In some respects the most valuable information regarding the contemporary mode of social existence during the periods under review is to be found in accounts of European visitors, particularly, the Britishers. These travellers, who came from different countries at different times and moved about with intellectual curiosity, recorded their impression about Indian social life with considerable objectivity.

The structure of society, in a nation or a region, consists of the classes of people with their family structure as one of the institutions besides economic, political, caste, religion and occupation considerations. When we use the term social structure in India, it is appropriate to start with the term itself. What kinds of social structure we had during the 16th and the 17th century in ‘India’. Rushbrook William’s testimony holds good regarding the Mughal age when he says that “the beginning of the 16th century in India as elsewhere is thus a period of transition and in order that it may became intelligible it must be looked at in the light of the conditions out of which it has taken shape”. It is quite a known phenomenon that India has been assimilating every odd with temporary resistance. Social change being slow, the structure of society in Mughal India was hardly different from that of the early 15th century. The structure of society in Mughal India has been discussed as under:

**HINDU SOCIETY**

In other communities, generally, the principal factors determining class and status are wealth, pedigree, or profession. In the case of the Hindus, however, membership of caste is determined by birth. The institution of caste is

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a unique feature of the Hindu society, and nothing exactly like it is to be found in the other part of the world. The word Varna really means colour, and, therefore, the division of society was made on the basis of colour. According to ancient Hindu law or scriptures, they (Varna) remained the backbone of the Hindu society and were considered the age old belief of worldly and spiritual well-being of the Hindu society as an essential part. In view of the widely accepted current belief, based on later Brahmanical literature, (A late hymn (X. 90)) of the Rigveda known as Purusha –Sukta, says that when the Gods divided Purusha (the primeval giant or creator), "the Bramana was his mouth; the Rajanya (Kshtrya) was his arms; the Vaisya was his thighs; the Sudra sprung from his feet."

Manusmriti or Manavadharamsastra is an influential sacred text of the Hindu tradition. It is said to have been the work of the Sage, Manu considered as the father of mankind. It is also a guide for the four stages of life daily's routines, sacraments marriage and Sraddha. It laid on the duties of four castes -To Brahmin, he (Manu) assigned teaching and studying (Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting of alms. Kashtriya, he commanded to protect the people to, bestow gifts, to other sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures. The Vaisya was commanded to tend cattle, to offer services to lend money to trade, and to cultivate land. The Lord prescribed only one occupation to the Sudra, namely to serve merely the three castes. They remained the cardinal feature of the Hindu Society. Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were all divided and subdivided in innumerable castes and sub castes or the Jatis formed an endogamous group and it was only in this endogamous group that inter-dining was permissible. Thus, it was not so much the caste that affected a man in all the major aspects of his life as the particular sub-caste to which he belonged. Restrictions on marriage and food and occupation distinguished and defined his

social status and laid down the specific code for his social behaviour. Manu observes that the very birth of Brahman is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law for he is born to the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman.

**BRAHMAN:** A Brahman, coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana, on account of the excellence of his origin the Brahmana is indeed entitled to it all. Alberuni noticed that the highest castes are the Brahmana of whom the books of the Hindus tell that they were created from the Mouth of Brahman. And as Brahman is only another name for the force called nature, and the head is the highest part of the animal body, the Brahmana are the choice part of the whole genus. Therefore, the Hindus consider them as the very best of mankind. Religion was the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmana. He not only administered the religious needs of the people but also stood like an intermediary between God and man. Alberuni tells us that only the Brahmans and Kshatriyas could learn the Vedas, and therefore, moksha was meant for them alone.

Keshava, an important Hindi poet of 17th century, has also thrown a good deal of light on the composition of the Hindu society. Keshava and other Braj writers have provided us valuable information regarding the civic and cultural life of the period under study. This includes information about social stratification, food habits, towns, games, amusements, festivals, customs ceremonies and superstitions. He (Keshav) has mentioned four-fold divisions of (Hindu) society in line with the traditional social structure. At the top came the Brahmans whose main business was the study of scriptures and to look after the religious life of the people. They occupied the highest position in the social life of the society. Then came the Kshatriyas, who formed the sword arm of the society. Their main

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9 Alberuni's *India* I, (Sa Sachau), p. 100.
concern was to protect the country and they occupied respectable position in the society. Then came Vaishyas who looked after the economic needs of the people. Their main business was farming and trade. The last role on the social ladder was performed by people whose job was to serve the upper three classes. They were known as Sudras.11

Foreign visitors to India were sometimes keen observers and accurate recorders of events and occurrences in India. Linschoten, a Dutch traveler, has also given an eloquent testimony regarding Brahmans whom he describes to be the most honest and esteemed among all the castes of India. They used to serve in important places with the ruling monarch in various capacities. They were also priests and ministers in their temples. Tavernier writes in his travels in India that Brahmans generally, occupy themselves in the reading of the books and they are so skilled in their observations that they do not make a mistake of a minute in foretelling the eclipse of the sun and the moon. The priests and ministers of law are selected from among them.

KSHATRIYAS. The Kshatriyas came next in the social hierarchy.12 Kshatriyas were those who form the sword of the society. Their main concern was to protect the country and they occupied respectable position in the society. The Kshatriyas read and learnt the Vedas, but did not teach them. According to Puranic rites, the Kshatriyas had apparently ceased to make any contribution to the progress or preservation of Indian culture. But their political prospects were improving.13 The Kshatriyas must fill the hearts with terror, must be brave and highminded, must have ready speech and a liberal hand, not minding dangers, only intent upon carrying the great tasks of his calling to a happy end.14 Alberuni, however, seems to have overrated the facts, precisely because he drew them upon Hindu Smritis rather than the actual conditions prevailing in the

11 Bindu Bij, Society and Economy During the 16th Century As Reflected in Contemporary Braja Literature, 1985
12 Ibid., p. 69
13 Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute, Vol. I, July-October, 1941, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 81.
14 Alberuni's India I, (Sa Sachau), p. 103.
11th century. It is no wonder that he ignored the Rajputs, their rise being a later development. The hereditary occupation of the Kshatriyas was to wield temporal power. The kings, ministers and soldiers, generally, belonged to this caste. Hindu poets quoted that they were greedy and selfish; they never did good to anybody and were not compassionate. If they saw a beautiful woman in the house of a poorman, their strength of arm lay only in their efforts to grab her for themselves.

