



## Review Of Literature On Variability Of Various Characteristics Of Mughal Period (1707-1857)

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**Abstract:** The Mughal Empire at its zenith commanded resources unprecedented in Indian history and covered almost the entire subcontinent. From 1556 to 1707, during the heyday of its fabulous wealth and glory, the Mughal Empire was a fairly efficient and centralized organization, with a vast complex of personnel, money, and information dedicated to the service of the emperor and his nobility. Much of the empire's expansion during that period was attributable to India's growing commercial and cultural contact with the outside world. The 16th and 17th centuries brought the establishment and expansion of European and non-European trading organizations in the subcontinent, principally for the procurement of Indian goods in demand abroad. Indian regions drew close to each other by means of an enhanced overland and coastal trading network, significantly augmenting the internal surplus of precious metals. With expanded connections to the wider world came also new ideologies and technologies to challenge and enrich the imperial edifice.

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### Introduction:

For the study of this kind in hand, factual accounts of events and situations need to be gleaned and compiled to arrive at some definite conclusions. The study is also built up to refine and qualifying the new findings on the basis of earlier studies and makes an original contribution to knowledge. We have drawn freely from the various standard work on the subject and tried to present the facts in a concise and lucid form. As stated already, no serious efforts were made by historians to write the history of Haryana as it did not enjoy any separate administrative status. But now due to the efforts made by several scholars, the history of Haryana has taken some shape. B.C. Lal and R.C. Aggarwal were the earliest Indian scholars who had written on several aspects of history and culture of Haryana much before the creation of new state. Kurukshetra, which is the holiest place of pilgrimage of the ancient world had been the central theme of these writers. Then H.R.Gupta, edited a book on *Marathas and Panipat*, giving vivid description and events and incidents. Besides H.R.Gupta, T.S.Shejwalker's *Panipat 1761*, and S.M. Pagadi's *Panipat Cha Sangram*, are significant works giving good account of the third battle of Panipat that took place between Ahmad Shah Abdali and Marathas. However, more

systematic and consistent efforts were made by K.C.Yadav through *Journal of Haryana Studies*, and by writing several outstanding books depicting vividly a systematic historical treatment of this region through different periods. Buddha Prakash's two books, *Haryana Through the Ages* and *History of Kurukshetra*, provide the historical growth of Haryana from the earliest times to the present. H.A. Phadke's book on *Haryana : Ancient and Medieval*, is another notable contribution. Silak Ram on the *Inscription of Haryana*, and Suraj Bhan on the basis of archaeological and literary sources, through his book *Recent Archaeological Investigations and their Contribution to the Cultural History of Haryana*, are useful work in this direction. Mulk Raj Anand's *Haryana Heritage*, published in 'Marg' provides commendable illustrated survey of the art tradition of the region. The faculty and research scholars in the department of History, M.D.University and Kurukshetra University, have also produced research work pertaining to the state of Haryana leading to new insights, knowledge and findings. We have provided liberal and also detailed bibliography at the end of the thesis which will benefit all prospective scholars interested in writing Haryana history in future.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE:**

Although a considerable body of primary literature is extant, and some of it has even been translated and published, in comparison with the type of sources available in other contexts, particularly concerning the day-to-day practice of courts beyond the imperial center, scholars of Mughal law are at a disadvantage. Records (mahadir/sijills) of specific cases tried in the state-sponsored courts and by independent jurists of even the capital, let alone in provincial towns and districts, are few and far between in the major collections, or have yet to be sifted from the mass of documents in more local collections. This can primarily be attributed to the fact that the Mughals did not establish centralized archives, as was the case in Ottomans realms, apparently leaving individual judges to retain their own records. The value of such documents, however, is proven beyond a doubt by the legal and social history produced on the Ottoman setting, and their effective absence in the Mughal is undeniably a factor in explaining the relative lack of writing on Mughal legal theory and practice.

There are various books which throws ample light on the role of different system in the good governance of Mughal rule with special reference to Jalal-ud-din Mohammad Akbar. The important books are as under: The book "Administration of the Mughal Empire" whose author is Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi provides ample information about the development of political and administrative institutions during the Mughal empire. The author also throws light on the new changes introduced by Akbar in the system of administration and the establishment of Mansabdari system which gradually dismissed the old tribal system (i.e. chiefs as the center of power) and its successful working made it quite possible for the emperor to assert himself more fully. The author provides much reliable data regarding the mansabdari system which not only explains the working of that system but also made it logical and well grounded.

The book "Mansabdari system and the Mughal Army" was written by Abdul Aziz. In this book the author has made serious effort to throw ample light on the organization of the Mansabdari system and its historical development. Besides, it also provides certain data which explains the working of the system and making the whole system logical and reliable. The author also defines properly the Zat and Suwar rank, troops pay, mansabdars pay, mansabdari figures and important of all- the classifications of mansabdars.

The book "Medieval India from Sultanate to the Mughals (1526-1748)" was written by Satish Chandra. In this book the author provides

information about the foundation of Mughal dynasty and the role played by Akbar in making the Mughal empire quite strong and efficient. The author also provides basic knowledge about the new changes introduced by Akbar. It throws a little bit light on the historical Page | 39 background of mansabdari system and its working and most importantly the role played by mansabdari system in the consolidation of Mughal rule.

The book "The wonder that was India" was written by S.A.A. Rizvi provides information about mansabdari system, finance, Justice, central, provincial and local administration. In addition, it also throws some light on the social and economic conditions of people during the reign of Akbar.

The book "Ain-i-Akbari" written by "Abdul Fazl" Allami translated by H. Blochmann and colonel H.S. Jarret provides ample light on the key concepts of administration during the Mughal regime. The contemporary historian provides full information regarding Akbar's rule in the form of what would be called in modern times administration or gazettes. It contains the Ai'n means mode of governing of Akbar and in fact the administration report and statistical return of his government. The book also provides much information about the imperial household, the servants of the emperor, the military and civil service, the imperial administration containing the regulations for the judicial and executive department.

The book "The Mughal empire from Babur to Aurangzeb" was written by S.M Jaffar provides useful information about Akbar, his conquests & the role of Mansabdar system in the consolidation of Mughal dynasty. It also throws light on the key concept of administration such as central, provincial and local administration system, land revenue system, judicial system etc.

