



“SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND LOCALITY NAMES IN TAJGANJ”

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE
M. PHIL. DEGREE

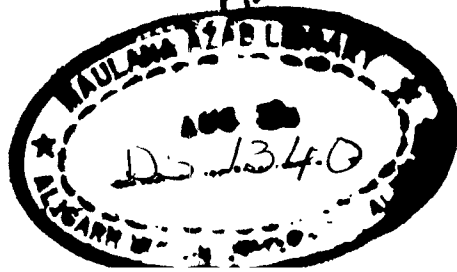
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CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH.

1987

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost its my pleasant duty to express deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor Dr M.P. Singh, without whose constant guidance and help this dissertation would not have come into present shape. Words fail me to thank him for the pains he undertook.

I am sincerely grateful to Prof. Irfan Habib, Chairman Department of History, for all he did for me.

During the course of my survey, I have incurred quite a few debts. I would be failing in my duty if I do not thank Mr K.K. Mohammad who apart from giving valuable suggestions, accompanied me to the site. I also thank him for clearing my concepts as far as Architectural terms are concerned.

I have deep gratitude for Dr Qamar, Senior Archaeological Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India (north-Circle), Agra, Dr Mohd Tahir and his brother of Mohalla Qazian, Tajganj and Mr F.R. Khan, Project Director, Agra for their invaluable help in the survey.

I thank Mr Mohd Afzal Khan, a Senior Research Scholar, Department of History for helping

me in translating the relevant passages from the Persian Texts.

I am highly obliged to the staff members of the Research Library, Department of History namely, Mr Jalal Abbasi, Mr Arshad Ali, Mr Yusuf Siddiqui, Mr Raufur Rehman, Mr Nur Muhammad and Mr Irfan Khan for their kind cooperation.

I am also thankful to my friends and colleagues, especially Fatima Ahmad Imam, Sumbul Halim Khan, Sarwar Ahmad, Ali Nadeem Rezavi, Dr Jamshedur Rehman Khan, Imteyaz Ahmad, Mohd Hamid, Syed Raza Haidar, Mohd Afaq Basheer Siddiqui, Farhat Hasan, Mohd Jawaid Akhtar and Shamim Ahmad Khan for their encouragement and help. And also to Mr S.M. Gupta for his encouragement.

I am also indebted to Mr Zahoor Ali Khan and Mr Faiz Habib for preparing the Map.

In the last my attempts would have been futile if Mr Suhail Ahmad had not typed this dissertation in time and accurately.

(Javed Hasan)

CHAPTER I

A PRELUDE

The early history of Āgra is shrouded in mystery owing to the lack of literary and non-literary sources and Archaeological evidence, which are not available prior to the twelfth century A.D. But stray numismatic and archaeological findings in and around the area shed revealing light towards the existence of an earlier town at the site known as Yamaprastha.¹ It is said that the foundation of Āgra was laid during the reign of Ugrasena and it was held in great reverence by Hindus being the scene of incarnation of Vishnu. It is corroborated by Abdullāh the author of Tārīkh-i Dāūdi, when he writes, "the Hindus assert that Agra was a stronghold in the days of Raja Kans, who ruled at Mathura and who confined everyone that displeased him in the fort at the

1. Cf. Atkinson, E.T. and Fisher, F.H. (ed): Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Province of India, V. VIII, Agra District, Allahabad, 1884, pp. 577, 715. Several theories have been propounded regarding the derivation of its name, some are being derived from Āga (fire), Agwāra (enclosure for fire), agara (a salt pit), āgra (first or prior), agara (house of habitation), agala (bar for keeping a door closed), Agravana (one of twelfth forests of Brajmandala), Agrawal (a subcaste of the Vaishyas) and Age-rah (the site that is ahead on the way. Carlleyle, A.C.L. : Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1905, p. 137; Keene, H.G.: A Handbook for visitors to Agra and its neighbourhood, Calcutta, 1899, p.1; Latif, S.M., Agra Historical and Descriptive, Calcutta, 1899, p.1.

former place, so that in course of time it became an established state prison."¹

Prior to its being the capital of the Lodīs, Āgra was included as a pargana in sarkār of Biana.² The first muslim ruler who realised Āgra's strategic geographical and economic importance and made it his military headquarters, was Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517). Niāmat-ullah says that "to curb the violence in the sarkār of Biana, the Sultān, commissioned, in the year 911 A.H. (1505 A.D.) some judicious and intellectual men to explore the banks of the river and report upon any locality which might be considered the most eligible". Accordingly, the exploring party left Delhi in boats and continued to examine both sides of the Jumna, until they arrived at the spot where the present city of Āgra stands. The site attracted the exploring party which decided in favour of its selection. On a personal visit to the site, Sultān Sikandar Lodī noticed two elevated spots. He asked Mihtar Mulla Khān, who was called 'Nāik' and commanded

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1. Abdullāh, Tārīkh-i Dāūdī, tr. Elliot and Dowson, London, 1867, Vol.IV, p.450.
 2. Niāmat-ullah, Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, tr. Elliot and Dowson, Calcutta, 1955, Vol.V, pp.132-33.

the royal barge, which of those two mounds appeared to him to be the most suitable. The khān replied "Āgerāh", that meant the one in advance. The Sultān smiled and said, 'The name of this city then shall be, 'Agrah'. He then repeated the fātiha and in an auspicious moment issued orders for founding the city.¹ Besides the geographical importance of the bank of river Jumna and thus the nearness with the river undoubtedly facilitated abundant water supply, which could be further improved by digging wells on the bank of river Jumna, which was flowing from North to South East.

The river also offered opportunities for development of trade routes to Āgra, Ajmer as well as passage for eastward trade, while in the far north lay Himalaya making the passage of trade from the north-west to Eastern region difficult.² Āgra was a suitable point for distribution of trade from north-west and south and west for crossing the river to Benaras and Patna.³

1. Niamat-ullah, op.cit., Vol.V, pp.132-33.

2. Habib, Irfan, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Political and Economic Maps with Detailed notes and Bibliography and Index, New Delhi, 1982, Sheet 0-6.

3. Ibid, 0-B.

After the Lodīs, the Mughals took Āgra as their capital and constructed many buildings in that city. Bābur added numerous edifices to Āgra after 1526.¹ Bābur informs us that many towers were built on Āgra-Kabul road in order to facilitate the communications. These pillars exist even today although in a dilapidated condition. Humāyūn, probably because of his short and troublesome rule could not add much to the city except one mosque which bears two Persian inscriptions dated 1530 A.D.²

The house of Sūrs continued to hold Āgra as the seat of capital. Sher Shāh as a great builder, realised the importance of good communication for running the government and for development of trade and commerce. He, therefore, ordered many link roads to be constructed which connected Āgra with other parts of the Empire.³

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1. Bābur, Bāburnāma, tr. Beveridge, A.S., Vol.II, London, 1921, pp.475-6.
 2. Cunningham, A., Archaeological Survey of India Report, V-IV pp. 100-101; Begum, Gulbadan, Humāyūnāma, tr. Beveridge, A.S., London, 1921, p.98.
 3. Joshi, E.B. (ed), Uttar pradesh District Gazetteer, Agra, Lucknow, 1965, p.44.

After the Sūrs, Akbar formally made Āgra his permanent capital (Darul-khilāfat) and named it Akbarābād. Throughout his reign the Emperor continued to contribute to the expansion and development of the city. Among the buildings that were built by Akbar are Red Fort, Sikandara, Fatehpur Sīkri, Hans Mahal, mausoleum of his Hindu wives, Birbal's palace etc.¹ The grandeur of this city can be well ascertained from the accounts of various travellers, who came to the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²

As Āgra became the administrative headquarter its commercial importance as well as its importance as manufacturing-cum-marketing centre simultaneously developed. This quite naturally attracted merchants, craftsmen and other trade professionals to flock into it and thereby make it populous. The population

1. Cunningham, A., ASI, Vol. IV, pp.113-23.

2. Foster, William, Early Travels in India (1583-1619) Oxford, 1921, p.17.

of Āgra during the seventeenth century was no less than 500,000.¹ Due to the expansion in the size of the city, urbanisation reached its zenith.²

Āgra apparently developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so much so that the city out grew its previous limits. The growth of the city was accompanied by the unplanned erection of the buildings that made it congested and interspersed by lanes and by-lanes.³ Pelsaert while describing the city says that, "The breadth of the city is by no means so great as the length, because everyone has tried to be close to the river bank, and consequently the water-front is occupied by the costly palaces of all the famous lords, which make it appear gay and magnificent, and extend for a distance of 6 kos or 3½ Holland miles".⁴

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1. Fitch, Ralph, Narrative, ed. J.H. Ryley, Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma, London, 1899; Hasan, S. Nurul, Agra, Encyclopaedia of Islam, London, 1960, V-I, pp. 252-3.
 2. Abul Fazl, Akbarnāma, V-II, tr. Beveridge, H, Calcutta, 1912, pp.117-18; Ain-i-Akbari, V-II, tr. Jarret, H.S., 2nd ed. revised by J.N. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1907, p.191.
 3. Sālih Kambo; Amal-i-Sālih, V-III, Calcutta, 1912-46, p.28.
 4. Pelsaert, F, Remonstratic of Fransisco Pelsaert, tr. Moreland, W.H., Delhi, p.2.