In a contemporary Gujrati work, we find references to thirty six social divisions among the Rajputs, most important among them being Vats, Vaja, Jethur, Chudrsabha, Rathor, Parmar, Chauhan, Saulanki, Padihar, Chavada, Tuwar, Yadava, Zala, Guhil etc.

VAISYA: The vaisya was engaged in agriculture, pastoral pursuits, industry, and trade, and paid tribute to the king and the nobles, in return for the protection given to them. Rich Vaisyas had acquired wealth in trade or agriculture and were probably, the headmen of guilds. The money lending was also a flourishing business of theirs. As we know, Alberuni studied the Hindu caste system prevailing in the early years of the 11th century. At that time, he also studied Kayasthas (one of the subcaste of Vaisya) as a notable caste as the original Hindu shastras have made no mention of them. In the 11th and the following centuries, individual of this caste rose to the highest public offices in different tracts. Evidences of the ascendancy of Srivastava Kayasthas are found not only in Bengal, Sravasti and Kashmir, but also throughout the length and breadth of India.

SUDRA: The Sudra was the servile class and comprised the mass of the people. “The Sudra caste was by far more numerous than all the other classes put together and comprised the artisan and the labourer of every kind.” The

16 Ibid., p. 21.
18 Nagendra Nath Vasu’s A Short History of the Indian Kayastha, Calcutta. 1915. pp. 43-45
20 Crafurd, op. Cit., p. 117
Sudras included the aborigines admitted to the Hindu community. Their salvation was supposed to lie in the direct and indirect service rendered by them to the three upper classes.

Alberuni further says, after the Sudra follow people called Antyaja, who performed various kinds of services, who are not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of a certain crafts or professions. There are eight classes of them, who freely inter-marry with each other. Moreland also highlighted the plight of the weavers, who themselves naked, toiled to clothe others. The peasants, hungry themselves, toiled to field to feed the unproductive population of towns and cities. While India, as a whole, parted with useful commodities in exchange for gold and silver "or in other words gave bread for stones." When the supplies of food failed often, the hope of salvation of the masses was the slave traders, and the alternatives were cannibalism, suicide or starvation. The administrative method in vogue barred the way of any escape from this system for they "penalized production, and regarded every indication of increased consumption as a signal of fresh extortion." The reign of Jahangir and Shahjahān were characterized, primarily, by the extension and intensification of these methods. Thus, at the close of the period under review, the economic system of India was leading towards collapse. The demands made by the various governments on producers, both in the North and the South were so exorbitant that without exaggeration it could be said "that administrative activities were the most important factors in the distribution of the national income." Their impact was to leave to producers very little, if anything, "above the minimum required for their subsistence, and to offer the surplus in reward to energy or ingenuity exerted in unproductive ways." There was thus a diversion of energy from productive to unproductive pursuits. While the low standard of life and the small spending powers of people were facts established by direct evidence, "a

21 W H Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, Delhi, 1972. p.5.
22 Ibid.
23 According to J.F.Richards, "the 17th century crises in South Asia" modern Asian studies, October 1990, the greater part of the 17th century "was a period Of moderate, a new level of peace, order and stability throughout most of the subcontinent. Only at the turn of the century we do find political crises, warfare, disease, and economic disruption accompanying the descending spiral of imperial decline" p.625.
relatively large number of producers constituted half their gross income to the support of their relatively small number of economic parasites.\textsuperscript{24} The Hindus are becoming justly proud of the momentous achievements of their forefathers not only in the field of religion and philosophy but also on the various secular fronts of social life, and are, naturally, fired with a remarkable zeal for unearthing the buried past and arriving at correct findings regarding the ancient and medieval history of India\textsuperscript{25}.

**MUSLIM SOCIETY**

The system of stratification among Indian Muslims is comparable to the Hindu Caste System, but there is no exact similarity between the two. Imtiaz Ahmad notes that "certain basic features of caste like endogamy, occupational specialisation and hierarchy exist among Indian Muslims. Islam is a monotheistic religion. Besides monotheism it lays stress on equality and brotherhood in faith. It emphasizes the importance of piety and devotion rather than birth or colour as criterion for greatness and nearness to God. Nobility of descent and pride in the purity of blood were ingrained in the social consciousness of the Arabs. Prophet Mohammad directed his attention towards the establishment of a new society of equals. Rank in this new society had to be determined not by aristocratic descent but by the degree of faith and piety. The most deviant of the believers is the most worthy in the sight of God, says the Quranic text.

The Muslims were divided into the Sunnis, the Shias, the Bohras and Khojas (mostly in Gujarat) by their religious beliefs. To each variety of Islam, others were heterodox. But the Sunnis formed the great majority of the officially recognized faithful in Mughal India. Racially, the Muslims were divided as Turks (in India called Mughals), Afghans, Persians, Sayyids and Indian converts to Islam. The last variety, comprising of Indian Muslims outnumbered the first four classes, but was not as influential. Many converts to Islam hovered on the branches of Hinduism and Islam. Some like Rajput converts, greatly still retained

\textsuperscript{24} W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Delhi, 1972, p. 300-301-303-304.

