to the left of a great quadrangle, the right extremity of which is occupied by the Dewan-i-Khas. The court of the Khas Mahal, measuring 211 ft. by 153 ft., is enclosed by cloisters and was originally separated from the great quadrangle by a screen of red sandstone. The Turkish Sultana's house, the Emperor's bed-room and the Girls' school are also situated here.

THE TURKISH SULTANA'S HOUSE

The house of the Turkish Sultana or Tambolan Begum overlooks the *pachisi* court and consists of a single room enclosed by a verandah by means

of screens of red sandstone. The whole building is adorned with rich and elaborate carving without, however, any sign of extravagance. Some of the carvings within the room were multilated during the reign of Aurangzeb, as they bore the figures of birds and animals. The puritanic Aurangzeb scrupulously adhered to the injunctions of the Prophet, which prohibit representation of anything that is endowed with life. The Turkish bath which was erected by Akbar for this chief wife stands hard by.

Fergusson, the greatest critic of Indian art, says that he could conceive of nothing so picturesque in outline, so elaborate in finish, and yet so restrained, as the house of the Turkish Sultana.

THE KHWAB-GAH

This was Akbar's bed-room or "house of dreams" at the top of a number of buildings near a large artificial lake 95 ft. square. It has beautiful screens of interlaced work in red sandstone and Persian rhymes are inscribed on the walls to the north, east and west. All these inscriptions seek to impress the beauty and sublimity of the spot, "the dust of which is a soothing powder for the lovely eyes of the celestial nymphs." The ornament in gold and ultramarine has disappeared, but was partially restored by Lord Curzon in 1905 before the visit of the Prince and the Princess of Wales, to give an idea of the original painting.

The most important point in this building is its central position. From this room, Akbar could approach in the twinkling of an eye, the harem, the record office, the Dewan-i-am and other chief buildings in his city, himself remain-

ing practically invisible hehind the screens of red sandstone which have now disappeared.

THE GIRLS' SCHOOL

It is a low building to the north of the Khas Mahal, consisting of a room and a verandah where the young girls of Akbar's harem were given a sort of miscellaneous training which aimed at general culture and æsthetic nourishment.

THE RECORD CHAMBER

The Record Chamber or Daftar-Khana is a single room enclosed on all sides by a verandah with a spacious court in front. It is quite close to Akbar's bed-room and stands on an elevated platform.

THE HOSPITAL

It is situated on the north of a large quadrangle near the Astrologer's seat, from which it is separated by a wall with communicating doors. It was formerly divided into several wards for the patients who were admitted here for treatment. The building is very low and is now in a ruined condition. But the little that remains, shows how unsuitable it was for the purpose of a hospital.

THE PANCH MAHAL

It is a five-storeyed building as the name implies. It is built in the style of a Buddhist *Vihar* and the architecture is essentially Hindu.

It assumes a tapering shape as it ascends, each storey being smaller than that beneath it. Roughly speaking, the design bears a resemblance to the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra. The ground floor has 84 columns, while the topmost roof is supported only on four. The stone screens which acted as a partition for the several chambers, have disappeared. This building was a pleasure retreat for the emperor and his wives and was joined to the Khas Mahal and the *pachisi* court.

MARIAM'S PALACE

Mariam's palace or the palace of Mariam-uz-Zamani, otherwise known as the Sunehra Mahal or the Golden Palace, from the number of golden paintings on its walls, is situated in an enclosure south of the five-storeyed pavilion mentioned above.

Akbar married the daughter of Raja Behari Mal of Amber in 1562, and gave her the title of Mariam-uz-Zamani. She was the mother of Jahangir who was born at Fatehpur Sikri in 1570.

The walls of the building are inscribed with quotations from the Shah Namah of Firdausi while the beautiful frescoe painting gives a vivid representation of the events related in Firdausi's book. But some of these frescoes—the Angels, the fall of Adam, the Annunciation—were also the product of Christian influence, as we know that the Jesuit Fathers had been attracted towards Agra by Akbar's spirit of toleration. The Moghul artists who were mostly Hindu, came to have a great fascination for Biblical events, which developed freely under the catholicism of the Emperor. The presence of these pictures in Mariam's house,

as also her name, have led people to suppose that she was Akbar's Christian wife, which, however, is not correct.