The book "Mughal kingship and Nobility" written by Ram Prasad Khosala throw light on the constitutional aspects of the Mughal rule in India. It also provides sufficient information about the position of emperor, his relations with subjects and nobles, the position of nobles, grades of nobles, their salary, etc.

The book "The Agrarian System of Moslem Indian" whose author is W.H Moreland provides a detailed information about the methods of assessment, the assignments, the collectors, the working of the regulation system and the final position during the rule of Muslims.

The book "The Agrarian system of Mughal India (1556-1707)" written by Irfan Habib provides detailed information not only about land revenue administration but also on agrarian economy and social structure. The book provides a brief information about the Zamindars, their position and

their role in the revenue administration. Besides it also provides information about the land revenue settlements, the position of peasants and the agricultural production during Mughal India.

The book “Administrative structure of the Great Mughals” whose author is R. P. Khosala provides a detailed information about the position of nobles. In this book the writer stated that the word noble means mansabdar. In this book the author also provides sufficient information about mansabdari system. He mentions that there were various ranks in the mansabdari system such as 10,000, 7000, 5000, 4000,3000 etc. According to him princes of royal blood received higher mansabs. Besides Akbar also appointed Rajput princes on higher mansabs entrusted them with responsibility and go in return their loyalty and service but Aurangzeb distrusted them and faced disastrous consequences.

The book “Some aspects of Muslim administration” whose author is R.P Tripathi. In this book the author makes an attempt to trace the vicissitudes of two institutions- the sultans or sovereignty and the vizarat. It begins with the Ghaznavides and comes down to the end of Akbar’s reign. The reason for selecting Akbar as the other limit of enquiry is that in him were combined the old and the new. It was Akbar who stands almost in the central place of the Muslim history of India Page | 41 and looks both backwards and forwards. It was Akbar’s reign that some of the old movements and institutions reached their culmination or were transferred into something new.

The book “Muntakhabu-T-Tawarik” was written by Abdul-Qadir Ibn-i-Mulk Shah popularly known as Al-Badaoni and translated by George S.A and Lowe. The book is divided into three volumes. The first volume throws light on the historic accounts about the rulers and kings of Ghaznavids, Ghurid dynasty, Mamluk dynasty, Babur and Humayan. It contains the history of India from the coronation of Subuktigin down to the death of Mughal Emperor Humayun. The second volume throws light on the history of the first forty years of Mughal emperor Akbar’s reign (1556-1595). The third volume contains the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of letters who lived in court of Akbar or were either known to him.

The book “History of Medieval India from 1000 A.D-1707 A.D” was written by R.S Chaurasie. In this book the author throws light on the topic of mansabdari system and its effective working etc. The book is divided into two parts. First part throws light on sultanate period and second part throws light on the Mughal period. Both these parts throw light on administrative system, society, culture etc.

The book “The army of the Indian Moghals its organization and the administration” was written by William Irvine. In this book the author throws ample light on the army organization. It provides us detailed history regarding mansabs, grades of promotion, zat and swaur, pay, rules connected with pay and allowances, Reward and distinctions, producer on entering the service, branding and verification, different branches of the service etc.

The book “Akbar and his India” whose author is Irfan Habib. He successfully combined a formidable army and imperial apparatus with an enlightened, benevolent, humanitarian state policy which on one hand had secured the allegiance and imagination of the people.

The book “A history of political theory” whose author is George H. Sabine provided sufficient information about Plato and Aristotle and about their concepts of good governance. In the book the author throws light on the concept of Plato’s Ideal state and on the concept of Aristotle best practicable state. In this book the author also tried hard to compare the Plato and Aristotle.

The book “Political Thought” who author is C.L wayper also throws ample light on the theories of Plato and Aristotle related to good governance. The author mentions the Plato’s views of good governance and how a king will govern the country. The authors also throw light on Aristotle and his views of good governance.

The book “A history of political thought Plato to Marx” whose author is Subrata Mukhurji and Sushila Ramaswany provided sufficient information about the concept of governance given by different thinkers such as Aristotle, Plato and Nicolo Machiavelli. The book mentions the theories of good governances given by the above political thinks.

The book “The Prince” was written by Niccolo Machiavelli translated by W. K Marriott. The book mainly highlighted the importance of the security and unity of the state as the chief concerns of a ruler. “The prince” deals with monarchies or absolute governments. It describes the act and craft of war. It elaborates on the qualities of a prince and his prudence. It gives lessons in statesmanship and on judging the strength of Principalities. It warns that if a state is not governed properly it shall collapse in the ruler.

The book “The Republic” was written by Plato translated by Benjamin Jowett. The Republic of Plato is the longest of his works with the exception of the laws and is certainly the greatest of them. The Republic is one of Plato’s master works and one of the most influential and widely read books in the history of Philosophy. It is by far the best

introduction to his thought and contains many of the most important Platonic doctrines.

The book "Arthashastra" is written by Kautilya translated by L.N Rangrajan. The book is an ancient treaties dealing with the good governance of a country. It is a pioneering work in state craft in all its aspects. the precepts of Kautilya on the social, political and economic structure of the ideal state are relevant even today.

The book "Baburnama" is written by Zahir-Ud Mohammad Babur translated by Annette Susannah Beveridge. In this book the author provided sufficient information about Farghana, Kabul and Hindustan. Baburnama is the complete record of Babur's life from the time he ascended the throne at the young age of eleven to when he finally established as a monarch (1493-1529).

The book "Tabqat-i-Akbari" is written by Khawaja Nizam-ud-din translated by Brajendranath De. The book provides an important information about the history of the Muslim rule in India. For the earlier history he consulted the Muslim historians written before his time but for the reign of Akbar he was contemporary. The book should be read carefully particularly dealing with the reign of Akbar. Sometimes the author misplaced many materials of importance. But on the whole the book provides valuable and authentic information about Akbar.

