Chapter: II

Role of Gardens in Urbanization, Management and Economy
The role of gardens in urbanization and the importance of urban centers in the development of gardens sheds light on economic and socio-cultural condition of the period. The urban elites and merchants laid out gardens which acted as stimulus in the development of urban centers. The co-relation of garden with the urbanization dates back to ancient period in India when the gardens formed a regular feature of the kings’ palace complex and the individual houses of the pre-eminent courtesans.¹ In medieval India, the Muslim rulers stressed much on urbanization which reflects their policy of the consolidation of power. Besides the imperial and official buildings, they constructed the additional buildings of public utility, such as tanks, wells, sarais, madrasa, hospitals and gardens etc.²

The new era of urbanization was started under the Mughals with more stable, secure and prosperous environment for territorial expansion. Earlier works on Mughal cities, though extensive, are lacking in adequate study of gardens.³ Recent studies, such as that of Stephen Blake focused on cultural character and urbanism of Mughal cities⁴, while Wescoat who integrated the gardens, urbanism and urbanization but concentrated chiefly on the city of Lahore.⁵ His studies disclosed that ‘the relationship between Mughal cities and gardens were dynamic, changing over the course of Mughal rule and in relation to broader currents of cultural change. At times, gardens were the places to camp when attacking a city while at other times gardens were at the very heart of the citadel’.⁶ In the urban centers of Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, Lahore and Ahmadabad etc., gardens played more than a substantial role not only as the centers of social life and recreation but they adjusted in form, functions and meaning which transformed their surroundings. The large garden sites required many people for their regular maintenance, besides officials, like craftsmen, supervisors and gardeners. Wescoat informs that these people in Lahore generally settled and lived in communities near Baghbanpura, Begumpura and Shahdara

² Stephen Blake, Shajahanabad, pp. 2-3, 5, 7.
⁴ For details, see Stephen Blake, Shahjahanabad.
near Shalamar. In this way gardens of Lahore, transformed the spatial development of already developed Lahore. These areas were dependent on the main town for their daily economic and commercial activities which consequently accelerated the process of urbanization.7

Gardens were laid out not only inside the city, but also outside the rampart and suburbs in cities like Shahjahanabad, Lahore, Agra, Ahmadabad and others. The gardens were generally built outside the cities, since one of their principal use was military and royal encampment. Increase in population necessitated the expansion of cities towards the garden areas in the suburb. Thus, gardens sketched a master plan for the development of urban centers. The territorial expansion by Akbar stimulated the construction of gardens in the urban centers after Babur. After annexation of Mandu (1564AD), Akbar ordered the construction of pleasant dwellings (imarat-i dilkash) and fruit gardens (basatin) in the periphery of Agra.8 Accordingly the officers with the support of the trained workers laid-out gardens; thus Agra became so beautiful that it was like the cheek-mole (khal-i rukhsar) of the cities.9 Likewise in 1571 AD, after returning from Ajmer, Akbar ordered to construct a new city Fatehpur Sikri and ordered that orchards (basatins) and the gardens (baghat) should be laid out in its ‘periphery and center’.10 Consequently, within a short period of time a large number of gardens were laid out in the vicinity.11 Chaharchaman of Chandra Bhan Munshi, informed that in every city of each suba in Mughal India, many splendid buildings and comforting gardens were constructed.12 Thus, gardens became an important component in the large urban settlement.

The basic feature of ‘city foundations’ and ‘garden setting’ were almost same, such as proper means of communication, good climate, healthy environment and abundance of water etc. Wherever the basic components were not fulfilled, the Mughals created artificial environment. The Riverfront scheme was initiated by Babur at Agra,

7 Abdul Rehman, ‘Garden Types in Mughal Lahore’, op.cit., p. 166.
9 Ibid., p. 237.
10 Muhammad Arif Qandhari, Tarikh-i Akbari, Eng. tr., Tasneem Ahmad, (Delhi, 1993), p.185; Akbarnama, II, p. 365.
11 Ibid.; Finch, Early Travels, p. 149.
12 Chandra Bhan, Chaharchaman, p. 124.
then adapted by his successors at Lahore, and finally with a greater influence at Shahjahanabad (Delhi). Almost comparable urban scheme was developed in the capitals of two other great Muslim empires: in Ottoman Istanbul, the royal and non-royal garden villas lined the Bosporus river and Safavid Isphahan where garden residences were built on the bank of the Zayanda river in the seventeenth century. The practice of building gardens, just like building cities, on the river bank was not limited to the imperial gardens only but spread out to the gardens of other regions also. Most of the gardens in Mughal Ahmadabad (Gujarat) were situated on the bank of Sabarmati, of course, with the purpose of the easy access of water to the gardens. A close relation between the royal palace and the suburb gardens shown in a Deccani painting, executed at Aurangabad, perhaps, of late seventeenth century, shows the distant waterfront lying with walled gardens and private pleasure grounds (Plate: XXII).

The gardens built by nobles, elites and other rich persons especially in the subas of Mughal India have not received much attention as compared to the imperial gardens. The noble and great builders built their own gardens with running water and fountains. However, the gardens were neither ubiquitous in areas of Mughal control nor were they entirely absent from the periphery. These neglected gardens contributed a lot in the rich tradition of garden buildings, urbanization and economy. In almost all features, these gardens replicate the Imperial Mughal gardens. It has been rightly observed that mansions, gardens, mosques and shops in the sovereign city of Shahjahanbad copied the layout of buildings within the palace complex. Just like the palace complex became a model for the city, the city became the model for the provinces, districts and other subdivisions of the State.

13 Ebba Koch, ‘Mughal Palace Garden from Babur to Shah Jahan’, op. cit, pp. 143-144; also see Stephen Blake, Shahjahanabad.
16 Abdul Rehman, ‘Garden Types in Mughal Lahore’, op.cit., p. 166.
17 Villiers Stuart, Gardens of the Great, pp. 28, 185.
19 Stephen Blake, Shahjahanabad, pp. xii-xiii.
The gardens of princes, nobles, high ranking mansabdars and other social elites like merchants were the representation of imperial gardens in whole Mughal India. The suburb of all major towns was studded, like the suburb of the capital cities of Agra, Delhi and Lahore, by the gardens of nobles and social elites. Lahore has been known as the ‘city of gardens’ because besides imperial gardens, there were innumerable gardens built by the nobles on the banks of Ravi. It is known as the ‘city of gardens’ since within its environs there were many verdant (sar-sabz) and flowery (gulzar) gardens. Like Lahore, almost all the Mughal imperial cities and its river banks were threaded with gardens. Thus numerous gardens were located on the riverbank of Jamuna at Akbarabad (Agra). Just to shelter themselves in the harsh summers, the rich men of town built many summer houses and planted gardens. The Gujarat nobles laid out uncountable gardens like Shahi Bagh, Shah Bari, Fateh Bari, Jeet Bari, Rustam Bari, Nagina Bagh, Tut Bagh, Shaban Bagh, gardens of Azam Khan, Amin Khan, Mehar Khan and Bagh-i Jahanara etc. Interestingly, Ahmadabad was also called the ‘city of gardens’ like Lahore. The reason of this innumerable of gardens at Ahmadabad was, probably, its hot weather, since Jahangir called it as ‘Jahannamabad’ just because of its hot climate. Ali Mohammad Khan reports that ‘from the gate of Shahi Bagh to Hajipur (at Ahmadabad), the road on both sides is shaded by tall green trees beyond which lie the beautiful gardens of the nazims and nobles. The whole scene appeared as a dream in emerald.’ Jahangir admired Fateh Bagh, laid-out by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana at Sarkhej on the bank of

21 Chandra Bhan, Chaharchaman, pp. 131-32.
22 Ibid., pp. 128-29.
26 Mirat (Suppl), p. 22.
the river Sabarmati, that there was no garden like this in whole of Gujarat. However, Mandelslo was confused in distinguishing Fateh Bagh with Jeet bagh which was built by Saif Khan, subedar under Jahangir. Masir-ul Umara located a garden near Lucknow, though no other sources give information about the gardens in and around Lucknow, constructed by Mohammad Ashraf, brother of Mutamid Khan (author of Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri), during the reign of Shah Jahan which was a public resort.

