**The Architectural Efficacy of Mughal’s *Sarāis* at Agra: An Imperial Case Study**

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**Abstract:** The promptness of Babur’s administrative methods is a striking contrast to the circumlocution of present-day departmentalism. There still exist remains of many splendid *sarāis*, or halting-places, built along this road by different Mughal Emperors for their convenience, from the time of Babur down to Aurungzeb. One of the finest examples is the Nurmahal *Sarāi*, near Jalandhar, built by Jahangir and named after his favourite wife. Edward Terry, who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe, James the First’s ambassador at Jahangir’s court, describes “the long walk of four hundred miles, shaded by great trees on both sides,” and adds, “this is looked upon by the travellers who have found the comfort of that cool shade as one of the rarest and most beneficial works in the whole world.”

**Keywords:** *Sarāis*, *Bāgh*, *Kāravānsarāis*, *Muhallās*, *Khāna-i-Pādshāhi*, *Nigahbānān*, *Shahnā*, *Bhatiyaras*, *Metres*, *Meteranis*, *Kotwāl*, *Varandāh*, *Chabutarāh*, *Baoli*, *Kos-Minars* etc.

**Introduction:** The further edifice in Mughal city of Agra is the *Kāravānsarāi*, which playing important place. These *Kāravānsarāi* draw the attention in the construction of building activity carried by the celebrated emperors throughout the Mughal Empire. Not only the Mughal emperors, but also the Queen’s and Princess were built some *sarāi’s* at different places, who wished to gain the favor of the old Monarch, embellished the new city at their own expense. The *Kāravānsarāi* is in the form of a large square with arcades, like our palace Royal except that the arches are separated from each other by partitions, and small square chambers at their inner extremities. Above the arcades runs a gallery all-round the building, into which open the same number of chambers as there are below.

According to F. Bernior, *sarāis* provide the shelter to travelers, “This place is the rendezvous of the rich *Persian, Usbek* and other foreign merchants, who in general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gate being closed at night. If in Pariswe had a score of similar structures, distributed in different part of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments. Such place would become warehouses for all kinds of merchandise, and the general resort of foreign merchants”.[[1]](#footnote-1)

**Content:** Agra was connected with other important commercial and administrative centres either by road or river. In the south, two different routes led to Surat, through which a very large part of India’s oversea trade was conducted.[[2]](#footnote-2) One route passed through central India and another through Rajasthan. The important places situated on the former route within the *Subā* were Dholpur, Gwalior, Narwar, Shivpuri[[3]](#footnote-3), and on the latter, Fatehpur Sikri, Bayana, Hindaun, Chatsu[[4]](#footnote-4). The central Indian route was intersected by several rivers, most of which were without bridges. During the rainy season therefore, this route became unserviceable.[[5]](#footnote-5) In certain sections it was also rough and stony.[[6]](#footnote-6) The alternative route through Rajasthan was open throughout the year, though it passed through semi-independent principalities whose rulers claimed certain custom duties.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Towards the north-west Agra was connected with Delhi and Lahore. The route passed through well-cultivated plains.[[8]](#footnote-8) On both sides of the road there ran a continuous avenue of trees.[[9]](#footnote-9)

Towards the east Agra was connected with Allahabad and Patna. The route passed through Ferozabad, and Etawah.[[10]](#footnote-10) On this route too there were rows of trees on both sides.[[11]](#footnote-11)

These were the major trade-routes connecting the capital city of the Mughal Empire. There were other routes, such as the Agra-Kannauj-Luchnow route described by Finch[[12]](#footnote-12) or the Agra-Kol route travelled by Peter Mundy; but these appear to have been less important.

The institution of *sarāi* seems to have played an important role in the economic life of Mughal India. The *sarāis*, which also called as *Kāravānsarāis*, providing board, stable, fodder, entertainment and similar other facilities to the travellers, not only in large towns but also on important routes at reasonable distances in the countryside, was an important feature of Indian society of medieval period.

In Mughal India *Kāravānsarāi* (Inns for merchants and travellers) were found at regular intervals along major highways and various towns and cities. Like gardens and mansions, *sarāi* were walled, and travellers entered through one of several large gateways. The walls were serrated with battlements and at each of the four corners were bastions. Rows of identical arched compartments separated by thin partitions lined the sides of the buildings. A pool of water, a well, a mosque, stables, trees, flowers, and a *katrā* (walled enclosure) for storing travellers’ goods were found in most *sarāis*. Constructed by the great for reasons of charity, religious duty and fame, they were open to merchants, scholars, religious specialists, and other travellers but not to soldiers.[[13]](#footnote-13) The average *sarāi* had room for eight hundred to a thousand travellers and housed barbers, tailors, washer man, blacksmiths, sellers of grass and straw, physicians, dancing girls, and musicians. To establish order and security the Mughals posted an official with a contingent of soldiers to each *sarāi*.[[14]](#footnote-14)

*Sarāis* were built along the Mughal trade routes at a regular interval, which provided the shelter for the traders as well as for the foreign travellers, who move from place to pace for sell and purchase for their goods and commodities. For the convenient to the travellers and traders, both side of the Mughal trade routes the shady trees and well were also planted and dug at a regular interval for the *Kāravānsarāi* (traders who moved in a group). This is testified from the narration of William Finch, which followed as: ‘From Agra to Lahor sixe hundred miles.[[15]](#footnote-15) The way is set on both sides with mulbery-trees.’[[16]](#footnote-16)

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier mentioned about the *Kāravānsarāi* in the town of Benares, in his *Travels* followed as: ‘It has several *caravansarāīs*, and among others, one very large and well built. In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cottons, silken stuffs, and other kinds of merchandise…..’[[17]](#footnote-17)

Large numbers of *sarāis* were built by Mughal Emperors and Noblemen in the different parts of the Mughal Empire particularly along the Mughal trade routes as well as towns and cities. Apart from these *sarāis*, some prominent *sarāis* were also built by the order of Mughal Queens and the princesses, for example Nur-Jahan Begum built the *Sarāi Nur-Mahal* at Agra and another *Nur-Mahal kā Sarāi* at Jalandhar and on the other hand Jahanara Begum built a *Kāravānsarāi* near the entrance to her garden in *Chandni-Chawk* at *Shahjahanabad* (Delhi).

The *Kāravānsarāi* erected by Jahanara Begum near the entrance to her garden in *Chāndni-Chāwk* was the outstanding example of its type. Bernier considered it, next to the Jami’ Masjid, the most imposing structure in the city of *Shahjahanabad*. It was square and two-storied, had towers at each corner and contained ninety rooms, each beautifully painted and appointed. In the middle of the courtyard was a garden filled with watercourses, pools, trees, and flowers. Only the richest and most eminent of Persian and Uzbek merchants were allowed to put up there.[[18]](#footnote-18)

This Jahanara *Sarāi*, testified from her writing, which followed as: ‘I will built a *sarai*, large and fine like no other in Hindustan. The wanderer who enters its courts will be restored in body and soul and my name will never be forgotten.[[19]](#footnote-19)

Iqtidar Alam Khan mentioned that ‘The tradition of building rest-houses(*Kāravānsarāis*) on highways seems to have originated in India with the rise of a centralized state seeking to keep far-flung regions under its control. Such a state would need a network of high-ways dotted with rest-houses for the swift transmission of information and royal decrees which was so essential for ensuring administrative efficiency. The earliest reference to the construction of rest-houses on roads by an Indian ruler is found in Asoka’s edicts. The *sarāis* established by Sher Shah (A.D. 1540-45) and Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) on major highways at intervals of two and five *kurohs* respectively seems to represent similar kind of rest-houses…….’[[20]](#footnote-20)

Manrique noted in his *Travels* about the *sarāis* followed as: ‘Most of these *Caramossoras* are located on high roads frequented by travellers. They are sometimes erected at the expense of neighbouring villages, sometimes at the cost of Princes or rich and powerful men, who erect them in order to keep their memory green or to satisfy their consciences, and large sums are left for such works…… They are usually built in a square, like cloisters in a Monastery, and are divided up into dwelling rooms and chambers….’[[21]](#footnote-21)

For assessing the significance of its role in this respect a proper understanding of the actual working of the institution is essential which calls for an enquiry into the organizational establishment of the *sarāis*. These *sarāis* particularly focus on the architectural establishment and rules of governing their conduct, and the degree of administrative control exercised by the Mughal state over them. To a lesser degree it also envisages an examination of the available evidence about endowments covering or attached to the *sarāis* in and around the Mughal city of Agra.

There were plenty of evidences relating to the construction of the *sarāis* by the Mughal Emperor as well as the nobles in the vicinity of the capital city of Agra. About the *sarāis* established by other groups which may be assumed as representing comparatively smaller units, the evidence relating to their organization and facilities is scanty and, therefore, insufficient for working out the organizational establishment. Thus, mainly the evidence relating to the working of the larger *sarāis* is taken into account. Any conclusions arrived at on basis of the analysis of this evidence should hold true to one or the other degree about all the categories of the *sarāis* including smaller units.

All the available evidence about the *sarāis* in India pertains to the period following the Turkish conquest, which might indicate that this institution in its form that is familiar to us through historical evidence was introduces in this country by the Turks. In the travellers accounts of 16th century and onwards there are repeated references to the existence of a large number of *sarāis* in different parts of the Mughal Empire. The structures of some of these *sarāis* have survived, though their number is comparatively small. Apparently, the surviving structures represent only a small fraction of the total number of *sarāis* of different sizes and nature that actually existed during the Mughal period.

Travel in Medieval India was undertaken largely by traders, merchants, pilgrims and state officials and their troopers. With the expansion of commerce during the second half of the 16th century, the movement of trade within the Mughal Empire probably becomes more brisk. The increasing frequency of trade and commerce would naturally create demand for a construction of larger number as well as better facilities in the *sarāis*. We have in fact much evidence in the form of general statements at any rate, that Mughal India had a very large number of *sarāis* well placed along the main routes.[[22]](#footnote-22)

There were large number of the evidence relating to the institution of *sarāis* is available in the accounts of European travellers which provide specific information about the large *sarāis* and also information about the general pattern of the distribution of *sarāis* on different routes in the Mughal India. It is very difficult to identify all the big *sarāis* mentioned in these accounts. Some of these, however, can be easily identified with the surviving structures.

It is of course, possible that a number of *sarāis* have disappeared without giving their names to any villages or *muhallās*. However, on the assumption that any area, where a large number of village names carry the suffix *sarāi*, is likely to have had a correspondingly large number of *sarāis* in actual fact, one could use the geographical distribution of places with names ending in *sarāi*, as a rough indication of the true geographical distribution of *sarāis*. One way of testing the veracity of this assumption is that the geographical distribution of these villages and localities is shown on a map and this map be compared with the one prepared by Irfan Habib showing the trade-routes in medieval period. If the geographical distribution of these places coincides with the trade-routes worked out by Irfan Habib, the veracity of our assumption will be established. For making this kind of comparison it would be better to select the region covered by the present-day state of Uttar Pradesh, as this region on the one hand, contains the largest number of the villages and *Muhallās* with *sarāi* names and, on the other hand, for the main trunks of land route passing through this region comparatively more detailed information is available. This information has been used by Irfan Habib to work out the actual course of the routes.[[23]](#footnote-23) This map also shows the products of different localities within the region; from which it is also possible to attempt some conjecture about areas where local commerce might have been brisk, and so small branch routes might be expected.