Akbar had great respect for the feelings of his Hindu wife, the mother of his heir to the throne, and treated her with the same consideration as he did his chief Muhammadan wife. He had a garden laid out for her near her palace, just as he had a bath constructed for his Turkish Sultana.

Mariam died in 1623 and was interred by her son, Jahangir, at Sikandra, not far from the place where the remains of her departed husband had been buried eighteen years before. Jahangir made a few necessary alterations in the Baradari built by Sikandar Lodi in 1495 and adopted it as the tomb for his mother, as related before.

THE PALACE OF JODHBAI

Jodhbai was the wife of Jahangir, being wedded to him in 1585, the years in which Fatehpur Sikri was abandoned by Akbar. Manmati was her Hindu name and she was the daughter of Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur. The building consists of a huge block of stone edifice and is a splendid monument in point of space. Built in the pavilion style imported from Central Asia, it greatly resembles the Jahangiri Mahal at Agra, both of which were constructed almost simultaneously. The Hindu influence is visible everywhere, both in the architecture and in the ornamental carving, the most conspicuous being the bell and chain of the Hindu temples.

As Fatehpur Sikri was deserted by the Emperor in 1585, it is very doubtful if Jodhbai at

all inhabited the place, as she was married to Jahangir that very year. As the court of this building was orignally joined by a cloister with Akbar's bed-room, the probability is that it was a part and parcel of the Emperor's harem and that after the marriage of Jahangir, it came to have the name of Jodhbai Mahal.

The court in the centre is paved, and measures 179 ft. by 162 ft. It is surrounded by a rectangular block of two-storeyed buildings. The baths for the ladies of the court and the Hawa Mahal or wind palace with its open screens can also be seen within the walls of this spacious enclosure. The glazed blue tiles over the gabled roofs are noticeable here, as in the Jahangiri Mahal at Agra.

THE STABLES

The stables for horses and camels are situated close by the house of Birbal and provided accommodation for 100 horses and 51 camels for the use of the Emperor and his ministerial staff. The stone partitions of the compartments in the stables have vanished.

BIRBAL'S HOUSE

Birbal the Wit, was one of the nine jewels of Akbar's court and also a famous general. Mahesh Das was his original name and he was the only Hindu courtier who cordially professed the New Faith propounded by Akbar. This two-storeyed building was erected for his daughter's residence at Fatehpur Sikri, as his services were constantly required by Akbar from 1571 onwards. Both the Hindu and Muhammadan styles of

architecture are noticeable in this magnificent edifice.

Birbal's witty replies were highly appreciated by Akbar, and there was not another man in the whole of Akbar's court who could beat Birbal in a repartee. It was for this reason that Akbar always sought the company of this loyal, affable and intelligent courtier. Once a hot discussion took place in the Dewan-i-Khas at Fatehpur Sikri between Birbal and the Wizier on a question of great political significance. The old Wizier lost his temper and said to young Birbal, "You should know that I can put two Birbals in each pocket of mine." Birbal softly replied, "Then you'll have more political wisdom in your pockets than you have in your head."

Birbal did not even spare Akbar. It was a hot day in July. The Emperor, Prince Salim and Birbal were taking a stroll in the morning. After sometime, due to oppressive heat, Akbar took off his cloak and placed it on the shoulder of Birbal. Prince Salim also did likewise. Then said Akbar, "Friend Birbal, you have an ass's load on you." "Not of one, but of two, Your Majesty," was the prompt reply.

THE NAGINA MASJID

The Nagina Musjid or Gem mosque was a small place of worship for the ladies of the harem, like the one at Agra, and is situated near the house of Raja Birbal.

THE HATHIPOL OR ELEPHANT GATE

This is 49 ft. high and is flanked by two gigantic elephants of hewn stone which were mutilated during the time of Aurangzeb. Not far off are the water-works which supplied water to the palace. It is said that one of the reasons why Akbar abandoned Fatehpur Sikri was the great scarcity of water fit for human consumption.

The Kabutar-knana or pigeon house, the Sangin Burj and the Karwan Sarai with its finely-decorated archway are some of the adjacent buildings.

THE HIRAN MINAR

This tower was erected by Akbar in memory of his favourite elephant, Hiran, buried here, and was also used by him for shooting game. It rises to a height of 80 ft. from the ground and is curiously shaped, being octagonal at the base, circular in the middle and tapering at the top. A spiral staircase in the interior leads to the gallery at the summit, which commands an excellent view of the surrounding country. The whole of the middle portion of the tower is covered over with imitation stone-tusks of elephants, which look like projecting iron spikes from a distance.