Baburnama, literary "Book of Babur" or alternatively known as Tuzk-e-Babri is the name given to the memoirs of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammed Babur(1483-1530).He was the founder of the Moghul Empire and great grand son of Timur. It is an autobiographical work.It was originally written in the Chagatai language, known to baburas "Turk"(meaning Turcic), the spoken language of the Andijan-Timurids. Babur's prose is highly Persianised in its sentences structure, morphology, and language. It is also contains many phrases and smaller poems in Persian.

During the Emperor's reign, the work was completely translated to Persian by a Moghul courtier, Abdul Rahim, in (1589-90) 6 Baburnamah can be divided into three Parts. The first part begins with his accession to the throne of Fargana and ends with his driving out from his flight to his last invasion of India. The third part gives an account of his transactions in India. It may be noted that there are three important gaps in the memories of the forty seven and ten years of his life, give an account of only 18 years. In his Memoirs Babur gives detailed account of the land, climate, vegetation, trade, industry as well as social and political condition of the people.

Talking of India he says. "It is a remarkable fine country. It is quite a different world, compared

with other countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains all are of a different nature.' He makes a reference to the economic prosperity and wealth of the country when he talks of the 'abundance of gold and silver'. We gather from his account that the food-grains, clothes and other merchandise were not only cheap but also available in abundance. Talking of the political conditions, Babur tell us that the country was divided into small kingdoms. While the greater part of Hindustan was in the possession of the Emperor of Delhi, five Muslim Kings and two Hindu kings ruled the hilly areas. Babur's observation was very keen and his style was pleasant and forthright. He describes even the minutest things with such meticulous care that readers of his diary feel that the things are happenings before their very eyes. Prof. Lanepool says'. "If ever there were a case, when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Babur's Memoires No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as a witness and chronicler."Prof. Elliot also considers Babur's Memories as one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography.

Despite the highly useful character of his memories, we must remember that "the historical truth presented by Babur in his Memories is mixed up in an almost 7 inextricable manner with his own opinions, sentiments, judgments and his philosophy of life. His predilections colour all his observations, and while reading his Memoirs, we seem to live with him, to think with him, move with the hectic speed that was peculiarly his and yet stop to reflect on the surroundings. Babur combined chronology with a deep knowledge of geography. This formed a definite corollary to historical events and helped him in forming the estimate of the resources, the climate, and the habits of the people of a particular place". In view of the rich content s of the Memoirs is one of those priceless records which are for all time.

ABUL FAZL- (1551 - 1602) - Shaikh Abul Fazl belonged to the Hijazi Arab family which migrated to Sindh and then permanently settled at Nagor, near Ajmen. He was well educated by his father Shaikh Mubarak and soon earned reputation as a deep and critical scholar. At the age of 20 he became a teacher. He was introduced to the' Royal Court in 1573 and soon won the trust of his master Akbar by extraordinary intellect, assiduous devotion and loyalty, and ultimately rose to the position of his Prime Minister. Abul Fazl apart from being a great statesman, diplomat, and a military general also distinguished himself as a writer. His chief



contribution to medieval Indian historiography were his two works Akbarnamah and Ain-t-Akbari, which are an important source for the history of the reign of Akbar.

Muhammad Hashim popularity known as Khafii Khan wrote Mun - takhab-ul-Lubab or Tarikh-u-Khafi Khan, a complete history from the Muhammad conquest to the fourteenth year of Muhamamad Shah's reign (1733). In his historical approach and representation of data, analyses of situation, they differ on many vital points. To Kafi Khan history connoted a catalogue of events, neatly presented in chronological sequences. He nowhere puts his fingers specifically on the role of the Mughal Emperor in accelerating the pace of political disintegration and administrative chaos. To him history is merely a jumble of facts without any coordination and coherence.

Zehir-Ed-Din Muhammad Babur (b. 1483, r. 1526-1530) - The founder of the Mughal dynasty in India Zehir-ed-Din Muhammad Babur, a Muslim of the Sunni sect, had a unique ancestry. He was descended on his father's side from Timur (Timurlane), a Turk and from Chinghiz Khan (a Mongol) on his mother's side. The Mughals were essentially Chagatai Turks<sup>1</sup> (Kennedy, 1933).

Babur was born in Fergana; a place in Uzbekistan (in the erstwhile Central Asian Republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) in 1483 (Randhawa, 1983). In 1526 he proclaimed himself as the Padshah of Hindustan with his headquarters at Agra. He died on 26 December, 1530 at the age of forty seven years (Agarwal, 1983). Although no works of art can be associated with Babur as patron, from the evidence left behind in his extraordinarily, delightful Memoirs (Tuzuk-i-Baburi, originally written in Turki and translated into Persian as the Babur-Nameh), it is clear that he was a man of culture and refinement. He was an effective writer in Turki, an accomplished poet in Persian and a keen lover of beauty in nature. He left to his successors a legacy of artistic sensitivity; a passion for beautiful, artistic objects; an articulate patronage of Persian as well as indigenous artcrafts. He also contributed towards India's beautification with the introduction of garden craft which blended together in perfect harmony using such themes of pleasure as flower beds and tree avenues, water courses and fountains (Swarup, 1996).

Nasir-Ud-Din-Muhammad Humayun (r. 1530-1539, 1555-1556) - Humayun succeeded Babur and he ruled India from 1530-1540 and again from 1555-1556. Like his father Babur, he was a keen lover of Flora and Fauna. He was interested in poetry and fascinated by Astrology and the Occult. Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah and was chased