According to Bernier the city was constructed without any plan, as a result most of the streets barring a few major ones, were short, narrow and irregular and full of winding corners.¹

Āgra was not only the capital of the Empire but also a major entrepot with the eastward and westward trade converging here. Though Shājahān for political and other reasons got his capital shifted to Delhi, nonetheless, it had no harassing impact over the population, extent, trade and commerce of the city. A perusal of its mint output shows that the city did not register any fall in its economic status, and thrived as before. The coins minted in the city of Āgra dominated the output of the capital till 1686.²

Inspite of the fact that Shāhjahān made Delhi his permanent residence, he did not loose his interest in Āgra at all. This can be particularly

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1. Bernier, F. Travels of the Mughal Empire, 1656-68, tr. Constable, A. London, 1934, p.263.
 2. Hasan, A.H.: 'Mints of the Mughal Empire' P.I.H.C., Patiala, 1967, p.319.

seen from his keen interest in the construction of Tāj and the other buildings around that area in his reign. The importance of the area around Tāj Mahal grew remarkably. Many of the houses were built especially for the use of persons connected with the mausoleum. The subsequent buildings were constructed primarily for their convenience.¹

It is held that during Akbar's reign this locality was known as nau-mahala where many of Akbar's nobles constructed their havelis.² The area further developed with the construction of the Taj Mahal,³ around 1648 and was then given the name of Mumtāzabād. Tāj-ganj is probably the corrupt usage of the same name,⁴ a name which continues to the present day.

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1. Ahmad, M., Taj and Its Environs, 1924, Agra, pp.64-66.
 2. Neville, H.R.: District Gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, V-III, 1905, pp.217-8.
 3. It is the custom in India when they build a public edifice, to make around it a large place for holding markets, Tavernier, J.B., Travels in India 1640-67, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, II Rev.ed. W. Crooke, London, V-I, p.64.
 4. Ahmad, M., op.cit., pp. 64-66.

The populous suburb of Mumtazabad stretching towards the south of Taj Mahal comprised of a complex of shops, serais and houses of the merchants.¹

Fortunately some of the monuments have still survived though in a dilapidated condition. Close to the mausoleum of Mumtāz Mahal on the east, just on the banks of the river Jumna, are the remains of a large palace and the walls of the garden known as Tāliyār-ka-baghicha, the red sand stone walls of Lāl Diwār, the dilapidated ruins of the palaces of Khān-i-Daurān and Mahābat Khān,² the tombs of Ahmad Bukhārī³, Diwānji Begum and the daughter of Mahābat Khān and the walls of Bādshāhi Bāgh which is attributed to Mahābat Khān.⁴

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1. Naheed Khan, The layout Plan of Taj Ganj Complex a Survey, P.I.H.C., 1983, pp.315-19.
 2. Beale, T.W., An Oriental Biographical Dictionary ed. H.G. Keene, 1894, p.229.
 3. Ibid, p.354.
 4. For the exact location of these monuments see Neville, op.cit., pp.217-18, S.M. Latif, Agra: Historical and Descriptive, Calcutta, 1896, p.192; Moinuddin Ahmad, The Taj and its environments; 1924, pp. ; Syed Ahmad Mahararvi, Muragga-i-Akbarabad, 1930, p.57; Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 792-93.

Besides these there were other monuments, such as tombs of Satiunnisa Khānum, Sirhindī Begum¹ Gumbad Saheliān, Fatehpuri mosque and amosque and a Rauza on the East of the Tāj.²

Towards the south of Tāj Mahal, adjacent to Sirhī Darwaza, there were four katras namely katra Phulail, katra Umar khān, katra Jogidās and katra Resham the first two katras had a mosque each.³

Viewed in the historical perspective the Tāj ganj and the area around it, forming one of the important suburbs of Āgra, was economically and culturally very rich. During the 17th century Taj ganj developed to become one of the principal grain markets of Āgra. Grain from the country side around it was first brought here and then carried to the city. As commercial entrepot it acquired international reputation. Merchandise was brought from far and near by land and river. Silk and silk goods used to come through Jumna from Bengal and then supplied to Ahmadabad and Surat. Similarly cotton piece-goods

1. Beale, T.W., op.cit., p.353.

2. Mahrarvi, S.A., op.cit., p.53.

3. Naheed Khan, op.cit., p.319.

were brought here to be purchased and thereafter sent to Surat. The city of Āgra and the countryside around it were prominent cotton manufacturing centres. Different varieties of cotton textiles were brought from Dariaganj, Khairabad, Lucknow, Lahore, Rajputana, Patna and Bengal and Agra played the role of terminus point. Whatever Āgra received was supplied to Surat via Burhanpur route. In English Factory Records we have constant references to the cotton textile procured by the English and other Europeans at Tājganj.¹ English East India Company and other European companies made their factors to reside at Agra permanently.

The cultural significance of this suburb lies in the fact that it quartered the famous Tāj Mahal known to the world as one of the wonders. Besides Tāj there were many other beautiful and magnificent buildings including residential palaces, sarais, mosques and tombs. The area of Tajganj was surrounded by a large number of beautiful gardens, which unfortunately have either perished completely or are at point of ruin.

1. See for example, English Factory Records (1646-50), p.220; EFI (1655-60), p.70.

Our Persian chronicles unfortunately have very little to offer about the grandeur of the area of the Tājganj, nor have they recorded the economic importance of Tājganj. They go on mentioning about Tāj Mahal but have very little to say about Tājganj. The European sources, however, praise amply the monumental richness of Tājganj and commend its economic significance. But in the European sources, too, we mainly have scanty and scattered remarks on our topic on the basis of which it is very difficult to reconstruct the past history of this important suburb of Āgra.

The present dissertation, therefore is based more on physical survey of the Tājganj area and less on literary material. Hence it was desired that investigation based on the remains of buildings, names of streets and mohallas, location of market complex, lay-out, routes, ports and river ferries, location of sarais and other existing buildings etc. be made. The survey thus conducted has supplied much interesting information which is not available either in Persian chronicles or in European Records.

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

As has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, the locality of Mumtazabād, comprised originally of four katras, viz. Katra Phulail, Katra Umar Khan, Katra Jogidas and Katra Resham. This entire complex of markets, inns, mosques and other buildings was constructed, according to the historians of Shāhjahān's period, alongwith the mausoleum of Mumtāz Mahal under the supervision of Makaramat khān and Mīr Abdūl Karīm, at a cost of about 50 lakh rupees.¹

Katra usually was a place inhabited by a noble and his officials together with their households and followers.² For catering to the needs of these people, there was a tendency for a gradual growth of a small market, which as time passed usually developed into a big shopping complex, where goods of all kinds from the different corners of the empire and other countries could be purchased.³ The katras could acquire their names either after the names of nobles who were responsible for founding them or

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1. Lāhorī, op.cit., II, pp.324-30; Sālih op.cit., II, pp. 370-75.
 2. Wilson, H.H. A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, Delhi, 1968, p.269 (a).
 3. Lāhorī, op.cit., II, p.329.

they became famous after the names of the commodities sold or manufactured there.¹

Our contemporary sources unfortunately are silent as regards the pattern of settlement of the area around the Tāj. As far as the four above mentioned katras of Tajganj are concerned, no mention is made by either Abdu'l Hamid Lāhorī or Muḥammad Sālih Kambo. On the contrary, reference is made to four sarais situated to the south of Jilaukhāna, which we may well presume, later came to be known as the above mentioned katras. When this change of nomenclature came about we do not know probably it was a post-Mughal development.

Each Katra was a square measuring 160 yards on its sides with the three chowks on their respective three corners. On the fourth corner of each of them was a gate for entrance to the sarai. All the four sides were lined by 136 cells, locally known as Bādshāhiyān, each of which was fronted by a verandah. Wealthy merchants had also constructed

1. Wilson, op.cit., p.269 (a).

a large number of houses, sarais and other buildings behind these royal sarais.¹

According to local tradition, it appears that Katra Phulail (situated on the south-east of Jilaukhana) was inhabited by people who indulged in the business of manufacture and sale of scent. By the 19th century the area came to be dominated by the Shi'ites, who then migrated to Pakistan after its creation in 1947.

In the middle of katra phulail is situated a mosque which was constructed in 1781 by a merchant named Mazār (Mirzā?) Sharīf but appears to have been renovated since then.

The road betwixt the Sirhi Darwaza and the present locality of Mohallā Kaghaziān, which divided katra Umar Khān and katra Phulail was lined with the shops of florists and Naqsha-nawīs. A sizeable number of these groups can still be found settled in this area, the whole area now being known as

1. Lāhorī, op.cit., II, p.329.

Mohalla Sirhi Darwāza.

It appears from the local traditions, that the octagonal place between the four katras which originally was an open courtyard measuring 150 yards long and 100 yards broad,¹ was subsequently given to the family of the Qāzi of Tājganj, and thus it came to be known as Mohalla Qāziān. During 18th century the people living there took to paper making and selling and gradually following the profession of majority of inhabitants, the locality popularly came to be known as Mohalla Kaḡhaziān.

To the west of katra Phulail is katra Umar Khān, which was perhaps founded by some noble, and thus took its name after the same noble.² It is alleged to have been inhabited by high ranking officials. It has a mosque which was constructed some time during Aurangzeb's reign. Even now it is mainly inhabited by muslims.

1. Ibid.

2. At Āgra for katra perwēz founded by Prince Perwez. see Banārsidās Jain (1691), Ardha Kathānak (Hindi) ed. N.R. Premi, Bombay, 1957, p.35.
The example can be multiplied.

Katra Resham, situated on the south of katra Umar khān, was inhabited by cloth merchants and other businessmen and traders dealing with silk (raw), which was brought from Bengal by the river route to Āgra and thence was carried through land to Ahmadabad. Similar reference is found for katra-nīl (indigo) at Delhi.¹ and katra Resham at Benaras², about which we definitely know that it was a silk mart. We may likewise assume that katra Resham at Tājganj was also a silk mart. This katra had a Jain temple and a mosque of Aurangzeb's reign. Both the places are still in tact and give indication that during the 17th century the locality had a mixed character as far as its population was concerned.

