Introduction: Evolution of Sources
The Mughal court culture was essentially urban in nature and garden was an integral element of urban living in Mughal India where rulers, aristocrats and elite class enjoyed comfortable, pleasant and aesthetic surroundings. It was the Mughals, specifically Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire, who started the tradition of well-laid out garden, termed *chaharbagh*, which was copied, improved and modified by his successors.

The Persian literati, especially in poetic form, used the terms ‘*gulistan*’ and ‘*bustan*’ for flower garden. The Persian word ‘*gulistan*’ is formed from ‘*gul*’ for rose or flower, and ‘*bustan*’ from ‘*bu*’ for smells or perfume. But both these Persian words in Arabic are used in the sense of garden. Besides, the words ‘*gulshan*’ or ‘*chaman*’ are also found in the sources. Again, the Persian word ‘*gulshan*’ (*gul*/flower) stands for rose or flower garden, while ‘*chaman*’ denotes flower beds or parterre. In general, Persian term ‘*bagh*’ has been used by the Mughal chroniclers for orchard, grove and garden. Since the term also denotes cluster of trees or much plantation, it translates, in real sense, the Mughal garden. Even inscriptions invariably mention the term ‘*bagh*’ for gardens which attests to its official acceptance. The synonym to Persian ‘*bagh*’ was the Hindi term ‘*bāri*’ in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Garden poetry or imagery may be understood well from the name of the two poetic compositions ‘*Gulistan*’ and ‘*Bustan*’ of the great Persian poet Sa’adi of Shiraz (1184-1291 AD) in which the former stands for ‘flower garden’ while the latter indicates ‘fruit garden’.

In Mughal India, the same garden imagery has been found in Chandra Bhan Munshi’s work *Chaharchaman*, meaning ‘four gardens’. The book has been divided and arranged in four *chamans* (sections). One of the biographers of Chandra Bhan interprets that it was not a mere coincidence that Chandra Bhan decided to name his magnum opus prose *Chahar Chaman*, rather it was a deliberate attempt to nod to the power of *chaharbagh* as an imperial and paradisiacal metaphor. Thus, indeed it was the

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2 Rajeev Kumar Kinra, *Secretary-Poets in Mughal India and the Ethos of Persian: The case of Chandar Bhan Brahman*, Ph.D Dissertation submitted to the Deptt. of South Indian Languages
influence of dominant garden culture, especially the concept of *chaharbagh* system which migrated from Persia to Mughal India, that the name of this scholarly work was related to the gardens.

In India, garden culture goes back to ancient times in which plants and flowers have been cultivated. Indians laid out gardens from the small ‘*batika*’ to large ‘*udyan*’ but architecture was not related to the gardens the way it was during the Mughals times. There is multitude of references of gardens in early Buddhist and Sanskrit literature but apparently they were simply a lush-green gardens or sacred groves. In medieval period, the Delhi Sultans maintained and constructed gardens in India. Sultan Firozshah Tughlaq has been credited for maintaining the garden of Alauddin Khalji. He himself laid out innumerable gardens in the vicinity of Delhi and at other places.

The Mughal historians showed their contempt for the gardens of the Sultanate period since they were not well laid-out or symmetrical gardens. Abu Fazl in his *Ain* remarks that ‘formerly peoples planted their gardens without any order but since Babur’s arrival in India, more methodological arrangement of garden was done’. Abul Fazl’s account finds support in Ahmad Yadgar’s statement that ‘plan with pathways’ (*tarhabandi-i khiyaban*) in the context of Hindustan was the most salient and revolutionary feature of Babur’s first garden at Agra which was known as *Hasht Bihisht* and Civilizations, Chicago, Illinois, 2008. pp. 160-63. Chandra Bhan was in an age when *chararbagh* building tradition reached on its zenith, starting from Babur’s *chaharbagh* to Shah Jahan’s Taj. Incidentally, Agra became his home and he also laid out his lesser known garden, named *Bagh-i Chandra Bhan*. It is said that he started his administrative career under Mir Abd al Kalam, who was the superintendent of buildings in his hometown Lahore and eventually became one of the important supervisors of Taj Mahal. Literally, *Chaharchaman* and *chaharbagh* mean ‘four gardens’ but technically *chaman* referred either to the central plot of the *chaharbagh* or any of the plots in the *chaharbagh*.