THE JUMA MUSJID

This mosque was erected in 1571 and is said to have been made in imitation of a great mosque at Mecca. It stands on an enclosure measuring 542 ft. by 438 ft. The long halls on either side

of the central chamber, with majestic pillars in Hindu style, are really imposing and inspire an awe and reverence for the place. A gate through which Akbar passed from his bed-room to the mosque, is known as the King's gate and is situated on the east of the great enclosure mentioned above.

It is said that one Friday, in the year 1580, Akbar took the place of the High Priest in this mosque and began to read the prayer to the people, in pursuance of the belief that the King was also the Head of the Church. But he was suddenly overpowered with strong emotion at the sight of the congregation and broke off in the midst of his pompous effort. The prayer was concluded by the court preacher, and Akbar never assumed the role of a priest-king again.

THE BULAND DARWAZA

This great gate was erected by Akbar in 1601 in commemoration of his victory in Ahmadnagar and Khandesh in Southern India, as recorded in an inscription on the eastern side. It is 176 ft. high from the ground and is the tallest and the most stately in the whole of India. It is also one of the greatest in the world. The inlaid marble work in the arches and the Hindu style of architecture in the gallery above the entrance are worthy of notice. On this gate are inscribed the famous lines—"Jesus said (on whom be peace) the world is a bridge; pass over it, but build not upon it, he who hopeth for an hour, may hope for eternity; the world is but an hour—spend thy hours in prayer, for the rest is unseen."

SALIM CHISTI'S TOMB

This is the only marble edifice in Akbar's palace at Fatehpur Sikri and is said to have taken the place of an earlier structure in red standstone which had been built by Akbar. On his accession to the throne, Jahangir had this beautiful marble mausoleum constructed for his god-father, Sheikh Salim Chisti. The platform on which the tomb is erected, as well as the inside floor, is inlaid with marble mosaic, while the screens enclosing the verandah outside are beautifully perforated in ornamental designs. A very noticeable feature of the pillars supporting the beams of the porch in front, are the singularly-designed marble brackets in the form of S which have been imitated here from the stone-cutters' mosque. The artistic canopy round the tomb is made from sandal wood and is inlaid with beautiful floral patterns designed from mother-of-pearl. The whole work, both inside and out, has been executed with such elegance and taste that it defeats the power of the pen to describe it. An inscription on the inside wall of the tomb tells us that Saint Salim died in 1571.

The story goes that one of the Saint's infant-sons gave his life so that Akbar's son, Jahangir, might live. This infant's tomb is erected near by.

There are other tombs within the great enclosure, the most important among which is that of Islam Khan who was the Sheikh's grandson and rose to be the Governor of Bengal.

THE HOUSES OF FAIZI AND ABUL FAZL

These two houses stand within a few paces from the Buland Darwaza in an outside enclosure and in close proximity to each other. These two brothers were among the nine jewels of Akbar's court and were in constant attendance on the emperor during his stay at Fatehpur Sikri.

CHAPTER VI

INDIAN TRADE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES DURING THE TIME OF THE LATER MOGHULS

THE Dutch supplied copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, elephants and other things to India from Ceylon, Europe, Japan and other countries. She imported broadcloth from France, lead from England and a considerable number of foreign horses, a great many of which came from Persia by sea and land, from Arabia, Ethiopia and other places; a huge quantity of fresh fruit, like grapes, and apples, melons and pears which were received from Bokhara, Samarkand and Persia, and sold at extensively high prices at Delhi during the winter. Dried fruit, like raisins, apricots, pistachios and almonds were like-wise imported and sold all the year round. Musk and porcelain were imported form China; pearls from islands in the Persian Gulf, and Tuticorin, near Ceylon; and slaves, elephants' teeth, and rhinocrros' horns from Ethiopia. The merchants who imported these goods to India, took back, in return, not gold and silver but the productions of the country which they found more profitable. So the fabulous wealth of India in the past was due to the fact that through her maritime and foreign trade, she absorbed a huge quantity of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through various channels with hardly an outlet.

INDIAN SHIPPING DURING THE MOGHUL PERIOD

Akbar had, as Abul Fazal says in his Ain-i Akbari, a naval department with the following functions :—

(1) Supplying ships of various sizes for transportation of elephants, for sieges and for carrying merchandise. Pleasure-boats and house-boats were also built. The chief ship-building places were Bengal and Kashmir. Ships were also built for sea-voyages.