To the east of katra Resham, is situated katra Jogidas which was inhabited exclusively by the Hindus, mainly of priestly class, besides Baniyas and Jains. A temple was also situated in it. There can be two options regarding the derivation of the name of katra Jogidās. The first may be

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1. Khairu-ddīn Allahabādi, Balwantnāma, MS.10L Ethe 483 f. 136 a,b.
 2. Khān, Ghulām Muḥammad, Travels in Upper Hindustan, 10L, Ethe. 654, f.39 a.

that as was the case with the majority of katras, it was named after its builder. Secondly the areas might have been given to some Jogi, for we know that Akbar had much respect for the Jogis. Thus the area came to be known after the Jogis or Jogidas. But the first proposition seems more credible than the latter.

On the southern side of these katras is situated the Dakhini Darwāza which is in direct alignment with the Sirhi Darwāza, which can still be seen from there inspite of modern constructions. It is held that Dakhini Darwāza was the gate through which Shāh Jahān would make his entry into the city of Āgra when he used to arrive through the route of River Jumna.

The street which runs between Chauk Kaghaziān and purāni Mandi areas is known as Malkau gali. There was a gate in this locality, known as Qalandari Darwāza constructed during the reign of Emperor Akbar, of which unfortunately there are no remains to be found now. The place now is covered with modern constructions. Near this gate, there was the mausoleum of Khwāja Mīr Hasan, the peer Murshid

of Shāhjahān, which now is popularly known as 'Aap kā Mazār'.

From Dakhini Darwāza, a straight road goes to Sarai khām and Sarai Pukhta which form separate neighbourhoods (popularly known as Katchi Sarai and Pakki Sarai) where once there was a gate known as Shāhī Darwāza. There are no remains of the same to be seen now. Only a few walls in a dilapidated condition can be located. A huge graveyard of that time is also located on the East of Sarai khām.

Towards the south-east of Dakhini Darwāza is situated Mohalla Pak Tola, inhabited by Kāyasthas, Todar Dās, the treasurer of Emperor Shāhjahān is alleged to have lived here. Mohalla Tulsi Chabūtra on the North-East of Mohalla pāk Tola, was inhabited by Kolis, Mehtars and Pichchikari workers. These people can still be found in this area in a considerable number.

In Mohalla Billochpura, which is on the south-east of Mohalla Tulsi Chabuttra, near Basai Kalān is the tomb of Mumtāz Mahal's mother which is known as Rauza Diwānji Begum. A mosque built by her, is also located close to it. The building of the

tomb is in a ruined condition. The mosque itself is in a good condition and appears to have been renovated. The maqbara, we are informed was built over an area of 50 bīghas.¹

Near Sarai Khām are situated the Tomb of Saiyid Lal Shāh and a Temple. The ruins of the garden of Mahābat Khān (Bādshāhi Bāgh), Jamāl Shāh ka Takia and the shrine of Imām Shāh are situated near Sarai Pukhta. In Shāhjahān's time the area beyond Tāj Mahal formed the south-eastern limit of the city.² There was another garden between Tāj Mahal and the mausoleum of Syed Jalāl Bukhārī which is said to have belonged to Khān-i Alam, who was a noble of Aurangzeb's reign.³ There had been grand palaces and gardens in between the fort and Tājganj during Shāhjahān's reign⁴, but at present there are no remains.

1. T.W. Beale, op.cit., p.120; Neville, op.cit., pp. 217-18.

2. Manrique, F.S., Travels, 1629-43, tr. C.E. Luard & Hosten, Hakluyt Society, Series 2, 1927, London, Vol. II, pp.167, 171-2.

3. Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, op.cit., p.61.

4. Ibid.

To the west of Mohalla Pāk Tola, is Mohalla Impeypura now popularly known as Gumbad or Gummat. It is said that there was an octagonal building in this locality, of which now only the dome (gumbad) survives. The whole locality is thus known after this gumbad and through local usage, is erroneously called mohalla Gummat. Mohalla Garhiyan, inhabited by a predominantly muslim population is situated adjacent to Mohalla Gummat.

The other localities (Mohallas) within Tāj ganj area were Hijupura, Tēlipara, Basai Khurd, Nahar Ganj, Basai Kalān and Kolhai.

Thus spanning over a large area, the locality of Tāj ganj was inhabited by a cross-section of people belonging to various professions and backgrounds. Calligraphers, gem-dealers, florists, and perfume sellers lived side by side with the men of high birth and offices. The area though brought to its final shape during the reign of Shāhjahān, appears to have developed ever since the reign of Akbar and Jahāngir. The tomb of Diwānji Begum and the garden of Mahābat Khān situated on the side of Fatehabad Road bear testimony to its aristocratic background.

CHAPTER III

TĀJGANJ MARKET

The Survey conducted reveals that the Taj ganj area from 17th century down to the end of the 18th century was densely populated. It emerged from a small market complex in front of the Tāj into a big commercial centre for manufacturing goods, and grain market as well. Āgra being the imperial capital for most of the period of the Mughal rule it continued to be the focus of attention for the manufacturers and traders. The manufacturers and traders from far and wide wished to bring their goods to Āgra in expectation of higher prices and speedier disposal. The traders knew that at the imperial capital, they could procure chosen goods in abundance. Thus Āgra throughout the 17th century continued to be the centre of brisk commercial activities.

Āgra had other advantages too. It had an enormous hinterland around, abundance of raw material like indigo, sugar and cloth, which was supplied to the manufacturing centres of the above industries. Since these commodities were export items the finished goods from the manufacturing centres were brought to Āgra and thence carried to the port of Surat. Transport to Āgra both by land

and river was easily accessible throughout the major part of the year. Land routes going to Āgra and coming from Āgra passed through levelled planes so that carts, and domesticated animals loaded with merchandise could come and go throughout the year excepting temporary gaps during rains. River Jumna being a perennial river, was available for ferrying the boats throughout the year. Merchandise from as far as Bengal and Bihar was brought to Āgra through Jumna.

The Tājganj area in this connection may be attributed a very strategic position. On the one hand it was close to river Jumna and on the other, it had links to the land routes. The ferry on river Jumna, which developed into Mumtāzābād Ghāt near Tāj Mahal was very close to the Tajganj and whatever merchandise was brought through the river and unloaded at Mumtāzābād Ghāt, was first brought to the mandi which is at present known as Purāni Mandi. The enclosure known as nakhās was the place, where daily market used to be held. It was very close to Purāni Mandi. Not far from Purani Mandi were two important sarais known as Sarai Puḡhta and Sarai Khām. Obviously these two sarais were used for night halting by the visiting merchants coming to

the city market. From Purāni Mandi towards the East, there were two other mandis, Dalhiai (Dal Mandi) and Gurhiai (Gur Mandi). In between the mandis there were four katras, comprising the main market complex of Tājganj, where export bound merchandise could be procured.

Some of the monuments which have fortunately survived till today can be used as a valuable source of history. More important for economic history and the study of urbanisation, are the rows of small cloistered apartments which served as shops and warehouses - cum residences in the vicinity of Taj ganj. Peter Mundy while writing about the construction of Tāj Mahal observes,

"He (Shāhjahān) intends, as some think, to remove all the cittie higher causening hills to be made level because they might not hinder the prospect of it, places appoynted for streets, shoppes ettc. dwelling commaunding merchants shopkeepers, Artificers to inhabit (it) where they begin to repair and called by her name Tage Guñj (Tājganj)."¹

1. Peter Mundy, Travels, II, p.213.

Abdūl Hamīd Lāhorī also mentions the markets and commercial establishments in the area around the Tāj. According to him, there was a market on the east and west sides of the Jilaukhāna (the place between the main entrance of the Tāj and Sirhi Darwāza) which was meticulously planned.¹ The porticoes of these cloistered chambers, which served as shops were, built of red sand stone, while the rooms themselves were constructed with the help of brick and lime mortar. The width of this market was 20 yards.² On the south of this Jilaukhāna was a four laned bāzār (chār sū).³

The width of eastern and western bāzār is 90 yards and of the northern and southern is 30 yards. This four laned bāzār was provided with a sarai each on its four sides.⁴

1. Lāhorī, II, p. 329.

2. Ibid, The bāzār on the eastern side has unfortunately totally disappeared whilst the remains of bāzār on the west side can be detected.

3. Lāhorī, II, p.329; Sālih, II, p. 294.

4. Ibid.

To quote Lāhorī:

"In these sarais provisions of all kinds from different regions of the country and also different kind of commodities, specialities of the age and luxuries of all kinds, brought from different directions of the world are put to sale".¹

The Jilaukhāna enclosed within its four walls a series of 128 rooms, which by appearance were probably shops. A survey of this spot reveals that these rooms were sometimes used to serve as shops. Lāhorī and Sālih in-form that behind the royal sarais, the rich merchants and traders had constructed a large number of stone mansions (pukhta manāzil) in such a manner that the area became a big city (Shahrī-kalān)² we also gather from Lahori and Sālih that the private merchants, too, had built their inns and other buildings in Mumtāzabad area at their own expense.³

1. Lāhorī, II, p.329.

2. Ibid; Sālih, II, p.294.

3. Ibid, pp.168-9; Ibid, p.312.

The importance of this market in the vicinity of Mumtāzabād is also reflected in one of the imperial farmān issued by Shāhjahān in 1637.¹ In the farmān the Emperor warned the erring Mutasaddis (officials) of Mumtāzabād, who were obstructing English goods and merchandise coming from the east (pūrab) (obviously a reference to Bengal) and demanding an excessive cess. It was also ordered that the mutasaddis should let pass the merchandise of the English from the ferry point (naka) of Mumtāzabād as well as other ferries on the river Jumna.²

During the 17th century Mumtāzabād is mentioned as a reputed market for piece-goods and cotton-textile. The English factors from Bayana wrote to the President at Surat dated 16th November, 1648,

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1. MS. B.M. add. 24039, f.2. (See appendix-A).
 2. The English factor's contention was that the English merchants frequenting the ports of Surat and Breach paid the customary duties at these points and they held a farmān of the Emperor to the effect that no one should make any other demands in respect of their goods in any other place, see, EFI (1655-60), p.413.