In the Suba of Bihar and Bengal, after the annexation by Mughals, references speak of so many gardens of nobles at Patna, Hajipur, Maner, Rohtas, Munger, and Dhaka etc. but in a very sketchy manner. Undoubtedly, they were beautiful as Hasan Askari reads the chronogram of Bagh-i-Jafar, built by Nawab Jafar Khan, governor of Bihar under Shah Jahan, ‘this garden has added the grandeur to Patna (raunaq-i Patna). The garden of Shah Shuja, again a governor under Shah Jahan, was constructed on elevated level near Hajipur (Vaishali). The Mughal governor Ibrahim Khan (17th century) built an extensive garden at Maner (30 kms from Patna) adjacent to the shrine of a Firdausi Sufi saint Shah Daulat. The coastal city Dhaka, earlier a small Hindu trading town, emerged as eastern most regional capital of Mughals by 1610 AD, had been dotted with so many gardens as the names of the localities such as Lalbagh, Shahbagh and Paribagh etc. suggest. Mughal officials enclosed the old fort and Lal Bagh fort with Mughal gardens. Lal Bagh Fort was built basically on the pattern of Mughal

They also built Hazaribagh, Qazirbagh, Bagh-i Chand Khan, Bagh-i Hosainuddin, Bagh-i Musa Khan, Aram Bagh, Raja Bagh, Mali Bagh for festivities, reception and recreation. However, except the palace fortress of Lal Bagh, Mughals preferred to live in open structured garden because of the wet climate of Dhaka. Bagh-i Badshahi was the famous Mughal garden at Jahangirmagar (the then Dhaka) though not a much planned garden unlike other enclosed Mughal gardens.

In Kashmir, there were innumerable gardens. The author of Tarikh-i Hasan listed 61 gardens of Mughal period with exclusive remarks that these were some famous gardens mentioned in the masnavis of the poets of Kashmir like Qudsi, Kalim, Salim, Zafar Khan, Khasala, Mir Ilahi and Bahishti. Thus, besides Imperial gardens, such as the garden of Nasim, Shalamar, Nishat, Chashma Shahi, Pari Mahal, Achabal and Vernag, there were so many other gardens built by the nobles in Kashmir. In fact these gardens (listed above) constitute only a tip of an iceberg of the numerous gardens built by the Mughals in Kashmir. By the time of the visit of Bernier, in most of the houses along the banks of the river Jhelam and in the city Srinagar, there were gardens which produced very pretty effects. Climate and gushing of water enforced Mughals to shift the garden building activity from plains of Agra, Delhi and Lahore to the mountainous terrain. This tradition of geographic shifting and making gardens reminds Babur’s building of chaharbagh in the new environs of Hindustan.

Besides the gardens of Mughal officials, the evidence shows the garden building activity by the social elites, especially by the merchants, on the same pattern. Again a heterogeneous example comes from Gujarat where the gardens, at the time of the Mughals, can be classified into four categories: (i) the Imperial gardens (ii) gardens built by the nobles (iii) gardens of the Indian merchants and (iv) gardens constructed by the English and the Dutch. Thus, in addition to Mughal nobility, there were other rich

---

38 *Tarikh-i Hasan*, pp. 293-32.
40 Bernier, p. 398.
persons, actively involved in garden buildings. Since these gardens are ruined, we lack references about the architectural features of these gardens. A garden built by a merchant Mulla Abdul Ghafur at Surat was termed ‘bagh-i-bemisl’ (incomparable garden) by the author of Mirat-ul Haqaiq.\(^{41}\) We may assume from the reference that the garden was built on the pattern of imperial gardens. The same garden had later been converted into funerary garden, just like that of Mughals. In 1733 AD Mulla Mohammad Ali, grandson of Abdul Ghafur, was buried in this garden near the graves of his ancestors.\(^{42}\) A farman issued by Shah Jahan (dated 1642 AD), to the hukkam, ummal and mutasaddis of the ports, informs that there was a garden of Shanti Das Zaveri, the jeweler, at Ahmadabad. The farman further instructs that no one, whether he be sahib-i Suba or diwan or bakhshi or any other officials, should ever interfere in the property, especially havelis, shops and gardens of the jeweler Shanti Das Zaveri.\(^{43}\) It also indicates the political influence of the merchants. Besides, there were the gardens of the merchants like Rustam Manak Parsi, Kissendas and Ahmad Chellaby which were used even by the other dignitaries at the time of need.\(^{44}\) Ashin Das Gupta describes the well laid-out gardens in the city of Surat built both by Hindu and Muslim affluent merchants which include the stone mansions of the Mughal gardens, brick built dwelling of the wealthier merchants and pleasant gardens in suburbs. There were also numerous well laid-out gardens, within the city wall, built by the rich men of the city.\(^{45}\) The late 19\(^{th}\) century gardens built by merchants at Salarpur, near Banaras, to the North of the river Varuna, constitute several features of Mughal gardens such as the boundary wall, the central platform, the residential buildings and wells outside the walls. However one may notice the absence of khiyaban in these gardens.\(^{46}\)

The English and the Dutch merchants laid out so many gardens with some characteristics of the Mughal gardens. Contemporary travelers visited these gardens of

\(^{41}\) Mirat-ul Haqaiq, ff. 294b, 295b, 318b, 326a, 346b.
\(^{42}\) Ashin Das Gupta, Merchants and the Decline of Surat, 1700-50, (New Delhi, 1994), p. 236.
\(^{44}\) Mirat-ul Haqaiq, ff 298 a, 308 b, 310 a; Ashin Das Gupta, Merchants and the Decline, p. 32.
\(^{45}\) Ibid., pp. 32-33.
\(^{46}\) Rotzer and Deokar, ‘Mughal Gardens’ op.cit., pp. 144,165.
English and Dutch from time to time and furnished beautiful descriptions.\(^{47}\) Their gardens, situated in the periphery of Surat, displayed four long walks which made cross in the middle of the garden with a *chhatri* (pavilion), pretty rooms, tanks, fruits and flower beds.\(^{48}\) Pietro Della Valle was carried by the Dutch commander in his coach a little out of the city to see the ‘one of the fairest gardens of Surat’. The garden had the resemblance of Mughal gardens as described by the Italian traveler, after seeing their gardens, that the Dutch commander and the English president were living in the manner of the Mughals of India.\(^{49}\) One of the Dutch gardens was visited by Traverrier in 1652 AD at Masulipatam where he was entertained at night.\(^{50}\) There were many gardens, on the coast of the South of Cochin and also on some of the picturesque Island, built by the Dutch governor and other rich people.\(^{51}\)

The mansions of *umaras* and merchants in Agra were surrounded by gardens displaying the appearance of old castles buried in the forests.\(^{52}\) Besides imperial gardens, Ebba Koch has mapped the gardens build by the nobles (*umaras*) and merchants on the both sides of the river Jamuna.\(^{53}\) The Mughal *zamindars* and other land holders had also shown interest in building gardens.\(^{54}\) A mango orchard was laid out, in 1674-75 AD, by two *muqaddams* (headmen) in the periphery of Allahabad.\(^{55}\) It indicates joint venture of garden making. The regional rulers, even in later period, also followed the Mughal pattern in laying out of their new gardens.\(^{56}\)

---


\(^{48}\) Peter Mundy, II, pp. 25-26; Fryer, p. 40; Pietro Della Valle, I, pp. 39-41; *EFI, 1655-1660*, pp. 141, 197; Ovington, pp.130, 232; Mandelson, p. 5.