(2) to supply good mariners: the captains who commanded the vessel ; the mats who knew the nature of tides, the depths of the water and the situation of the stars ; there were other officers for lading and unlading, for piloting etc ; there were the helmsmen and also the man at the mast to watch a storm or other men to take care of the sails.

(3) the naval department also kept watch over the rivers, provided boats for travellers and gave free seats to those unable to pay. Boats were not allowed to travel at night, except under special circumstances.

(4) the naval department imposed and realised duties which were very low and also not very strictly imposed.

Tolls were levied for crossing a river in a boat, varying from eight annas for an elephant to one anna for twenty people who were, however, often carried free.

There was in Akbar's time, an Imperial flotilla in Bengal, principally stationed at Dacca, and the cost of this naval establishment, consisting of armed cruisers and other vessels, amounted annually to about 8½ lakhs of rupees which included the wages of Portuguese sailors, and the cost of repairing old vessels, the total aggregating 3000 vessels. The sea-coast of Bengal was liable to the ravages of the Arrakanese or Muggs with their head-quarters at Chittagong, and the Imperial fleet of Dacca was required to guard the whole coast.

A good source of revenue for the upkeep of this grand naval establishment was a tax levied on all vessels plying to and from the naval head-quarters, an exception being made in the case of vessels manned by local crews.

Nevill says in his Gazetteer of Allahabad that during Akbar's reign Allahabad was well-known for its boat-building industry and numbers of large sea-going vessels were constructed there and taken down the river to the coast.

The province of Sindh was also an important centre of Indian shipping industry. In his *Aini Akbari* Abul Fazal tells us that in those days the means of locomotion were boats, which were of many kinds: state barges, cruisers and small boats, numbering about 40,000.

There were arrangements for repairing damages to vessels during naval engagements.

During Jahangir's reign Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal, defeated the Mugg pirates under the Rajah of Arrakan who led a large army

of Portuguese and Indian soldiers and was the owner of eighty well-armed vessels of various sizes.

During the reign of Shah Jahan, the Moghul Government had to engage in naval fights with the Kochis. Assamese and Muggs so frequently that the entire rental of Bengal was exhausted in protecting her coast from the ravages of the enemy.

During the reign of Aurangzeb the expenditure on the Moghul fleet of Bengal, when Mir Jumla came in as Viceroy in 1660, amounted to 14 lakhs of rupees. The Imperial fleet used by Mir Jumla during the conquest of Assam in 1662 consisted of 323 vessels. About 350 of the enemy's ships were captured with a gun on each, after the cannonade had lasted the whole night on both sides. On the death of Mir Jumla, the Moghul Viceroy, the Bengal fleet was utterly ruined.

When Shaista Khan became viceroy of Bengal in 1664, he tried to re-establish the prestige of the Imperial fleet and to suppress piracy. Apart from Bengal, there were other parts of India, during Aurangzeb's reign, where there were marked improvements in maritime activity. The great centre of maritime trade at this time was Muslipatam. Indian traders made voyages in their own ships to Pegu, Arrakan, Malacca, the Maldive islands, Persia and Ceylon. The ships were so big and strong that they could carry a load of 25 elephants. Some of the merchant princes possessed ships which could carry a burden of 1000 tons.

During the time of Aurangzeb, there were also important shipping stations on the west coast. Dr. Fryer says that at Surat Aurangzeb had four big ships to carry pilgrims to Mecca free of charge. He also mentions to have been in 1672 several Indian men-of-war at Surat and some Indian vessels carrying 40 pieces of cannon. During the time of the Moghul emperors piracy was as common on the western as on the eastern coast of India.

The most notorious pirate at the time of Aurangzeb on the west coast was an Englishman by the name of Every who did not spare even the Emperor's ships. Khafi Khan, the historian, says that a ship named Ganj Sawai belonging to Emperor Aurangzeb, and the largest in the port of Surat, was seized by this English pirate who captured the Captain of the vessel, Ibrahim Khan, and made off with a booty of fifty-two lakhs of rupees in gold and silver which the ship was conveying to Surat.