\textsuperscript{25} "The Cultural Heritage of India" Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial, vol II Belur Math Calcutta. (N. D.) P. 611.
their class affinities with the corresponding groups in Hindus from which they had sprung by occupation. Hindus and Muslims came together in the Mughal camp and the public places. The masses fraternized in the local fares held in various places round some object of local worship or veneration. A Living Saint monument, the tomb of the dead one, was raised to a local sect, or a place said to be converted with some mythological Hero of the past. Wherever or whoever was capable of working a miracle became an object of veneration, if not worship. Though the Muslims considered the Hindus Kafirs and the Hindus retaliated by calling them untouchables, a kind of state of stable equilibrium had come to be established between the two parts of population in the wake of Akbar's religious policy.26

Aurangjeb's reign disturbed this equilibrium but he favoured Sunnis only; the other class of Muslims became, along with Hindus, the persecuters. The Mughal emperor rules without any effective check on their authority. In theory, they were only servants of the law, the Muslim law (Shariat). They could neither supersede it nor mould it. But in actual practice this was true of personal law of the Muslim alone. The emperors could not force Muslims in their private relations with one another to follow any other law. The political officers—the Qazi's were appointed to administer the Muslim law among the Muslims. The Hindus were governed by their own customs or Hindu law. Thus, in actual practice, the Muslim system of administration never took roots in India i.e. in countries like Persia, Afghanistan or Egypt, where the entire population was converted to Islam—the Muslim rulers objected to be obliged. Incorporate pre-Muslim customs of the country in the organization of the government. But in India where the large number of masses refused to accept Islam, it was little more difficult to organize the government according to Muslim law. Thus, in actual practice, the Muslim system of administration, uniformly prevalent in all other Muslim lands, never took root in India. The practices of the first four Khalifas were exulting by the Muslim fundamentalists as the Muslim polity. But the Shia's reacted violently to it. Thus, the Mughal emperors felt themselves at liberty to undertake things as they pleased, provided what they did was not, actually, oppressed by Quran.

The Muslim society also was subject to a kind of division. The foreign Muslims e.g. the Arabs, the Turks and the Persians occupied the position of rulers from the very start, being in the highest positions in the government and the army, they were superior to the local converts. The new converts remained attached to their beliefs and customs. Consequently, today, Muslims of two types can be found. (1) SHARIFZAT – (high caste) and (2) “AZLA” (low caste). These names have a certain social and historical basis. Of the two terms – Sayyed and Shaikh, both of which imply Arbian origin. Sayyed is used inclusively for the descendants of the Prophet’s family through his daughter Fatimah and Shaikh is used for those of Arab origin, but not related to the Prophet’s family. At the top of society were the Ashrafs or the Muslim elites. The nobles and rich merchants of Arab or Persian origin formed part of the Muslim elite. Prominent among the Ashrafs were Qazis (Judes) who possessed sufficient expertise in Islamic law to arbitrate disputes involving fellow Muslims. Below them in status were the Mullas (ordinary preachers). Socially, distinct from the Ashrafs were the Muslim urban artisans. They were organized into separate endogamous communities (Jati) with the distinctive occupations parallel to organization of Hindu Society. Mukanderam, while writing about classification of the Muslims, gives a list of fifteen Muslim Jatis who inhabited an ideal Bengali city of his day – Julahah – (weavers), Mukari (live stock holders), Pithari (coke sellers), Kabari (fish mongers), The Rangraj (cloth dyers), Garasal (convert from the local population), Kagaji (paper-maker), Sana Kar (loom-makers), Hajam (circumsisers), Tirakar (bow-makers), Kalandar (wondering holymen), Darji (Tailors), Benata (weavers of thick cord), so on and so forth. Each of these groups, a professional group was akin to caste.

EMPEROR: It is still somewhat obscure exactly how and when the title of ‘Sultan’ originated. The terms ‘Sultan’ and ‘Sultanat’ are derived from a common route meaning ‘power, authority’, and are generally applied to that form of state which began to prevail in the Islamic world soon after the first four successors of Muhammad, but which was not originally contemplative by the Quran. The
The concept of kingship entered Islam as a great contribution but later on Islamic Persists testified it.²⁷

The Delhi Sultan felt shy of using high sounding titles such as the king or emperor. It was from the time of Babur, when he became the ruler of Kabul that the office of the king became more sound and firm, though his ancestors (especially Taimur) did not like to be called as emperor. Babur inherited a theory of kingship that was of combination of ideas of his ancestors, Taimur the Turk and Changej Khan the Mughal. It was in 1507 when he became the ruler of Kabul, that he assumed 'formally' the title of Padshah (King) which helped him in regaining the control over administration as his Psyche underwent a change. He considered himself equal to the Sultan of Turky, who had adopted the title of khalifa in 1517. Humayun continued to believe like his ancestors that the king was the shadow of God on Earth and it was, consequently, his duty to do within his sphere as God did in relation to his creation. He even thought that he being king was the centre of human world as the sun was of the universe.

Akbar's theory of sovereignty was not the result of speculation. It was born out of hard facts of life, and was the result of his own thought and innate practical common sense. The enunciation of Akbar theory of kingship made by Abul Fazl on behalf of his sovereign for the first time in 1567 was revolutionary in character as one of the essentials of his theory was to inaugurate universal peace and to regard all classes of man and all sects of religion with the single eye of favour.

Abul Fazl then proceeds to define elaborately the perfect man. It must be said, in conclusion, that Akbar's theory is one of the benevolence, and to great extent even enlightened despotism. He believed like the Prussian king Frederick the great of 18th century Germany that he was the first servant of the people and that it was his duty to think and worked hard for their welfare. Infact, his idealism surpassed that of Fredrick in as much as he believed that no religious worship

was better than the service of people. And we find that its practical application gave India peace and unity, progress and prosperity.