\(^{49}\) Pietro Della Valle, I, pp. 39-41.


\(^{52}\) Bernier, p. 285.


\(^{54}\) M.A. Ansari, *Administrative documents of Mughal India*, (Delhi, 1984), p. 7.

\(^{55}\) Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 54 n.

Since gardens contributed in the process of urbanization, inevitably the gardens became the center of economic activities. Stephen Blake writes that the ring of gardens, tombs and bazars contained a good deal of economic and social activity of the city.\(^{57}\) It is important to discuss the economic role of the gardens such as the level of expenditure on the constructions and maintenance of the gardens, and the State patronages to them.

Undoubtedly gardens in Mughal India, specifically Mughal gardens, demanded a very high expenditure both in the laying-out as well as in maintenance. Contemporary historians are silent on the annual income or expenditure. Regarding the expenditure, Irfan Habib rightly points out that one may assume the expenditure of these gardens by certain data on animals, wells and staff.\(^{58}\) Emperor Jahangir visited the Nurmanzil garden (also known as Zahra Bagh) in the Southwest of Agra and saw that in the main well of the garden 32 pairs of oxen were employed to draw water.\(^{59}\) However, Bayaz-i Khushbui written around 1642 AD, gives information of the presence of about 200 sanctioned but 62 actual oxen in the same garden.\(^{60}\) In the garden of Moti Mahal at Agra, there were 120 sanctioned oxen but 3 (?) actual.\(^{61}\) For the drawing of water for irrigation in Shahi Bagh at the time of Jahangir’s visit; in Shah Bari during the viceroyalty of Mubariz-ul-Mulk; and in Nagina Bagh during the viceroyalty of Nizam-ul-Mulk of Mughal Gujarat, there were eleven wells and 100 pairs of oxen; four pairs of horses; and two pairs of oxen respectively.\(^{62}\) In the Bagh-i Jahanara of Agra there were 60 oxen, fetching the water from three wells.\(^{63}\) As far as wells in the gardens are concerned, we have myriad references of the wells in innumerable gardens, not only in that of the Mughals but in the others too. Irony of the fact is that our contemporary accounts almost omit any direct information about the gardeners in particular and staff in general, who were the main souls for the verdant and luxurious gardens. Valuable information comes from Bayaz-i

\(^{57}\)Stephen Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, p. 57.


\(^{59}\)Tuzuk, p. 264.

\(^{60}\)Bayaz-i Khushbui, Ms., IOL, Etbe, (Rotograph copy of the manuscript is available at the CAS, Department of History, AMU), ff. 109 b-110b.

\(^{61}\)Ibid.

\(^{62}\)Mirat (suppl.), pp. 19, 20, *Mirat-ul Haqaiq*, ff. 159b, 173a; Tuzuk, pp. 208, 15; Pietro Della Valle, I, p. 102; Thevenot, p. 11. Nagina Bagh was laid-out by Sultan Qutubuddin, the grandson of Sultan Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadabad. It was in the middle of the Kankariya tank built by the same Sultan. Shah Bari was built by one of the sultans.

\(^{63}\)Bayaz-i Khushbui, ff. 109 b-110b; See also, Irfan Habib, ‘Notes on Economic’, op. cit., p. 133.
Khushbui that the standard ratio was one gardener (baghban) for one bigha and one ox (kau) to half bigha. In the Moti Mahal Bagh there were 120 sanctioned gardeners but 3 khasa (actual? Or regular?), in Bagh-i-Jahanara, 60 ordinary and 56 khasa and in Bagh Dahra (Nur Manzil garden) there were 300 sanctioned but 236 actual. This disparity between the actual and sanctioned number of animals and gardeners may be because of the huge expenditure; thus it was not possible to maintain the sanctioned number. Apart from 20 gardeners there were 14 men to draw water from the well (chah) in Bagh Nur Sara at Agra. In the Shahi bagh of Ahmadabad there were 70 gardeners, 7 guards and sweepers. Besides supervisors, the other staffs included were superintendent, accountant and treasurer. In Shah Bari and Nagina Bagh of Ahmadabad, there were eight gardeners and four gardeners respectively. In Shalamar Garden of Lahore, 128 malis were working at that time.

The huge expenditure on the gardens may be gauged from the areas of land allotted to the gardens. Nurmanzil garden was built in 330 Jaribs (bighas), according to ghaz-i Ilahi, Moti Mahal garden in 170 bighas, Bagh-i-Jahanra in 56 bighas and Bagh Nur Sara in 64 bighas Jahangiri. Shalamar Bagh of Lahore covered around 100 bighas. Shahi Bagh, Fateh Bagh and Rustam Bagh of Mughal Gujarat contained the land of 105 bighas 3 biswas, 120 bighas and 60 bighas respectively. Garden of Muqarrab Khan at Kairana (Saharanpur) was built in 140 bighas of land. A farman of Akbar, preserved in the National Archives of India, points out that 75 bighas of land was granted for laying out a garden, in 1579 AD to the village of Jaudanpur in pargana Jhalu,

---

64 Bayaz-i Khushbui, f. 110a.
65 Ibid., ff. 109b-110a; See also, Irfan Habib, ‘Notes on Economic’, op. cit., p. 133.
66 Ibid., f.110b; Ibid.
67 Mirat (suppl.), p. 23.
68 Ibid., p. 184.
69 Ibid., pp. 19, 20.
70 Ihsan H. Nadim, Gardens of Mughal Lahore, (Lahore, 2005), p. 44.
71 Tazuk, p. 264.
72 Bayaz-i Khushbui, ff. 109b-110b.
73 W. Moorcraft and George Trebeck, Travels in India and Himalay Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab in Ladakh & Kashmir in Peshwar, Kabul, Hundur and Bokhara-1819-1825, (New Delhi, 2000), p. 91; Ihsan H. Nadim, Gardens of Mughal Lahore, p. 44.
74 Tazuk, pp. 211, 214 ; Mirat (suppl), pp. 21-22; I. pp. 154-55, 195-96.
75 Ibid., I, p. 283; Masir-ul Umara, III (i), p. 381.
sarkar Sambhal.  

The Mughal documents, *farman, nishan, parwana, chaknama, bainama,* and *shuqqa* preserved in National Archives India (New Delhi), furnish information related to the allotment of land and money to lay-out the gardens to the officials and even to the religious persons. The vastness of the gardens, sometimes, confused the travelers who exaggerated the area in their approximation. Finch describes the area of Aam Khas Bagh of Sirhind as at least two *kos* long and equally broad, but survey determined the total length of the garden around 864 meter only.