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(Garden of eight Paradise). It was the first example of the plan with walkways in Hindustan. On the pattern of this garden, Mirza Kamran built another garden at Lahore. Babur in his autobiography himself expressed his dissatisfaction with the ‘irregular arrangement of the land’ and ‘lack of running water’ and ordered that garden should be made ‘orderly (siyaq-dar) and symmetrically (tarh-dar)’ with running water through the means of wheels (charkhaha). Thus, Babur started a revolution in the field of gardening in India through building chaharbagh (fourfold)-symmetrical gardens. In recent writings, the excessive use of the term ‘chaharbagh’ in interpretation of the Mughal gardens has been questioned since it has been found that the Mughal gardens had not always been symmetrical.

The inspiration for the splendid garden-building tradition by the great Mughals was drawn from their Turko-Mongol heritage. In Iran, the Persianate gardens (also called Islamic or Paradise gardens) originated from the pairidaeza of Cyrus at Pasargadae and travelled through Achaemenian Empire to Sassanian glory to Safavids’ splendor down to Central Asian submission. On the other hand, it is also believed that the Persian gardens are essentially an earthly representation of Paradise as mentioned in the Quran. So many symbolism of Quranic Paradise are interpreted or related to gardens, such as four rivers of Paradise in geometrically-divided water channels, eight division of Paradise in octagonal pools, and fruits and shady trees etc. However, modern scholars have come to the conclusion that chaharbagh gardens existed in Persia since the Achaemenian period, much before the advent of Islam.

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8 Pairidaeza is an old Persian word meaning ‘walled garden’ (Moynihan, Paradise as a Garden, p. 1).
10 Ettinghausen, Islamic Garden, pp. 1-2.
The ancient gardens in Iran were simply *chaharbagh* in style with natural elements but were never adorned by buildings. It was only after the advent of Islam that buildings have been built in the gardens on the line of the *Quranic* injunction that palaces like buildings would be there in Paradise garden.\textsuperscript{11} Timur (1336-1404AD), greatly influenced by the Persian gardens, ordered to build palaces and gardens with some of his own distinctive innovations and gave the name *Hasht Bihisht* to one of them.\textsuperscript{12} *Quranic* garden with all its symbolism has been widely discussed by the scholars like Ettinghausen and Annemarie Schimmel but they have not discussed the presence of buildings in it. This lacuna has also received criticism, since buildings were one of the essential features of the Mughal gardens.

Gardens in Mughal India were invested with a lot of symbolic meanings and were often represented as imitations, however miniscule, of the heaven. The purposeful inclusion of some features of *Quranic* Paradise was purely meant for making the gardens most beautiful as well as to exhibit the political power of the king above all in the earthly Paradise. The Mughals also assimilated into their gardens certain features of the gardens of Hindu tradition in India. The contribution of the Hindu influence is evident not only in the physical features, such as lotus-shaped pools, lotus-bud fountains, marble swings, the surface decoration of garden pavilions and other structures, but also in the unique contribution of the planting of Indian native trees such as avenues of tamarinds, groves of mangoes and free-standing areca nut palms.\textsuperscript{13} Rajput style of planting with mortar packed cavities may have influenced Mughal gardening as it was visible in Rai Pravin garden of Orcha, built by Bir Singh Bundela (1605-27 AD), as well as in Anguri