The emperor was the leader of the people and the head of the society, enjoying the highest status. He was the most important individual in the realm and was believed to be the richest person in the country. As a ruler as well as the leader of the society, he set the standards of socio-cultural behaviour. In Hindustan especially no attempt was made to conceal the position. People had to prostrate themselves before the Sultan of Delhi when he was present, and to stand up even when his name was mentioned as a mark of sole reverence; when at a distance from Delhi, they bowed towards the seat of the Sultanat. Salutation were offered to the vacant throne, whenever a person passed by it, even to the wooden sandals and quiver put on the thrown as the symbol of monarchy.

It is related of the Mughal emperor Humayun, that on the occasion of a public audience, a curtain was drawn before him; the whole gathering exclaimed: 'Behold the illumination of the Divine Being.' The same monarch was similarly credited with possessing super–human powers.

Abul Fazl an eminent historian and the biographer of Akbar has further elaborated the mystic Theory of 'The perfect man' (Insan -I -Kamil), to prove that Akbar had realized the mysteries of human life and was absorbed into the reality like a Yogi. The Mughal Padishahs of Hindostan was spent half their time in public. They received petitions and administered justice in public. They gave audiences in open Durbars. They publicly inspected horses, elephants, troops, arms, accoutrements, jewels, decorations, furniture, and animals of all kinds, goods and cattle of every description. They delighted in hunting expeditions; they delighted in public fights between animals and gladiators after the manner of the later Roman emperors. Akbar took great pains in the administration of justice; He was anxious for the welfare of the people. But neither Jahangir, nor Shahjahan

cared anything for the people. They were greedy only of flattery and riches. They lavished enormous sums on harem establishments, jewels, palaces, mausoleums, and tented pavilions. Meanwhile they often hoarded up vast sums in the palace vaults of Delhi and Agra.\textsuperscript{30}

The aim of the Mughal Ruler was to be `continually attentive to the health of the body politic' and to remedy its disease and evils, so as to bring about perfection of life, and assure its happiness, strength and prosperity. The king should accomplish this end by wisely making use of the four classes of men into which society can be divided, viz., warriors, merchants and artificers; the learned men and the husbandmen and laborers, by whose excretions and cooperation is ensured the progress and happiness of the 'world', i.e. the kingdom.\textsuperscript{31} The spirit of the Mughal rule was born of the belief that royalty is a light emanating from God, the Farr -I -izadi (the divine light). Hence many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light, of which 1. 'a parental attitude towards the subjects', and 2. 'a large heart' are the two foremost, as enumerated by Abul Fazl. Thus the Mughal government – from the time of Akbar, at any rate – was conceived in a spirit of benevolence, and in the attitude of a parent. The king regarded the subjects as his children and, hence, felt himself responsible for their safety, health, happiness and progress.

THE NOBILITY: Immediately below the monarch came his nobles. They usually supported him in power. A noble, generally, began his career as a slave or retainer of the emperor or of another big noble and by his gradual promotions, sometimes, he reached a high office and got the rank of Amir. The highest title of a noble was Khan, next came Malik and lastly Amir. Below them were some military ranks of Sipah Salar.\textsuperscript{32} The composition of Indian nobility was utterly heterogeneous, viz. Turks, Arabs, Afghans, Persians, Egyptians, Mughals and Indians. The nobility exercised a potent influence in the state as military generals, administrators and also, at times, as King-makers. Almost maximum noblemen of this period were fond of field sports swordsmanship and were

\textsuperscript{30} J. Talboys Wheeler, Early records of British India, London 1878, p.8
\textsuperscript{31} Ain, (Text) 3-4; Blochmann's Tr. I, Abul Fazl's Preface, pp. IV-V
\textsuperscript{32} P. N. Ojha, Aspects of Medieval Indian Culture, Ranchi, 1st Edn., p.128.
keenly interested in military exercises.33 Many among them were renowned patrons of arts and letters and were learned, humble, polite and courteous.34

Many of the nobles established their independent state. Important and powerful nobles tried to emulate the Sultan in every possible way. In the closing year of Sultanate, some of the nobles built mansions as would almost rival the king’s palace. The Islamic state fostered luxury among the members of its ruling aristocracy. The acquisition of enormous wealth by the nobility and their participation in the festivities of the royal court led to sinister vices of wine, women, drinking, gambling, and de-bauchery, sometimes of the worst type. But their ways of life did not always sap their vitality. Almost all the noblemen of this period were fond of sports, swordsmanship, and were keenly interested in military exercises. Many among them were renowned patrons of arts and letters and were ‘learned, humble, polite and courteous’.35

ULAMA: The Ulama constituted a very influential section of Muslim society. They were held in high esteem on account of religious learning and in many traditions of the Prophet; they referred to as his heirs and are, sometimes, compared to the Prophet of the Drwaletes.36 In a survey of Muslim society, Ulmas occupied a commanding place both in secular and religious affairs. The status enjoyed by the Ulamas in Muslim society can be gleaned from the tradition of the Prophet as recorded in the Tarikh a –I –Pakhru –ud –din –Mobarak Shah, that the best kings and the best nobles are those who visit the Doors of the Ulamas and the worst Ulamas are those who visit the door of the Kings and the nobles. The Ulamas are much superior in dignity and status to others, after them rank the kings.37

The Ulamas have been classified by the literature of the Mughal period in the two categories 1. (Ulama –I –Akhirat); they kept themselves aloof from

worldly greed. 2. The (Ulama –I –Duniya); they were expert in explaining away their irresponsible statements and actions. Their highest ambition of life was to become Sadar –I –Jahan. They acquired knowledge for the worldly gains. At times, the influence of the Ulamas was on the wane due to the policy and attitude of the reigning sovereign. Once, Sikandar Lodhi threatened to destroy a temple and a tank of Kurukshetra where the Hindus used to go for a Holy dip. Ulamas were consulted over this matter. Mian Abdullah of Ajodhyan supported the case of the Hindus as it was against the sprit of Islam to interfere with their ancient right. Mian Abdullah was threatened with death penalty for his view. At last, the Sultan had to bow before his Fatwa.38