The existing various *sarāis* found in alignment coincides with the route adopted by Peter Mundy for his journey from Agra to Patna.[[24]](#footnote-24) He followed this route until he reached Banaras. This also coincides with the trade route between Agra and Banaras as given in Ifran Habib’s map.[[25]](#footnote-25)

The above comparisons indicate that the assumption, on which we have proceeded in this enquiry, is by and large valid. The large measure of conformity of the trade-routes existing in the Mughal period with the pattern of distribution of places boring the designation *sarāi* as a part of their names goes to confirm that these places are actually the sites representing medieval *sarāis*.

Apparently, the ancient Indian tradition of a centralized state undertaking to establish rest-houses on roads had survived down to the sixteenth century. Brief description of *sarāis* set up by Sher Shah given the impression that these were basically *dāk chaukīs* (Postal Stations) which provided also free food and lodging facilities to the travellers who had no other place to go. From this we can deduce that not every traveller had free access into these state-run rest-houses.[[26]](#footnote-26) If we compare Rizqullah Mushtaqi’s and Abbas Khan’s descriptions of the *sarāis* established by Sher Shah, it appears that contained only one *darwāza* (large gateway).[[27]](#footnote-27) Inside this enclosure, there existed a *Khāna-i-Pādshāhi* (a government house). This seems to have been a building or a portion of a building reserved for the use of the state personnel stationed there, namely a number of *nigahbānān* (watchmen) commanded by a *Shahnā* (officer).[[28]](#footnote-28) Possibly these functionaries were also responsible for looking after the two horses of the *dāk Chaukī* stationed in the *sarāi*. In addition to the *Khānā-i- Pādshāhī*, each *sarāi* contained *khāna-hā* (houses) for Hindu as well as Muslim travellers. Brahman and Muslim families were settled close to the gateway of the *sarāi* to look after the comfort of Hindu and Muslim travellers. A well and a *masjid-i Jāmi’* (central mosque), both built of *khisht-i pukhta* (burnt bricks), and a *bāzār* (market place) located in the centre of the enclosure were other conspicuous features of such a *sarāi*.[[29]](#footnote-29)

The road-side houses of Akbar’s reign mentioned by ‘Arif Qandahari in *Tārīkh-i- Akbarī*, which was writing around A.D. 1580, refers to ‘these rest-houses as *chaukis* located on roads at an interval of five *kurohs*’.[[30]](#footnote-30) It is, however, not stated clearly that the travellers allowed into the state-run *sarāis* were given food and other facilities free of charge. Now also non-official poor travellers were given access into the rest-houses run by the Mughal state, which, as one gathers from ‘Arif Qandahari’s description for an earlier date, originally were nothing more than postal *chaukīs*. Perhaps, the travellers allowed into the state-run rest-houses were also given free food but this is nowhere stated explicitly.[[31]](#footnote-31)

The *Kārwānsarāys* set up by the state as well as private individuals or corporate bodies catered primarily to a civilian clientele who were charged, though moderately, for food and lodging.[[32]](#footnote-32) Most of these *Kārwānsarāys* were supported by endowments created by the founding individuals or collective bodies. The income from endowments was used to meet expenses on the general maintenance of the *Kārwānsarāy*, while payments made by the visiting travellers provided sustenance to the varied service groups, particularly to the *Bhatiyaras* who worked as attendants-cum-cooks.[[33]](#footnote-33)

During the 17th century, the care of the travellers was usually taken by *bhatiyarins* and other house-hold works in the *sarāis* were also done by them; while the male members did other jobs or worked in the fields. Nicholas Withington (1612-16) recorded in his *Travels*, which followed as: ‘Between Adgemere (Ajmere) and Agra, at everye ten courses (which is an ordinarye dayes journeye) there is a serralia or place of lodging boothe for man and horse, and hostesses[[34]](#footnote-34) to dresse our victuals if we please, paying a matter of 3d. both for horse and meate dressinge.’[[35]](#footnote-35) Manrique gives a vivid description of the service staff in the *sarāis*: ‘They are usually built in a square, like cloisters in a Monastery, and are divided up into dwelling rooms and chambers, with a male or female Regent: for women can also carry on this occupation. These attendants are called respectively *Metres* and *Meteranis*. Their business is to keep these rooms (of the *sarāi*) free from rubbish and clean and provided with cots… Those servants are also entrusted with the preparation of the food for guests, as well as doing all the other duties essential to comfort within the house, even to providing hot water for washing feet. Hence on reaching a *Caramossora* all that one has to do is to send out and purchase food in the Bazar or market and leave other matters to these attentive servants. Besides these duties, if the Guests have horses, they are required also to cook *mung* or chick-pea, which is given instead of the barley we feed such animals on in Europe…… To return to the *Metres* and *Meteranis*, who, as I have remarked, are the stewards of these inns or *Caramossoras*. They are so obliging that they are content with one *debua*, or at the most two, which is so small a coin that a half real of eight contains fifty-six *debuas*, or *paisas*.’[[36]](#footnote-36)

The earliest reference to the endowment covering *sarāis* built by private individuals dates back to the first quarter of Akbar’s reign. Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi recording in A.D. 1611-12 his observation of the situation obtaining in the Mughal empire during his visit to Agra about half a century earlier says: ‘that on thoroughfares after every one *farsakh* or every half *farsakh* a *sarāi* is established and given away as endowments (*waqf*) by prominent people (*namwaran*) of this country.’[[37]](#footnote-37)

In the town administration, the *Kotwāl* occupied a pivotal position under Mughal India. The various information available in the records of the European traveller’s leads us to believe that the functions of the *Kotwāl* were very comprehensive, sometimes appearing to be wider in scope than those of the modern municipal institutions.[[38]](#footnote-38)

The *Ā’īn-i Kotwāl* [[39]](#footnote-39) and Akbar’s *farmān* given in the *Mir’āt-i Ahmadī*,[[40]](#footnote-40) containing instruction for *Kotwāl*, are read together then one gets the picture of an ideal city government headed by a very powerful autocrat. The *Ā’īn-i Akbari*, declares rather rhetorically that: ‘the appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane.’[[41]](#footnote-41) However, whatever his abilities in reality, the *Kotwāl* was expected to be powerful enough to make life in the city pleasant or intolerable to particular individuals at his will.[[42]](#footnote-42)

The *Kotwāl* may, in one important aspect of his office, be called the head of police. His main responsibility was that of the watch and ward of the town and its suburbs. Akbar’s *farmān* enjoins that: ‘the *Kotwāl* of every city and town and village ought to record its houses and buildings and prepare a note of the residents of every street from house to house as to know what sort of men they are: How many are cultivators, how many professional, how many soldiers and *derwishes*. Streets should be fixed and a *mīr-i mahalla* (head of a ward) should be appointed so that the good and bad of that street may happen under his direction. A spy should visit him (*mīr-i mahalla*) every night and day to write the events of that street. It should be so settled that wherever a thief comes or there is fire or some unpleasant event takes place, the neighbour should immediately rush to his (the victim’s) help. In like manner, the *mīr-i mahalla* and the informer should help him.’[[43]](#footnote-43)

On the arrival of a guest, either a relative or a stranger, the host should inform the *mīr-i mahalla* or spy about him. The informer was to write daily reports of all events and the arrival and departure of any person in the street. It was to be shown to the *Kotwāl*. If nobody was prepared to stand surety for a stranger, he was to stay at a separate and secure place fixed by the *mīr-i mahalla* and the informer, under the directions of the *Kotwāl*.[[44]](#footnote-44)

The prevention of theft, other crimes and murder within the limits of the town was another important responsibility of the *Kotwāl*. The *Nigārnāma-i Munshī* contains a *sanad* of appointment issued to Muhammad Beg, the *Kotwāl* of Muhammadābād *‘Urf Benāres* and master of ferry over the Ganges. He is directed to see that ‘there be no theft in the town, and the inhabitants while enjoying security may carry on their respective trades peacefully.’[[45]](#footnote-45)

The *Kotwāl* was to establish night-watch (*chaukī*) in every *mahalla*.[[46]](#footnote-46) He himself was to ride out patrolling the streets thrice a night at 9 p.m., 12 p.m. and 3 a.m., at which hours drums used to be beaten and a large copper trumpet sounded, the men of his patrolling party loudly pronouncing the word *Khabardār* (Alert!).[[47]](#footnote-47) The other patrolling parties in the neighbouring street were to repeat the same word *Khabardār*.[[48]](#footnote-48)

The main functions of the *Kotwāl* were to provide separate quarters (localities) for different sections of the town population such as merchants, craftsmen, artisans, prostitutes, butchers and menial servants;[[49]](#footnote-49) to regulate and provide places for cremation and burial and slaughter-houses outside the town wall;[[50]](#footnote-50) to establish separate *sarā’is* for new-comers;[[51]](#footnote-51) to observe minutely the income and expenditure of various classes of men and set the idle to works;[[52]](#footnote-52) to reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women, and regulate the supply of water through supply channels for the general public;[[53]](#footnote-53) and to allocate the different types of markets at different places.[[54]](#footnote-54)

Iqtidar Alam Khan also observed that in the beginning *Kārwānsarāys* providing temporary accommodations to ordinary travellers without any distinction between the poor and the rich were set up in the important urban centres. These *Kārwānsarāys* were mostly charitable institutions. However, with the passage of time, these seem to have become rent yielding properties.[[55]](#footnote-55)

Large numbers of Mughal *Kārwānsarāy* were constructed throughout on the every trade route.[[56]](#footnote-56) These *sarāis* provided the safety for the foreign travellers as well as the traders. Manucci had given the detail picture about these *sarāis* in his account. He wrote that: ‘For the use of wayfarers there are throughout the realms of the Mogul on every route many *sarāis* (*sarāes*). They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates; most of them are built of stone or of brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun. After he has shut the gates, he calls out that everyone must look after his belongings, picket his horses by their fore and hind legs; above all, that he must look out for dogs, for the dogs of Hindustan are very cunning and great thieves……. At six O’clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchman given three warnings to the travellers, crying in a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings, if anyone suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure of having the thief, and he is strung up opposite the *sarae*. Thus, the thieves, when they hear a complaint made, drop the goods somewhere, so as not to be discovered. These *saraes* are only intended for travellers (soldiers do not go into them). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages, and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, and verandas, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provision shops; also, separate abodes for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for travellers…….’[[57]](#footnote-57)