\textsuperscript{13} Hindu influence on Mughal gardens has been well studied by Villiers Stuart and Elizabeth Moynihan. For details see, Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the; Moynihan, Paradise as a Garden*; Idem, ‘The lotus Garden Place of Zahir Al-Din Muhammad Babur’, *Muqarnas*, (1988), V, pp. 135-52.
bagh of Agra fort, built by Shah Jahan (1628-37 AD). Although the appearance of these two gardens is dissimilar yet the cultivation technique was essentially the same.\textsuperscript{14} Another point of discussion among the historians is to confirm the existence of well-planned gardens in South Asia before Babur. Evidence of the presence of well-planned symmetrical chaharbagh comes from a fifth century fortress walled city of Sigiriya in Sri Lanka where Senake Bhandaranayake, in his detailed study and archaeological survey, found a series of symmetrical water gardens, ascending terrace gardens, palace gardens on rock, and irregular boulder gardens.\textsuperscript{15} It is believed that Sri Lankan learnt to build symmetrical chaharbagh gardens on account of their trade relations with the Sassanians Persia. Later on, in the early sixteenth century, the Deccan Kingdom also produced chaharbagh gardens as was in the case of the gardens of Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golkunda. It seems probable that they were also inspired directly from Iran since Afaqi nobles under Qutubshahis (basically Central Asians), who were responsible for the building of gardens, were dominantly Iranians.\textsuperscript{16} Even the Rajputs, apart from borrowing chaharbagh features in their gardens from Mughals, took inspirations for certain new features from outside the Mughal Empire also. For instance, they built the hanging garden of Maunbari in the sixteenth century on mountain, in the vicinity of the palace of Amber in Rajasthan, almost similar to the Italian hanging gardens and other gardens of the Islamic World, like the garden of Qasr-i Qajar in Tehran.\textsuperscript{17} Besides, the Rajputs kept some originality of their own in their gardens such as the stone-edged flower beds, conceived in a sinuous geometry of foliate and floral shapes, designed to create artificial floating feature on the surface of a formal pool of water in Jag Niwas garden at Udaipur, the most independent of the Rajput kingdoms.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{17} Jan Pieper, ‘Hanging gardens in the Princely Capitals of Rajasthan and in Rennaisance Italy: Sacred Space, Earthly Paradise, Secular Rituals’, in Monica Juneja, ed., \textit{Architecture in Medieval India}, (New Delhi, 2008), pp. 549-58.
Above all, the characteristics of Mughal gardens have shown strong sense of design, impeccable with water as the connecting theme. Mughals started to build fourfold *chaharbagh*-symmetrical garden properly in India with the characteristic features of being rectangular or square, usually walled, with intersecting water channels which makes cross lined with walkways (*khiyabans*), a tank or tanks often one in the middle and well or wells on the corner of the gardens and outside the gardens. The squares were again sub-divided to create the same module on different scale depending on the area enclosed. Usually where the water channels intersect there could be either a water tank/pool or a fountain or a *chabutra*.

The Mughals started to build gardens along the way to claim their territories and to overcome the hot climate of the new land. Babur’s tradition was almost discontinued during Humayun’s reign due to chaotic political conditions. However, Akbar followed more or less the same line of his grandfather, especially in claiming the territoriality by building gardens on newly conquered territories. In fact, during his rule, a new era of building tomb in *chaharbagh* garden culminated in the Humayun’s tomb garden in his reign, and finally Akbar himself was buried in a tomb garden at Sikandara. Jahangir who inherited the love of nature from his great grandfather became the great garden builder, especially after his marriage with Nurjahan and inclusion of her family in nobility who were migrated from Persia. The tradition of garden building reached its zenith in the reign of Shah Jahan when innumerable gardens were re-built and built. The best specimen of well-planned garden can be seen in Taj Mahal and Shalamar gardens. He literally transformed the garden design into the riverfront scheme in the garden of Taj and in the palace gardens of newly built Shahjahanabad, a scheme which was earlier adopted by Babur on the opposite side of the river Jamuna at Agra. Although Aurangzeb abandoned the tradition of building monumental gardens except a few, he put in efforts to maintain the existing gardens.

Besides the imperial gardens, built in the imperial cities such as in Agra, Delhi and Lahore, the garden building tradition, side by side, developed in the other *subas* of the Mughal Empire. With the weakening of the Mughal Empire, the tradition continued in the regional kingdoms of Rajasthan, Punjab, Awadh and Deccan etc. In the eighteenth
century the twilight of the Mughal power, the peak of Rajput creativity in garden design started with heavily borrowed influence of the Mughal gardens’ features in the gardens of Amber, Jaipur and Udaipur. Maharajas of Deeg (Bharatpur) and Rajas of Banaras also laid out gardens on the pattern of Mughals in the eighteenth century. The long tradition of Mughal gardening, jointly with Indian influence continued throughout the nineteenth century till it was further influenced by British gardening traditions which were again ‘Anglo-Indian’, and not purely ‘English’.19

The known scholarship on Mughal gardens, in particular, and gardens in Mughal India, in general, has highlighted lacunae, raised new questions and extended new research approaches in the study of gardens. Mughal architecture has received much attention from the historians, but the garden as an integral part of the Mughal buildings was either neglected or found little space. Even the pioneering studies, that of Percy Brown and Fergusson treated gardens partly as a part of architecture and partly as a part of art history.