It is natural if the people expected Ulamas to be chaste, truthful, serene, and afraid of moral turpitude, scrupulously observing the Shariat and Sunnah and free from all worldly grade. “They believed, when an illiterate man dies his sins also die with him, but when an alim dies his sins outlive him”.39 To sum up, the class of Ulamas consisted of men both of liberal and narrow views, of spiritual and mundane outlook. Learned men, true to the spirit of Islam and Fairless enough to risk their lives in speaking the truth, were not rare

**SUFI-SAINTS:** One of the important sections of this class was composed of the sufi-saints and darwesha, who were spread all over the country, wielding great influence and maintaining intimate touch with the common people. Reverence for these saints almost bordered on worship. Rich and poor, high and low, men and women all became their disciples. Their Khanqas were the meeting grounds of scholars, nobles and commoners, respected by Kings and commoners alike, these Sufi saints played a significant role in the country. Kings and nobles, generally, made liberal grants to these holy men, but the true saints among them shunned all offers of gift or service.40

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SLAVES

Although references to slavery are found in Rigveda, the earliest references to slave trade occur in Jatakas.41 The period between 7th century BC and 2nd century AD is known for brisk trade in slaves from a number of sources both, indigenous and foreign. Strabo says "that the king was waited upon by women purchased from their parents". Periplus mentions that beautiful girls for royal harems, as also slaves, were imported from Baragaza. He also mentions the export of women slaves from India to Socotra. Thus at least in the time of the author (1st AD), one of the important articles of the sea borne trade was human cargo.42

The wars waged by the Arabs and Turk invaders led to the capture of numerous prisoners who were often reduced to slavery and, sometimes, robbers sold their captives as slaves.43 The slave, as a commodity of trade, can be divided into two main categories on the basis of their sex and functions. Biologically, they belonged to the male or the female or the third category of eunuchs. We find several references to trade in the first (male) category of the slaves in indigenous literature. While some Muslim accounts mention trade in female slaves. The import of the eunuchs for royal harems is known from Muslim accounts also.44 According to the Encyclopaedia of Religion And Ethics,"The most generally accepted definition of slavery is that it is a social system in which one person is the property of another"45.

Domestic slaves can again be sub-divisible into two types, those for household purposes and those for luxury purposes. The duties of the purchased slave girls as enumerated in the forms of documents are cutting of (vegetables), pulverizing (spices), smearing the floor (with cow dung), sweeping, bringing water and fuel, throwing away human excreta of her master’s family, milking the

44 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p.118; K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hidnustan, p. 188.
45 J. Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion And Ethics, p. 595.
cow, buffalo, goat, churning curd, bringing grass for fodder, weeding and cutting grass and other household works. Earlier, rules as laid down in the Arthasastra, show that causing a slave girl to remove dead bodies, urine, the remains of food, hurting or abusing her, or asking her to attend on the master while he was bathing naked involved the forfeiture of the price paid for her. The use of slave girls as concubines had been prevalent since very early times. We find references to younger age slave girls of white complexion, sixteen years old and with pleasing and auspicious limbs. In another document, the slave girl is described as having black eyes, a sharp nose, and long hair, with all her limbs in proper form. Obviously slave girls were purchased for the sexual pleasure also.\textsuperscript{46}

The slave as a commodity of trade is also referred to in certain Indian inscriptions. A record dated in kali year 4431, falling in the reign of the Hoyasala king Viraballaba (1173 AD), mentions the tax of 2 Kasu for one slave. Some other inscriptions of South India also specify slaves as articles on which toll was charged.\textsuperscript{47}

It was the attitude of early Dharamrastrakaras that the first two varnas (Brahmana and Kshatriya) should not trade in human beings. It was also laid down in these smritis that a Brahmana or Kshatriya who indulges in slave trading automatically becomes a vasiya in seven days.\textsuperscript{48} According to the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, “The most generally accepted definition of slavery is that it is a social system in which one person is the property of another.”\textsuperscript{49} Manucci writes that “It is the habit of these kings to have usually in their service several thousand slaves of different nations and some among them are established as chiefs to govern and guide the rest. They are all gentlemen troupers and have good pay…. They have various employments both within the household and in other duties connected with it. In addition, they are used as spies to report what is going on as well among the nobles as the common people.”\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{46} L. Global, \textit{Economic life of Northern India}, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{47} Epigraphia Carnatica VIII, Sorab, 237 or Nellore Institutions III. on gole, 132, 213 of 1918.
\textsuperscript{48} Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 39th Session, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1978, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., pp. 357-58.
The nobles followed the practice of keeping slaves and slave-girls in their households as the desire to show off, marked the character of this period. The harem of every nobleman was a replica of the royal house and abounded in eunuchs, slaves and slave-girls. On a lower level, they helped the ladies or performed the entire household duties including the cooking. They could be exploited to any extent, but, generally, they were well treated as in this case the owner’s reputation was at stake and not very often the slaves took advantage of it. About these common slaves and domestic servants, Manucci has made a very interesting and quite a justifiable observation, “Verily it produces desperation to be dependent on the men and women slaves of India. In them there is no goodness; they are full of malice, generally thieves, false, traitors, deniers, slothful, loquacious; incapable of secrecy, devoid of love and fidelity, for ever complaining of their masters. Treat them tenderly as your children and they behave the worse and to get any work done, you must act against them harshly and make them do their duty by force. They serve you by fear of blows and not from duty or love. The free servants are just the same. Servants leave their master soldiers on their campaigns. If any of these soldiers are in any degree well served, it is because they are accompanied by a wife and some Negro women, with whom the servants have intrigues and through this attraction follow him.”