The *sarāi* administration was also expected to furnish information to the *Kotwāl* about the strangers arriving there. As is quite understandable, in this kind of collaboration, the *sarāi* administration would not prove to be as alert and efficient as desired by the authorities. It was apparently in order to meet this problem that during Akbar’s reign the *Kotwāl* was empowered to establish a separate *sarāi* in the town for accommodating the newly arriving traveller till such time as was required to check the information about them.[[58]](#footnote-58)

Bernier wrote about the *sarāī*, which provided the accommodation for foreign merchants followed as: ‘This place is the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Usbek, and other foreign merchants, who is general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gate being closed at night. If in Paris we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments. Such places would become warehouses for all kinds of merchandise, and the general resort of foreign merchants.’[[59]](#footnote-59)

Bernier again wrote that: ‘The Eastern *Karavans-serrah* resemble large barns, raised and paved all round, in the same manner as our Pontneuf. Hundreds of human beings are seen in them, mingled with their horses, mules, and camels. In summers these buildings are hot and suffocating, and in winter nothing but the breath of so many animals prevents the inmates from dying of cold.’[[60]](#footnote-60)

About the *Kārwānsarāys* of Agra, Thevenot and Careri wrote in his *Travels* followed as: ‘But that which makes the Beauty of Agra besides the Palaces I have mentioned, are the *Quervanseras* which are above three-score in number; and some of them have six large courts with their Portico’s, that give entry to very commodious Appartments, where stranger Merchants have their Lodgings……’[[61]](#footnote-61)

*Caravan* was well defined by Thomas Coryat in his *Travels*. He mentioned that: ‘I would you know that I alwayes go safely in the company of *caravans* from place to place. A *caravan* is a word much used in all Asia; by which is understood a great multitude of people travelling together upon the way; with camels, horses, mules, asses, etc. on which they carry merchandizes from one country to another, and tents and pavillions, under which instead of houses they shelter themselves in open fields, being furnished also with all necessary provision, and convenient implements to dresse the same……’[[62]](#footnote-62)

For the maintenance of *sarāi’s* female attendants were provided in it. Nicholas Withington mentioned about the female attendants in the *Sarāis*. This is clear from his writing followed as: ‘Between adgemere and Agra, at everye ten courses (which is an ordinarye dayes journeye) there is a Serralia or place of lodging boothe for man and horse, and hostesses[[63]](#footnote-63) to dresse our victuals if we please, paying a matter of 3d. both for horse and meate dressinge….’[[64]](#footnote-64)

Peter Mundy mentioned in his *Travels*, women employed in the *Saraī*. He wrote that: “*Metrannes* or *Betearees* are certen weomen in all *Saraes*,[[65]](#footnote-65) that looke to the litle roomes there and dresse the servants meate, accomodateinge them with *Cottes* [*Khāt*, bed] etts. needful to bee had; of these some have 2, some 3 or 4 roomes a peece, for which in the morninge wee pay 1 pice or 2 pice each. They live likewise in the said Roomes with their husbands and most comonly are *cahares* [*kahārs*],[[66]](#footnote-66) Fewlers or Fishers, for the most part abroad….”[[67]](#footnote-67)

De Laet’s wrote about the *sarais* in the cities and Towns followed as: ‘There are no inns in which board is supplied to travellers: but in the larger cities and towns there are buildings called *Sarays*, not inhabited, but in which travellers can obtain accommodation, though it is necessary to supply one’s own beds, furniture and cooks, as also the tents which one uses in places where there is no Saray…….’[[68]](#footnote-68)

Richard Steel & John Crowther wrote that: ‘It is dangerous in the night for Theeves, but in the day secure. Every five or sixe course, there are *Seraes* built by the King or some great men, very faire for the beautifying of the way, memory of their names, and entertainment of Travellers. In these you shall have a chamber and place to tye your Horses, also store of Horsemeat. But in many of them but little good to be had for men, by reason of the Banians. When a man hath taken up his lodging, no other may dispossesse him.

In the morning about day breake, all men make readie to depart together, and then are the gates opened. Before, no man is suffered to depart for feare of Theeves. This was a tedious travaile: for within two houres after the Sunne-rising, wee were scarcely able to endure the heate……’[[69]](#footnote-69)

All along these routes, *Sarais* or resting places were constructed for use by merchants and travellers.[[70]](#footnote-70) These were constructed at a convenient distance of one day’s journey.[[71]](#footnote-71) At important towns not only were a number of *Sarais* built, but these could be large enough to accommodate two to three thousand persons at a time along with their horses and camels.[[72]](#footnote-72) These provided separate arrangements for women travellers.[[73]](#footnote-73) Some of these *Sarais* were beautiful pieces of architecture. It is states a beautiful *sarais (caravanserai)* were built in vicinity of Agra at a large in number during the Mughal period. Some of the *sarais* still remain in a dilapidated condition, whose ruins remains as a memorial of the imperial magnificence. The *sarāis* had as many as 130 sets of vaulted rooms; some of which have been thrown into to serve as a local inhabitance. Now, today the square area in the centre of this *sarāi* has occupied and also illegal buildings constructed by the local peoples.

These were large, generally single-storied, buildings enclosed on all sides by high walls and adequately secured, with one or two gateways which were broad enough to give admittance to carts, camels and beasts of burden. Their doors were closed after sunset but a small window in one of the two doors was kept unlocked.[[74]](#footnote-74) The *Sarāis* had almost a uniform plan. In the middle was a spacious and open Court all around which were provided on a raised platform by small living rooms. They had only one window each for ventilation and each living room had a small *varandāh* or courtyard of its own on its front, which opened on a *chabutarāh* which was generally about 4 feet (1.22 meter) higher than the level of the court. While the floors of living room (*kotharis*) and *varandah* (*dalans*) were paved, *chabutarah* was kept *kachcha* and it had series of trees for shade. The court was big enough to hold carts and animals of the travellers. People usually travelled in groups or caravans and carried such things of their own as could make them independent even on long journeys. A well or step-well (*baoli*) was invariably there, generally in the centre of this court, which was obviously the life-line of the *sarai*. Its keeper along with his family lived in the two living rooms and their respective *varandah* (*dalans*) inside the main entrence gateway. They were supervised the entry and exit of the travellers,[[75]](#footnote-75) provided for their comforts and managed its affairs.

It must be borne in mind that *sarāi* was a Persian institution and there is nothing indigenous in the Mughal *sarāi* except the well or the *baoli*. Islam ordained social equality and universal brotherhood, in which *Sarāi* and *Mosque*, was a very popular institution in the Muslim Society. Agra was connected with other important commercial and administrative centre either by road or river. In the south, two different routes led to Surat, through which a very large part of India’s oversea trade was conducted.[[76]](#footnote-76) One route passed through central India and another through Rajasthan. The important places situated on the former route within the *Suba* were Dholpur, Gwalior, Narwar, Shivpuri[[77]](#footnote-77), and on the latter, Fatehpur-Sikri, Bayana, Hindaun, Chatsu[[78]](#footnote-78). The central Indian route was intersected by several rivers, most of which were without bridges. During the rainy season therefore, this route became unserviceable[[79]](#footnote-79). In certain sections it was also rough and stony[[80]](#footnote-80). The alternative route through Rajasthan was open throughout the year, though it passed through semi-independent principalities whose rulers claimed certain custom duties[[81]](#footnote-81). Towards the north-west Agra was connected with Delhi and Lahore. The route passed through well-cultivated plains[[82]](#footnote-82). On both sides of the road there ran a continuous avenue of trees.[[83]](#footnote-83) Towards the east Agra was connected with Allahabad and Patna. The route passed through Ferozabad and Etawah. On this route too there were rows of trees on both sides.[[84]](#footnote-84) These were the major routes connecting the capital city of the Mughal Empire. There were other routes, such as the Agra-Kannauj-Luchnow route described by Finch[[85]](#footnote-85) or the Agra Kol route traveled by Peter Mundy; but these appear to have been less important.

All along these routes, *Sarais*, or resting places, were constructed for use by merchants and travelers[[86]](#footnote-86). These were constructed at a convenient distance of one day’s journey[[87]](#footnote-87). At important towns not only were a number of *Sarais* built, but these could be large enough to accommodate two to three thousand persons at a time along with their horses and camels[[88]](#footnote-88). These provided separate arrangements for women travelers[[89]](#footnote-89). Some of these *sarais* were beautiful pieces of architecture[[90]](#footnote-90). Charges for the lodging of men and their animal were quite low.[[91]](#footnote-91)

One of the ordinances or order to be observed as rule of conduct or *Dastur-ul-Amal* which *Jahangir* promulgated on accession to the throne in 1605 was related to the institution of *Roads* and *Sarais*. Thus, he noted in his *Memoirs*: “On roads where thefts and robberies took place, which roads might be at a little distance from habitations, the *Jagirdars* of the neighbourhood should build *Sarais* (public rest-houses, inns), *Mosques* and dig wells which might stimulate population and people might settle down in those *Sarais*. If these should be near a *Khalsah* estate (under direct state management), the administrator or *mutasaddi* of that place should execute the work.”[[92]](#footnote-92)

It was a twofold order for the construction of *Sarāis* on highways for the comfort of the travelers, and for their maintenance and management. These functions were assigned to the *Jagirdars* where the roads passed through their *Jagir*, and to the *mutasaddis* in the *khalsah* territories. Hitherto it was largely a religious and charitable obligation of the rich, and the state could not do much to facilitate the overland travel. Akbar’s strong and stable rule of half a century not only ensured security to the people and trade flourished, it also opened up new avenues of state’s awareness and concern for people’s welfare. Now it was enough organized to take up such projects in hand and it was also financially capable of maintaining such an institution which did not bring any revenues in return.