out of India in 1540. This event is of greatest importance for the arts. Humayun spent part of his exile (1540-55) at the court of his cousin, the Iranian Shah Tahmasp Safavi. He found in Iran an atmosphere agreeable to his intellectual tastes and love of culture. Fortunately, after an exile of fifteen years he returned to India as a victor. On his way back he brought with him Mir Sayyid Ali, an accomplished Iranian painter and master of the principles of Safavid decorative designs. Later on he invited another well known Iranian artist Abdus Samad. Both the artists were appointed painters to the Mughal atelier which Humayun established on his return to India in 1555. However, Humayun died suddenly in January 1556, tumbling down the staircase of his library on hearing the call to attend to prayers. Jalalu-Ud-Din Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605) - Akbar was a man of dynamic energy. A boy, who inherited an unstable kingdom at the age of thirteen, transformed it into one of the few Indian empires to last three centuries. Though he remained illiterate throughout his life, he developed a prodigious memory and interest in books, and had every known manuscript transcribed and placed in his library. A great seeker of truth, who renounced the conventions of the Islamic faith, was bold enough to found a new and controversial religion, the Din-i-Allahi. Based on a mystical liberalism, it is acknowledged the existence of a widely varied population, composed of Hindus, Jains, Parsees, Christians, as well as those converted to or originally belonging to the Islamic faith. The emperor had radical ideas about the arts of paintings as well as of architecture. He also appreciated the transformation of literature into visual poetry. The emperor Akbar also focused on the cultivation of literary and artistic talent kept and on encouraging philosophical debates and learned discussions. He believed in religious tolerance and tried to break away from the orthodox tenets of Islam. The erosion of the orthodoxy of Islam had begun much earlier, indeed with state polity, in measures such as Akbar's alliances with Rajput princesses, in marriage. Akbar married the daughter of Raja of Amber, Jodh Bai. These brought the observance of Hindu customs and festivals into the Mughal household (Sen, 1984). Nuru-Ud-Din Muhammed Jahangir (1605-1628) - Akbar was succeeded by Prince Salim, who ascended the throne under the style of Jahangir ("The World seizer"). He officially ascended the throne in 1605 at the age of thirty six. Since Akbar had left a well-organized and peaceful empire, Jahangir could spend much of his time indulging in aesthetic pursuits that Akbar had made so abundant (Beach, 1978). He had a connoisseur's instinct and this, combined with his desire for novelty, led to important artistic

innovations. He collected rare gemstones and got various art objects Review of Literature 12 such as vessels, jewellery, sword and dagger hilts, perfume phials, powder horns for priming guns etc. made from them. His memoirs (the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or jahangirnama) were lively and highly informative, for they described scientific experiments he conducted, birds and flowers he admired, important historical events, and a wide range of general observations (Beach, 1978). Jahangir was not particularly interested in the production of illustrated manuscripts of historical subjects, as his father Akbar had been, and instead tended to commission independent pictures of personalities, events, or objects that aroused his curiosity such as wish-fulfilling allegorical pictures based on his own dreams etc (Beach, 1978).

Shihabu-ud-din Muhammed Shahjahan (1628-69) - He succeeded to the throne upon his father's death in 1627 with the title of Shah Jahan "Ruler of the World". Unlike Akbar and Jahangir, Shahjahan was an orthodox, although not particularly a strict Muslim. His mother was a Hindu (the daughter of the Rajput raja of Jodhpur), and his father was half-Rajput (Jahangir's mother having come from Amber, presentday Jaipur). Shahjahan (r.1628-56) was the great architectural patron of the Mughal dynasty. Under him, the empire reached its greatest prosperity and this, combined with his own character, led to the production of master of masterpieces in every area of artistic activity. He liked the art of painting as indicated by the lavishly produced albums. Shahjahan was particularly intent on appropriate self-presentation to the world. Most of Shahjahan's artistic energies went into architecture, public proclamations of wealth and power. In the 1630s, he concentrated on the Taj Mahal, the tomb for his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal who died giving birth to her fourteenth child in 1631 (Beach, 1978). He had a predilection for jewels and had remarkable skills in gemology. He built the famous peacock throne in 1653. The other arts which reached the peak of excellence under Shahjahan were hard stone carving and enamelling.

Abul Muzaffar Mohi-ud-din Aurangzeb (1658-1707) - He formally ascended the throne in 1659 and adopted the title of Alamgir ('World Seizer'). Aurangzeb was an Review of Literature 13 extremely conservative and orthodox Muslim to the extent of being a religious fanatic and fundamentalist (Agarwal, 1983). The personality of the emperor Aurangzeb tended towards an asceticism that became increasingly marked as he grew older. His outwardly appearance became increasingly simple as time went on. This inevitably influenced the development of arts over his long reign. He maintained the imperial

dignity of the court but tried to sweep away features which he found inconsistent with Muslim orthodoxy. He was an enemy of those arts such as painting and music which broke the tenets of Islam, but nevertheless, permitted portraiture when it magnified his imperial status.

Humayun driven out of Delhi by the Afghan Sher Shah Suri in 1540, spent fifteen years in exile in Persia and Afghanistan. Shah Tahmasp of Persia gave him shelter and also promised military aid for recovery of his kingdom. Tahmasp was wealthy and immensely cultured and his court exemplified imperial splendor and power (Beach, 1987). At the court of Shah Tahmasp at Tabriz, Humayun saw the paintings of the Persian artists Aga Mirak, Sultan Mohammad and Muzaffir Ali, pupils of the famous Bihzad. Later he met the painter Mir Sayyid Ali, the illustrator of Nizami's Khamsah. Humayun became familiar with works of the Tabriz courts highly evolved school of manuscript paintings. When Humayun finally left Tabriz to return to Kabul in 1549, he hired two of the Shah's finest artists, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd-as-Samad (Kossack, 1997). When Humayun regained his throne, both the artists accompanied him to India in 1555.

Paintings of the Baburnama - The original memoir was written in Chagatai-Turkish by the Mughal emperor Babur. Akbar showed his veneration for the book by ordering, Khan-I-Khana Abdur Rahim to translate it into Persian. It was presented finally to Akbar in 1590. The illustrated Baburnama is based on Persian translation of the Baburnama in Turki. There are four illustrated manuscripts of the Baburnama. The fourth is the Babur Nama of the National Museum, New Delhi. All the Babur Namas were illustrated between 1595 and 1605 during the lifetime of Akbar (Randhawa, 1983).

Paintings of the Akbarnama - The Akbarnama was commissioned by the Emperor Akbar as the official chronicle of his reign. The illustrations of the Akbarnama form the last group of miniatures painted at Akbar's court and were completed around 1600 (Verma, 1978). Only three copies of the Akbarnama are known to exist at present. These are at the Chester Beatty, Dublin; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and the Gulistan Library, Tehran. It is said by certain scholars that, it is likely that these (Victoria and Albert Museum - Akbarnama) compositions were made while Abu'l Fazl was actually composing his chronicle. This may explain the extraordinary vigour and immediacy of these miniatures, which in this respect differ from those of the other set of Akbar Nama illustrations, possibly painted after Abu'l Fazl's death in 1602.