Among the domestics, both male and female, there were many slaves till the end of the 18th century in North Bihar, Bengal and Assam, indeed, everywhere along the northern frontier. The sale of debators (not being Muhammedans) seems to have been a common practice in Muhammedan countries. As per Manrique’s statement that the Government of the province would seize the wives and children of those cultivators who could not pay off the revenue, made them into slaves and sold them by auction. Hamilton mentions that he was, himself, empowered to sell up the families of his creditors in Thatta

51 Ibid., pp. 447-48
without going to court.  

Famine and epidemic caused indebtedness which thus, was responsible for a considerable amount of slavery that was normally in existence. Slaves of male sex were called Golams or Nafars, and the women called Laundis. Slaves were employed not merely as domestic but also as agricultural workers.

At the beginning of the 17th century the majority of the inhabitants of Goa were described as slaves. Surprisingly, there is a mention of rich ladies who were keeping a number of slaves under them with valuable jewels, they received the same pay as the other slaves and were under their orders, and each had, under her, about ten women over whom she ruled. The slaves were regarded by some as the lowest classes in society making out a precarious existence. Although these people made no distinction of “Meat and drinks”, though they had full reverence for the cow and therefore never touched beef. Female slaves were of two kinds, viz. (a) Those employed for domestic and menial services, and (b) those purchased for pleasure and company and the latter, naturally, had more honourable and sometimes even a dominating position in the royal as well as aristocratic households. Their prices varied in accordance with their personal charm, sociability and physical fitness. A slave was, generally, a prisoner of war, or born of slave parents and his life was at the mercy of the master who exercised full powers of life and death over him. Thus, a slave was not a free agent in the eyes of the law of the land and had no rights, whatsoever. The institution of slavery might have served some useful purposes to the Sultans and their nobles, but it did produce certain baneful social effects. It had, certainly, a stamp of unprogressiveness and was an unhealthy feature of our social life.

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55 Ibid. p-336.
58 Ibid. p. 134.
Hindu noblemen and chiefs began to employ slaves for military and domestic purposes. Even public women in Deccan began to employ slaves for attendance and service. As late as the close of the last century, slavery existed in the native states of Rajputana as it did probably in earlier periods. In Mewar, apart from agricultural bondage, baral, which is redeemable slavery, existed in other forms, the slaves being usually known as golas, probably Gulam or Dases. The Golas were the general body of slaves who had lost their liberty and the Dases, (literally slaves). The illegitimate sons of ruling Princes had no rank or legal position in the State, though they were to provide to the Raja. The marriages of slaves (both Golas and Dases) were confined to those of their own class. Their offspring were also slaves, generally esteemed in public according to the quality of the mother – if she was a Rajputni, a Muslim or one of the degraded tribes, with the familiar advantages or disadvantages of a caste. The slaves also formed a caste of their own, which took away part of the social stigma. Tod bears testimony to the fact that they were well treated in the war and even held confidential positions about the chiefs whose body they were: Their distinguishing mark was the wearing of a silver ring found in the left ankle.

It creates, in the long run, an offensive and brutal upper class on the one hand and a bitter and vindictive lower class on the other. Similarly, a long tradition of slavery creates a set of persons born to work that others may not think. Another obvious inference from this unhealthy division of classes is that manual labour becomes identified with slave labour and, therefore, discredited. Thus, we conclude on the basis of sources that the institution of slavery remained a powerful institution with different shades in medieval times.

Foreign travellers who visited India during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries present a picture of small group in the ruling class living a life of great ostentation and luxury, in short contrast to the miserable condition of the masses – the peasants, the artisans and the domestic attendants.

**Upper Class** (Rulers, Nobles, Aristocrats etc.)

**Middle Class** (Officials, Agriculturists and Merchants etc.)

**Lower Class** (Peasants, Artisans, Labourers and Slaves etc.)

Moreland referred to the utter rigidity of the caste system of the Hindus. He classified the economic life of Indian population at the time of Akbar’s death into two groups. The consuming classes consisting of (1) The court and the Imperial service. (II) The professional and religious classes, including merchants and ascetics, and (III) Domestic servants and slaves. The producing class, were engaged in (I) Agriculture (II) Industry (III) Commerce. The discussion rounded off with an analysis of the standard of life and the wealth of India and its distribution. During the Mughal period the society can be classified broadly into three groups viz. Upper, Middle and Lower.

**UPPER CLASS:** The classification is made on the basis of the royal family at the top of the social and political order as a separate entity. The ruling class of Emperors, those from royal families, other nobles and aristocrats constituted the major chunk of the upper class in Mughal India. The Mughal rulers were proud of their origin from Changez Khan and Timur. All the powers of the masses were surrendered to the divine representative, the king or the Emperor. The Emperor enjoyed a unique position in social structural hierarchy. Khutba was read and coins were stricken at the time of Emperor’s ascending the throne.

The British travellers have given a useful testimony about the wealthy status of the Mughal rulers (from Akbar onwards) and their patronage to the various arts. They on several occasions, have given a vivid description of the luxurious life of the rulers and the nobles as they attired themselves in costly dresses, ate a variety of rich food, drank costly wine and lived in the palatial houses. The food of the upper class consisted of Branj (dressed rice), aeshalia (spiced meat), Pollaeb (Pulao), zuyela (spiced wheaten cakes), dupaiza, also roasted meat and various other good courses, served on very large dishes.

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Fruits of different varieties were also regularly eaten by the nobles.\textsuperscript{62} Manucci, a European traveller who spent a life-time in India, describes various aspects of the social life of Indian Mugal Emperors. He describes Aurangzeb’s costly kitchen, which according to him as not lavish, was not without delicious dishes.