MOGHUL PAINTING

Moghul painting was admired even by great artists like Sir Joshua Reynolds, and in some of the European countries, miniatures from Moghul painting decorated the parlours of great sovereigns. Both Akbar and Jahangir were great lovers of painting, and it was during the time of Akbar that a systematic organisation of painters was first ushered into existence. The magnificent development of Moghul painting during the reign of Jahangir is shown by the masterpieces of great painters like Bishandas, Abul Hasan and others. We cannot but admire

the excellent brush-work of these painters and their winged imagination. Akbar had certainly founded the Imperial studio and had brought the Indian and the Persian schools of artists together. The Persian school of painting had its head-quarters in Gujrat, while the Indian school had its head-quarters in Gwalior. The Persian style was conventional and decorative, but the Indian style was realistic, and the Indian school was chiefly interested in portrait-painting. With all its limitations, the Moghul painting, in its highest flights of imagination, was an art of singular charm, accurate characterisation and superb craftsmanship. At the same time, Moghul painting has a great historical value, as it gives us a vivid idea of the Durbar scenes, the grandeur of the Moghul court, its refined and elaborate etiquette and of the visits of the European embassies to the Moghul court, consisting of both men and women. It was in the reign of Jahangir that the Imperial studio founded by Akbar attained its highest glory—the number of Hindu artists being six times that of the Mohammadans who were seven in all. Delicately finished pictures of horses, cranes, deer, camels and elephants still give evidence of their fine artistic sense. Moghul painting began to decline from the time of Aurangzeb, and it died within less than a century from the time of its birth during Akbar's reign. But some of the older traditions of technique and style were maintained by the Hindu artists at the courts of chiefs and kings in Rajputana, Kashmir, the Himalayan valleys, Bundelkhand, Hyderabad, Bijapur and other places. The fugitive prince Sulaiman Shikoh had painters among his retinue when he fled to Tehri.

But the Hindu painting can hardly be called an offshoot of the Moghul school, as it differed widely from the latter in accent, expression and outlook. In the Hindu style, the most vigorous branch was the Jaipur school of painting.

CHAPTER VII

THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL AS DESCRIBED BY BERNIER.

BENGAL produced rice and sugar in such abundance that these were exported by land and sea to far-off places. Rice was exported by sea to Muslipatam and many other ports on the coast, to Ceylon and places further off. Sugar found its way to Arabia, Mesopotamia and even Persia. Bengal was also famous for its sweet-meats, for the preservation of fruits like mangoes and pine-apples which, along with other dried fruits and kernels were exported from India. The people lived a great deal more upon rice than wheat; nevertheless, wheat was cultivated in various centres for making sea-biscuits for the crews of English, Dutch and Portuguese ships. Rice, ghee and vegetables were extremely cheap and good fowls could be had for less than an anna each. Goats, sheep and pigs could be purchased for the merest trifle, while fish of every kind could be had in the same profusion.

"The rich exuberance of the country," says Bernier, "together with the beauty and amiable disposition of the native women, has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English and Dutch, that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance but not one for departure."

Bengal also produced, besides sugar and rice, such a huge quantity of cotton and silks, that she might be called the commou store-house not only of the great Moghul empire, but also of the kingdoms of Europe. Bengal also exported prodigious quantities of saltpetre to the Indies and to Europe in Dutch and English vessels. Ghee was sent from Bengal by sea to numberless places, while she had the finest trade in lace, opium, wax, red-pepper and various kinds of drugs.

KASHMIR

THE EARTHLY PARADISE OF INDIA

Emperor Jahangir frequently resided at Lahore, and after his death, the population of the place began to decline for a time. Formerly the way to Kashmir lay through this city, and to obtain an easier passage into Kashmir, people generally halted here for the melting of the snow on the mountains. Travellers had to provide themselves with small Kashmir tents which could be purchased at Lahore at a comparatively small cost.

It was about 12 days' march from Lahore to the entrance of the mountains of Kashmir and this place is still known as Bhimbar. The ruins of the rest-houses built for the camps of the Moghul emperors are visible here even to this day.

For fear of scarcity of provisions in Kashmir, the Emperor permitted only a few Omrahs to follow him with a few troopers and household servants. Of the ladies of the court, women of the first rank only were taken with a small number of their attendants. There was a special

officer stationed at the pass of the mountains who controlled the traffic. Well-trained, sure-footed elephanis carried the emperor's baggage. Mules and porters were also employed and the number of the latter, carrying only the Emperor's goods, sometimes exceeded six thousand. The wages of each porter for carrying a load of $1\frac{1}{4}$ mds. from Bhimbar to Kashmir was Rs. 30 as fixed by a royal ordinance.