In order to replenish the funds under this account, Jahangir also ordered that if anybody in his Empire died without leaving any heir, his properties should be spent in: “building of *mosques* and *sarais*, the repair of broken *bridges*, and the digging of *tanks* and *wells*”.[[93]](#footnote-93) He was constantly in touch with the management of roads and *sarāis*, probably under the Department of Building or *Diwan-i-Imarat* in charge of an independent *Bakshi* and passed several orders to streamline the institution. In 1619 while he was at the capital, he passed a new order regarding the building of *kos-minars* at every *kos*. According to his order, he mentioned that: “they had planted *trees* on both sides (of the road) from Agra as far as the river of *Attock* (the Indus), and had made an avenue, and in the same way from Agra to Bengal. I now ordered that from Agra to Lahore they should put up a pillar or *mil* at every *kos*, to be a sign of a *kos*, and at every three *kos* make a well so that wayfarers might travel in ease and contentment, and not endure hardships from thirst or the heat of the sun”.[[94]](#footnote-94)

Thus, working on the sound legacy which he inherited, Jahangir exerted to institutionalize the system of Road and *Sarāis*. The construction of the highways from Agra to Lahore, Agra to Jodhpur and Agra to Burhanpur took place under Sher Shah Reign. These roads were further enlarged, extended and properly maintained under Jahangir. These were generally, made of *kankar* laid on the highways to prevent the surface from being washed off during the rains, but whenever these roads passed through cities and towns, they were stone or brick-paved, bricks being laid in upright position (called *khurra* or *kharanja*) to prevent horses from slipping over. Fruit trees were planted on both sides of the road, so that the highway looked like an avenue. Thus, Thomas Roe noted about the road from Agra to Lahore as: “It is all a plain and the highway planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walk; it is one of the great works and wonders of the world”.[[95]](#footnote-95) Peter Mundy also observed in A.D.1631, followed as: “The trees are distant one from the other about eight or nine ordinary steps and the ranks from side to side about forty. It is generally known that from Agra there are such ranks (avenues or groves) of trees which extend as far as Lahore… and they say this doth to Patna done by Jahangir for the ease of travellers and for shade in hot weather”.[[96]](#footnote-96)

Tavernier too confirmed rows of trees on road sides[[97]](#footnote-97). F. Bernier also noted that: “At *Maturas* (Mathura) where an ancient and magnificent temple of idols is still to be seen, a few tolerably handsome *caravansaries*, a day’s journey from each other; and a double row of trees planted by order of Jehan-Guyre (Jahangir), and continued for one hundred and fifty leagues, with small pyramids or turrets or *kos-minars*, erected from kosse to kosse (kos) for the purpose of pointing out the different roads. *Wells* are also frequently met with, affording drink to travellers, and serving to water the young trees”.[[98]](#footnote-98)

On the other hand, *Kos-Minars* were erected on the highways, e.g., from Agra to Lahore, at every *kos*. The inspiration seems to have been derived originally from Roman ‘Goal-posts’. Probably, minarets resembling these goal-posts were built in Byzantium, whence the idea traveled to Iran, which provided the prototype to the Indian *Kos-Minar*. That such masonry structures were not built in ancient India certainly points into this direction. Babur is the first to record its erection. In his narrative of 17 December 1528 A.D. Babur noted in his *Memoirs* followed as: “On Thursday the 4th of the latter *Rabī’* (935 A.H.), it was settled that Chīqmāq Beg with Shāhī *tamghāchī’s* clerkship, should measure the road between Āgra and Kābul. At every 9th *Kuroh* (*cir.* 18 miles), a tower was to be erected 12 *qārīs* high and having a *chār-dara* (*chaukhandī*) on the top; at every 18th *Kuroh* (*cir.* 36 miles), 6 post-horses were to be kept fastened; and arrangement was to be made for the payment of post-masters and grooms, and for horse-corn. The order was, ‘If the place where the horses are fastened up, be near a crown-domain, let those there provide for the matters mentioned; if not, let the cost be charged on the *Beg* in whose *pargana* the post-house may be’…….”[[99]](#footnote-99)

This was thus an order to raise a *minār* or tower at every 9 *kos* and also to make arrangement for the conveyance of post or *Dak-Chowki*. *Akbar* is recorded to have built a *kos-minar* and sunk a well at every *kos* on the road from Agra to Ajmer.[[100]](#footnote-100) *Jahangir* extended this facility of milestones (*kos-minar*) also on the road from Agra to Lahore. He wrote in his *Memoirs* as: ‘I now ordered that from Agra to Lahore they should put up a pillar (*mīl*) at every *koss*, to be the sign of a *koss*, and at every three *koss* make a well, so that wayfarers might travel in ease and contentment, and not endure hardships from thirst or the heat of the sun….’[[101]](#footnote-101)

*Sarāis* occupied an important place in the urban space of the Medieval Indian society. There is evidence which suggesting for the existence of *sarais* in the vicinity of Delhi as early as Balban’s reign.[[102]](#footnote-102) During the period of Firuz Shah Tughluq, *Karwansarais* were established as a recognized means of promoting for the public welfare.[[103]](#footnote-103) The most significant contribution in this direction however, was made by Sher Shah;[[104]](#footnote-104) and the tradition was also followed by the great Mughal emperors at a large scale. There are a large number of Mughal *sarāi* structures still surviving in adilapidated condition, all over the country. It was in the sixteenth century that the *Kārwānsarāyas* came into prominence in north India as well as the Deccan as a category of rest houses.

In this chapter, also attempt to study the architectural plan and purpose of few *Sarāis* in the Mughal city of Agra. These *sarāis* were surveyed and their details with photographs and plans are provided below. At the time, when Agra was the capital of Mughal Empire, it had a large number of *sarāis* or rest houses for the weary travellers. The *Sarāis* included in this study are *Sarāi* Nur Mahal (popularly called as *Raja ki Sarāi*), *Sarāi* Nawal Ganj, *Sarāi* Pukhta, *Sarāi* Tāj Ganj, *Sarāi* Chipitolā, *Sarāi* of Badar-ud-Din, *Sarāi* of I’tibar Khan Khawja,*Sarā’ī* of Rōzbihānī etc.

1. ***Sarāi* Nur Mahal** (***Rajā Ki Sarāi*)**

This *sarāi*, though, is in a dilapidated condition now. Situated between the Battis-Khambha and the *Bagh-i Gul Afshan* or Aram Bagh[[105]](#footnote-105) this *sarāi* was built on the *jagir* of Nur Jahan (c. 1612 A.D.), who’s her officers collected duties on goods transported by the river form here. Originally, it could accommodate about 500 horses and 3000 people at once. The smaller entrance on the Battis-Khambha side is now no more to be seen. The single-storied rooms were plastered form inside and had a vaulted ceiling and a *dalān* in the front covered by a *chhajjā*. The entrance is to the east facing the highway. The stepped *ghat* has disappeared but one can still see the riverside tower and *chhatri* here.

*Bāgh-i Gul Afshan* or Aram Bagh was renovated and renamed *Bāgh-i-Nur Afshan* by Jahangir, is situated the riverine *sarāi* of Nur Jahan. It was built, as Pelsaert noted,[[106]](#footnote-106) by her officers to collect duties on goods transported by the river. This area belonged to the *jagir* of Nur Jahan[[107]](#footnote-107) who was entitled to collect duties at this point and, obviously, it was for the use of the traders that this *sarāi* was built at this *Chungi-Nāka* just on the river-bank. It was seen by Peter Mundy in the working order soon after the reign of Jahangir. He noted that the *Nur Mahal sarāi* at Agra as: “is a very fair one built by the old Queen[[108]](#footnote-108) Nur Mahal for the accommodation of travellers, in which may stand 500 horse, and there may conveniently lie two or three thousand peoples; all of stone, not one piece of timber in it, the rooms all arched, each with a several (separate) cupola (*chhatri*).”[[109]](#footnote-109) This account shows that the *sarāi* was single-storied and each room had a separate *chhatri* of its own, crowning it on the façade. Brick masonry structure was originally stone-faced; it has now been exposed because almost all stone facings have been plundered. *Chhatris* too have been pillaged. Fortunately, its boundaries are intact and confirm Mundy’s observation that it was indeed a very spacious *sarāi* which could accommodate 500 horse and 2,000-3,000 travellers.

Jahangir married Nur Jahan in 1611 and largesse’s were conferred upon her soon thereafter. This *jagir* was, presumably, granted to her in c. 1612, and it was about the same time that the wise lady, realizing its extremely important need, commissioned this *sarāi* to be built. This is fully in consonance with her character which no less a contemporary than Pelsaert has portrayed in unmistakable words that Nur Jahan Begum; the Queen-Consort, erected “very expensive buildings in all directions-*sarais*, or halting places for travelers and merchants, and pleasure-gardens and palaces, such as no one has ever made before-intending thereby to establish an enduring reputation.”[[110]](#footnote-110)

The counterpart of *sarāi* Nur Jahan of Agra and the second riverine *sarāi* of the Mughal period, built about the same time, is situated at Delhi, just adjacent to the compound wall of Humayun’s Tomb, on its south side. At present, it is known by such popular misnomers as *Arab-Sarai* and *Mandi*. Essentially, it is a riverine *sarāi*, planned on east-west axis, like the *Sarāi* Nur Jahan of Agra. As the inscriptions and paintings of this gateway unmistakably testify, it was built during Jahangir’s reign. It was built by *Mihr Bano Agha* alias *Agha Man* entitled *Agha-i-Aghayan*, an old and trustworthy servant of Jahangir. He mentioned her in his narrative of 1619 A.D. followed as: “On Friday, the 14th, at the request of *Aqa Aqayan* (*Agha-i-Aghayan*), I went to her house. On account of her previous service and her hereditary attachment to this illustrious family, when the late king made me a married man (i.e., in 1586 A.D.), he took her from my sister Shah-Zada Khanam, and placed her in charge of my Zenana (*harem*). It is 33 years from that date that she has been in my service, and I esteem her greatly, for she has served me with sincerity. In no journey, or expedition had she of her own will remained absent from attendance on me. When she felt her increasing age, she requested me to order her to remain at Delhi and spend the remainder of her life in prayer for me, for she had no longer the power to move about, and found it great hardship and trouble to come and go (as she used). One of her felicities was that she was of the same age as ‘Arsh-Ashiyani (Akbar) (= 77 years). In brief, with a view to giving her rest, I ordered her to remain at Delhi, and in that place, she had made for herself a garden, a *sarai* and a tomb in the construction of which she had employed herself for some time past. In short, to please this ancient (*Qadimi*)[[111]](#footnote-111) servitor, I went to her house and strictly ordered *Sayyid Bahwa*, the Governor of Delhi, to serve and guard her in such a manner that no dust from any road of vexation might settle on the hem of her contentment.”[[112]](#footnote-112)

The *sarāi* was built, obviously, by Jahangir’s order c. 1612, to serve as exit or receiving point for the traffic and goods going to or coming from the riverine *Nur Sarāi* of Agar. It must be borne in mind that travel by river was shorter, easier and safer than by land, the river Yamuna remaining full of deep, clean and potable water, and navigable for at least ten months from September to June, and regular ferry service for men and material was available between Agra and Delhi, the two greatest cities of the Mughal Empire and centers of trade and commerce.[[113]](#footnote-113) This *sarāi* has been laid out just on the bank of the river which originally flowed in its close neighbourhood touching the eastern boundary wall of the adjacent Tomb of Humayun and the waterway was an integral factor of its planning.

Be it as it may, undeniable is the fact that it is the first example, and for that matter a brilliant one, of riverine *sarāi* of the Mughal and testifies that they cared for the comfort not only of those travellers and traders who travelled by road, but also for those who travelled by river. They could lodge in this *sarāi* with their barges tied on the *ghāt*, they paid duties, rested, engaged horses and porters and proceeded towards the east by road, or vice-versa. This *sarāi* not only facilitated but also coordinated and regulated the traffic and trade by land and river and it was a valuable transshipment point for goods received from or supplied to the eastern provinces of India.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of Tavernear in his account of his stay at Agra is that in which he refers to this province. This was the famous *Nur-Mahal Ki Sarai*[[114]](#footnote-114). Nur-Mahal was wife of Jahangir the famous emperor of Mughal Empire in India. She erected an imposing *Sarāi* in the vicinity of Agra. At Agra her memory has been perpetuated by the remains of this handsome *Kāravānsarāi*, which was built probably during the Jahangir’s reign. This *Sarāi* situated on the left bank of river Jamuna at a few distance in the north direction from *Arām Bāgh* enclosure. The eastern and western gateways still survived in a ruinous stage. Probably this *Sarāi* contain 53 rooms in the southern sides and 52 rooms in the northern side of the enclosure wall. In the eastern and western side may be also contain the rooms, but today not any evidence of the rooms found in the form of remains. This *sarāi* may be containing around 120 rooms within the enclosure wall.