Paintings of Jahangir - The emperor preferred to commission individual paintings, many of these are found in the extra ordinary albums (muraqqas) which he formed, of which two large volumes remain substantially intact: the Muraqqa-e-Gulshan or the Gulshan Album now in the Imperial Library, Gulistan Palace, Tehran and the so-called Berlin Album in the Stats Bibliotheca West Berlin. The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Jahangirnama was written personally by the emperor, and covers the years from his accession to the nineteenth year of his reign (1605-24). Unlike his father, Jahangir did not wish to record simply the great historical events, rather his memoirs, illustrations no less than text, presented his interests as well as his actions (Beach, 1978).

Paintings of Shahjahan - There are three major assemblages of album paintings associated with Shahjahan that remain intact: the Minto, Wantage, and Kevorkian Albums. The Wantage and the Kevorkian Album, each contain a majority of late paintings which were made roughly about 1800. In addition to these three albums, there is a fourth, the so-called Late Shahjahan Album which contains portraits of the elderly emperor and nobles of the mid-seventeenth century (Beach, 1978).

The Padshahnama (or Shahjahanama) in the Royal Library Windsor Castle - is an official state biography, limited to the events and decisions of Shahjahan's life as prince and emperor. The illustrations are almost solely of durbars, processions, and military campaigns and mostly depict scenes from the first ten years of the reign of the emperor (Beach, 1978).

Abul Muzaffar Mohi-ud-din Aurangzeb - Painting declined during his period and lost much of its earlier quality. A large number of court painters migrated to the provincial courts. Aurangzeb did not actively encourage Mughal paintings, but as this art form had gathered momentum and had a number of patrons, Mughal paintings continued to survive, but the decline had set in. Some sources however note that a few of the best Mughal paintings were made for Aurangzeb, speculating that the painters may have realized that he was about to close the workshops and thus exceeded themselves in his behalf (Beach, 1978).

In terms of costumes, however, one is by and large in the world of timeless garments, both for women and men. The women's garments consisted of a combination of the stitched and draped garments. They consisted of an unstitched breast band or uttarasanga, the stitched bodice or kanchuka for the upper part of the body and a lower garment or antariya draped around the body much like a sari or dhoti of later times. Besides these a veil or mukhapata was worn by women which was similar to

the dupatta or odhani of modern times. The lower garment was often held in place with a girdle referred to as the mekhala. Elaborate head dresses, with tremendous decorations and pannier-like projections, give some clue to the range of fashions prevalent in this regard (Goswamy, 1993).

The emperor had radical ideas about the arts of paintings as well as of architecture. He also appreciated the transformation of literature into visual poetry. The emperor Akbar also focused on the cultivation of literary and artistic talent kept and on encouraging philosophical debates and learned discussions. He believed in religious tolerance and tried to break away from the orthodox tenets of Islam. The erosion of the orthodoxy of Islam had begun much earlier, indeed with state polity, in measures such as Akbar's alliances with Rajput princesses, in marriage. Akbar married the daughter of Raja of Amber, Jodh Bai. These brought the observance of Hindu customs and festivals into the Mughal household (Sen, 1984).

The birth of Mughal paintings in India is due to the patronage of Akbar (1556-1605). Akbar created a new synthesis of art from the heterogeneous elements viz. Persian, Central Asian and Indian, gathered at his court and the result was a new school of paintings which was Indian in spirit and Persian in technique (Randhawa, 1983).

Under Akbar, painting was confined to the illustrations of manuscripts. Some of the best known are as follows: Hamzanama or Dastan-i Amir Hamza, Tutinama, Diwan or Diwan-i-Hafiz etc. There are also the Khamsa of Amir Khusrau, Razmnama, Baburnama and Akbarnama to name a few. Because of Akbar's sympathy for Hindustan and under the policy of encouraging understanding among the people of his kingdom, Hindu themes were equally favoured and consequently, the great books of the Hindus were translated into Persian. The Mahabharat and Ramayan were taken up for illustration. Most of these illustrated manuscripts belong to the period from 1580 to 1600 (Verma, 1978).

The period between the 12th and 16th centuries, i.e., before the rise of the Mughal empire was known as the Sultanate Period. During this period, there were many revolts and India was divided into a number of small kingdoms, (Sultanates) constantly at war with one another. In society, the period was important for the introduction of new elements - the Turks, the Persians, the Mongols, and Afghans, besides the Arabs who had settled down in some coastal regions in India (Chandra, 1973).

From Alberuni's description it would appear that he did not form a very high opinion of the country and its inhabitants. The voluminous trousers

to which he refers were in all probability the ghaghra worn by the Rajasthani women. It is not surprising that the flimsy “dhoti” of Hindu men would strike him as being a material more suited for a turban than trousers and since turbans were also worn of the same material, his inference that the turban was used for trousers seems quite natural. The description of the sidar seems ambiguous. If it referred to the dupatta worn by women to cover the head, the description is incorrect since it is just draped over the head and breast, but is never fastened with buttons. The shoes do not seem to be any that are typical of the country, but seem to refer to long boots that reached up to the calf. That may have been the fashion somewhere in the extreme North-West (a Bactrian influence, perhaps) but could not have been true of the whole country (Bhushan, 1958).

However, the invaders themselves affected the dress of the Middle-East, i.e., tight fitting trousers, a long coat fitting upto the waist and then flaring out in a full skirt with tight sleeves. They wore a closely tied turban on the head. The dress of the women was the same as appears in the pictures of Persian and early Indian Muslim princess. For early Muslim dress we may refer to Al Qalqshandi in whose *Subh-ul-A'sha* a few chapters are devoted to India, one of which deals with the dress of the people. The dress of the soldiers including Sultans, Khans, Maliks and other officers are given on the authority of Sheikh Mubarak-ul-Anbati as Tartaric gowns (Tatoriyat), Jakalwat and Islamic qabas of Khwarism buckled in the middle of the body and short turbans which do not exceed five or six forearms (dira). Their dress was made of Bayd and Jumkh (Bhushan, 1958).