Kashmir is said to have been once a vast sheet of water ; and it is also said that an outlet for waters was opened by the great saint, Kashyapa, the grand-son of Brahma. The ancient history of Kashmir may be read with interest from the *Rajtarangini* of Kalhana. It is a historical fact that Rajput Rajas have inhabited the country for a period of 5000 years. His Highness the present Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu is the descendant of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu who in 1846 effected the consolidation of various small States, including Kashmir; into one kingdom.

The Kashmir mountains may be described as literally flowing with milk and honey, as owing to the presence of good pasture lands, milk is abundant and of excellent quality; while cottagers living in the eastern portion of the valley still keep bees in circular holes in the walls of their huts.

The valley of Kashmir and the surrounding hillocks possess excellent verdure owing to the presence of numberless springs and streams issuing from the mountains. As a matter of fact, the whole place has the appearance of a well-kept garden. Rice, wheat, vegetables, game of varions species, saffron, musk, walnuts, apricots,

apples and pears are in plenty ; while the whole ground is studded with European flowers and plants. The city proper is situated on a plain and the houses are either of wood or stone. Jahangir was so enamoured of the place that he often said that he would rather be deprived of every other place in his kingdom, than lose lovely Kashmir. While coming down to Lahore from Kashmir the emperor breathed his last on the way, on October 28, 1627.

According to Bernier, the Kashmiris were "not inferior to the Persians in poetry and the sciences." Though the chief industry of the Kashmiris was shawl-manufacture, which gave occupation even to little children, yet were the people deservedly famous for the workmanship and beauty of other manufactured goods of every-day use, like bed-steads, boxes, ink-stands, etc. Shawls of the superior kind made from the hair of the Tibetan wild goats cost Rs. 150/- but those made from native wool did not cost more than Rs. 50/- or so. "The people of Kashmir, says Bernier, "are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms. They are as well-made as Europeans. The women specially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Moghul selected wives, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Moghuls."

APPENDIX

AGRA CITY

The city of Agra stands on the right bank of the Jumna and covers a vast area. It is divided into 212 Muhallas, the Muhammadan population being less than half the Hindu population. Formerly the whole city was enclosed by a wall which was erected by Raja Jai Singh II, the then Governor of the place under Aurangzeb's successor, and founder of the present city of Jaipur. The city had 16 gates, of which the most prominent was the Delhi Gate which is still standing.

The old name of Agra was *Agraban* and it was a Hindu stronghold at the time of Raja Kansa. The name of the Pandavas is also associated with many places in and about the city of Agra. In 1474 (the year when King Edward IV of England invaded France and Michael Angelo was born) Badal Singh had built a fort at Agra, by the name of Badalgarh, which was pulled down about a century later, to make room for Akbar's magnificent Fort. In 1492 (the year of the discovery of America) Sikandar Lodi captured Agra and laid out the town of Sikandra after his own name. After his death in 1518, he was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi who ruled over Agra until his defeat and death at the battle of Panipat in 1526.

Agra continued to maintain its importance during the days of Moghul supremacy in India owing to its strategical advantages, and even

during the British period it was made the capital of the North-West Provinces, and the seat of Government was transferred to Allahabad only after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

THE JUMA MASJID OR CATHEDRAL MOSQUE

This spendid mosque was built by Jahanara, the eldest daughter of Shah Jahan, who remained unmarried all her life and was the nurse and constant companion of her father during the days of his captivity within the Fort at Agra. She was a saintly woman and a good connoisseur of art and architecture. It is said that most of the marble edifices erected by Shah Jahan were inspired by her. She was the only individual whom Aurangzeb respected and feared.

The mosque stands opposite to the Agra Fort station and was erected at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. It was begun in 1644, and completed in 1649, a year after the completion of the Taj.

The central arch is more than 10 ft. high and there are minor arches on either side. The building is made of red sandstone, the three domes on the roof being inlaid with thin lines of white marble, producing a fantastic effect. This mosque is seldom visited by travellers now-a-days, as Agra contains other buildings of a far more fascinating character.

Jahanara died on the 6th of September, 1681, in the 67th year of her age, and was buried near Delhi.