At present, it is lying forgotten and neglected, in an extremely ruined condition. It is rectangular in plan laid out on an east-west, with the main gate being on eastern side, on the highway. It is an arched gateway built of brick masonry faced by red sandstone and is standing free amidst garbage and drains. There is another similar though smaller gateway on the western or the river-side, stepped quay (*ghāt*) which facilitated loading and unloading of boats having been almost entirely destroyed. A *chhatrī* overlooking the *sarāi* on either side made up, along with the central archway and stepped quay, a very beautiful river-front, typical of the Mughal period. All this has now been altered. There was also a small door in the middle of the northern wall, to give access from the *Battīs-Khambhā* side but this too has been destroyed.

Series of single-storied rooms were disposed on the two oblong, northern and southern, sides leaving the middle space wide open for traffic and animals. Each room had a vaulted ceiling and the entire interior was pleasantly plastered over. It had its own *dalān* on its front which was further protected by a *chhajjā* or eves. All openings were arched. While *chhajjā* slabs have all been pillaged, their brackets, deeply embedded in strong brick masonry as they are, have remained. Except for these stone brackets and bare brick masonry skeleton, everything of this once beautiful *sarāi* of Nur Jahan has been completely destroyed and it has been reduced, owing to the total neglect by the conservation agencies.

The total area covered by the rectangular enclosure of this *sarāi* is 225 x 52 square meters. All the rooms inside the *sarāi* are equal in size, and each one is a square covering an area of 3.20 x 3.20 square meters with a porch of 2.00 x 3.20 square meters in the front. The porches are interconnected through openings in the side walls, thus forming a long colonnade. In the center of northern side is a pavilion of 3.20 x 3.20 square meters opening toward the east. Unlike the rectangular or square *Sarāis*, the length of this Sarai is much greater than its breadth which makes it rather disproportionate. An important feature is interconnected porches forming a colonnade in the front of the rooms which provides sheltered access to each room. This arrangement has not been noticed in any one of the *sarāis* in our survey[[115]](#footnote-115).

1. ***Sarāi* Nawal Ganj**

Situated nearly five hundred meters north-east of Itmad-ud Daula’s tomb, there is no inscription or any other evidence to establish the identity of the building. Writing a few years before the mutiny Raja Ram identified this place as a *Katrā* built by Shaista Khan during Shahjahan’s reign for his own residence[[116]](#footnote-116).

However, A. C. L. Carlleyle in 1871-72 attributed the construction of the building to Salat Khan, a noble of Shahjahan, as a *Katrā*[[117]](#footnote-117). He also adds that the name of the place Nawalganj is a corruption of a longer designation *Katrā* Nawab Ganj. He said, “It will therefore be better to call the great walled enclosure either Nawal Ganj, or the *katrā* of Nawab Salat Khan”[[118]](#footnote-118). Carlleyle argued that it was used as a market place. But, going by the plan of the building we can safely assume that it is a *Sarāi* building[[119]](#footnote-119). Comprising of a square enclosure, this building covers an area of 115.25 x 115.25 square meters with high battlemented walls and four octagonal bastions at the corners. There are two lofty gateways in the central portion of the eastern and western walls of the enclosure. Rooms run all along the four sides inside the compound. There are two larger rooms in the center of the northern and southern sides falling in proportion to the two lofty gateways in the other two directions with projected outer walls. These rooms measure 11.66 x 4.14 square meters. The rooms in the corner open into the bastions, which are hollow structures. There are 86 rooms in the structure. Identical in shape and size with an arched opening of 3.35 x 3.35 square meters forming the porch, the ordinary rooms are 3.35 x 3.35 square meters in size.

A. C. L. Carlleyle mentioned detailed description about this *sarāi* in his *Report*. He wrote that: ‘this building, or rather great walled enclosure, is situated on the other side of the river Jamna from Agra, about a couple of hundred yards to the right hand or east side of the Nunihai road, beyond the Moti Bagh and the modern railway station. It is at the present day commonly called Nawal Ganj, which I taken to be corruption of Nawab Ganj, as it is said to have been built by a Nawab Salat Khan in the time of Shah Jahan. It was, at any rate, most certainly built in the time of Shah Jahan. It is also sometimes called (whether rightly or wrongly) “*Wazir Khan’s Katra*”. Now the question is whether “*Nawab Salat Khan*” and “*Wazir Khān*” were one and the same person or not. Raja Ram, in his “*Tamirat Agrah*”, calls this place “*Katrā Nawab Salat Khan*” and “*Nawal Ganj*”; whereas Seal Chand, in his “*Tafrih ul Imarat*”, notices no place by the above name, but he mentions a “*Bagh mai Katrah Wazir Khan*” (a garden and *Katra* of Wazir Khan), and he gives the full name of Wazir Khan, as “Alim-ud-dîn” called *Wazir Khan*” ……. I have combined the two names, and called it the “*Ganj* or *Katrā* of *Nawab Wazir Salat Khan*”. Across the road, or on the opposite side of the road from the great building or great walled enclosure in question, there is a sort of enclosed village called a “*Katrā*”; and immediately behind this, and between it and the river, and reaching to the bank of the river, there is a garden, containing a small garden palace, called “*Wazir Khan ka Bāgh*”. Besides the small garden palace which faces the river, there is in the centre of this garden a high octagonal raised platform of masonry, surrounded by a stone railing, and ascended to by steps, and underneath this, below the surface of the ground, there is a great vaulted chamber, into which one descends by another series of steps. The enclosed village and garden last mentioned, I believe, must be the true *Wazir Khan’s Bāgh* and *Katrā*. But in Seal Chand mentioned in his account which followed as: ‘in the ground there are several towers with domes reaching to the skies!’.

There is no such thing either in the *Nawal Ganj*, alias *Katrā* of Nawab Salat Khan, nor in the garden of Wazir Khan. At each of the four corners of the Nawal Ganj, alias *Katrā* of Nawab Salat Khan, there is an octagonal tower, but neither “towers underground”, nor “domes reaching to the skies”; while, again, in the garden of Wazir Khan there is, as I before said, a high raised octagonal platform of masonry, with a sunken vaulted chamber underneath it, and there are also two corner towers of moderate height, surmounted by cupolas, facing the river.

It will therefore be better to call the great walled enclosure which I am about to describe either “Nawal Ganj”, or the “*Katrā* of Nawab Salat Khan”.

The dimensions of this great walled enclosure are 374 feet 10 inches by 372 feet 7 inches, exterior measurement, exclusive of the outward projections of the towers and gateways. In the centre of the western and eastern sides there are grand gateways, each 40 feet 10 inches in breadth by 35 feet 8 inches in depth, though. Each of these gateway’s projects 10 feet, outwardly, beyond the line of the wall. These gateways are faced with red sandstone outwardly and inwardly. The walls and four corner towers are of brick. The walls are lofty, and are surmounted by crenelated battlements-the usual finish to the tops of all old walls in India. The towers are octagonal, of which five and two half sides project beyond the walls, and one and two half sides are included in the thickness of the walls. These towers are 17 feet in diameter, and each of the exterior sides measures 7 feet. At the centre of the northern and southern sides of the great walled enclosure there is a high building (one on each side) 38 feet 3 inches in breadth by 30 feet in depth, and these buildings also project 4 feet 6 inches outwardly beyond the line of the walls. The thickness of the outer walls of the great enclosure is 3 feet 9 inches, and of the walls of the towers 3 feet 3 inches. Along the whole of the inside of the four walls, in the interior of the enclosure, a double series of chambers runs their whole length, only interrupted by the two gateways, the two side buildings, and the entrances to the towers. These double series of chambers give an occupied width of 21 feet 9 inches on all sides, leaving an interior unoccupied area in the midst of the enclosure of 323 feet 10 inches by 321 feet 7 inches. These are eleven parallel double series of chambers (or twenty-two chambers in all) on the left hand, inner side, of each gateway, and ten parallel double series of chambers (or twenty chambers in all) on the right hand, inner side, of each gateway; and these are eleven parallel double series of chambers (or twenty-two in all) to the right-hand side interiorly, and ten parallel double series of chambers (twenty in all) to the left-hand side of each “side building”. Thus, there are 168 chambers in all which line the sides in double series in the interior of this great walled enclosure. There are stairs ascending to the top of the roof near each tower, two pairs of stairs in each gateway, one pair of which ascends to the top of each gateway, and the other pair ascends to the roofs of the side chambers on either side of the gateway; and there is a pair of stairs in each side building ascending to the roof.

The gateways of this great walled enclosure are very fine, and altogether the whole constitutes a very grand and imposing mass of building.

Opposite to the western gateway of this great walled enclosure, and about half-way between it and the public road, there is an ancient Masjid in a very ruinous state, which I should say was more ancient than the “*Ganj* or *Katrā*”.’[[120]](#footnote-120)

1. ***Sarāi Pukhtā* or (*Pakki Sarāi*)**

This *Sarāi* is situated in the southern direction of Taj Ganj area near Sayed Nagar. It is believed that the *Sarāi* was built during Shahjahan’s reign. There is no inscriptional evidence as well as written record found to ascertain the date of the construction of this *Sarāi*. It may be constructed, when the Taj Mahal was built. It is said that materials for the Taj Mahal were stored in this *sarāi*. This *sarāi* also provided accommodation for the labours, who were engaged in the building the Taj Mahal. One thing very important is this *sarāi* is that, it is in front of the Taj Mahal about ½ mile just south direction.

The *Sarāi* has a square plan and each side consists of 36 rooms. The corner rooms are circular in shape and dilapidated in condition. The huge gateways which once stood in the center of the eastern and western side of the enclosure do not exist. Some of the rooms still survived in this *sarai*. Probably all the rooms were identical in size measured 3.35 x 3.35 square meters. This *sarai* had once contained two huge monumental gateways in the middle of eastern and western side wall enclosure, today nothing is survived. The total area of the enclosure wall may be around 170 x 170 square meters.

1. ***Sarāi* Taj Ganj**

Our primary sources mainly refer to the economic activities of the city of Agra, which had acted as the northern headquarters of the trading agents for the European companies. However, it is noticeable that they do not ever complain about lack of facilities like the negotiation of bills of exchange, transport or communications, in these towns.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century traders and merchants who flocked to the city of Agra did not experience major problems associated with their work. Immediately after reaching the city, they could requisition the services of professional negotiation, brokers (*dallāl*), who would take them to the wholesale markets for specific commodities, where almost unlimited stocks were available. In short, entire consignments of assorted commodities could be arranged without delay. The dominant picture that emerges through the working of these institutions establishes Agra as integral to a wide network of trade and financial activities of the subcontinent, with important linkages even with the markets outside the Hindustan.