In 1904 AD, E.B. Havel opened up a new vista for research on Indian gardens by publishing a research paper entitled Indian Gardens,20 but he stressed more on aesthetic aspects. Villiers Stuart was the first who initiated proper work on Mughal gardens and published her book Gardens of the Great Mughals in 1913. The basic intention of this work was to create a model for the construction of the new British capital at Delhi. Though villiers Stuart, surveyed almost all the well-known Mughal gardens of Imperial cities but concentrated solely on the aesthetic aspects of the imperial Mughal gardens. Her last chapter dealt with the synthesis of Islamic and Hindu gardens purposely to extend the idea of a new landscape for the British. But, like many other European works in India, her work suffers with Euro-centric prejudices for Mughal gardens. Muhammad Shafi wrote an article entitled The Shalimar Garden of Lahore21 which was an attempt to highlight the importance of imperial garden in in the form of micro study. Then after decades, in 1972, a collective effort was done by Sylvia Crowe and her co-authors to

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reproduce a comprehensive book *The Gardens of Mughal India*. Introduction of the book itself reveals that they took inspiration from Villiers Stuart and even used some of the data collected by her. This created a shift from garden study to garden history in which a bibliography for the first time has been added. In totality, this work combined the approaches taken by Havel and Stuart and, thus, concentrated on the aesthetic aspects of the imperial gardens of Mughals. The work further suffered from shortcomings since it mentioned the Mughal sources but without proper references. However, it was indeed a new effort to explore the horticulture of the period albeit in a cursory manner to which their remarks in the work itself indicate that ‘…rewarding work awaits some scholar who would delve more deeply into the sources.’

Elizabeth Moynihan’s book *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India* has been considered an important contribution. In this work, she had utilized pre-Islamic literature to understand the evolution of the concept of garden as ‘paradise’ from Achaemenid and Sassanid periods of Persia and then she has tried to connect it with the materialistic evolution of gardens in Mughal Empire. The book further stressed on Muslim-Hindu synthesis like as was done in the works of Villiers Stuart and Sylvia Crowe et.al. She systematically surveyed and then excavated the *Bagh-i Nilofer* of Babur near Dholpur. During 1980s, numerous publications in the form of books and articles, based on historical and technical surveys have been published by several scholars; prominent among them were Subhash Parihar, Abdullah Chaghtai, Saifur Rehman Dar and Ahmad Nabi Khan etc. but all these works were mainly concerned with the aesthetic aspect and beauty of Mughal gardens. The known scholars like Ebba Koch, Wescoat and Abdur Rehman initiated an advanced scholarly trend in Garden history writing by publishing their research papers in various journals.


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disclosed the symbolic meaning of the garden in the poetry and literature, and their cultural values. Irfan Habib highlighted the economic aspect of Mughal gardens, for the first time, in his paper *Notes on the Economic and Social Aspect of Mughal Gardens* in the same work. Thus, the book started a new scholarly tradition in garden history of Mughals going well beyond the aesthetic aspects. Recently, a paradigm shift has been witnessed in the writing of garden history in *Gardens and Landscape Practices in Pre-Colonial India: Histories from the Deccan*, edited by Daud Ali and Emma J. Flatt. It is also a collection of essays presented at a workshop on *Fragrance, Symmetry and Light: The History of Gardens and Garden Culture in the Deccan* held at Central University of Hyderabad in 2007. The innovative aspects discussed in the works comprised the hydraulic technology, garden imaginary in paintings, poetry and other arts, charitable gardens, and the garden technology. The book not only deals with the symbolism of gardens in terms of beauty and the concept of Paradise, but also with the cultural experiences and practices in the gardens of Deccan. The study is concentrated on Deccan, and has discussed several new perspectives beyond the architectural design and water management which, as the introduction of the book suggests, opens and stimulates further research on the subject with different perspectives, especially on the Mughal gardens for which ample sources are available.

The above mentioned works, way or the other, dealt mainly with the imperial Mughal gardens built at Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi and Lahore, focusing chiefly on ‘inspiration’ and ‘architectural features’, thus leaving much space for further research on gardens. Keeping that in mind, an attempt has been made in the present thesis to explore the gardens in Mughal India, as a whole, concentrating on new and hitherto untouched aspects. Thus, the present study ventures beyond the study of physical features to the economic, cultural and political arena of the gardens. One of the objectives of this thesis is to connect the gardens with monuments and to highlight the hydraulic system, especially to trace the outside water sources of the Mughal gardens. Another important objective is to unravel the functional aspect of gardens in terms of socio-cultural and political uses of the gardens just to understand the paradiiscal and political semiology. An exclusive attempt has been made in this thesis to explore the economic and
horticultural study with special reference to garden workers and, above all, the garden management.