Ibn Batutah (Ambassador of Sultan Muhammad bin Tugluq who arrived in India in 1333) refers at one place to the costly garment of the period. “After the maghrib prayer they brought to Sultan Amir Ghadda a silk robe of blue colour embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones and a cap to match. The precious stones were so many that the colour of the cloth was hidden from view. I never saw such a beautiful robe than this”.

It is in this very strain that there are other descriptions from this period, carefully pieced together by Dr. Moti Chandra. There are some interesting accounts of the costumes of the Sultan Firuz Shah Tugluq and his courtiers wearing different kinds of dresses. The Sultan himself is said to have worn a kulah costing a lac of tanka, which once belonged to his predecessor. In public he wore a harani (upper coat) with embroidered sleeves, but in private life he wore a shirt. The officers wore silken robes in public and shirts in private life. The turban and kulah (skull caps) were common articles of wear.

It is mentioned that his slaves wore beautiful and pure garments. They wore kulah (caps) over which dastarcach (turbans) were tied; their feet were covered with mozahael al (red boots). Again, the Amirs and the Maliks and other officers at the Sultanate courts are described as wearing “gowns (Tatoriyat), jakalwat and Islamic qabas of Khwarism tucked in the middle of the body” and short turbans which did not exceed five or six forearms. Of other Amirs we learn that they were as well dressed” as the soldiers except that they did not use belts and at times they let down a piece of cloth in front of them after the manner of the Sufis. The judges and the learned men wore ample gowns farajiyat that resembled jaradiyat (striped material from Jand, Yemen) and an Arabic garment (a garment opening in front and buttoned) (Goswamy, 1993).

The basic clothing for sedentary Central Asians did not vary a lot. They wore underclothes called tunic which is also found in 13th century Mongolian traditional costume. The Central Asian tunics were long enough to come down to knees. They later became shorter until their bottom part was as low as waist level. Trousers and coats were also basic garments that everyone wore. Therefore, the type of clothes did not tell much about the social status; the material with which those clothes were made distinguished one's stature. Their basic clothes were the same kind for all social classes and sexes. The lowest ranks wore coats made of adras (silk and cotton) while the highest ranks wore silk velvet ikat, sometimes embroidered with golden thread (Dahyeon, 2009).

The Mongols, drafted artisans and forced them to make luxury textiles for court use. The Mongols enslaved artisans and took them to cities in Mongolia and Eastern Central Asia. Shimmering gold decorations in silk textiles perfectly suited the taste of the Mongol court. Mongol silks with exotic floral and animal patterns, which were not used under Islamic influence, was again acquired for clothing and furnishings for the clergy and nobility. Such patterns were also used by painters as models for hangings or garments. Those artisans exchanged textile weaving skills or patterns with Chinese artisans who were also drafted and worked at the same place. Thus, Central Asian textile culture was integrated with that of China under Mongol Empire (Dahyeon, 2009).

In the Mongol period, “Cloths of Gold” were produced in Chinese and Central Asian cities, often where craftsmen from conquered territories were resettled. A good example would be a textile of mid-13th century with winged lions and griffins. It is made of silk and gold thread, so it is called cloth of gold. Both the overall design and animals are of Persian origin, but the cloud-like ornamentation of



the lion's wings, the cloud scrolls of the vines in the background, and the dragon's heads at the ends of the lions tails are based on Chinese models. Aspects of Central Asian textiles and models of Jin China were combined in this piece of luxury textile. In these textiles the motifs and background are both woven of gold thread, and the outlines of the designs are delineated by a silk foundation woven of one color. The Timurid Dynasty, which followed the Mongol rule, also drafted artisans. The Silk Road as silk trade route was shut down by that time. Silk trade with China was thus made difficult. However, it was not a big problem for the Timurid court who could supply themselves with enough silk. They still used silks for their luxury textiles, only some of which are now surviving. Researchers believe that Timurid court textiles were deeply influenced by Chinese culture and Chinese silk was used in Timurid court for its desirability for court use. Other clothes found of this era show patterns and motifs that were inspired by Chinese culture. After the Timurid Empire was disestablished in 1526, the Khanate of Bukhara was the dominant entity in Western Central Asia and lasted until 1920. The center of textile culture in this era was the city of Bukhara, an ancient city where various workshops for weavers, dyers, designers, and wealthy consumers resided. A remarkable feature about Bukharan textile culture is its textiles with gold embroidery that flourished in the 19th century from ancient times because the emir's court required a lot of textiles. Household articles of the emir and the custom of giving precious robes required a great mass of embroidered textiles (Dahyeon, 2009).

Babur and his ancestors wore the traditional dress of Central Asia, both in the battle field and at the court. It is quite likely that the dress of the emperor and the Court, in the reigns of Babur and Humayun was not influenced by Indian conditions, except geographical, which might have led them to discard heavy woollen clothes for lighter material during Indian summers (Marek, 1963).

The dresses which Akbar inherited from Babur and Humayun were the jama, the peshwaz, the farji, the ulbagchah and the shalwar (Ansari, 1974). Humayun invented several kinds of new dresses, particularly the one called ulbagcha. It was a waistcoat, open in front and hanging down to the waist over the coat or qaba (Srivastava, 1978).

Akbar with his usual remarkable gift of invention, brought into fashion many other garments, and adopted them to his own requirements, thus changing the style of dress completely. He fashioned and designed his own garments. Under him the takauchiya became very fashionable, in summer as well as in winter, because it could be stitched out of silk, gold cloth or woollen stuff. Moreover, it was a

typical Indian garment, signifying the first change from Central Asian to Indian conditions, and also indicating that the Mughals were becoming Indianized in the true sense of the world. Akbar was very fond of woollen stuff, with the result that he adopted fine shawls for the material of his dresses. In his age, the takauchiya took the place for the jama which seems to have fallen into disuse. He had his silk garments embroidered in gold. The other garment in which he clad himself during the summer was the qaba. It was mostly made out of fine cotton stuff. It continued to be in favour as a summer-wear up to the end of the period under review. The peshwaz though not out of fashion, was probably not worn often by him (Nath, 1994).