As for the money allotted for the laying out of gardens, Abdul Hamid Lahori informs us that six lakh rupees were spent in laying out of the Shalamar gardens of Lahore, in addition, two lakh rupees more were given from the State exchequer, in two instalments, for constructing Shahnahar, built to irrigate the garden. The author of *Masir-ul Umara* corresponded the amount given by Abdul Hamid Lahori and informs that Shalamar was completed at a cost of 8 lakh rupees under the superintendentship of Khalilullah K. Hasan. Evidently, *Masir-ul Umara* included the cost of the canal (Shahnahar) also, which was 2 lakh rupees. Harvan canal was laid out during the reign of Jahangir, at the sum of Rs. 30,000 to water the Nur Afza garden at Srinagar. Shahnawaz Khan, the author of *Masir-ul Umara* further computes that the cost of Hayat Bakhsh garden of Red Fort (Delhi) was rupees 28 lakhs, while the whole fort was built in 60 lakh rupees. When Jahangir visited the garden of Nurmanzil at Agra a sum of Rs. 150,000 was already spent and it was expected to reach Rs. 200,000 by its completion. Nearly same amount (rupees 200,000) has been spent in construction of the Fateh Bagh at Ahmadabad.

---

76 Accession No. 2122, National Archives of India, New Delhi (henceforth NAI), (Vide CAD, I. S. No. 26).
77 Accession Nos. 6, 15, 303, 1341, 1389, 1393, 1407, 1475, 1651, 1705, 1836, 2122, 2125, 2136, 2166, 2323, 2383/5, 2671/16, 2671/17, 2691/9, 2712/1, NAI, New Delhi; See also Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents*, II, pp. 158.
82 *Tuzuk*, p. 347.
84 *Tuzuk*, p. 264.
85 Ibid., p. 214.
References reveal that the amount maintained was spent not exclusively on gardens but jointly on other buildings too. Ali Mardan Khan built lofty houses and pleasant gardens at Sodhra (Punjab) at the cost of Rs. 6 lakhs which rivaled the gardens of Shalamar. The amount was spent not exclusively on gardens but jointly on other buildings too. Ali Mardan Khan built lofty houses and pleasant gardens at Sodhra (Punjab) at the cost of Rs. 6 lakhs which rivaled the gardens of Shalamar. Nine lakh Rupees were spent on Naulakha garden, including the buildings of prince Kamran at Lahore and the place got the nomenclature of Naulakha on account of the amount expended in its construction. It is said that Asaf Khan spent an enormous sum of 20 lakh rupees on mansions and gardens at Lahore. Besides, a vast amount of money was spent by him on the houses and gardens which he had constructed at Agra, Kashmir and at other places. It has been computed by the author of Dasturul-Amal that in a single year Shah Jahan spent eight lakh rupees on the buildings and gardens. A glimpse of expenditure on the construction of gardens may be gauged from the table prepared on the basis of contemporary sources:

**Table showing areas, expenditure, men and animals involved in the gardens**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Garden</th>
<th>Place/ State</th>
<th>Expenditure (in cash)</th>
<th>Garden’s area (in bighas)</th>
<th>Oxen attached</th>
<th>Worker/officials</th>
<th>Wells</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Nur Manzil garden, also known as Zahra Bagh</td>
<td>Agra (U.P.)</td>
<td>Rs. 200,000</td>
<td>330 bigha-i Ilahi = 495 bigha-i daftari (Shah Jahan’s time)</td>
<td>64 Oxen but another source says: 200 (sanctioned) 62 (actual)</td>
<td>300 gardeners (sanctioned) 236 (actual)</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Moti Mahal Garden</td>
<td>Agra (U.P.)</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>170 bighas</td>
<td>120 (sanctioned) 3? (actual)</td>
<td>120 gardeners (sanctioned) 3 khasa (regular?) 13 (actual)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Bagh-i Jahanara</td>
<td>Agra (U.P.)</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>56 bighas</td>
<td>60 oxen</td>
<td>60 gardeners (ordinary) 56 (khasa)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Bagh-i Nur Sara</td>
<td>Agra (U.P.)</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>64bighas (Jahangiri)</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>20 gardeners 14 men to draw water</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86 Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, op.cit., p. 98. In the reign of the emperor Shah Jahan, Ali Mardan Khan founded a city near Sodhra village in Punjab and gave it the name Ibrahimabad after his son.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Garden</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Land Area</th>
<th>Number of Oxen</th>
<th>Number of Gardeners</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Shahi Bagh</td>
<td>Ahmadabad (Gujarat)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>105 bighas, 3 biswas</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>70 gardeners, 7 guards &amp; sweepers, 1 supervisor, 1 accountant, 1 treasurer besides supervisors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Shah Bari</td>
<td>Ahmadabad (Gujarat)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>62 bighas (inside) 50 bighas (outside)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8 gardeners and sweepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Nagina Bagh</td>
<td>Ahmadabad (Gujarat)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 gardeners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Rustam Bagh</td>
<td>Ahmadabad (Gujarat)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>60 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Fateh Bagh</td>
<td>Ahmadabad (Gujarat)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>Rs.200,000</td>
<td>120 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Garden of Muqarrab Khan</td>
<td>Kairana, (Saharanpur U.P.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>140 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Shahi Mal Garden</td>
<td>Lahore (Punjab)</td>
<td>Rs.600,000 (garden) +200,000 (canal)</td>
<td>100 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>128 gardeners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Aam Khas Bagh</td>
<td>Sirhind (Punjab)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>2 kos</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Garden of Ali Mardan Khan with buildings</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>Rs.600,000 (garden) +200,000 (canal)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Naulakha Bagh with buildings</td>
<td>Lahore (Punjab)</td>
<td>Rs.900,000</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gardens and mansions of Asaf Khan</td>
<td>Lahore (Punjab)</td>
<td>Rs.20,00,000</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bagh of Jaudanpur</td>
<td>Sambhal (U.P.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>75 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bagh of Nalun, Jalali</td>
<td>Sarkar Kol (Aligarh, U.P.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>10 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Gardens of Mahtawana</td>
<td>Pargana Sandila (U.P.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>4 bighas, 5 biswas, 8 bighas 10 bighas 30 bighas 17 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bagh</td>
<td>Gorakhpur (U.P.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>4 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bagh</td>
<td>Chanwar, (Akbarabad)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>29 bighas and 19 biswas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Bagh</td>
<td>Brindaban (U.P.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>5 bighas 135 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bagh</td>
<td>Khamirpur n Sahibabad (Kol, U.P.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>12 bighas</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Besides the constructional expenditure, the maintenance expenditure was enormous too. The Mughal emperors issued orders for the maintenance of old gardens and even inflicted punishments to the careless officials. Akbar deputed Mutamid Khan to construct the garden of the Fort of Nagar Nagar on the slope of Hari Prabhat hill which he named ‘Bagh-i Nur Afza’.\(^{90}\) Jahangir appointed Khwaja Waisi, the karori of Sirhind and ordered the removal of old trees and plantation of new ones. Jahangir further directed Khwaja for the cleaning of aqueduct (uraqqbandi)\(^{91}\) and repairing of old buildings.\(^{92}\) The author of Waqiat-i Kashmir provides information that Shah Jahan spent few months (in the year 1639-40 AD) in cleaning and repairing the old gardens of Kashmir, especially Shalamar garden.\(^{93}\) Salih Kambuh gives a detailed description about the expenditure on renovation of the existing buildings and gardens by Shah Jahan that ‘he spent two and half crore on the royal palaces, mosques, gardens and forts of different cities’.\(^{94}\) Although Aurangzeb was least interested in laying out of gardens, yet he was very much concerned about the repair and maintenance of the existing gardens, thus spending a huge amount on that. An order was issued to the nazim of the suba of Gujarat (1683AD) that ‘since Amin Khan laid out the garden with great trouble and planted various fruit bearing trees, efforts should be made to increase their freshness (tararat) and verdancy (tarawat)’. The emperor further demanded the complete map of the garden with details about the area of buildings, number of trees income as well as expenditure.\(^{95}\) The garden of Kankariya tank

---

\(^{90}\) Tuzuk, Eng. tr., Alexander Rogers, reprint, (Delhi, 2006), I, p. 151. Also see, G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, p. 248.