To explore the supra objectives, a wide range of sources have been used. Since for the Muslims an ideal garden appears to stem from the concept of Paradise, thus as religious literature, the verses of Quran have been used to understand the relations of the Quranic garden with the Mughal gardens. The Quranic verses have explained the plan of the Paradise garden with lawns interspersed with streams, trees with fruits and structures like pavilions and platforms etc.

The historical aspect of the study is based on the extent historical chronicles, biographies, memoires and poetries. The available historical accounts are, however, rich in some topic and meagre on others; for instance, much information is available on horticulture but almost no direct information is available on economy and administration of the gardens. Baburnama deals in length with the various aspects of the initial gardens, like layout and usage etc. Next to Baburnama, the pioneer work Ain-i Akbari adds the minute details of the administration, economy and culture of the Mughal Empire but has omitted the description of gardens, in details, except some passing references of the gardens in some selected Subas in the second volume. However, many chapters in the first volume seem relevant for the gardens, such as on buildings, encampments, and on fruits and flowers. Besides the gardens of imperial cities, the provincial gardens have been neglected. Abul Fazl does not record information regarding the gardens in the provinces of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Allahabad, Awadh, Malwa Berar, Ajmer, Delhi, Lahore and Multan. Not only Ain but Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, written on subas after a century later in around 1695 AD, is also silent on the provincial gardens except some passing references of the gardens of Shahjahanabad and the garden of Fidai Khan at Pinjaur. However, we find the reference of fruits and flowers, in this source, grown up in different neglected provinces of Mughal India at that time, such as in Bihar, Sylhet, and Kamrup. Chaharchaman of Chandra Bhan Munshi, also on subas, written around 1759 AD informs that ‘in each of these regions and cities (all the provinces of Mughal India at that time), many splendid buildings (imarat-i dilkusha) and comforting gardens (baghat-i
rahat afza) have been constructed'. The monumental regional work like Mirat-i Ahmadi by Ali Mohammad Khan on Gujarat (compiled in 1760) portrayed the provincial gardens as an imitation of the imperial gardens. The author included the list of gardens built at Ahmadabad in his Khatima. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri of Emperor Jahangir provides much information about the ongoing activities in the gardens. Most importantly, the exhaustive description of nature in his autobiography reveals the horticulture of the Mughal gardens. Contemporary poetry discusses gardens sometimes metaphorically but sometimes as historical narration. The rotograph and transcript copies of some unpublished Persian sources, such as Mirat-ul Haqaiq and Bayaz-i Khusbui, have been consulted which unraveled certain new information. The former reveals some important information about the political uses of gardens while the latter provides new information and data about the rule of garden layout, expenditure, process of perfume making etc.

The European travelers’ accounts give eyewitness accounts since they had been the visitors of the gardens. They have furnished the descriptive and informative details with special mention of their design and uses. The much analytical travellers’ accounts, as ‘outsiders’, often corroborate and authenticate the Persian chroniclers who were ‘insiders’ and sometimes even portrayed a very different picture of the Indian gardens.

Although the thesis has no direct connection with architectural features, the survey and Archaeological Reports aided much in understanding the symbolic importance of the garden’s buildings. My personal visits to the gardens of Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, Kashmir and some of the eighteenth century gardens of Awadh revealed much to understand the gardens, in general, and their water works, in particular. The published Survey and Archaeological Reports added much information on garden design, especially the water management.

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Some Archival documents in the form of farman, nishan, bainama, chaknana, shuqqa and yaddasht, preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi and also in some published works, provided rare information related to the economy of the gardens.

The present study has, for the first time, included inscriptions to understand the perspectives of gardens in Mughal India which not only corroborate the accounts of literary texts but also add some more valuable information. It is worth noting that inscriptions, as sources for the history of gardens, have not been used so far. In the absence of several gardens physically, these inscriptions supported much in identification of their locations. An intense search has been made to find and see the gardens from epigraphic lenses in various reports, Journals, Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement), books and from personal survey of the gardens (See Table). Almost all the inscriptions are in Persian language except one bi-lingual inscription of Ahmadnagar which is in Persian and Marathi language. These available inscriptions broadly form three categories: firstly, the inscriptions in which gardens are directly referred; secondly, the ones in which we find the incidental reference of the gardens; and thirdly in the form of some graffiti. Apart from the factual information of the name of the builders of gardens and the specific purpose, inscriptions glean the symbolic meaning of the gardens. Furthermore, they exhibit not only the aesthetical representations but valuable ‘uses’ and ‘vide accessibility’ of gardens.