Skilful masters and workmen were invited and patronized to settle in this country to teach people an improved system of manufacture. Imperial workshops (karkhanas) were established in the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Ahmedabad and Gujarat. They turned out masterpieces of workmanship. Their figures, patterns, knots and variety of fashions astonished experienced travellers, so recorded the contemporary historians. The workmanship of the stuffs improved tremendously under Royal patronage. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection and the Imperial workshops furnished all those stuffs which were made in other countries and hitherto imported. A taste for fine material has since become general and the drapery used at feasts surpassed every description (Blochmann, 1997). Akbar's historian has described a few articles of the King's dress which includes: the takauchiya, peshwaz, dutahi, shah-ajida (royal stitch coat), suzani, qalami, qaba, gadar, farji, fargul, chakman, shalwar (Drawers) (Blochmann, 1997).

There were various kinds of each of these garments and it was not possible to describe them. Similarly a large number of chiras, fotas and dupattas (stuffs of different shapes used for making turbans or pagadis, safas and murethas) were available. Costly dresses worn at feasts or presented to the nobles and servants of the state as a mark of honour were also of a wide variety. Every season, a thousand complete suits (saropa, dresses from head to foot) were made for the Imperial wardrobe and 120, in 12 bundles of 10 each, were always kept in readiness. This gives an idea of the magnitude of the Mughal wardrobe (Blochmann, 1997).

Jama – The word 'Jama' is of Persian origin which means 'a garment', robe, vest, gown, coat, or a wrapper. In general, the jama is a garment of which the breast part fits rather tightly around the body, the waist seam tends to be slightly high, the length comes at least down to the knee, and the skirt is flared. The

jama is essentially an outer garment for formal wear. Mughal and Rajput paintings show it as tied at the side, just below the armpit, either at the right or at the left (Goswamy, 1993).

The hem of the jama was either straight or zagged with four tips, which were tucked into the waistband when working or walking, thus revealing the brightly coloured lining. Such a garment was called a 'Zagged dress' or the chakdar jama (Marek, 1963).

Angarkha- The term as distinguished from the Persian jama is of native Indian origin and the two words that make it up have Sanskrit roots; anga and raksha. Quite literally the word angrakha means 'that which protects or covers the limbs (Goswamy, 1993). The word angrakha is used for garments that have a rounded, sometimes triangular chest opening with an inner flap or purdah (literally meaning curtain) which is inserted into the cut out portion of the yoke to cover the chest. It is tied at the waist but has the same length and flare to the skirt as the jama. Some angrakhas are made up of a bodice and skirt joined together at the waist, while others are tailored like a paneled coat. The fullness of the skirt varies, as does the size and shape of the front opening. All these garments are fastened at the neck, underarm, chest and waist with fabric ties or cords. As an additional feature, slits are occasionally made at the sides and the wrists to allow for mobility (Kumar, 1999).

Choga- The word choga is of Turkish origin and signifies a long sleeved garment, like a dressing gown (Goswamy, 1993). Basically it is a loose fitting, open-fronted robe, or cloak. It was worn as an outer garment in Central Asia, Russia, North Africa and throughout the Indian subcontinent (Kumar, 1999). It is properly an Afghan form of dress, and is generally made of some soft woollen material, and embroidered on the sleeves and shoulders (Goswamy, 1993). It could also be made of muslin with gold or silk embroidery, specially designed brocade or silk with beautiful intricate pattern (Kumar, 1999).

Peshwaz - Just as popular was the garment known as peshwaz, meaning 'open in front' which was fastened with gold or cloth buttons, it had a wide richly decorated hem (Marek, 1963). The peshwaz was of the same pattern as the jama, with the difference that it was fastened in front, in the middle of the chest. At the time of wearing either the upper flap was fastened to the lower by means of finely carved gold buttons, or with buttons worked round with braids. Like the jama, it also hung as low as the knees or the ankles. Either it had a small turned down collar or a wide and richly decorated one. peshwaz is mentioned second in the list of Abu'l Fazl. He also

writes that it resembled the takauchiya (Ansari, 1974).

Farji - The farji was a long cloak worn over the shoulder, open in front, but shorter than the jama or peshwaz in length. Its sleeves were either loose and long or loose and short. They generally wore it over the jama or the peshwaz. It had an edging of fur round the neck during the winter and remained plain or embroidered during summer (Ansari, 1974). It is generally made with small turned collars. A full farji was quilted with a seer (Akbari) of cotton and was tied at the waist with a katzeb. It was tight fitting over the chest, and with a full skirt, opening up to the waist only and with bottom or several fastenings between the neck and the waist (Verma, 1968). According to Abu'l Fazl the farji had no binding and was open in front. Some also put buttons to it.

Nadiri - A sleeveless coat, its length extending up to the thighs, with buttons in front worn over a qaba (Ansari, 1974). In Persian it was known as kurdi. It was made of fine fabrics favoured by Emperor Jehangir who bestowed it on select individuals as a mark of honour.

Qalmi/Kalmi- In cold weather the qaba was replaced by a quilted cloak. Worn as an over coat above clothes. Made of gold and other rich stuffs it was edged with black sables and embroidered with gold (Ansari, 1974; Marek, 1978). According to Abu'l Fazl the qalmi required 3/8 ser cotton and one dam silk.

Ulbagcha - For hunting or other activities in the open, a short fur coat, ulbagcha was worn over the jama or peshwaz. It had short sleeves and reached only to waist, the collar was edged with fur (Marek, 1978). Probably the whole of the interlining consisted of fur. On the outside were embroidered pictures of animals such as the deer and the buck, sitting standings or running (Ansari, 1974).

Fargul- It is a garment resembling yapanji (a coat used in rainy weather) but more comfortable and becoming. Scarlet in colour either double folded or single, was borrowed from Europeans probably the Portuguese. It was stitched in many fashions and worn by everyone high or low (Ansari, 1974; Marek, 1978). According to Abu'l Fazl it resembles the yapanji probably another kind of rain-coat. It was made of several stuffs. It required 9 gaz & 6-1/2 girih stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 mis qals of silk and 1 ser of cotton. It was made both single and double.