\(^{91}\) Roger, the first translator of Tuzuk, is not certain about the meaning of uraqqbandi. Infact he read the word as ‘iraqbandi’. According to him, perhaps the meaning of the word is ‘footpath’. However, the meaning of the word is ‘aqueduct’. (Tuzuk, p. 283; Eng tr., II, p.113 note).

\(^{92}\) Ibid.; Also see, Subash Parihar, History and Architecture, p. 190; Idem, Mughal Manuments, p. 10.

\(^{93}\) Waqiat-i Kashmir, p. 225.


\(^{95}\) Mirat, I, p. 305.
was repaired at the cost of rupees 4254.\textsuperscript{96} Manucci has vaguely mentioned that nearly one crore was spent on the cultivation of flowers and extraction of scents by the Mughals.\textsuperscript{97}

A royal order was issued by Aurangzeb in 1695 AD to maintain and increase the verdancy of the produce of roses when he received the information that the crops of rose had been affected due to old tamarind and pipal trees of Shahi Bagh and Gulab Bagh of Ahmadabad.\textsuperscript{98} Aurangzeb advised to his son, through a letter from Deccan, to go to the gardens of Shahjahanabad once a day, and engage in repairing the buildings of the forts and gardens. The emperor further directed him for immediate reporting about actual condition of the gardens of his sisters as well as of other old gardens with minute details of trees and plants, so that the State issued the needed amount for the repairing of the damaged buildings.\textsuperscript{99} In 1710-11 AD, even after Aurangzeb, the diwan of Gujarat received an order to repair (marammat) the gardens of Shahi Bagh, Kankariya garden, Rustam Bagh and Gulabi Bagh of Ahmadabad at an estimate of rupees 23,480.\textsuperscript{100} In the light of the supra evidences, Pelsaert’s statement stands self-contradictory that the Mughals built the gardens, tombs and palaces by spending huge amounts, so many hundreds of thousands, and maintained them only during their lifetimes, yet keep them in repair only so long as the owner live and have the means. Once the builder dead, no one care for their maintenance; the son neglect their father’s work, the mother her son’s, brothers and friends took no care for each other’s buildings; everyone tries, as far as possible, to erect a new building of his own and busy in establishing the reputation on the line of their ancestors.\textsuperscript{101} Even as late as in 1712 AD, at the time of Farrukh Siyar, a yaddasht was executed under the seal of Nelan, an official of Maharaja Jai Singh to Gosain Jagan Nath of qasba Mathura which directs him to maintain and protect the garden and haveli assigned to him. It is said in the yaddasht that he should repair and protect the garden properly and he should endeavor hard to make it more prosperous and thereby enhance the revenue\textsuperscript{102} (Document: II). It may be concluded that the highest

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., p. 328.
\textsuperscript{97} Manucci, II, pp. 315, 316.
\textsuperscript{98} Mirat, I, pp. 337-38.
\textsuperscript{100} Mirat, I, p. 388.
\textsuperscript{101} Pelsaert, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{102} Accession No. 2691/a, NAI, New Delhi, (Vide CAD, III, S. No. 171).
amount was spent on maintenance, either on account of their importance or their bad conditions due to negligence in the intervening period.

For an effective maintenance of the gardens, severe punishments were prescribed for cutting of trees or destroying flower plants. During his visit to Fateh Bagh of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Emperor Jahangir was reported that due to enmity, a servant of Muqarrab Khan had cut down the trees of champa. The emperor personally enquired (tahqiq) the matter and after getting confirmation, he ordered both of his thumbs to be cut off as a warning to others so that they could take a lesson (ibrat).\(^{103}\) Even the influential noble like Abdullah Khan Firozjung, former viceroy of Gujarat, could not escape the punishment when he damaged trees of the garden of Nizamuddin, former bakhshi and historian of Tabaqat-i Akbari, on account of his dispute with the son of the historian. Jahangir in Tuzuk confessed that this news shocked his sense of justice. Thus, he ordered the reduction of jagir, prior given to Abdullah Khan.\(^{104}\) Almost same incident happened at the time of Aurangzeb in the garden of Amin Khan at Ahmadabad. An order was issued that a bond should be taken from the culprit to not to commit the same in the future and the owner had to be paid the price of the trees.\(^{105}\) Once the gardens of Shahi Bagh and Gulab Bagh at Ahmadabad produced less, the matter was reported to the emperor Jahangir, who, in turn, ordered the diwan-i Suba to inquire and take steps to increase the produce of gardens; he was instructed that if the garden had been found barren, the darogha should be punished for that.\(^{106}\) It further indicates that the darogha of the gardens also acted as in charge or keeper of the gardens.

However, the expenditure on gardens was so huge that it was not fully met by the income. Thus deficit had always to be maintained from the royal treasury, public treasury, provincial treasury and from some villages which were given in waqf for this purpose. Mirat informs that the deficit amount was paid from the royal treasury.\(^{107}\) For the upkeep of the mausoleum and garden of Taj Mahal, 30 villages of Agra were given in

\(^{103}\) Tuzuk, p. 214.
\(^{104}\) Ibid., p. 208; See also Commissariat, A History of Gujarat including a survey of its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions, (Bombay, 1937-38), II, p. 62.
\(^{105}\) Mirat, I, p. 308.
\(^{106}\) Ibid., p. 238.
\(^{107}\) Ibid., (suppl), p. 184.
waqf, while additional two lakh rupees were generated from the house rents.\textsuperscript{108} The salary (tankhwah) of the staff of the gardens of Ahmadabad was given from the provincial treasury (khazana-i amra). A fixed amount was annually allotted for the maintenance and repair of Shahi Bagh from the treasury.\textsuperscript{109} In 1691 AD a Royal order was issued to Shuja’t Khan, diwan, that the allocated amount for the repair works of Shahi Bagh and Nagina Bagh should be disbursed from the public treasury.\textsuperscript{110} The author of \textit{Khulasat-ut Tawarikh} records that the premier noble Ali Mardan Khan had been assigned 2000 villages of Sodhra for the repair of the garden and city.\textsuperscript{111} However, extra revenue was being accrued by the State, though not more than expenditure, as there were taxes levied on gardens albeit with concessions.