TIME FOR VISITING THE HISTORICAL BUILDINGS OF AGRA.

The Taj, the Sikandra and Etmad-ud-daula tombs are always open to visitors during the daytime. On full-moon nights the Taj is open to the public till midnight. The Agra Fort has certain fixed visiting hours as given below :—

During Cold Weather :—

From 16th October to 15th April

Morning	...	9 A. M. to 1 P. M.
Evening	...	3 P. M. to Sunset.

During Hot Weather :—

From 16th April to 15th October

Morning	...	7 A. M. to 10 A. M.
Evening	...	4-30 P. M. to 6-30 P. M.

RAILWAY STATIONS AT AGRA.

The G. I. P. Railway passes through *Raja-ki-mandi* and *Agra Cantonment* stations, both situated at Agra. *Raja-ki-mandi* is in the heart of the city, while *Agra Cantonment* is far away, in the Agra Cantonment area where there are chiefly barracks for the garrison at Agra.

The *Agra Cantonment* station is more convenient for passengers who want to stay in European hotels, namely, Cecil, Lauries, the Imperial and the Empress Hotels.

The *Raja-ki-mandi* station has the advantage of being near Raja-ki-Mandi market where there are several Indian hotels. It is also near the three colleges, namely, Agra College, St. John's College and Balwant Rajput College.

Agra City station, as the name implies, is also near the main thoroughfares of the city. There are no hotels near by, but there is a big Dharamsala near the station.

Agra Fort station is near the main markets of Agra. Roads extend to all directions of the city from the station, and they are the chief business centres of Agra. Besides this, a number of Indian hotels are situated near the *Agra Fort* station.

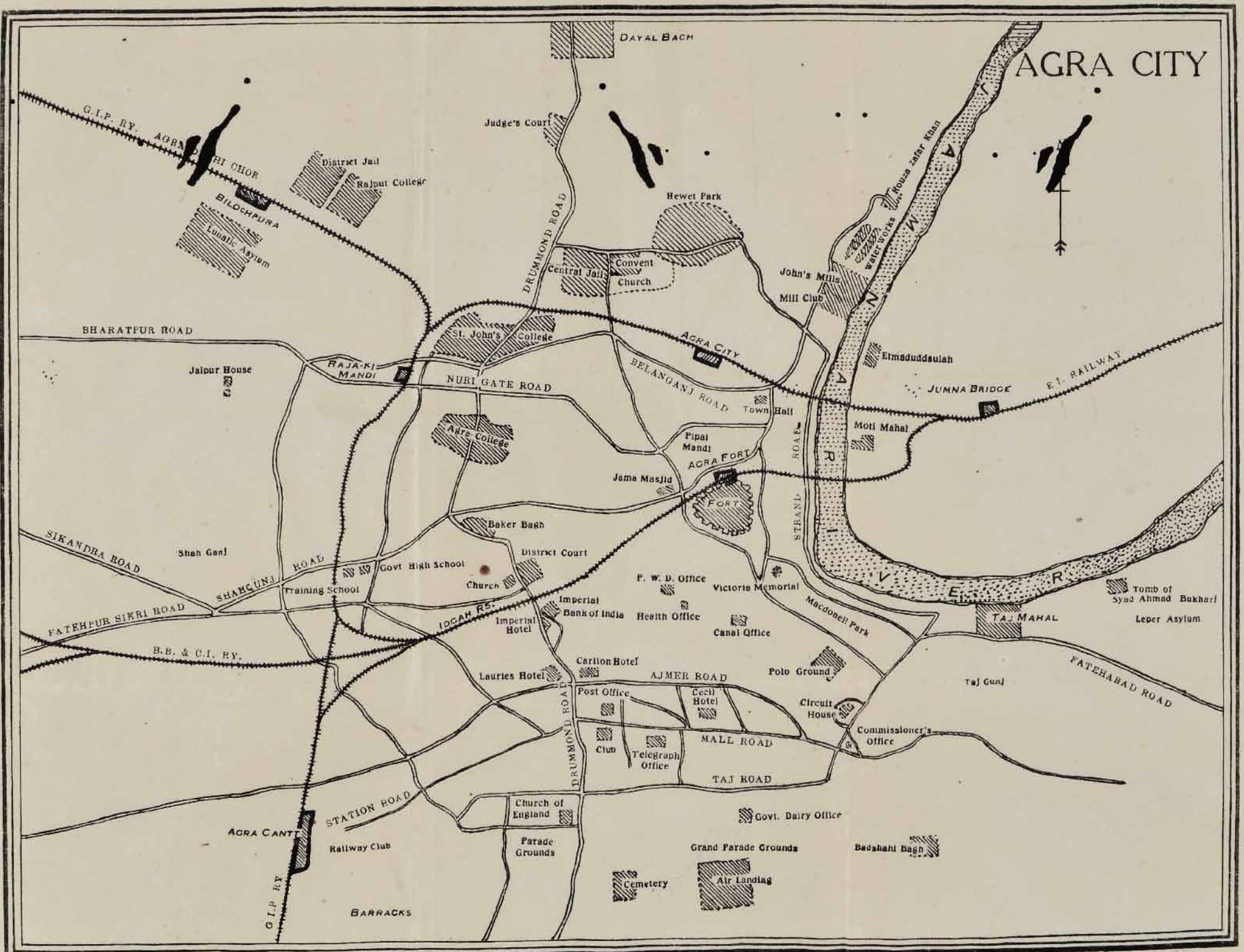
From the *Agra Cantonment* station, one may go to Delhi and Bombay on the G. I. P. Railway. From the *Agra Fort* Station one may go to *Tundla* on the E. I. R. Broad gauge line: to *Bharatpur* and *Bayana* on the B. B. & C. I. R. Broad gauge line; and to *Bharatpur* and *Kasgunj* on the B. B. & C. I. R. metre gauge line.