Chakman - It was used as a rain coat, made either out of broadcloth (saqarllat), wool (suf) or wax cloth (momjamah) containing five fastenings (girahbands) (Ansari, 1974; Marek, 1978). Akbar ordered it to be made of dara'i wax cloth which was very light and pretty. The rain could not go through

it. It required 6 gaz stuff, 5 girih binding and 2 misqal of silk. Out of a large number and wide variety of coats, waist-coats, jackets (phatuhi) and tunics (angarakha) used during the medieval period, only a few have remained in fashion these days and chakman is one of them in a simplified form, under the modern name of 'achakan' (Nath, 1994).

Sozni/Sozani - Its form and shape is difficult to describe (Ansari, 1974; Blochmann 1977). According to Abu'l Fazl the suzani required a quarter of a ser of cotton and 2 dams of silk. It was also a coat with embroidery depicting leaves and flowers. If sewed with bakhya stitches (back-stitching), the price of making one was 8 rupees. One with ajida (buttonhole stitches) would cost 4 rupees.

Dutahi- It was a coat with lining. It required 6 gaz and 4 girah for the outside, 6 gaz lining, 4 girah for binding, and 9 girah for the border. The price of making one varied from 1 to 3 rupees. One misqal of silk was required (Blochmann, 1977). The Dutahi was a double folded garment, had four fastenings (girahbands) and a border (Ansari, 1974). Shah-Ajida (Royal Stitch Coat) - It was also called shast-khatt (or 60 rows), as it had 60 ornamental stitches per girah. Generally, it had a double lining, and was sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making was 2 rupees per gaz (Blochmann, 1977).

Postin - It was a kind of fur-coat used in cold weather (Ansari 1974; Marek, 1978). Sadri- It is clear that the word sadri, perhaps the most popular name under which a waist – coat or jacket of the Islamic or Indo-Islamic kind is known, is related to the sadrat, the upper part of the human breast. The sadri in common usage means a sleeveless jacket worn over a shirt or Kurta alike by men and women (Goswamy, 1993).

Mirzai - It is again defined as a jacket, but sometimes it is spoken of as a 'quilted coat'. In wearing it is often seen as sleeveless, worn over a shirt or outer garments, but it could easily be worn without anything underneath it, as observed in certain parts of northern India. The Persian Dictionary speaks of the mirzai as a jacket with long loose sleeves and open cuffs, but it is not in the sense in which the garment is understood (Goswamy, 1993). Fatuhi- It is a jacket without sleeves as the Persian English Dictionary defines it, is understood to be a vest lightly padded and quilted with cotton wool (Goswamy, 1993).

Shalwar or Izar (Drawers) Pajama: It is the prototype of the trousers of today and is called a churidar but is basically different in cut as well as in general appearance. It is commonly regarded as of Muslim origin (Verma, 1978). Some use of the trousers in India may date from the Kushan period but in the Mughal Rajput period and in the modern

usage; they are commonly regarded as the Muhammadan origin (Verma, 1978). According to Abu'l Fazl the shalwar (Drawers) was made of all kinds of stuff, single and double and wadded. The word pajama is compound of two Persian words, pae and jama, the first meaning 'legs or feet' and the second 'covering' thus signifying 'leg clothing'. As the name would indicate the pajama is an Islamic import into India even though the use of similar garments is seen during the Kushan and Gupta period, even if it had come in from outside, from the northwest to be specific (Goswamy, 1993). The shalwar was loose fitting up to the knees and crinkled below them. It was fastened on the waist by a string or izarband probably of knitted cotton or silk passed through the seam or nefa of the trousers. Akbar called it the yarpirahan (Verma, 1978). The evidence of the paintings, indicate that the tighter variety churidar, as seen in Mughal works and those from the Pahari area, was the standard article of wear. Women are seen wearing tight pajamas along with the Peshwaz or jaguli. Men likewise are seen wearing tight pajamas from the Akbari period for formal court dress that was sometimes made of rich patterned or striped silk (Goswamy, 1993).

The Shawl - Shawls were brought from Kashmir. These were also produced in large quantities in Lahore (Punjab) where there were more than a thousand workshops. A particular kind of shawl called 'Mayan' was chiefly woven there. It consisted of silk and wool. It was used for chiras (turbans) and fotas (loin-bands). People generally folded the shawl in four folds, or they were generally worn without folds and merely thrown over the shoulder (Blockmann, 1977). The Emperor has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well. This is termed as the doshala, i.e. a double faced shawl consisting of two fabrics attached at the underside with the fabric having two right sides and no wrong side. Akbar had a marked preference for woollen material, with the result that he adopted fine-shawls as the fabric for his dresses. A costly variety of the shawl was the tus shawls. This seems to be the forerunner of the shawl now manufactured widely in Kashmir from the wool of the camel and sheep fetuses. The tus was very light, soft and extra ordinarily warm. Natural colours of wool were black, white or red. Akbar ordered it to be dyed in various shades. He adopted the tus variety for his dress and revered it very much, so much so that later Jahangir proudly reserved it for his exclusive use, and ordered that nobody should wear it unless granted permission by him. Another variety is the safid alchar, also called tarhdar or corded stuff. Before Akbar, it was of two to three colours (white, black and red). Akbar got it dyed in various shades (Ojha, 1975). Babur speaks

of another variety known as qab. It was a square sheet and bestowed as a token of distinction by the king on the nobles. However it is difficult to distinguish it in paintings. In the miniatures, one generally comes across a very fine, transparent soft sheet of cloth worn in a casual manner by the king (Verma, 1978).

Headgear of the people of Central Asia: The people of Central Asia put on many types of turbans and caps. The dress of the Mongols was, more or less uniform in all parts of the country. The distinction between inhabitants of one locality and another was made by their head-dress or the cap. Thus the people of Central Asia during Babur's age are seen wearing a variety of Head gear (Ansari, 1974). In Jenghiz Khan's days, men wore a round or peaked hat or else a fur cap. This was also worn in Iran till Ghazan Khan, who went over to Islam and ordered that it be replaced by a turban (Marek, 1963). Akbar's courtiers wore ordinary hats whose raised crowns were slit in front in a V, whose sides turned upwards and formed another V, and which was punned by Humayun as the Taj-i-izzat. It was a head dress composed of a cap or kulah and a wrapping cloth called as asabah. The cap had an opening in front, thus forming a figure 'V'.

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