After assessing the level of expenditure, curiosity arose to know about the income from those gardens to meet the expenditure on their maintenance and to know whether there was any commercial objective of those gardens? In the paucity of direct information of the revenue from gardens in Mughal India, the raised questions are yet unanswered. However, though the information of the gardens of Delhi Sultanate is almost negligible yet Afif informs that a revenue of 1, 80,000 tankas was realized from the gardens of Firozshah Tughlaq.\textsuperscript{112} Likewise, the author of \textit{Mirat-i Ahmadi} provides information that the nazim of the suba appropriated the income of the gardens of Ahmadabad.\textsuperscript{113} Commenting on the commercial aspects of Mughal gardens, Irfan Habib has explained that most of the gardens were designed to produce fruits and flowers for their own use but entire crop of fruits and flowers produced in Mughal Gardens could not have been consumed at their owners table.\textsuperscript{114} When the fruits and flowers of quality from special gardens of the private persons were brought for the emperor, doubtlessly, price was to be paid to them and garden produced income. The mangoes of Gujarat, Bengal and Deccan were considered of good quality. Thus, evidence suggests that seeds were brought from those places to the garden of Muqarrab Khan at Kairana. The authors of \textit{Iqbalnama-i

\textsuperscript{108} Salih Kambuh, \textit{Amal-i Salih}, II, p. 294.
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Mirat} (Suppl.), pp. 22, 185.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., p. 19; I, pp. 328, 388.
\textsuperscript{111} Sujan Rai Bhandari, \textit{Khulasat-ut Tawarikh}, op.cit., p. 98.
\textsuperscript{112} Shams Siraj Afif, \textit{Tarikh-i Firozshahi}, (Calcutta, 1890), p. 295.
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Mirat} (Suppl.), pp. 21-22.
\textsuperscript{114} Irfan Habib, ‘Notes on the Economic, op. cit., p. 131.
Jahangiri and Masir-i Jahangiri inform that in 1683 AD, a royal order was directed to the nazim of the suba of Gujarat that the choicest mangoes of the garden of Amin Khan (nazim) should be brought to the royal presence (Aurangzeb). Thus, mangoes of superior quality must have yielded income. Furthermore, the income was generated by sub-letting the gardens for commercial purposes. If traveler Finch is to be believed then, the imperial garden of Sirhind (Punjab) had been rented on rupees 50,000 per annum.

Besides fruits and flowers, vegetables were also grown in the gardens for commercial purposes. Evidence shows that officers (hukkam) and wealthy persons (ahl-i daulat) produced vegetables (tarkari) and fruits (mewa) in their private gardens and sold them to vegetable dealers (tarkari faroshan) with an increased price of ten, twenty times. Mirat informs that in the garden of Bhadra alongwith vegetables, flowers like rose (gul), tulip (shaqaiq) and green basils (riyahir) were planted to generate income. The production of rose was enhanced as commercially the extraction of rose water was needed on a large scale. To check the corruption or coercion involved in selling the produce of garden, a farman was issued to the jagirdars of Gujarat in 1673 AD to prohibit the selling of food grains and mangoes or other produce of their gardens, by compulsion (ba-trah) to the merchants, artisans and common people. The order, issued in 1683 AD, by Aurangzeb also asked to report the income of the garden of Amin Khan. Another order was issued in 1695 AD to the diwan of the same suba to take steps to increase the verdancy of Shahi Bagh.

Evidence suggests that besides expenditure, some income was also procured from the gardens by selling fruits, flowers and vegetables. Although income was generated from the gardens, it seems evident that those amounts were insufficient to meet out the

116 Finch, Early Travels, p. 158.
117 Mirat, I. p. 261.
118 Ibid., II. p. 420.
119 For the details of the production of rose water, see the Vth chapter ‘Mughal Gardens: Mughal Gardens: A Study of Horticulture’.
120 Mirat, I. p. 287.
121 Ibid., p. 305.
122 Ibid., pp. 337-8.
prevailing expenditure of the gardens. Aurangzeb ordered that no tax on groves (sar-i darakhti) should be levied where the expenditure exceeded the income.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 263-64.} An official document reveals that even after Aurangzeb, a parwana of Syed Abd Allah Khan Qutub al Mulk Zafar Jung (1714 AD) to the mutasaddis of pargana Badayun, suba Shahjahanabad, ordered the exemption of the payment of garden tax (sar-i-darakhti) where the expenditure exceeded the income\footnote{Accession No. 2323, NAI, New Delhi, (Vide CAD, I, S. No. 332).} (Document: II). Inscriptional evidence supports the archival information that gardens generated income. Inscriptions of Ahmadnagar, dated 1572-73 AD, record that fruits of the mosque gardens were given to the care-takers in lieu of their services.\footnote{EI (A&P), 1933-34, p. 11.} There were gardens, given in waqf to the mosque to please God; as an income and livelihood for the caretakers and for the essential repair; for the carpet and lighting of the mosque and for the conduits, but the trusteeships (tauliyat) was strictly restricted to the family member of the donor.\footnote{Ibid., 1933-34, p. 11; 1939-40, p. 30; 1955-56, pp. 83-84; For depiction of gardens in the inscriptions cf. Sadaf Fatma, ‘Gardens in Mughal India in the Light of Inscription’, PIHC, (New Delhi, 2014), pp. 297-304.} It clearly indicates that the care takers were free to generate income, by selling the garden’s produce, to spend on the upkeep of the mosque as well as on their own livelihood.

Apart from income-generating approach of the State to meet out the expenditure of the gardens, we have evidence to presume State patronage to the gardens by way of remitting taxes. Abul Fazl informs that Akbar, as a thanks offering to the Almighty, remitted a tax on each tree (sar-i darakhti).\footnote{Ain, tr., H.S. Jarrett, LPP, (N. Delhi, 2008), II, p. 72.} Literary evidence finds archival support. A farman, issued by Akbar in 1579 AD, records that 75 bighas of land in mauza Jaudanpur, sarkar Sambhal, had been granted for laying out garden with tank and well, which would be free from all levies\footnote{Accession No. 2122, NAI, New Delhi, (Vide CAD, I, S. No.26).} (Document: III). Thus, evidence points to the fact that, probably, garden tax would have been levied earlier but was exempted by Akbar which was later on followed by his successors. During the reign of Jahangir, State had not levied taxes on fruit trees.\footnote{Tuzuk, pp. 251-2.} It was ordered by Jahangir that whosoever made gardens even on arable land (mazra’i), which previously generated revenues, had to be exempted.
Likewise, Shah Jahan issued a farman to Zafar Khan, governor of Kashmir, which still exists on stone slab fixed on the gate of Jami Masjid Srinagar. The farman codified that ‘no subedar should lay an embargo on the fruit or the orchard of the garden of anyone. The governors, collectors and the officials of present and future days in the province of Kashmir would consider these orders as lasting and eternal’ (Plate: XXIII). The farman tends to suggest that the subedar used to send their own henchmen to each garden or orchard, in the season, to collect fruits and produce of the garden, thus putting the owners at loss.