"Has forwarded all the goods ordered except indigo and kerribands (Khairabad), the former not yet fit to be sent and the latter unprocureable at Tajgundy".¹

This shows that khairabadi cloth manufactured in Khairabad a town near Lucknow was brought to Tājganj for sale.

Similar references are also made by other English factors. Jesson, the English factor at Agra wrote in August 1656 that the local merchants of Mumtāzabād were interested in textile goods.² Calicoes were purchased by the English factors in large quantities and the demand for Āgra calicoes was great³, while the piece-goods were exported to England. The English factors also testify to a sound position enjoyed by 'Taidgundi' merchants⁴. Tavernier also mentions about the large bāzaar of Tājganj 'consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which are chambers for the use of merchants and an enormous quantity

1. EFI (1646-50), p.220.

2. Ibid, p.618-21, 46, 57.

3. EFI (1651-54), p.3.

4. Ibid, p.122.

of cotton is sold here.¹

The importance of trade at Tajganj mart may be judged by the fact that the mahsūl (custom duty) collected from shops and sarais amounted to two lakhs rupees annually. The sum was reserved for the maintenance of Tāj Mahal, payments to its attendants and giving alms to destitutes.²

In addition to the main market of Mumtazabad, references are also found about commercial establishments and shops in the surrounding areas. To the east of the Tāj complex, near the Taliar ka Baghīcha, were the shops of big traders in which commercial activities were carried on a large scale.³ On the south-east of Dakhīni gate around the mosque built by Diwānī Begum near her tomb, was a series of nine shops. Till date they remain intact, and are now occupied by families of workers and labourers.

To the west of the Tāj, the area from the fort to the Gwalior gate was mostly occupied by

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1. Tavernier, I, p.90; See also Thevenot, p.48.
 2. Lāhorī, op.cit., II, p.330; Sālih, op.cit., II, p.294; Mundy, op.cit., II, p.213.
 3. Tavernier, op.cit., I, pp.90-91, H.G.Keene, pp.77-8.

shops, markets, streets and residences of merchants with the tombs, mosques, gardens and sarais. Traces of a few of these establishments is found as late as 19th century.¹

Accounts of magnificent markets and streets built in this area are furnished by many foreign travellers.² As early as the reign of Jahāngīr we are informed that the residential quarters of the merchants had become congested. Jahāngīr also refers to some double or triple storied buildings in this area.³ Many of the travellers of the 17th century mention the commercial occupation of the inhabitants of this area.⁴

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1. A few years back when the road between the Fort and Purāni Mandi (Tānjganj) was being constructed, the remains of some ware-houses were unearthed. They were then unluckily destroyed.
 2. See for example, Pelsaert, op.cit., p.4; Manrique op.cit. II, p.157, Bernier, op.cit., p.293; Tavernier, op.cit., II, pp. 90-91. According to the Keene this area where Macdonal park is situated now, was previously occupied by market and old palaces. Keene op.cit., pp.77-78.
 3. Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī, op.cit., I, p.3, E. Carlyon, In Furthest Ind, p.217.
 4. Bernier, op.cit., p.284. Manrique, op.cit., II, p.151; Thevenot, p.47; Carlyon, p.217.

Tavernier found that this whole complex of Mumtāzabād along with the mausoleum (Tāj Mahal) was guarded by an eunuch who had 2000 guards under his command.¹

A persual of the above evidences makes it amply clear that the suburbs of Mumtāzabād (now more popularly known as Tājganj) was an important commercial centre, where all kinds of piece-goods, cotton textiles, silk, precious stones, pearls and jewellery were bought and sold. Till the end of Aurangzeb's reign this area continued to be an important commercial centre, visited by foreign and indigenous merchants for a number of commodities. From the waqā'ī-Ajmer wa Ranthambore one may gather numerous references suggesting that Tā-jganj also served as grain market, on the outskirts of the imperial city.²

1. Tavernier, op.cit., I, p. 91.

2. Mundy, op.cit., II, p.207.

CHAPTER IV

SARAI AND MOSQUES

Āgra, being an Imperial capital and an important commercial centre, had many sarais scattered all along the city and the suburbs. Manrique mentions ninety cāravān sarais in the city.¹ Thevenot on the other hand says that they were above "three score in number" i.e. sixty, some of which, he says, consisted of six large courts with their porticoes "that give entry to very commodious appartments, where stranger merchants have their lodgings".²

While dealing with the four laned (Chār-sū) bāzār at Mumtazabad, Lāhorī, as stated earlier, mentions four sarais. Each of these sarai had a chowk each on its three corners and the courtyard of each chowk measuring 14x14 yards. The fourth corner, says Lāhorī, had a gate. Two of these four sarais were built of pakka lime at the cost of Royal exchequer. Each of these had 136 rooms in their courtyards and were 160 yards in length and breadth.³

1. Manrique, op.cit., Vol. II, p.151.

2. Thevenot, op.cit., p.48.

3. Lāhorī, op.cit., II, p.329. See also Sālih Kambo, op.cit., II, p.294.

The other two sarais were made on the same pattern.¹ As has been already pointed out, these sarais, had enormous and rare provisions brought from different parts of the Empire. Tavernier makes a mention of the Sarais near Tāj Mahal called 'Tasim Can', which presumably is the same as mentioned by Lahori.² Manrique mentions a sarai near the Tāj which was meant for the Armenian merchants.³

Some of the original cloistered apartments of the sarais at Katra Umar Khān and Katra Phulail, mentioned by Lāhorī are still intact and are being used either for housing the people of that area or as shops. A visual survey of these apartments show that each of them was 3.58 mts wide and 3.18 mts long. These rectangular rooms were provided with two niches (tāq) - the measurement of which is not possible either due to later renovations or dilapidated conditions.⁴ Constructed of brick and lime

1. Ibid.

2. Tavernier, op.cit., p.90.

3. Manrique, op.cit., II, p.152.

4. During my visit to the area I was able to survey two rooms each in Katra Umar Khān and Katra Phulail.

mortar, the walls are thick and surmounted with a circular dome like roof. The verandah which fronts each of these rooms is 3.58 mts in width and 2.35 mts in length. The arcade of the verandahs is a triangular mihṛāb. The roof is comparatively lower than that of the room and is conical in shape. From the exterior these sarais are square, though from the interior they appear to be Baghdādi Octagon (musammān-i-Baghdādi) in shape. The gates of these sarais have fortunately survived.

Around 1.5 km to the south of the Dakhīni Darwāza, near Mahābat Khān's Bāgh, are situated the ruins of a grand sarai, popularly known as Sarai Pukhta, the dilapidated remains of which still survive. The sarai presently has become a densely populated colony. Yet some of its outer walls and a few rooms on its south-western side have survived to this day. During a physical survey of the area, I could examine three such cloistered rooms of the sarai. Constructed on the same pattern as those of the four sarais at Mumtāzabād, the inner rooms are 4 mts. in length and breadth. The verandah situated in the front of these rooms is 4 mts. wide

and 2 mts long. According to the people of the area, the sarai once had two gates, one of which was situated on the south. There are no remains of either of the gates. Here too, the inner walls of the rooms were provided with niches. Each of the walls of the rooms of this sarai measures 30 inches in width. What was the exact area of this sarai, is impossible to say due to later reconstruction over it.

Apart from this, we are informed that between the sarai pukhta and Fatehabad road, was constructed yet another sarai known as Sarai Khām which as the name suggests must have been constructed of mud and wood. Though we do not have any remains of the same now, the area is still popular by that name.

MOSQUE

Ordinarily mosques were built with-in the locality and the town walls. Being community properties they were generally built by public or community contributions. In some cases, however, we have evidence of their having been constructed by the Emperor, nobles and rich men. They served many social, cultural and religious purposes.

To the south-west of Tāj Mahal is situated the Fatehpuri Masjid. Fatehpuri was the title of one of the wives of Shāh Jahān who built a mosque each in Āgra and Delhi.¹ It is a small beautiful mosque of red sand stone, the facade of which has been relieved by white marble, which bears no inscription or Quranic āyats. There is a small birga on the south-west side of the sahn. It has three Shāhjāhanī arches on each sides of the facade and four octagonally developed bastion type kiosks, reminding one of the octogonal bastions of Itimād ud Daula's tomb. The facade has two turrets on both sides. The merlons are of a special

1. Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, op.cit., p.55, Moinuddin Ahmad, op.cit., p. 74.

anthropomorphic type. The whole structure is surmounted by a bulbous dome, which has been capped by an inverted lotus over which there is a marble kalas finial, above which there is a jām. The floor has been divided into suff with black marble, which can accommodate seats for a congregation of 176 people. It is built on a high plinth which has arcades on three sides. The length and breadth of the mosque is 38x130 feet. In front, there is a courtyard measuring 55x103 feet. The plinth has 11 verandahs with 5 chambers on the east, 7 verandah with 3 chambers on the South and on the north there are 7 arches with 3 chambers while the fourth side has a wall only. The mosque was furnished with high quality paintings, and colours with a beautiful inlay work in the entrance. There was a stone hauz in the northern direction of the mosque which is renovated since then.¹ The northern gallery of the mosque was used by mosaic workers as their workshops.²

Towards the eastern wall of the Tāj enclosure is a mosque which was in the ruinous

1. Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, op.cit., p.55.