The upper class in Mughal India consisted of the nobles, the autonomous chiefs and rajas and the wealthy merchants in the towns. The Mughal nobles received salaries which were, probably, the highest in the world at that time. In addition to their personal (Zat) salaries, the nobles were allowed considerable profits on payments of salaries to their soldiers (tabinan), some nobles engaged in trade and so augmented their income. Some again, put their money out on interest to merchants. \textit{Abul Fazl}, advised the nobles to indulge a little in commercial speculation and engage in remunerative undertaking, reserving a portion in goods and wares and invest in the speculation of others. Establishing chards and markets was another favourable form of investment. The commercial speculations of some nobles, such as Mir Jumla, included a fleet of ships which operated all over west and south East Asia. \textit{Thomas Roe} adds that ‘great and small are traders. Nevertheless, income from land revenue remained the main source of income’. One may agree with Moreland that ‘spending not hording’ was the dominant characteristic of the pattern of life of the nobles.

There are innumerable interesting references to the lifestyle of the nobility. They lived in much luxury and indulged in so much extravagance that the rest of the populace looked mediocre and insignificant when compared to them. Generally, the nobles, according to a saying, “follow the creed of the rulers”, adopted the pattern set by the emperor. The noble spent a huge amount of money in constructing the palatial houses. There were huge establishments meant to accommodate their families, personal staff and servants.\textsuperscript{63} Each apartment consisted of several large halls and rooms for different purpose and contained several courtyards inside them.\textsuperscript{64} Some of the residences had secret

\textsuperscript{62} Radhakamal Mukherjee, \textit{The Economic History of India – 1600 –1800}, Allahabad, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{63} Jourdain, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{64} John de Laet, \textit{De Imperio magni mogolis} tr. J. S. Hoyland, annotated by S. N. Banerji in the empire of the Great Mogol, Bombay, 1928. P.91
underground tunnels leading to unfrequented pathway to be used as safe passage for escape in times of danger.\textsuperscript{65} Money was lavishly spent not only on construction but on outward decoration also. The floors were covered with beautiful thick carpets and soft cushions. The accounts of contemporary travellers who visited the residences of these nobles, corroborate this.\textsuperscript{66} Bernier has given a graphic picture of an inner apartment of the nobles, which Pelsaert has described as the Diwan Khana. He further refers to the beds and serving utensils lavishly, ornamented with silver and gold. Manrique refers to Asaf Khan’s furniture inlaid with precious stones to add beauty and richness and the walls paneled with manifold floral designs and covered with silicon hangings. The rooms were adorned with fine porcelain vases and flower pots made in earthen pottery and brought from distant lands.\textsuperscript{67} The gardens, attached to these imposing residences, were well planned and maintained beautifully. To create a more charming and cool atmosphere, ornamental tanks, fish pounds, fountains and artificial springs were added to them. Water, running through these fountains in fine sprinkles, was the most fascinating and pleasing site during the scorching heat of summer.\textsuperscript{68}

Besides these lavishly furnished residences, the nobles also had their pleasure resort and country houses built in the same luxurious style, with beautiful gardens. Some of them also maintained their private boats for relaxation and recreation.\textsuperscript{69}

Manucci’s vivid account of the dresses worn by ladies of the aristocracy makes interesting reading “ordinarily they wear two or three garments, each weighting not more than one ounce, and worth forty to fifty rupees each. They sleep in these clothes and renew them every twenty four hours and never put

\textsuperscript{66} Terry, Edward Edward \textit{A Voyage to East India}, Purchas, Vol. IX, glassgow, 1905, p.130.
\textsuperscript{67} Manrique –II, p. 118, Bernier, p. 247, Manucci -II, p. 426
\textsuperscript{69} Richard Steel & John Crowther, \textit{A Journal of their Journey}, Purchas, IV, p. 82, Pelsaert, p. 5, Thevenot, p. 82.
them again, but give them away to their servants.” The upper class ladies also wore costly shawls. The shoes were made of leather and the upper part was adorned with velvet, leather and gold work. Manucci estimated the cost of one slipper of Jafar Khan’s wife at fifty thousand rupees.

The use of costly gold ornaments inset with precious gems was very common, among both men and women of the upper class. Almost every part of the body, Ears, Nose, Neck, Wrist, Ankles and Arms etc. adorned with them. The upper class, according to their status, had large female establishment, consisting of numerous wives, mistresses, and concubines. A large, retinue of servants and slaves were also maintained, and it was customary to keep horses, Camels, Elephants etc.

Amongst the main items of expenditure may be maintained the marriage celebrations, annual festivals and social gatherings, including feasts and parties, organized by the upper class. Beside these, the presents made to the emperor and the royal family comprised of fine pearls, diamonds, emeralds, rubies nd vessels filled with gold coins.

Manrique mentions that amongst the variety of confectionary items for nobility such as such as pastries and cakes in European style. Tea and coffee, iced, drinks, betel, and certain other intoxicants were in common use. Perfumes of many kinds from flowers, distilled essence, and rose water were in great demand. It was traditional for ladies to dye their hand and feet with Heena. At most of the festive, parties dancing and singing by professionals was a common feature.

71 Op. cit., Manucci, III. P. 38.
73 Caren, p. 243.
75 Manrique II, p. 218 -19.
THE MIDDLE CLASS

The European travellers and writers have made then candid remarks about the existence of middle class included the official, warriors, traders, intellectuals, and those resulted in formation of their respective caste system. Contrary to the descriptions of the foreign writers, the intellectuals and other professional classes including scholars, musicians, artists, calligraphists, poets, physicians, etc. executed important functions. Most of them were patronized directly by the Emperor and the nobles.

Lin schoten remarks that the shopkeepers, the traders, the merchants, the bankers as well as the physicians and the writer caste – consisted of the middle class in Mughal India. Physicians earned handsomely from practice. He found the Indian physicians at Goa prospered with lucrative practice both among the Portuguese and the native population besides earning high honour and esteem. Astrologers were also in large demand especially, among the nobility and acquired large wealth.