All along at least the major routes *sarāis* were constructed by local officials and nobles for use by merchants and travellers.[[121]](#footnote-121) These were built at a convenient distance of one day’s journey.[[122]](#footnote-122) At important towns not only were a number of *sarāi’s* built, some of these could be large enough to accommodate two to three thousand persons at a time, along with their horse and camels.[[123]](#footnote-123) The *sarāis* provided separate quarters for women travellers.[[124]](#footnote-124) Some were beautiful pieces of architecture, as we have mentioned.[[125]](#footnote-125)

Transport of goods on carts seems to have been much more convenient and economical because it did not require loading and unloading at every halting place, except at river ferry crossing, and keeping a close watch on each beast which could stray away on its own.[[126]](#footnote-126)

The river Yamuna served as the main waterway. This river being deep and broad, no masonry bridge was constructed over it. However, in view of the frequency of traffic on the Yamuna at Agra a boat-bridge functioned. At important points on all the rivers ferry boats were available for crossing.[[127]](#footnote-127) On smaller river stone bridges were constructed, sometimes by members of the nobility.[[128]](#footnote-128)

With such massive building activity, the actual number of master craftsmen and labourers would have been many times more than the figures given by Babur in his account. From the chief architect downwards a number of officials worked in different supervisory capacities in the imperial establishments.[[129]](#footnote-129) Such type of arrangements might have existed, even if temporarily, in the establishments of the nobility, to construct such beautiful monuments as have been listed by Pelsaert,[[130]](#footnote-130) or the *sarāis*, some of which were large enough to accommodate two to three thousand persons at a time along with their horses, camels and merchandise.[[131]](#footnote-131)

Peter Mundy writes about the *Nur Mahal ki Sarāi* that was constructed of stone, ‘not a piece of Timber in it, the rooms all arched, each with severall cupola.’ About another *sarai* at Chaparghat, he writes that it was ‘fairest and formalest sarae that I have yet seene, with 4 faire Towers att the 4 corners, and 21 stately gates att comeinge in and goeinge out, and a verie highe wall round about, full of Battlements, as yett all compleat.’[[132]](#footnote-132)

With such information as we have the possibility cannot be ruled out that initially the settlement pattern of Agar conformed to some definite arrangements. These, however, went haywire during the period of political upheavals starting from 1526. The political forces, deeply absorbed with the crisis of survival, had hardly any thought for the planned development of any city, and Agra, which intermittently served as one of the political centre during this period, was no exception. Even so, some of the market centres which had developed in Agra town by the middle of the sixteenth century as a result of east-west trade withstood the political turmoil of the next thirty years.

The first known reference to a planned market centre belongs to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. *Tajganj*, located in the vicinity of the Taj Mahal, was conceived by Shah Jahan as the most important market of Agra. From the available accounts, it emerges that a large area near the Taj Mahal was selected and suitably leveled, which entailed the leveling of some hillocks. Streets and shops were constructed according to future growth projections. The ambitious project of the *Tajganj* was seen by contemporaries as Shah Jahan’s plan to develop a twin city for Agra. The plan is reported to have included dwelling houses for all sections of society, merchants, shop-keepers as well as artisans.[[133]](#footnote-133) It soon became a big trading centre ‘consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which there are chambers for the use of merchants.’[[134]](#footnote-134) However, it could not develop any further, one reason being the transfer of the capital from Agra to *Shahjahānabād* (Delhi).

The whole area of Taj Ganj presently is divided into four *Katras[[135]](#footnote-135)* Taj Ganj lies in front of Southern Gateway of the Taj Complex. viz. *Katrā Umar Khan, Katrā Phulai, Katrā Resham and Katrā Jogidas.*

The description of the plan of Taj Ganj[[136]](#footnote-136) complex has been provided by the official historian of Shahjahan, Abdul Hamid Lahori in *Badshahnama.* Writing about the Taj Ganj he mentioned that: “To the south of the area of the *Jalukhana* (Front of the Taj) is a four-laned bazaar. The width of the (lanes of the) eastern and western bazaar is 90 yards[[137]](#footnote-137) and of the northern and southern 30 yards. On all the four sides of this four-laned bazaar are four *Sarai*. These two *Sarais* have been built with *pucca bricks* and lime out of (funds of) the royal exchequer. Each is 160 yards long and broad. Each has an octagonal courtyard of the Baghadai shape with 136 cells lining it, each cell fronted by a verandah with a three-angled arch (dar). Each of these two *Sarais* contains at three corners three *chauks* (markets). Each of those courtyards is 14 yards by 14 yards. On the fourth corner of each *Sarai,* there is the gate used for entry and exit of the people and opens into the octagon of a market (*chauk*) 150 yards long, 100 yards broad, set in the middle the four-laned bazaar. The other two *Sarais* are on the same pattern. In these *Sarais* valuable goods from different countries of the world are brought for sale. Behind these royal *Sarais* merchants have built a large number of *pucca* houses and established *Sarais*. And this place which became a large town came to be known as *Mumtazabad*.”[[138]](#footnote-138) The measurement of the room in the figure was ordinary rooms in *Sarāi Pukhtā*.

1. ***Sarāi* Chipitolā**

The *Sarāi* is situated near the south-western corner of the Agra fort. It is entered through a monumental gateway from the eastern side[[139]](#footnote-139). This sarai also contain the Palace and Hammām of Alahwirdī Khān (Ilāhwardī Khān)[[140]](#footnote-140) situated in *Chhīpī-Tolā* is an example. Originally, it had a large monumental gateway, garden, palace with *hammām* and an adjoining *sarai*. All this arrangement has now been changed. The gateway has remained in a very dilapidated condition. A vegetable market (mandī) is held in the *sarai*. Houses have been built on the sides of the gateway and other parts of the complex. The palace proper has also been destroyed. Its *hammām* has, however, survived and, in fact, the complex is now famous as the *Hammām*. It has four large square rooms, each of which had a reservoir, and around them are small vaulted chambers, some of which had clay pipes running through the walls. Large monolithic perforated ventilators, viz., cowls, shaped like hollow hemispheres in the roofs of these chambers are a unique feature of this building. On the red stone gateway is an inscription eulogizing the Emperor Jahāngīr and the *hammām*, containing the chronogram which gives the date A.H. 1030 or 1620 A.D.[[141]](#footnote-141) It must be noted that *hammām* architecture was popular only during the age of Akbar and only very few examples of Jahāngīr’s reign have come down to us. In any case, *hammām* was not a public establishment like that of the Romans, but a private building, mostly annexed to a palace.

This monumental gateway is in good condition compared to the gateways of the other *Sarāis* in Agra. The gateway is a large domed structure, which once also contain the inscription. The plan of the *Sarāi* consists of large rooms in the four corners. The total area covered by each larger room is about 5.20 x 5.20 square meters. All the rooms run all along the three sides with few on the eastern side owing to the space covered by the gateway. It may be containing total 33 identical rooms. And its size is also 3.35 x 3.35 square meters similar to other *sarāi* rooms found in the vicinity of Agra city. The length from east to west is 64 meters and breadth from north to south is 58 meters. Hence the total area of this *sarāi* is approximately 64 x 58 square meters.

1. ***Sarāi* Badar-ud-Din at Agra**

Many *Sarāi* erected in the Mughal City of Agra, one of them is *Sarāi* Badar-ud-Din also situated in the Agra city. Only the monumental huge gateway still survives, which also contain with the inscription on the facade. This inscription suggested that, this *Sarai* built by one of the famous noble Badar-ud-Din Khanduring the Mughal periods. Today this monumental gateway survives as a main gate of the District Jail of Agra. There were nothing remains found of the rooms and outer wall enclosure of this *Sarāi* found. Now the outer enclosure of this District Jail is newly constructed.[[142]](#footnote-142)

1. ***Sarāi* of I’tibar Khan Khawja**

Four miles from Agra, on the Sikandra road, is the *Sarāi* of I’tibar Khan Khawja situated. It was once an open summer house, but the doors have now been closed with masonry.[[143]](#footnote-143) Today now this locality called as *Begā Sarāi*. Only huge gateway facing north still survived in a dilapidated condition. This gateway occupied by local people. Beside this gateway nothing remains of this *Sarāi* survived.

1. ***Sarā’ī* of Rōzbihānī**

Shah Nawaz Khan mentioned about another *sarā’ī Rōzbihānī*, which is situated four *kos* from Āgra. He wrote that: ‘It now advanced to near *Akbarābād* (Āgra). Muhammad Mu’izz-ud-Dīn also left the capital (Delhī), and came to Āgra. He was meditating the crossing of Jumnā, when Hasan ‘Alī Khān anticipated him by crossing the Jumnā near the *sarā’ī* of Rōzbihānī four *kos* from Āgra. Muhammad Farrukh Siyar also crossed after him, but most of his followers through distress…..’[[144]](#footnote-144)

William Irvine also wrote about this *Sarāi* as: ‘Camp was pitched at *Sarai* Roz Bahani[[145]](#footnote-145) near Akbar’s tomb at Bihishtabad Sikandra, five miles west of Agra fort, with the front facing Agra and the rear towards Dihli…’[[146]](#footnote-146) Again he mentioned that: ‘When he had gone four or five miles, he came to a place where he saw some villagers wading through very shallow water. Forthwith (9th *Zul Hijja* 1124 H., 6th Jan. 1713) he crossed with the five hundred horsemen then in his retinue.[[147]](#footnote-147)

**Conclusion:** The characteristic elements of a Mughal *Kāravānsarāi* emerge from the foregoing analysis of ground plans and other collected data. It consists of a square or rectangular compound enclosed by four wings with rows of rooms fronted by narrow porches. It may be argued that the smaller and larger rooms represented the ordinary and special residential unit available in a *Kāravānsarāi*. Also, the enclosure or compound of a *Kāravānsarāi* has one or two entry points through gateways with arched portals of considerable height. A gateway is always located in the middle of a courtyard wing. In the case there are two gateways then they are placed facing each other on two opposite sides of the compound. The gateways are often double storied structures containing complex patterns of galleries and chambers. The rooms in the gateways were apparently reserved for the authorities of a *Kāravānsarāi* who used them for various purposes. However, most of the surveyed *Sarais* are in dilapidated conditions and it is very difficult to get their accurate measurements. A more detailed study of the *sarāis* in Agra will shed further light on the position of *sarāis* in the Mughal city of Agra.

1. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, LPP, Delhi, 1934, p. 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, pp. 37, 48-65, 89; William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 66 ff; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, pp. 48-65. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 225 ff; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, p. 89; William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, p. 37; *English Factories in India (1646-50)*, ed.William Foster, pp. 144, 218, 335. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. *English Factories in India (1646-50)*, ed.William Foster, p. 144; William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, p. 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268; Thomas Coryat, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 244; Terry, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 293; Thomas Roe, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 432; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 284; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, p. 96; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 83; also see Thomas Coryat, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 472. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 78-79; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, pp. 113-116. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 83, 86. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739*, Cambridge University Press, New York (1991), p. 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, pp. 67-70, 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. An overstatement. The distance is about 440 miles by road. See for example William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 186, foot note-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, pp. 185-186. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. by V. Ball, sec. ed. by W. Crooke, Vol. I, New India, 1977, p. 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Muhammad Salih Kanboh, *‘Amal-i Salih*, Vol. III, p. 47; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, pp. 280-281; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, pp. 212-213. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Butenschen, *Jahanara Begum*, p. 30. Cf. Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739*, Cambridge University Press, New York (1991), p. 66, foot note- 176. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. See for Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Manrique, *Travels of F. S. Manrique, 1629-1643*, tr. Luard and Hosten, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, LXI, Oxford, 1927, p. 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Edward Terry observes that ‘for their works of charities many richmen built *sarais*’, Cf. W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, on the basis of his general survey of the travelleral accounts, Moreland suggests that the main routes of land travel were defined by “walled enclosures known as *sarais*”. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, Map No. 8B: ‘Economic’ Uttar Pradesh, 1595 A.D. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 78-137. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, Map No. 8B: ‘Economic’ Uttar Pradesh, 1595 A.D. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. In this context ‘Abbas Khan Sarwani mentions only *musāfirān-i be takya gāh* (the travellers having no refuge). Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 111, foot note- 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. According to ‘Abbas Khan Sarwani (fol. 110a), Sher Shah used to say that if he would live long enough he would convert the *sarāis* that had been “made *khām*” (not built of burnt bricks) into *pukhta* (strong, that is, built of burnt bricks) ones. This clearly indicates that the ramparts of *sarāi* enclosures were mostly built of mud. From two different passages of ‘Abbas Khan Sarwani (fol. 109a) and Rizqullah Mushtaqi (fol. 50a) we get the impression that each *sarāi* had only one gateway because they refer to *darwāza-i har sarāi* (the gateway of every *sarāi*) and not to *darwāza-hā-i har sarāi* (the gateways of every *sarāi*). Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 111, foot note- 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. The official commanding the *nigahbānān* is designated *shahna* by ‘Abbas Khan Sarwani and *shiqdār-i- sarāi* by Rizqullah Mushtaqi. For more detailed comments on the designations and powers of this functionary, see Ravindra Kumar, “Administration of Sarāis”, paper presented at the *Indian History Congress*, Hyderabad, 1978. Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 112, foot note- 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 112. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. *Tārīkh-i- Akbarī*, pp. 44-45 and *Akbarnāma*, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. III, (Calcutta, 1873-87), pp. 824-285. Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 112, foot note- 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. See Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, pp. 112-113. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. For the agencies establishing *sarāis* (that is, *kārwānsarāys*) in Mughal India, see Ravindra Kumar, “Sarais in Mughal India”, (p. 20), M. Phil. Dissertation submitted to the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, in 1978. He has shown in a tabular from that out of the total 106 *sarāis* (he unfortunately does not clearly demarcate the *kārwānsarāys* from *dāk chaukīs-cum-inns* of the Sur and the Mughal periods) listed by him 36 were established by the kings, 23 by the nobles, 9 by the zamīndārs, 16 by the petty officials, 8 by the merchants, 4 by the *mashāikh*, 1 by commercial establishment, 3 by the religious institutions and 6 by the caste groups. In these *kārwānsarāys*, around A.D. 1634, the travellers were charged 1 to 2 “*pice*” (*dāms*?) per day for rooms, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 121. Nicholas Withington (1615) in *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. William Foster, (Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 225, mentions as payment for space for horse and cooking of food the rate of 3 *dāms* per day. Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 113, foot note- 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 121, foot note- 2; also see Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, pp. 113-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. ‘For the female attendants in the *sarāis*,see *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 121. Cf. Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225, foot note- 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Manrique, *Travels of F. S. Manrique, 1629-1643*, tr. Luard and Hosten, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, LXI, Oxford, 1927, pp. 100-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi, *Tazkirat ul-Muluk*, MS British Museum, Add. 23883, fol. 174b. Cf. Ravindra Kumar, “Administration of the Sarais”, paper presented in *Indian History Congress*, Hyderabad session, 1978, p. 354, foot note- 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. For functions of the Kotwāl, see Abul Fazl, A’in-i Akbari, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 284-285; Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, ed. by Ahmad Ali, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1865, p. 390; Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 57; English Factories in India (1622-23), ed. William Foster, pp. 124-125; Manrique, Travels of Sebastien Manrique 1629-1643, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, Oxford, 1927, pp. 188-189; Tavernier, Travels in India, 1640-47, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 447; Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68), sec. rev. ed. by V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 369; Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 12, 27; John Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years Travels, 1672-81, ed. W. Crooke, Vol. I, Hakluyt Society, London, 1909, p. 246; J. Ovington, A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689, ed. H. G. Rawlinson, London, 1929, pp. 137-138; A. Hamilton, A new Account of the East Indies (1688-1723), (printed in Voyages and Travels, ed. J. Pinkerton, Vol. VIII, London, 1811), p. 312; Niccolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 292; Niccolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. II, Delhi, 1990, pp. 295-296. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 284-285. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. ‘Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir’āt-i Ahmadī*, ed. Nawāb ‘Alī, Vol. I, Baroda, 1927, pp. 168-170. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 284. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. *Hidāyat-al Qawānīn*, ff. 30b-31a; ‘Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir’āt-i Ahmadī*, ed. Nawāb ‘Alī, Vol. I, Baroda, 1927, p. 168; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 27; J. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, ed. H. G. Rawlinson, London, 1929, p. 137. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. ‘Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir’āt-i Ahmadī*, ed. Nawāb ‘Alī, Vol. I, Baroda, 1927, pp. 168-170. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. ‘Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir’āt-i Ahmadī*, ed. Nawāb ‘Alī, Vol. I, Baroda, 1927, pp. 168-170; also see Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, ed. by Ahmad Ali, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1865, p. 390. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. *Nigarnāmā-i Munshī*, ff. 238ab- 239a. Cf. M. P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1556-1707*, Adam Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1985, p. 46, foot note- 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 27-28; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 369. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. J. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, ed. H. G. Rawlinson, London, 1929, p. 137; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 27-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 27-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 284-285. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 284. It was also the *Kotwāl’s* duty to arrange for carrying and finally disposing of the dead bodies in case pestilence struck the town. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 284. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 284. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 284. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. See Abul Fazl, *A’in-i Akbari*, tr. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 284. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. See Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures’, Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 114. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. ‘*Sarais* at different places’, see for Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 45-46; ‘*Sarais* between Burhānpur and Sironj’, see Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 47; ‘*Sarais* between Gwalior to Agra’, see Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 52-53; ‘*Sarais* constructed between Allahābād and Benares’, see Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 96; For the ‘*Sarais* built between Benares and Sasaram’, see Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 98; Also see ‘Some *Sarais* out side of Āgra’, see *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 71, 88; also see ‘Divers *Seraes* built by great men, faire buildings to entertaine travellers’, Cf. Richard Steel & John Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 267. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, reprinted, Calcutta, 1965, p. 67; also see *A Pepys of Mogul India, 1653-1708*, Abridged edition of the *Storia Do Mogor* of Niccolao Manucci, tr. by William Irvine, London, 1913, p. 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Cf. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, tr. by H. S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 44. “He (i.e. *kotwāl*) should establish a separate *sarāi* and cause unknown arrivals to alight therein, and by the aid of divers detectives take account of them.” [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. See Thomas Coryat, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, reprinted, 1968, p. 259. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. *For the female attendants in the sarāis*, see *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 121, Cf. Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, reprinted, 1968, p. 225, foot note. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, reprinted, 1968, p. 225. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. ‘*Mihtarānī*, female scavenger; *bhathiyārī*, innkeeper’s wife, woman employed in a *Sarāī*. Mundy’s observation is not quite correct. It is the business of the *bhathiyārī* to prepare meals, but no native traveller would touch food prepared by a *mihtarānī*, which belongs to the “lowest” caste.’ Cf. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 121, foot note- 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. ‘Mundy is again wrong: *Kahār* is another caste altogether which a woman is called *Kahāran*’. Cf. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 121, foot note- 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 121. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. De Laet’s, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. by J. S. Hoyland, I.A.D., Delhi, 1975, pp. 81-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. See Richard Steel & John Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, pp. 267-268; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 78; *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Wethington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 284; Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268; William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179 & c. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. ‘Each of them might hold, more or less; from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages and some of them are even larger’, see Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 69; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 78, Mundy say that: ‘in which stand 500 horses and there may conveniently lye 2 or 3,000 people’; also see for William Finch in *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 48; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 62, 64-65. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. See Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. See Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 37, 48-65, 89; William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 66 ff; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 48-65. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 225ff; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 89; William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 37; *English Factories in India (1646-50)*, ed.William Foster, pp. 144-218, 335. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. *English Factories in India (1646-50)*, ed.William Foster, p. 144; William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Steel &Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268; Coryat, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 244; Terry, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 293; Thomas Roe, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p.432; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 284; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, p. 96; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 83; Gladwin, *History of Hindustan*, p. 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp.78-79; Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 113-116. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, pp. 267-268; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 78; *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Wethington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 284; Steel & Crowther, p. 268; William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179 & c. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 69; “ Each of them might hold, more or less; from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, Camels, Carriages, and some of them are even larger”; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 78: “in which stand 500 horses and there may conveniently lye 2,000 or 3,000 people”. William Finch, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 48; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 64-65, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 78: The *Nur Mahal Ka Sarai* was all built of stone, “not one peece of Timber in it, the roomes all arched, each with a severall copula.” [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. In the absence of any complaint about the charges we can conclude so. Also, only Wethington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225 informs that “3 d, both horse and meate dressings” were charged. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 271. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India (1615-19)*, ed. by W. Foster, Delhi, 1990, p. 493. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. by R. C. Temple, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, London, 1914, pp. 83-84. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Delhi reprint, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 96, 292. For full details of roads during the Mughal times, reference may be made to A. K. M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977; H. C. Verma, *Medieval Routes to India*, Delhi, 1977; and *An Historical Account of the Roads from Kabul to Calcutta during the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Quarterly Review of Historical Study, Calcutta, Vol. IX, 3 (1969-70), pp. 147-160. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 284. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. See *Babur-Nama*, ed. by A. S. Beveridge, London, 1971, fol. 351a. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, ed. by Ahmad Ali, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1865, p. 173; Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, ed. by Maulavi Abdur Rahīm, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1881, p. 111; also see for example *History of Mughal Architecture*, by R. Nath, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 273-274. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 277. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i- Firuz Shahi*, ed. Sh. Abdul Rashid, pp. 65-66. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i- Firuz Shahi*, tr. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, P. 354. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i- Sher Shahi*, tr. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. IV, P. 417. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Gul-Badan Begum, *Humāyūn-Nāma* or *The History of Humāyūn*, (Persian M.S. Or. 166, British Museum), ed. by A. S. Beveridge, LPP, Delhi, reprint, 2006, ff. 16a, 20a, 30a, 31b. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, I. A. D., Delhi, 1972, pp. 4-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 327. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. *Nur Jahan* was deposed and retired by *Shah Jahan* on his accession to the throne in 1628 A.D., hence the expression. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, I. A. D., Delhi, 1972, p. 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. This also seems to be a part of her title, as Jahangir has used it. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 282. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 278.