2. Cf. Ahmad, op.cit., p.74.

condition and has now been renovated¹. The facade of which is flanked by turrets which is capped by tapering guldasta motifs. Now it is locally known as Sandli masjid.

In katra phulail there is another mosque which was constructed in 1196 A.H./1781 A.D. by a merchant (saudagar) with the name of Mazār Sharīf (Mīrza Sharīf?). In 1288 A.H./1871 A.D. Buddhu Khān, the sūbedār had added a cloister (verandah). The building is quite ordinary. The western wall of the interior chamber has an inscription on a marble stone, bearing the date 1073 A.H./1662 A.D. The man who had this inscribed is not known.²

Near the Shifa khāna in this locality is situated a mosque constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb. The only distinguishing character of this mosque is its size and inscription, otherwise the building is quite ordinary. The inscription is located at the top of the gate. Unfortunately the name of its builder is illegible. However date provided is 1094 A.H./1682 A.D. It is a solid mosque with three arched ways.³

1. A.S.I. Report Vol.IV, p.192-93.

2. Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, op.cit., p.58.

3. Ibid, p.58.

In Mohalla Billochpura the mosque which still survives, is said to have been built by the mother of Mumtāz Mahal, Diwānji Begum. This beautiful red sand stone structure is raised over a plinth of 14 feet. It consists of 15 arches and measures 64x34 feet. It has a courtyard of 64x55 feet with a (wuzu) tank.¹ The facade is flanked by two side arches. Above the main facade there are two minarets. Above the main structure there are three domes one in the middle and one each on the sides. There are four kiosks with Shāhjahānī arches. On its internal middle mihrāb (arch) is engraved the āyat-al-kursi with the date 1088 A.H./1678 A.D. It appears that this stone is a later addition. On the southern side of the mosque there is a series of nine shops.

Near the mausoleum of Syed Jalāl Bukhārī another mosque is situated but it is a very small one and has largely been renovated.

1. Moinuddin Ahmad, op.cit., p.102; Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, op.cit., p.57.

Āgha khān Khwaja Sara who was the faujdār of the hawēli Akbarābād, the capital and who held a mansab of 5,000 during Shāh Jahān's time is said to have built a mosque. This is situated at a distance of four furlongs from the east gate of the chowk of the Rauza and adjacent to Bakri Mandi. It is a grand mosque with three mihrābs under which there is a tahkhāna. There is a beautiful dome (Gumbad) on the roof in the centre. Now this mosque is in a very poor condition and some portions of Southern part have fallen down.

CHAPTER V

OTHER BUILDINGS

The survey has helped to locate and identify some of the hitherto lesser known monuments around the Tāj. It is unfortunate that historians and archeologists have not given them the importance they deserve. Though some of them have withstood the ravages of time, many are on the verge of extinction. As some of them have been completely obliterated, any hint of their historical existence is possible only from the place names which still are continuing. Local traditions which pass from one generation to another have also helped in sifting grains from chaff.

Any study of the Tāj would be incomplete without a proper study of the monuments around it. This combined with the casual treatment these monuments have received by the hands of historians have convinced of the awful necessity of locating and identifying them. Hence it is a humble beginning by no means exhaustive, yet original.

To the west of the gate of Tāj Mahal and the north of Fatehpuri Mosque, is situated Gumbad Sahelian or maqbara Sahelian. The structure is made

of red sand stone and built on a high plinth square measuring 152 feet. It is a beautiful octagonal monument, each side having a length of 9 feet 8 inches. In the middle of it there are two graves made of marble, having no epitaph. The large tomb measures $6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{8}{12}$ feet and the smaller $4\frac{9}{12} \times 2\frac{11}{12}$ feet. These graves are supposed to be of the personal attendants or friends of Mumtāz Mahal. The south and east sides of the plinth have a long running arcade, fronted by beautiful multi-foliated Shāhjahānī arches, containing 18 arched doors and 10 chambers. The middle of the southern side has the stair case comprising of 9 steps. The higher side of the plinth has a balustrate running on all the four sides, the four corners of which have been broken by octagonal kiosks. On the main structure both red and buff stones have been used for colour contrast, the first instance of which is found in Fatehpur Sikri. The arches of the octagonal structure has small nooked shafts from which the spiralling decorative intrados springs to the key stone. Seven false arches have been provided with red sand stone perforated screens while the eighth side has the entrance. A turret rises from each

side of the arches. The dome is late Shāh Jahānī, onion shaped, the top of which is surmounted by an inverted lotus over which there is marble kalaś.

The maqbara of Sati-un Nisa Khānum is situated in the south-west of Jilaukhāna and to the east of Fatehpuri mosque. Satiunnisa was a sister of Tālib-i amuli, on whom Jahāngīr had conferred the title of poet laureate, and wife of Hakīm Nasira. She was a woman of literary abilities and courtly manners. She devoted herself in the service of Mumtāz Mahal after the death of her husband and then she was entrusted with the education of Jahān Āra Begum. After the death of Mumtāz Mahal, Shāh Jahān appointed her the chief supervisor of the royal harem.¹ She died in 1646 at Lahore and her body was transferred and buried in south west corner of chok, according to royal order this mausoleum was constructed at the expense of 30,000 and a village (mauza) was assigned to bear the expenses of maintenance and urs.² On the east side, there is a square courtyard of 137 feet each.

1. Lāhorī, op.cit., Vol.I, p.15.

2. Shahnawāz Khān, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.791-92.

In the centre of this courtyard there is an artificial fountain of which each side is 22 feet and 3 inches. There are 24 arches around, each $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The main chamber is an octagon, each side measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Seven arches have been closed with a network screen of red sand stone, while the eighth has the entrance. The walls upto Iyara are made of marble. The inside of the arched roof is faced with red stone. The middle of the main chamber accomodates the grave, which stands on a platform. It is profusely decorated with arabesques. On either side of the entrance there is a staircase with 15 steps. The $18\frac{1}{3}$ feet high walls of the octagon has a beautiful white marble dome. Each side of the octagonal structure has three turrets, thus making the total as 24, each $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet high. The western wall contains nine red stone screens, measuring 64 feet long and 9 feet high, capped with pinnacles. There are two chambers and a hall for the attendants and keepers of the tomb towards the south. The walls and ceiling of this building are decorated with floral designs. But how-ever the lower parts are in a very dilapidated condition.

In the south-east corner of the chowk Mumtāz Mahal and in front of the tomb of Satiunnisa Khānum, there is a tomb which is said to be of Sirhindī Begum.¹ This is built exactly on the same pattern as that of Khānam's maqbara. The measurement of the various parts of the structure are exactly the same, except that the grave of Satiunnisa is decorated with stone floral work, while Sirhindī's with mosaic only. The monument fell in a very bad condition and therefore has in greater part been repaired since then.

Outside the Eastern gate of the Tāj, but in close quarters there is a beautiful mausoleum and a mosque. We are not in a position to identify the same, as it is bereft of any inscription. But typologically it is akin to the tomb of Sirhindī Begum. Hence it is assumed that it was built during the reign of Shāh Jahān and belongs to one of his queens² or to a lady attendant of Mumtāz Mahal³.

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1. Beale, op.cit., p.353. Sirhindī was the title of the queens of Shāh Jahān, who was a native of Sirhind. She built a garden in Agra and a mosque outside Lāhori gate in Delhi, no traces of which are left now.
 2. Cf. Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, p.53.
 3. Cf. Moinuddin Ahmad, p.75.

The main chamber is an octogen, measuring from inside 9 feet 11 inches. It is made of red sand stone and has a rotating verandah on all the eight sides, consisting of 24 arches. Each side has been enclosed with perforated screens. There are three turrets on each side thus making the number of 24. The main structure is roofed by a beautiful white marble dome, the top of which is surmounted by an inverted lotus with Kalas' pinnacle. To its western side there is a mosque with three domes. There is a marble slab in the central chamber which is very attractive and beautiful. The monument, it seems, was embeded with precious stones which have been scooped out by vandals. It has also been given a facelift.¹

To the east of the Tāj, near the banks of Jumna is a tomb which is alleged to be that of Sayyed Jalāl Bukhārī, who was the son of Sayyed Moḥammad Ahmad Bukhārī Rizvi and a descendent of Sayyed Ahmad Kabīr. He came to Āgra during the reign of Shāh Jahān. The Emperor had special reverence for him and as a result he was awarded

1. Cunningham, op.cit. Vol.IV, pp.192-93.

a mansab of 4000 in 1642 and was appointed the Sadr-i-kul. After some time he was promoted to 6000. He died in 1647. The author of Muraqqa-i Akbarābād, identifies this mausoleum as that of the Shaikh. It was situated on a high plinth and had a small mosque. Now it lies in ruins. The mausoleum of Sayyed Ziāuddīn Balkhī was built next to it.¹

Sayyed Ahmad Bukhārī was the brother of the celebrated Jalāl Bukhārī and was among the distinguished ma-shaikhs of Shāh Jahān's reign. His tomb is located near Havēli Khān-i Dauran Khān. People had great reverence towards him. The ma-zār has no katba. In the courtyard of the dargah there is a varandah and hundreds of graves.²

The real name of Khān-i Daurān Khān Nusrat Jung was Khawāja Sābir. He was in royal service since the time of Shāh Jahān and served Prince Shāh Jahān as a personal attendant and in 2nd R.Y., was awarded the title of Nāsirī Khān and a mansab of 3000.

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1. Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, op.cit., p.60; Moinuddin Ahmad, op.cit., p.96; T.W. Beale, op.cit., p.356 is of the opinion that he was buried near the gate of the city of Delhi.
 2. See also Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, op.cit., p.56; T.W. Beale, op.cit., p.354.