Kinari Bazar, Seo-ka-Bazar and Phulatti Bazar are the main Indian markets in the city extending over a mile or so. These Bazars are within an easy reach from *Agra Fort*, *Agra City* and *Raja-ki-Mandi* Stations but far away from the *Agra Cantonment* Station.

The *Agra Fort* Station takes its name from the Agra Fort itself, the entrance gate of which is within a short distance from this station. The Taj also is not far away from here. The tomb of Etmad ud-duala is on the other side of the Jumna and is within an easy reach from the

Agra Fort station. The distance from the *Agra City* station and the *Raja-ki-Mandi* station to *Agra Fort* station is nearly a mile and a half. The tomb of Akbar at Sikandra is situated at a distance of nearly five miles from the *Agra Fort* station.

Fatehpur Sikri can be approached both by train and bus, the distance being 23 miles from Agra. The road is good for motor cars. The road to Muttra and Brindaban is in excellent condition. The journey from Agra to Muttra is an easy one and hardly takes an hour, the distance being about 36 miles. The distance from Muttra to Brindaban is 5 miles.


AGRA CITY
DAYAL BAGH
G.I.P. RY.
AGRA
DELHI CHOR
BILOCHPURA
Lunatic Asylum
District Jail
Rajput College
Judge's Court
DRUMMOND ROAD
Hewet Park
Central Jail
Convent
Church
John's Mills
Mill Club
Rouza Zafar Khan
Water Works
YAMUNA
BHARATPUR ROAD
St. John's College
AGRA CITY
Jaipur House
RAJA-KI MANDI
NURI GATE ROAD
BELANGANJ ROAD
Town Hall
Itmaduddaulah
JUMNA BRIDGE
E.I. RAILWAY
Agra College
Pipal Mandi
AGRA FORT
Moti Mahal
Jama Masjid
FORT
STRAND ROAD
RIVER
Baker Bagh
SIKANDRA ROAD
Shah Ganj
SHAHGUNJ ROAD
Govt High School
District Court
Church
Training School
P. W. D. Office
Victoria Memorial
Tomb of Syad Ahmad Bukhari
FATEHPUR SIKRI ROAD
IDGAH RS.
Imperial Bank of India
Imperial Hotel
Health Office
Canal Office
Macdonell Park
TAJ MAHAL
Leper Asylum
B.B. & C.I. RY.
Carlton Hotel
Polo Ground
Lawries Hotel
AJMER ROAD
Taj Gunj
FATEHABAD ROAD
Post Office
Cecil Hotel
Circuit House
Club
Telegraph Office
MALL ROAD
Commissioner's Office
TAJ ROAD
STATION ROAD
Church of England
Govt. Dairy Office
AGRA CANTT.
Railway Club
Parade Grounds
Grand Parade Grounds
Badshahi Bagh
G.I.P. RY
Cemetery
Air Landing
BARRACKS