However, the State shifted its policy from tax exemption to resumption of taxes in the reign of Aurangzeb. The documents indicate that taxes were levied on fruits of the gardens, if the gardens covered the cultivable and revenue producing lands. The tax on the gardens was in a flat rate of two rupees and three quarter coins (Rs. 2½). It was strictly ordered by Aurangzeb in a farman issued in 1668 AD to Muhammad Hashim that this amount (Rs. 2½) should be taken even from barren trees, except almond (badam) and grape (angur) plants, charged only when they bore fruits. Often taxes were fixed after assessing the quantity of fruits. It was 1/5th of the produce, taken from Hindus and 1/6th from Muslims. The incomes of the imperial gardens as well as collected taxes from the gardens owned privately were deposited in the provincial treasury. Thus, from the time of Aurangzeb onwards, taxes were levied on all orchards except for those containing graves or yielding no profits or where expenditure exceeded income. The tomb gardens were ever exempted from the garden tax. Once an order had been issued for the withdrawal of sar-i darakhti when Shaikh Pir Muhammad submitted a representation that his garden was containing the tombs of his ancestors, as tomb gardens were exempted

---

130 Ibid., p. 252.
132 Mirat, I, pp. 271-72.
133 Ibid., p. 272.
136 Mirat, I, pp. 271-72; Accession No. 2323, NAI, New Delhi, (Vide CAD, I, S. No.332).
137 Mirat, I, pp. 271-72; Nigarnama-i Munshi, pp. 98, 152; Early Travels, pp. 315-16; Pelsaert, p. 5.
from paying the tax. Gardens given in madad-i ma’ash grants were also exempted from the payment of any kind of tax. A farman of Shah Jahan (1633 AD), addressed to the officials of pargana Ander, Sarkar Saran, suba Bihar, records that the garden and bazar situated in the village Hashimpura, pargana Bara of the same suba, had been given as madad-i ma’ash to Sayyid Kamaluddin, son of Sayyid Ashraf Imam with the exemption of all taxes. Another farman of the same emperor, dated 1643 AD, issued to the officials of pargana and sarkar Hajipur, suba Bihar, states that a garden in mauza Dekhte of the same pargana, given as madad-i ma’ash grant to Fatima, daughter of Kala Bibi Rashida, should not be accounted for any taxes. Other chaknamas and parwanas of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, preserved in National Archives of India corroborated earlier informations that the gardens, granted as madad-i ma’ash, were exempted from all taxes. Thus, the income of these gardens was privately being enjoyed by the grant holders.

Now there is a need to throw some light on the management, officials, other staffs, and finally the architects of the gardens. It is worth noting that these aspects have totally been ignored by the modern scholars working on gardens.

Scattered literary evidence indicates that the garden staff was appointed under the seal of the mir-i Saman, while for the gardens in subas, appointments were approved by the diwan-i Suba also. The reference suggests the establishment of a separate department to look after the repair works of the fortifications and gardens in Gujarat. The provincial government under the seal of darogha, sanctioned needed amount of expenditure but on account of the extended expenditure, the provincial government reported to the Emperor. Thus all the gardens of the city of Ahmadabad were looked

---

139 Tirmizi, Mughal Documents, II, p. 50.
140 Ibid., p. 73.
141 Accession Nos. 303, 1836, 2136, 2166, NAI, New Delhi, (Vide CAD, I, S. Nos.118, 346; II, S. Nos. 215, 218).
142 Mirat (Suppl), pp. 184-85.
143 Ibid.
after by this provincial department. Provincial diwan, being the financial minister of the State, was responsible for the maintenance of the gardens. The evidence contained in Tuzuk clearly indicates that when Abdullah Khan Firozjung made harm to the garden of Nizamuddin Ahmad, a farman was issued to the diwan to look after the matter and punish the culprit. Abdul Hamid Lahori informs that Shah Jahan celebrated the Nauroz festival in the garden of Hafiz Rakhna in 1634 AD and ordered Dayanat Khan, the diwan of sarkar Sirhind, to build few more buildings in the palace garden. A farman was issued by Aurangzeb to Mohammad Hashim, the diwan of Gujarat, for the collection of taxes from the garden. Thus, sahib-i diwan was the main officer responsible for the maintenance of the gardens.

Under the supervision of diwan, the karori (revenue collector) was responsible for the collection of taxes from the gardens for the upkeep of the gardens. Often well-acquainted karoris were appointed to keep the gardens in order. When Jahangir came to know that after the death of Hafiz Rakhna, his garden at Sirhind was not in proper condition, he appointed Khwaja Waisi in 1617 AD as the karori of Sirhind who was expert in agriculture (zara’at) and constructional works. Khwaja Waisi, in a short duration of 40 days, rehabilitated the garden to its former position. Thus, the karori of Sirhind received favours from the emperor. Next to him, Mir Ali Akbar became the karori of Sirhind in the reign of Shah Jahan who built Mehatabi chabutara or moonlight platform in 1638 AD in the same garden.

Mir-i saman with the approval of the provincial diwan, appointed other staffs to look after gardens, such as superintendent (darogha) - an unconditional mansabdar,

---

144 Ibid., p. 185; Also see, Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals: 1556-1707, vol. I, (Simla, 1972), p. 104.
145 Provincial diwan was appointed by the Royal orders and received his sanad under the seal of the wazir whose duties were the collection of revenue, payment of salary under his signature and similar other duties in connected with taxation and expenditure etc. (Mirat, I, pp. 337-38, 388; (Suppl), p. 171).
146 Tuzuk, p. 208; See also, Commissariat, History of the Gujarat, II, p. 62.
147 Lahori, Padshahnama, II (i), pp. 115-16.
149 Ain, II, p. 43; Also see, Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 57-58.
150 Tuzuk, p. 283; Also, Subhash Parihar, Mughal Monuments, p. 10.
151 Lahori, Padshahnama, II (i), pp. 115-16.
treasurer (mushrif) and accountant (tahvidar).\textsuperscript{152} In the province of Gujarat, the salary of an accountant and treasurer was Rs. 35 and Rs. 20 per month respectively, while rupees 95 was allotted to the gardeners. Besides higher officials and gardeners, there were guards and sweepers to protect and clean the gardens.\textsuperscript{153} The superintendents of gardens (darogha-i baghat) were responsible for overall supervision of the gardens.\textsuperscript{154} When Jahangir visited the gardens of Gulafshan on the bank of Jamuna, Kwaja Jahan was the in-charge (darogha-i bagh) of the garden who presented offerings to him.\textsuperscript{155} Firishta’s account, supported by epigraphic record, indicates that Nimat Khan was the superintendent of Farah Bagh (Sarkar-i bagh) of Ahmadnagar (Deccan) under Murtaza Nizam Shah. In 1574-75 AD when the Sultan visited the newly built garden, he became disappointed. He dismissed Nimat Khan from the post of superintendent ship of the garden and appointed Salabat Khan in his stead with specific instructions to pull down the buildings and construct new ones.\textsuperscript{156} Records suggest that the superintendent ship of garden was a dignified post, allocated to the high profile officials. This post existed till the reign of Muhammad Shah. During the period, Muhammad Ishaq Khan was promoted from the superintendent of royal gardens to the inspector of crown prince contingent.\textsuperscript{157} It has been reported, by the author of Muntakhab-ul Lubab, that since the annexation of Deccan, taxes were not levied on the crops of melons (kharbuza) as it was sown by the poor people in the sands of the river bank, but when Mahram Khan was appointed as the darogha-i baghat Padshahi, he suggested the emperor to extract the tax. Thus, a separate department constituted under the office of diwan, appointed collectors (amla) for the collection of tax on melon.\textsuperscript{158} It seems that Superintendent of gardens was responsible for

\textsuperscript{152} Mirat (Suppl), pp. 21-22, 171, 185-86.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., pp. 21-22, 185.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., I, p. 238.
\textsuperscript{155} Tuzuk, p. 274.
\textsuperscript{156} EI (A&P), 1933-34, pp. 11-12; Firishta, Tarikh-i Firishta, II, p. 143, records that this incident has been composed by Shah Ahmad khan Manju in a chronogram. Firishta further records that under Salabat Khan, the garden became so much prosperous with the trees of fruits that it became the matter of discussion among the people. Poets and other literati like Mulla Malik Qumi and Mulla Zahuri used to come and enjoy in this garden. Mulla Malik Qumi penned a qasida in praise of this garden. See also Sadaf Fatma, ‘Gardens in Mughal India, op.cit., pp. 297-304.
\textsuperscript{157} Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, (Calcutta, 1932), I, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{158} Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul Lubab, ed., Maulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad and Ghulam Qadir, (Calcutta, 1868-74), II. (i), pp. 405-6.
the up-keep of gardens only, since there was separate office and officers for the collection of taxes on fruits yielded outside the gardens.