Paintings, indeed, as a visual medium, extended much more information, sometimes rarest of the rare, to understand the features of the Mughal gardens. Mughal paintings have been used in the thesis as major source to reconstruct various aspects of the Mughal gardens with special reference to cultural activities and horticulture of the time. Although they were not the portrayal of actual gardens and were generally idealized scenes, even the idealized portrayal, unconsciously, depicts the ‘norms’ and ‘uses’ of gardens.

The structure and framework of this thesis is chronological and thematic. The present work represents three major themes: aesthetic, functional and symbolic. To elaborate these themes, the thesis has been divided into five chapters. The first and fifth
chapters are related to all the three themes—aesthetic, functional, and symbolic; second and third denote functional while fourth relates to symbolic as well as functional.

**First chapter** deals the aesthetic aspect of the gardens in Mughal India. The chapter analyses how gardens became an essential feature and inseparable part of almost each kind of buildings, be it palaces, forts, private residential buildings (*khanabagh*), *havelis*, sacred spaces like tombs and mosques, and public buildings like pleasure gardens. The chapter further elaborates the formal technical architectural classification of *chaharbaghs* and their hydraulic technology. In the second part of the chapter, an effort has been made to analyze the water management of Mughal gardens, in detail, especially by probing the outside source of water and inside distributions system.

**Second chapter** concentrates on the functional aspect of the gardens. The chapter discusses the role of gardens in growth of urbanization and the role of urbanization in the development of garden. Furthermore, it deals with the role of urban elite and merchants in garden buildings in different *subas* of Mughal Empire, which certainly played an important role in the urbanization and economy. It also aims to analyze the economy of the gardens with a special view to understand the level of expenditure on construction and maintenance of gardens. The chapter intends to answer important questions: whether the State met out the huge expenditure on gardens or was there any source of income from those gardens to meet the expenditure on their maintenance? Was there any commercial objective of those gardens? Besides, in the concluding portion of the chapter, an attempt is made to provide probable answers to some raised questions regarding the management, the administrators/officers and other staff etc., responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of gardens.

**Third chapter** again sheds light the functional aspects of the gardens. It discusses the multiple socio-cultural activities in the gardens ranging from the ceremonies like birth, wedding, festivals; composing, listening and reciting of poetry; love making, meeting and languishing of lovers to the playing and watching games and other kinds of entertainments. It demonstrates garden as a distinctive cultural zone which
represents social interaction and cultural manifestation. Concluding portion of the chapter argues about the private and public gardens which were open to public.

Chapter four basically deals with symbolic aspect but it also covers the functional aspect by discussing the political uses of the gardens in Mughal India. It starts with the paradisiacal symbol of Mughal gardens based on the information provided by inscriptions and Persian chronicles, corroborated by the Quran, and moves towards the domination and integration of political symbolism. As for the functional aspect, the chapter investigates the political role of gardens as a place of showing territoriality and well-ordered territory; as a place of coronation, enthronement, political victory and encampment; as a resort for the dignitaries and foreign envoys; and as a place of administrative activities: holding court, dispensing justice and punishments.

Finally, chapter five covers all the themes: aesthetic, functional and symbolic. The chapter deals with the horticulture in Mughal gardens. Basically, the fruits, flowers, herbs, and other decorative and shady trees represent the aesthetic beauty of the gardens which symbolizes the beauty of Paradise and sometimes the Worldly beauty also. It also probes into whether fruits and flowers were for the personal use of the royalty and common people or for commercial purposes. The chapter further highlights, with the help of paintings and literary sources, that how these fruits, flowers and trees in the gardens were arranged. An attempt has also been made to categorize the ‘introduced’ trees and plants in the Mughal gardens from Iran, Central Asia and New World as well as the ‘indigenous’ trees. The chapter further makes a study of certain innovations encircling fruits and flowers of Mughal gardens by ‘grafting of fruits’ as well as ‘distillation of rose water and perfumes’.