     For example, Jahangir, in 1619 A.D., left Agra for Kashmir by river and traveled via Mathura and Delhi by boat as far as Akbarpur: “I left the boat at Akbarpur and the victorious army then marched by land” *(Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 283).

     [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. See Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. by V. Ball, sec. ed. by W. Crooke, Vol. I, New India, 1977, pp. 92-93; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 78-79, 82-83, 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Interestingly, this arrangement is not seen in the following Sarais: *Sarai Nawal Ganj, Sarai Chippitola,* *Pukhta Sarai & Sarai Taj Ganj*. Also see “Sarais in the Mughal City of Agra” *Transformation in Indian History*, ed. Pratima Asthana & S. Z. H. Jafri, **(ISBN- 978-81-7975-261-6)**, Published by Anamika Publishers & Distributors (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2009, pp. 258-275. Link: <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=2c9312fKPqgC&pg=PA258&lpg=PA258&dq=Sarais+in+the+Mughal+City+of+Agra+Salim+Javed+akhtar&source=bl&ots=4wdUQa64-g&sig=ACfU3U0JremrOFUYsGcZKOJxjQDkSqRjoQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjHo6XK2LL0AhXywTgGHc8YBqQQ6AF6BAgkEAM#v=onepage&q=Sarais%20in%20the%20Mughal%20City%20of%20Agra%20Salim%20Javed%20akhtar&f=false> [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. “The gardens of Agra”, *Journal of UP Historical Society*, Vol. IV, 1928, Part I, pp. 15-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. A.C.L.Carlleyle, *Archaeological Survey of India*. Report for the year 1871-72, Vol. IV, pp.159-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. A.C.L.Carlleyle, *Archaeological Survey of India*. Report for the year 1871-72, Vol. IV, p. 161. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. It is most likely that the structure was planned as a *Sarai* but it gradually came to be used entirely as a market place which led it to be as *Katra* or *Ganj.* [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. See for A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report (1871-72)*, Vol. IV, pp. 159-162; also see E. T. Atkinson & F. H. Fisher. (ed.), *Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Province of India*, Vol. VII, *Agra District*, Allahabad, 1884, p. 688; S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 190. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, pp. 267, 268; *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 50; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 78-79; *Zakhirat*, II, pp. 14, 404. Also see “Sarais in the Mughal City of Agra” *Transformation in Indian History*, ed. Pratima Asthana & S. Z. H. Jafri, **(ISBN- 978-81-7975-261-6)**, Published by Anamika Publishers & Distributors (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2009, pp. 258-275. Link: <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=2c9312fKPqgC&pg=PA258&lpg=PA258&dq=Sarais+in+the+Mughal+City+of+Agra+Salim+Javed+akhtar&source=bl&ots=4wdUQa64-g&sig=ACfU3U0JremrOFUYsGcZKOJxjQDkSqRjoQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjHo6XK2LL0AhXywTgGHc8YBqQQ6AF6BAgkEAM#v=onepage&q=Sarais%20in%20the%20Mughal%20City%20of%20Agra%20Salim%20Javed%20akhtar&f=false> [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268; William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179; Withington, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 294. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 69; ‘Each of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages; and some of them are even larger’; See also *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 62, 64-65, 78: ‘…in which stand 500 horses and there may conveniently lye 2 or 3,000 people.’ See also Finch in *Early Travels*, p. 179; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 68; See also William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. See for example, K. K. Trivedi, *Agra Economic and Political Profile of a Mughal Suba, 1580-1707*, Pune (1998), pp. 147-148. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. by V. Ball, sec. ed. by W. Crooke, Vol. I, New India, 1977, pp. 37, 61, 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 64-65, 89, 91; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. by V. Ball, sec. ed. by W. Crooke, Vol. I, New India, 1977, pp. 64-65, 114; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. II, Delhi, 1990, p. 302. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India: The Evidence from Painting*, Delhi (1988), pp. 6-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV, Glasgow, pp. 267-268; William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 179; Withington, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225; *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 50; *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 78-79; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, LPP, Delhi, 1934, p. 284; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 48, Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, p. 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 78. See also Iqtidar Alam Khan, ‘The *Karwansarays* of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structure’, Published in Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I. C. H. R., Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, pp. 111-137. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 213-214. Also see “Mughal *Sarāis* in the vicinity of Tajganj at Agra”, International Journal of History, Edited by Dr. Vishal Kr. Sharma, AkiNik Publications, New Delhi, July 2022, pp. 23-29. Link: <https://www.historyjournal.net/archives/2022.v4.i2.A.155> [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. by V. Ball, sec. ed. by W. Crooke, Vol. I, New India, 1977, pp. 109-110. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. The term *Katra* actually means a small bazaar but it is used as a locality here. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. For information on the Taj Ganj area in the foreign traveler accounts see, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p.213; *The English Factories in India (1646-50)*, ed. by William Foster, Vol. VIII, p.220 & 299; *The English Factories in India (1651-54)*, ed. by William Foster, Vol. IX, p. 122; *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces Agra*, by H. R. Nevill, Vol. VIII, p. 217-218; *U.P. District Gazetters,* ed. by Esha Basanti Joshi, Agra, 1965, p. 362; S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. The length of the Mughal yard or gaz has been estimated as 31.464 inches. See, Col. A.Hodgson, “Memoire on the length of the Illahee Guz or Imperial Land Measure of Hindostan”, *JRAS*, 1843. pp.45-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. *Badshahnamah* of Abdu’l Hamid Lahori, ed. by Maulavi Kabir-al-Din Ahmad & Abdu’l Rahim, Vol. II, Part- I, A. S. B. (Bib. Ind.), Calcutta, 1868, p.329. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. There are no other gateways besides this gateway. Also see my published research paper “Sarais in the Mughal City of Agra” *Transformation in Indian History*, ed. Pratima Asthana & S. Z. H. Jafri, **(ISBN- 978-81-7975-261-6)**, Published by Anamika Publishers & Distributors (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2009, pp. 258-275. Link: <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=2c9312fKPqgC&pg=PA258&lpg=PA258&dq=Sarais+in+the+Mughal+City+of+Agra+Salim+Javed+akhtar&source=bl&ots=4wdUQa64-g&sig=ACfU3U0JremrOFUYsGcZKOJxjQDkSqRjoQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjHo6XK2LL0AhXywTgGHc8YBqQQ6AF6BAgkEAM#v=onepage&q=Sarais%20in%20the%20Mughal%20City%20of%20Agra%20Salim%20Javed%20akhtar&f=false> [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. For his biography, see *Máasir al-Umara* of Shah Nawaz Khan, ed. by Maulavi Άbd al Rahim, Text- I, Part- I, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 207-215; T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, rev. ed. by H. G. Keene, 1894, p. 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. For full text and translation of the inscription, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report (1871-72)*, Vol. IV, pp. 197-98; also see S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, pp.198-99. Also see “Sarais in the Mughal City of Agra” *Transformation in Indian History*, ed. Pratima Asthana & S. Z. H. Jafri, **(ISBN- 978-81-7975-261-6)**, Published by Anamika Publishers & Distributors (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2009, pp. 258-275. Link: <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=2c9312fKPqgC&pg=PA258&lpg=PA258&dq=Sarais+in+the+Mughal+City+of+Agra+Salim+Javed+akhtar&source=bl&ots=4wdUQa64-g&sig=ACfU3U0JremrOFUYsGcZKOJxjQDkSqRjoQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjHo6XK2LL0AhXywTgGHc8YBqQQ6AF6BAgkEAM#v=onepage&q=Sarais%20in%20the%20Mughal%20City%20of%20Agra%20Salim%20Javed%20akhtar&f=false> [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. See Saeed Ahmad Marharvi, *Morāqqā-i Akbarābād*, Agra, 1931, p. 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. See for S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 196. Also see details in my book “Imperial Mughal Capital City at Agra” Ed. Dr. Salim Javed Akhtar, 1st Edition, INSC International Publishers (IIP), Chikkamagaluru, Karnataka, (India), 2021 (**ISBN: 978-1-68576-042-7**). Link:<https://books.google.co.in/books/about/Imperial_Mughal_Capital_City_at_Agra.html?id=jEKwzgEACAAJ&redir_esc=y> [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. *Máasir al-Umara* of Shah Nawaz Khan, ed. by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Άli, Text- III, Part- I, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 133-134. Also see *The Muntakhab al-Lubáb* of Khāfī Khān, ed. by Maulavi Kabir Al-Din Ahmed, Text-II, Part-II, A.S.B., Calcutta, 1874, p. 720. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. ‘Yahya Khan, 120b, places the camp near Sikandra. *Sarai Roz Bahani* (Khafi Khan, ii, 720) was 4 *kos* or about of a saint of west of Agra. There is a tomb of a saint of some repute, Shaikh Roz Bihan, a little to the east of Shiraz town, E. G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, London, 1893, p. 274. Roz Bahan was the son of Abi Nasar, lived to be 84 years of age, and died 606 H., *Shiraz-nama*, B.M. Addl. 18,185 fol. 136a. The Roz Bahani who built this *sarai* may have been a descendant or disciple of this saint. Roz Bahani is not in Beale, although that author lived at Agra. A Yusuf Khan Roz Bihani was subahdar of Haidarabad in Bahadur Shah’s reign-*M.U.*, I, 256. Again *Ibid*., iii. 771, a corps Roz Bahanis was present in the battle against Prince Shuja at Belghatha near Akbarnagar.’ Cf. William Irvine, *The Later Mughals (1707-1720)*, ed. by Jadunath Sarkar, reprinted, L.P.P., Delhi, 2006, p. 228, foot note- \* [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. William Irvine, *The Later Mughals (1707-1720)*, ed. by Jadunath Sarkar, reprinted, L.P.P., Delhi, 2006, p. 228. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. ‘Iradat Khan (J. Scott, II, Pt. iv. 91) says the counter march was one of twenty miles, and the place of crossing the ford of *Gao Ghat*, some miles above Agra. Khafi Khan, ii, 720, fixed it on the night of the 11th (i.e., the night between the 10th and 11th); the water, he says, was up to a man’s chest, and from Agra on the road to Dihli. The *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin*, 56a, also calls it the ford of Roz Bahan.’ Cf. William Irvine, *The Later Mughals (1707-1720)*, ed. by Jadunath Sarkar, reprinted, L.P.P., Delhi, 2006, p. 228, foot note. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)