Thus, there was a chain of officials, based on hierarchy, to look after the maintenance of the gardens. By the beginning of the 18th century, when the Mughal State was showing its weaknesses, the greedy nazims and other officials got their hold on the gardens. Evidence disclosed that the nazims got hold of the great Shahi Bagh and Fateh Bagh and treated them as their own property. Even the nazims of the suba started appropriating the income of the gardens of Shaban Bagh, and furthermore, they stopped sending fruits of myrobalan of Halela garden to the Emperor.159 Already mentioned farman of the Jami mosque (Srinagar) clearly reports the grievance of subedar in regard to gardens where they placed their own men and did not allow the owners of the gardens to use fruits, which caused so much loss to the people that some of them even destroyed the fruit trees.160

The gardeners (baghban) formed the strong agency as beautifier and protector of the Mughal gardens. Although literary sources are almost silent, paintings of the period shed much light on their working aptitude. The baghban has been symbolized with good and hard works in the poetical genre. A poet Ruh al-Amin of Golkunda in his masnavi advised his son that ‘Don’t be a betel-vine in the scent gardens, but be a gardener in the rose gardens’;161 meaning that, it would be better to work in the rose gardens than being a lazy betel eater. The Mughal paintings invariably show the gardeners involved in their works with spade and hand hoe (khurpi) (Plates: IV, VI, VII, XIV). It is worth noting that the gardener’s tools have not been affected much by the technological inventions except that of certain instruments.162 Locality Baghbanpura in Lahore reminds us that there might be a colony of gardeners in Mughal times.163 It is believed that the Kashmiri gardeners were much in demand during the Mughal period.164 Besides gardeners, the

---

159 Mirat (Suppl), pp. 21-22.
160 Sufi, Kashir, I, p. 269.
161 The name of the said masnavi is Falak al-Buruj (The Sky of Zodiac Signs), written by Ruh al-Amin, the pen name (takhallus) of Mir Jumla of Golkunda. The manuscript is preserved in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, as cited in Daud Ali, Gardens and Landscape, p. 190.
162 Moynihan, Paradise as a Garden, p. 151.
163 Abdul Rehman, ‘Garden Types in Mughal Lahore’, op.cit., p.166.
Mughals collected horticulturists not only from different regions of Hindustan but from Iran and Turan too.\textsuperscript{165}

As for the architects and main builders of the gardens, just like other buildings, the sources generally praised their works but without mentioning their names and origin. It has been rightly observed that ‘quite often when our Persian chroniclers narrate the building of various forts, bridges, havelis or gardens, instead of providing the name of the architects or master mansions, and other precise details, they confine themselves to just praising their skill (as architects)’.\textsuperscript{166} Recently scholars have succeeded in tracing the name of few builders, their designations and salaries,\textsuperscript{167} but builders of the gardens have gone unnoticed. More likely, the same group of builders worked in laying out the gardens who had been engaged in construction of Mughal monuments. The view is strengthened with the report that Babur had a team of experts, when he was building the palace and Lotus garden of Dholpur, under master builder Ustad Shah Muhammad who accompanied him from Kabul.\textsuperscript{168} The construction of the gardens was entrusted to the superintendent of buildings as reported by the author of \textit{Amal-i Salih} that Shalamar garden of Lahore was completed in the 16\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of Emperor Shah Jahan under the supervision of Khalilullah Khan in the duration of one year, five months and four days.\textsuperscript{169} It is believed that the same Khalilullah and Mulla Ala ul Mulk Tuni were involved in the construction of Asaf Khan’s tomb garden at Lahore.\textsuperscript{170} Likewise, the garden at Wah, near Hasan Abdal, was renovated and re-designed in 1639-40 AD, on the orders of Emperor Shah Jahan. The supervisor of the said garden was Ustad Ahmad Mimar, a famous architect of Lahore. The prefix ‘ustad’ itself speaks of his experiences and position as the main architect, who had been awarded with the title of ‘\textit{Nasir-ul Asr}’ (‘wonder of the age’). He happened to be the main architect of the palace of Shahjahanabad.\textsuperscript{171} Although

\begin{footnotes}
\item[165] \textit{Ain}, I, p. 43.
\item[166] Syed Ali Nadeem Rizavi, ‘Mughal architecture: Organisation, Inspirations and Design’, Presidential Address, Section II: Medieval India, \textit{Indian History Congress}, 75\textsuperscript{th} Session, JNU, New Delhi, p. 1.\footnote{A.J. Kaisar, \textit{Building Construction in Mughal India: The Evidence from Painting}, (New Delhi, 1988); Nadeem Rizavi, \textit{Mughal Architecture}, Presidential address, \textit{IHC}, 2014.}
\end{footnotes}
we lack direct information of plan or *naqsha*,\(^{172}\) a painting in *Akbarnama*, indicates that Babur himself was involved in laying out of a garden along with an official who was supervising the work with a rectangular sheet of paper, more likely a plan (*Plate: VI*). Thus, it has been assumed that the same method was used in the construction of other buildings\(^{173}\) Toeing the same line, it may be presumed, *mi’mar* (chief architect), *muhandis* (engineer), *chah-kan* (well diggers), and *ghota khor* (well cleaners)\(^{174}\) etc. had been involved in laying out the gardens too. Babur himself knew all the technalities of gardening. A painting of *Baburnama* by Miskin, an artist at Akbar’s court, shows Babur’s involvement in supervising the construction of gardens and planting of trees (*Plate: VII*).

Conclusively, Garden was a significant component of ‘urbanization’ and urbanization worked as stimulus in laying out ‘gardens’. Thus the process of urbanization during the Mughal period culminated the development of gardens. For maintenance and administration of gardens, there was a chain of officials and workers from *Mir-i Saman* down to the gardeners. Economically, gardens generated income by selling fruits, flowers and vegetables, but income was ever lesser than the expenditure. Ultimately, it led to the disparity in sanctioned and actual number of gardeners and oxen. To meet out the deficiency, the staff often pronounced concessions in taxes.

---

\(^{172}\) For the plan, both the term *naqsha* and *taraḥ* have been used by Salih Kambuh while describing the buildings of the palace of Shahjahanabad in *Amal-i Salih*, III, p. 28. See also, Nadeem Rizavi, *Mughal Architecture*, Presidential address, *IHC*, 2014; Kaisar, *Building Construction*, pp. 14-15.