After the conquest of the Fort of Daulatbad he was raised to the mansab of 5000 and given the title of khān-i Daurān khān. He died of the wounds inflicted by his personal attendant, a Kashmiri Brahmin in 1645. To the east of Tāj Mahal and near the mausoleum of Syyed Ahmad Bukhārī, was built his grand palace and a garden. This palace is located on the bank of river Jumna, the wall of which is made of Shāhjahānī bricks phased by lime plaster. Red sand stone is used on the octagonal bastion in order to break the monotony of grey looking lime plaster. The first floor of the bastion is surmounted by an octagonal kiosk. From architectural point of view its gate and a three storied bastion are worth seeing.

The garden of khān-i Ālam was situated between the fort and the mausoleum of Sayyed Jalāl Bukhārī. The real name of khān-i Ālam was Mirzā Barkhurdār, who was given a mansab of 200 during Jahāngīr's reign¹ and later on was honoured with the title of khān-i Ālam in the 4th year of Jahāngīr's reign.

1. M. Athar Ali, The Apparatus of Empire, O.U.P. Delhi, 1985, p.356.

In the 6th year, was sent to Shāh Abbās II of Iran as an ambassador and in recognition of this Embassy, was promoted to the rank of 5000. During Shāh Jahān's reign, he was raised to 6000 and was appointed governor of Bihar. Due to old age one lakh rupees was assigned as pension and after some times he died and was buried in his own garden, which was enclosed by a high wall with a gate on the western side. In the middle of the garden a lamp post (chirāghdān) was located on a high platform (chabūtra), which is believed to be the grave of khān-i Alam but there is no epitaph (tāwiz) on it now. On the northern side there is another chabūtra, on which there were 7 graves made of stone, but bears no katba. The mound appears to be the site of a magnificent building, which is demolished now. Beneath the garden there is an underground chamber (tahkhāna) by the river side.

Between the Red Fort and the Tāj, Muqarrab Khān Deccani built a large, grand and lofty building at a great cost. Muqarrab Khān whose real name was Rustam Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jung¹, was originally

1. M. Athar Ali, op.cit., p.369.

in the service of Nizāmūl Mulk of Deccan. In the eighth year of Shāh Jahān's reign he held the title of Rustam Khān and in the 23rd year that of Feroz Jung. He was raised to a mansab of 3000 in 1656. A.D. and was sent the province of Kabul as governor. During the battle of Samugarh he sided with Dārā and died in 1658 due to severe wounds.¹ His property was confiscated by Aurangzeb and given to Hussain Pasha Islam Khān, a Turk. The building was later on acquired by the British government. In 1872 Cunningham visited the site and wrote, "This building is now in a totally ruinous and dilapidated condition only some of its towers and a portion of the empty shell of the walls, being now standing. Nevertheless, it is still decidedly the largest, loftiest and noblest looking ruin about Āgra, and well worthy of a visit".² Presently nothing can be seen except a heap of ruins (tīla) and now a park exists there.

In the vicinity of mauza Basai, in Mohalla Billochpura, survives the eight sided ruined

1. ASI, op.cit., p.

2. Shāhnawāz Khān, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.270-76.

structure of Diwān̄ji Begum's maqbara. Diwanji Begum was the daughter of khāwaja Ghiyāsuddīn Qazvini and wife of Mirzā Abul Hasan Asaf khān. She was the mother of Mumtāz Mahal. The tomb building, of a radius of 28 feet, was constructed during the reign of Jahāngīr. Nearby a mosque is situated which is said to have been constructed by the Begum. The maqbara was built in the midst of a garden which spread over an area of 50 bīghas. There were four huge wells on each of the four corner of the structure which stood on a raised platform having eight arches on each of the eight sides. There are three air wells each on the four corners and one each in the middle of all the four sides, thus in all making 16 air wells for the underground chamber (taḥkhāna). Subterranean apartments equipped with large fans to provide relief from excessive heat of the day were part of every house in India.¹ This kind of underground chambers existed in Baghdad and tenth century city of Qum in Iran.² Excavations

1. Bernier, op.cit., p.247.

2. Michall, G. Architecture of the Islamic World, New York, 1978, p.202;

have unearthed such chambers known as Sardab in Samarra the ninth century capital of Abbasid Caliph Muhtasim.¹ The grave stone of the tomb has also disappeared. The original grave was in the vault.

Mahābat Khān, whose real name was Zamana Beg, was the son of Ghor Beg - a native of Kabul. He was a famous noble during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān and died in 1634 A.D. His house was constructed on a plot of land of 50 bighas on the bank of river Jumna.² Hardly any remains of the same exist now. The Bādshāhī Bāgh near Sarai Pukhta is attributed to him. Only the dilapidated remains of the walls of this garden can be seen now. It also has the mausoleum of Mahābat Khān's daughter and the remains of a mosque. The structure has been vertically divided into four square and horizontally into seven square panels with mid ribs. Each panel has been decorated with six multifoliated blind decorative arches. This kind of decoration runs along with the four sides of the structure broken by four slender

1. Creswell, K.A.C., Early Islamic Architecture, Britain, 1958, p.285.

2. Beale, op.cit., p.229.

nook shafts provided on the four corners of the buildings. The entablature is decorated with tulip motives. The mausoleum is roofed with a wagon top arch, the external side of which is framed by four slender turrets. A lintel and beam entrance is provided from the east. The structure has also an underground chamber.

* * *

The Tājganj area thus was very rich in monuments. It headquartered a large number of buildings including tombs, mosques, residential palaces, sarais and gardens. The survey has revealed that the history of a declining town or city or suburb may be pieced together on the basis of the names of its streets, bāzārs, roads, remains of the buildings, mounds and other archeological evidences. These sources of information become extremely important in the absence of ample contemporary literary information. The Tāj area of which a physical survey was undertaken as a case study, has provided very interesting information. The literary sources, particularly the persian have very little to offer on the area under study. A survey of the area and the

archaeological evidence suggests that the Tanjganj locality was once a very prosperous and flourishing suburb and commercial centre and an important grain mart.

Tā'jganj which originally came into being as a provision market in front of the Tāj, subsequently developed into a commercial centre of international repute. It was visited by merchants from all parts of India and abroad for procuring the merchandise which used to flow from the prominent manufacturing centres in the Empire - Āgra being situated at a commercially strategic point. As has been pointed earlier in Chapter I, the merchandise meant for export and bound for Surat necessarily had to pass through Āgra. Similarly whatever Bengal and Bihar had to provide to Ahmadabad and Surat had to pass through the markets of Āgra.

From Waqā'ī Ranthambhore wa Ajmer, we have the evidence that in addition to being a commercial centre, Tājganj also developed as one of the major grain mandi, catering to the needs of the imperial capital. A number of merchants and banjārās

supplied the food grains to the mart from the area around Āgra.

As a result of this trade and commerce, the Tājganj locality developed into a full-fledged suburb. The large number of buildings referred to above, indicate that during the 17th and 18th centuries Tājganj must have been heavily populated. The large number of mounds which are scattered all over the area are clear proof of the buildings which earlier would have dotted the area.

Similar to the locality around Tāj, there must have been a large number of other urban centres of which nothing or very little is known to history. In the absence of the literary sources, a physical survey of those areas, if undertaken, may yield the much needed and interesting information and help us to reconstruct the history of the Mughal urban centres.

I L L U S T R A T I O N S



Plate I : A : Cloistered Apartment (Badshahian)
at Katra Phulail.



B : Another view of the same ; Mark the niches in
the walls.



Plate II : A ; Pukki Sarai : view of a ruined apartment.



B : A view of the arch of the varandah connecting the apartment at Pukki Sarai



Plate II : C : View of the inner chamber of an apartment at Pukki Sarai : mark the circular roof.



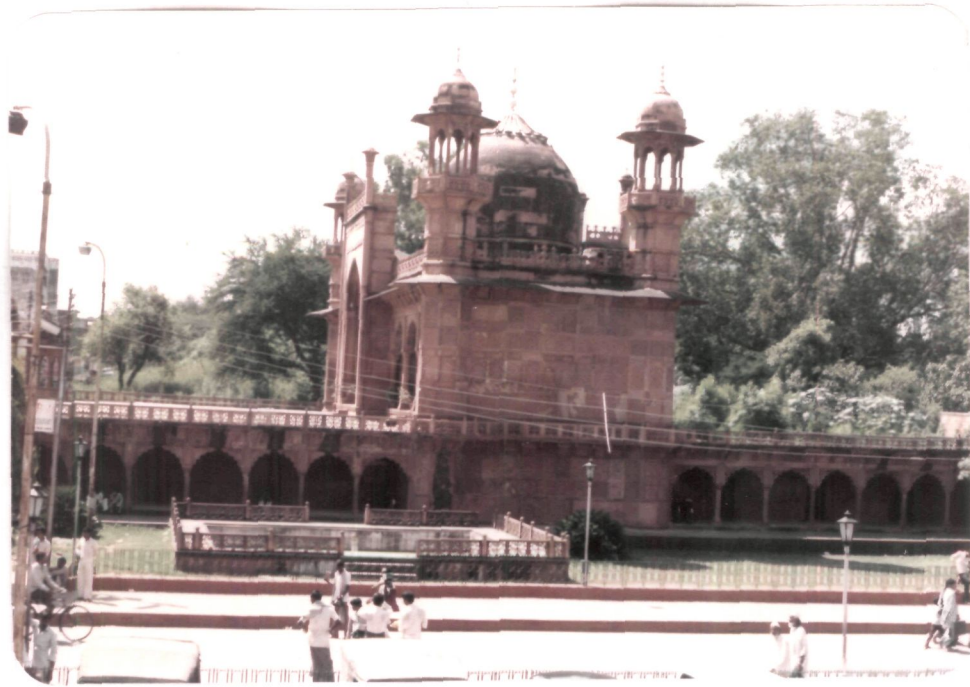


Plate III : A : Fatehpuri Mosque : A General view



B : Central Arch of the Fatehpuri Mosque



Plate IV : A : The Mosque of Diwanji Begum : A
General view



B1: The Dome of the mosque with kalash and
pinnacle.



Plate V : The Mosque facing the Rauza Sahelian



Plate VI : The Remains of the Haveli of Khan-i Dauran Khan.



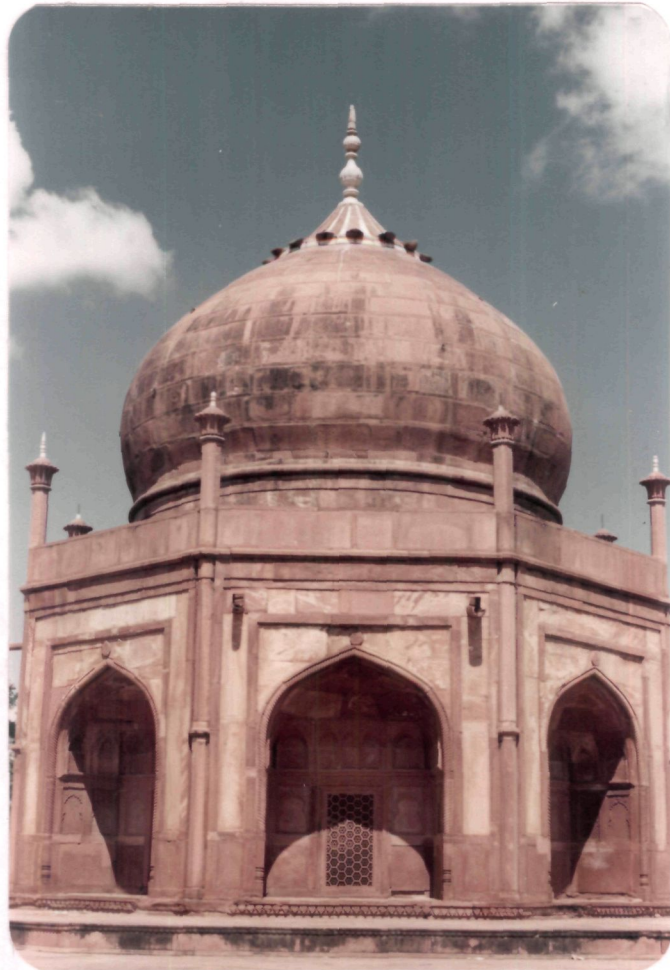
Plate VII : The ruins of the outer walls of the garden of Badshahi Bagh.



Plate VIII : Entrance Gate of Kātra Phulail



plate IX : A : Gumbad Sahelian : A General view



B : Gumbad Sahelian : A view of the
onion shaped dome.



Plate X : Rauza Sahelian : A General view



Plate XI : The ruins of the Tomb of Diwanji Begum



Plate XII : A :The mausoleum of Shah Ahmad Bukhari



B : Another view of the same

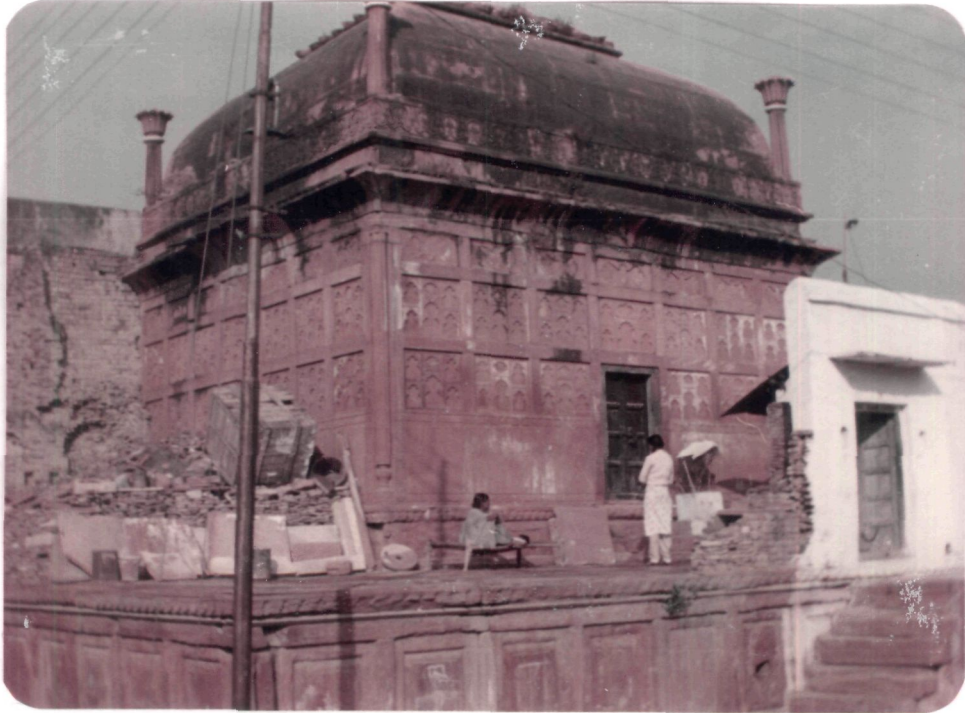
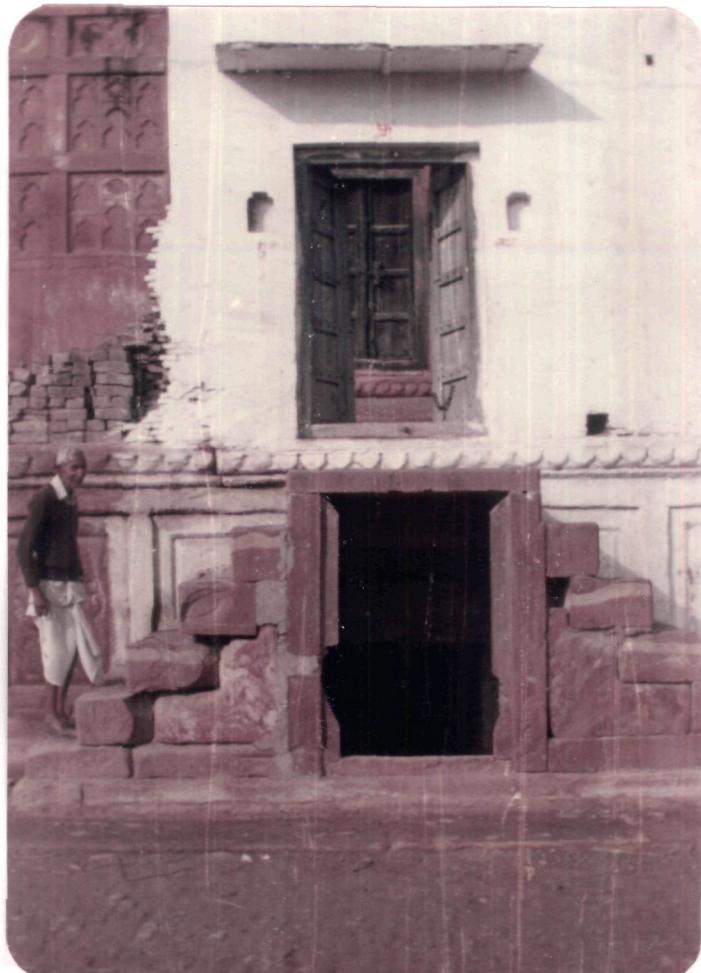


Plate XIII : A : The square Tomb of Mahabat Khan's daughter.



B : Entrance to the inner chamber in the Tomb of Mahabat Khan's daughter

A P P E N D I X

Farman of Shahjahan:

حضرت فردوس ایشیائی
نقش
فرمان عالیشان افرار شام بہ ہر حال ایشیائی
کہ جلوس مع موافق سیدہ پور آگہ چون بعض مقدس
رسید کہ جماعہ اکبر نران در وقت رفتی واحد در بندر
سورت و بروج عشور موافق ضابطہ سرکار خاصہ شریفہ
میدہند و فرمان عالیشان سعادت نشان قبا ازین
شرف جدا دریافتہ کہ در بیچ جا از اسباب و اشیای
آنها بیچ افریدہ طلر و طغر دیکر نماید چنانکہ فرمان عالیشان
مذکور بدست دارند و در نیولا متہدیان معات ممتاز آباد
واقعہ دار اخلا فر اکبر ابالہ وغیرہ مزہم اسباب و اشیای
انجامہ از طرف پورب وغیرہ می اورند و می برند افرجاتی
کہ از سائر بیو پاریمان می کنند از آنها طلر نمایند

حکم جماعت عالم مطیع صادر شد که از هر طرف و ارباب
محرور که اسباب آنها بیاید و جهت خرید و فروخت
بطرفی بروی تهدیان مسمات ممتاز اباد و غیره بعلت
زکوة و خرج و غیره حسب الضمن فراصم نشوند و همچنین
حکم شد که اسباب انجاء را از کمات ممتاز اباد
و دیگر کماتها و کذا با از آب جون و غیره بکذا رسیده
باشندی باید که حکام و تهدیان بدین موجب
بهار او ندر فرموده تخلف و انحراف نوزند

APPENDIX -1BTRANSLATION

Text of the memorandum (yaddasht) issued on 21st of the Ilahi month of Shahriwar, 10th R.Y. falling on monday 2nd Jamadi-ul awwal, 1047 A.H. (i.e. 2nd Sep. 1637 A.D.). During the office of Vizarat (Prime Ministership) of Iqbal Panah Rifat wal Jalāl (Mukkaramat khān) and in the tenure of the wāqīā navīs of Inayatullah, the humblest of the servants of the court.

That, the petition has been made to the exalted and sacred (Emperor) that the English Company is paying the ushur in accordance with the imperial regulations. They (already) possess an exalted and felicitous farmān to the effect that, at no place, any other tax, be collected on their goods, and merchandise. All this time (despite the aforesaid farmān) the officers. (Mutasaddis) of Mumtazābād etc. are obstructing their (the English) goods and merchandise coming from the direction of the East (pūrab, reference here to areas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) and are demanding from them the cesses (Ikhrajāt), which impose on all other merchants and traders.

The World commanding and sun (like) illuminating order (hukm) has been issued that from whichever province of the empire their (English) goods came for sale and purchase and to whatever region these are taken, the officers of Mumtāzabād and Co. etc. should not obstruct their (the English) goods for Zakāt, kharch etc. It is also ordered that they should let pass the merchandise of the said company from the ferry point of Mumtāzabād as well as from other ferries to fords on the river Yamuna.

The other sharb (text renewal) (orders) that the officers of Mumtāzabād and Co. should not obstruct (the English Company).

Dated 3rd November, 1637 A.D.

APPENDIX - II

We have noted in Chapter III of this dissertation, on the testimony of Mulla Abdu'l Hamid Lahori, that the revenues of thirty villages amounting to forty lakhs of dāms together with the rent of the shops in the bāzaars and the sarais constructed around the Tāj, amounting to two lakhs of rupees were set aside for the upkeep of a mausoleum and the charitable institutions attached to it. The following are some of the passages from a farmān discovered and translated by Khān Bahadur M. Zafar Hussain in 1941 and published in Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute, Volume I, numbers 2, 3, 1941, ^{which} supports Lahori's statement. It makes a reference to the treasury and the mushrif of the mausoleum and indicates to a separate department responsible for the administration of the aforementioned endowments. The farmān also makes it clear that a college for the teaching of the Holy Quran was attached to the tomb which employed several Hafizes. The farmān is issued under the seal of Farrukh Siyar.

Translation

"In the name of Allah who is most merciful and compassionate ...

Seal: Abu Zafar Muḥnuddin Moḥammad Farrukh Siyar

alamgir Sani ... The first year, 1125

"At this auspicious time the glorious Farmān, necessary to be obeyed, is issued that after the demise of Āqa Ismā'īl, Hafiz Moḥammad Hasan, son of Muḥammad Husain, has been receiving one rupee daily punctually from the treasury of the bright mausoleum of the king, who is asylum of pardon, has his abode in paradise (deceased) and is of exalted dignity (entitled) Hazrat Firdaus Ashian (i.e. Shāhjahān), may paradise be his resting place and his grave fragrant, situate at the town of Mustaqir-ul Mulk Akbarābād, on the condition of his teaching the Quran to the neo-Muslims, the award being half a rupee in excess to the emoluments of other Hafizes employed at the aforesaid mausoleum. It has been granted according to the endorsements.....

"Memorandum dated Wednesday the 12th of Safar, the 5th year of the august accession, corresponding to 1123 Hijra and agreeing to the 12th of the month of Aban, with the endorsement of one who is worthy of the kindness and beneficence, the recipient of the favours of the Lord, the Sadr of exalted dignity named Sayed Amjad Khān Sadr-i Jahān and during the Waqiah Niagari of Abdūl Azīz, the slave of the sublime court, it is hereby recorded that the imperial order was issued

that since the death of Āqa Isma'īl, Hafiz Muḥammad Hasan, son of Muḥammad Husain, had been receiving from the treasury of the bright mausoleum, situated at the town of Mustaqīḥ-ul Mulk Akbarābād, half a rupee.... for his livelihood subject to the condition of his teaching the Quran to the neo-Muslims at the aforesaid mausoleum in excess to half a rupee allowed to other Hafizes employed there, and ~~the~~ same has been granted. If he possesses any other income anywhere no deduction should be made on account of it. Written on the 28th of Zul-Hijja of the 5th year in confirmation of the memorandum....

"Note from the Waḡā-i-Nigar-i Kal to the effect that it is according to the record...

"This glorious Farman has been written according to the entries in the Waḡiāh...

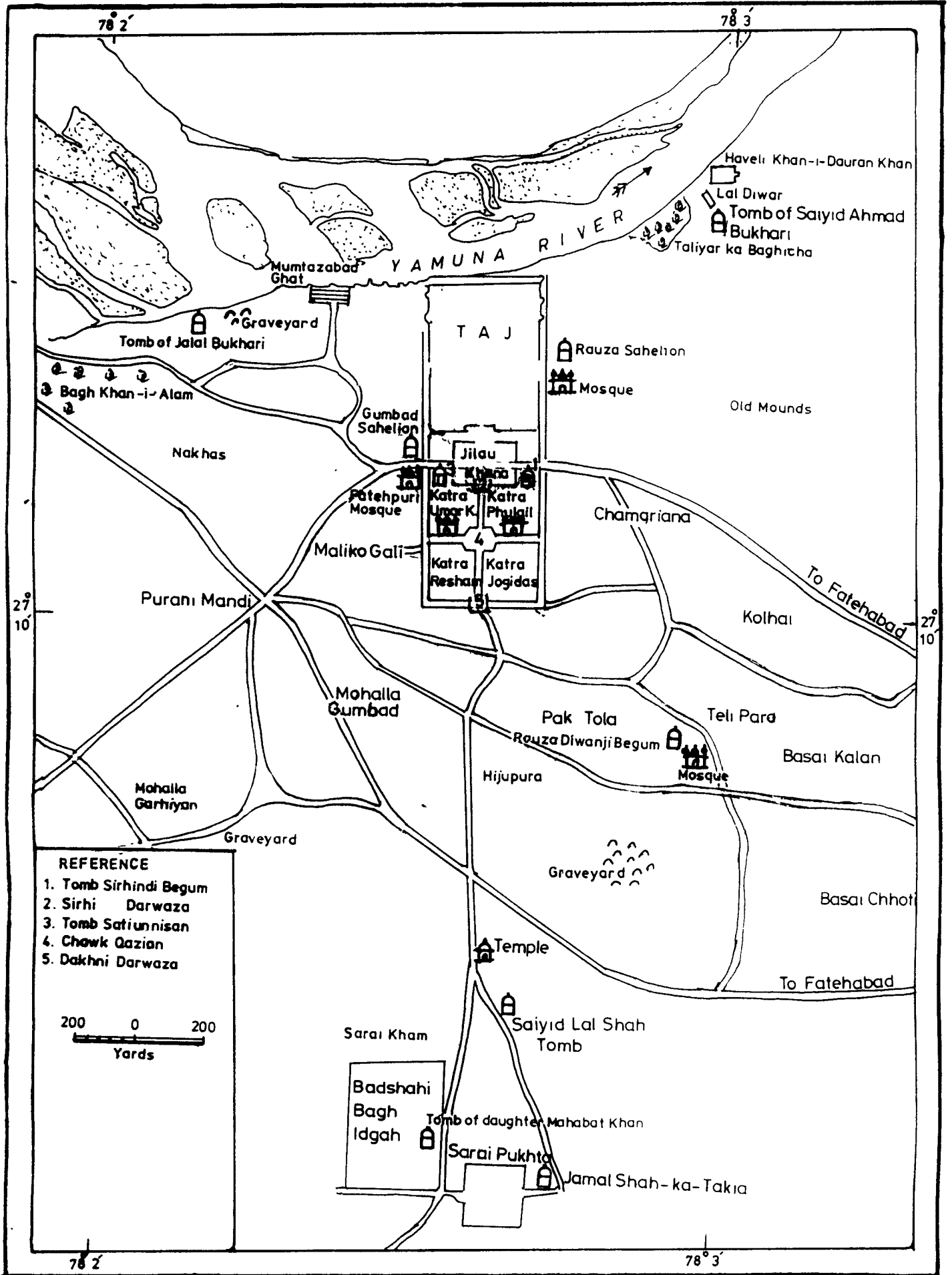
"Note from Sadr-us-Sudūr Amjad Khān Sadr-i-Jahān to the effect that an increment of half a rupee daily has been granted...

"From the report bearing the seal impression of Mukhlis Khān Bahādur it transpired that Āqa Isma'īl, who had the honour of receiving fifteen rupees per month for the education of the neo-Muslims and others

in teaching the sacred Quran died, the aforesaid Hafiz (Hafiz Muhammad Hasan) is appointed to that post on half a rupee daily subject to the condition of his performing the above-mentioned duties. It has been reported to His Majesty that a Memorandum bearing the seal impression of Muhammad Azam, the Accountant of the aforesaid mausoleum, has been received relating that Āqa Ismā'īl, the teacher of the Neo-Muslims and others, who, according to the service-roll, received his pay from the treasury of the mausoleum, with effect from the beginning of Rajab, the year 32 (of Shāhjahān's reign) Aban, till the 4th of Rajab, the 18th year of the reign of His Majesty Khuld Makān (Aurangzeb), died on the 5th of the same month....

"From the Daroghagi office... it was reported to His Majesty that during the reign of Khuld Manzil (Shāh Alam Bahādur Shāh I) one rupee a day punctually was granted for the livelihood of Hafiz Muhammad Hasan, son of Muhammad Husain, with effect from the death of Āqa Ismā'īl. The glorious farman in respect of it is submitted for affixing the blessed seal... The royal mandate has been issued... has been entirely granted. The seal.... has been affixed".

TAJGANJ AREA



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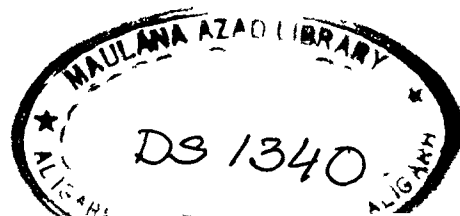
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