It is, generally, agreed that the Mughals had developed a highly centralized system of administration. One is often surprised at the detailed and meticulous records which the Mughal government maintained, including detailed records of prices, taxes, number of houses, name and castes of revenue payees and householders, etc. The Mansab and jagir systems also generated voluminous records. The Mughals needed an enormous number of petty officials such as diwan, muharrir, amil, karkun, to cope with the immense secretarial work involved in their system of administration. The lower officials of mansabdars and the gentlemen troopers (ahadis) could also be placed within their category from the point of view of income.

It is quite evident from the accounts of the travellers that the commercial and financial structure of Mughal India was highly developed. There was

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78 op. cit., Iqtidar Alam Khan, The Middle Class in the Mughal Empire, p. 12, Prof. I. A. Khan in his presidential address has categorically laid emphasizes is on the presence of middle class during Mughal period.
considerable specialization of functions among traders. The wholesale traders, shopkeepers, money-changers-cum money lenders (sarraf) and gumashtas and dalal (agent brokers) formed separate professional groups. The Banjaras specialized in transporting commodities in bulk. There was a keen competition going on in the market for a particular commodity and merchants left no stone unturned to exploit the situation or a higher profit was to be earned. According to contemporary writers, the cities were busy con-courses of merchants (beoparis) selling all kinds of goods from jewels and clothes to animals. The master craftsmen must be considered alongside the merchants. Significantly, in his four-fold division of society, Abul Fazl bracketed the merchants and master-craftsmen, placing them below the nobles, but above the religious and intellectual classes.

Moreland, and Bernier stated, that “In Delhi there is no middle state. A man must either be of the highest rank or live miserable.” Moreland indicated that with the exception of those who depended on various public officers, these were “no lawyers very few if any professional teachers, no journalists, or politicians, no engineers, no forms of employment corresponding to the modern railways, postal or irrigation services, or to factories and large workshops, scarcely and families living upon accumulated property.” Brij Narian, pointed out that rich and influential merchants under Akbar and Jahangir “would form a middle class between the common laborer and the artisan on one side and the nobles on the other.”

According to Beni Prasad, “the better sort of trader the more flourishing Priest, Physician, artist, astrologer, together with the second-class military and civil officer formed what may be called a middle class.” Tapan Ray Chaudhuri, disagreed with Moreland on the comparative insignificance” of the middle class and pointed out that as a matter of fact, Bengal, in the period under review, had

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82 Brij Narian, Indian Economic Life Past and Present, Lahore, 1929, pp. 57-58.
a numerous middle class pursuing a variety of professions. Iqtidar Alam Khan suggested that the trading and the professional groups formed the middle stratum. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, found it very surprising that Moreland has completely ignored the evidence of Dutch and Italian sources regarding the existence, especially, at coastal towns, of numerous body of merchants and trading classes, constituting a very wealthy middle class.

Prof. Brij Narayan’s contention again that, our large and profitable foreign commerce, which made streams of gold and silver, flow from many parts of the world, to our country suggested the existence of a numerous and wealthy merchant class; in the pre-British period. He assumed that, “these merchants would form a middle class between the common laborer and the artisan on the one side and the nobles on the other. A rich and influential middle class, engaged in trade and commerce, must have then existed under Akbar and Jahangir. Radhakamal Mukherji indicated about social stratification that, a middle class consisting of traders, bankers, merchants, shopkeepers as well as physicians and the writer caste existed in Mughal India. It has been surmised that the group of revenue officials who enjoyed this prosperity consisted mostly of Brahmans, Kayastha, Khatris and Baniyas. Revenue officials seem to have become prosperous in the provinces also. In Bengal many of the diwans and bakshis serving the local Rajas, as well as the qanungos became wealthy zamindars. Their prosperity certainly did not depend upon their salaries, but on their manipulations, including brible-taking, defalcation of revenue and revenue farming.

FOOD HABITS OF UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS

An account of various vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes is given below which was, of course, consumed and enjoyed by mostly the upper classes.
as the masses would not know even the names of the most dishes consumed in the royal kitchen or those of nobility and other upper and middle classes members. Though the mean source in Ain, but other relevant source is also not neglected the vegetarian meals or non—vegetarian meals.

(VEGETARIAN MEALS)

Among the vegetarian dishes cooked in the royal kitchen of Akbar, Abul Fazl mentions the following:-

1. **Zardbirani** – It was made of rice, sugarcandy and ghee. It could be prepared with or without almonds, pistachio, *kishmish*, saffron, ginger, cinnamon and cardamoms.

2. **Khushke** – It was a dish of simple rice without ghee and spices and salt.

3. **Sheerbiranj** was prepared from wheat ground and ghee and salt and spices.

4. **Chikhee** was made of paste and wheat ground and one-tenth of ghee along with salt and spices.

5. **Badanjan** – coconut, ghee, onion, and spices went into the preparation of this dish.

6. **Pahet** was prepared from skinned pulses like *mung*, *mash* and lentils, ghee and spices.

7. **Sag** was a very natural dish made of spinach, fennel, ghee and spices.

8. **Halwa** was pudding prepared from wheat flour, sugar candy and ghee.

9. **Khichri** was also a regular dish in Akbar’s kitchen. It was made as today from split *mung*, rice and ghee.\(^\text{89}\)

Among the vegetables given in the Ain are: Radishes; carrots; cabbage; fennel; kachnar; (banbinia variegata) flowers; sorrel; mint; wild carrot (shaqaqul), red spinach; palwal (trichothan thanes dioica plant) gourd, bean, pytch, kerala

\(^{89}\) Op., cit., *Ain –I – Akbari*, p -44
(bitter gourd), kakora, kachalu, chachendra; suran; singhara; salak; pindalu; siyala; kesru. Among the sags were: spinach, chulai, fenugreek; bathua. Other names given in the translation of Blochmann are: turnips; kankachhu (from Kashmir); Dunwretu; upalhak; jitu; ratsakus.90

The prevalent prices of vegetables when the Ain was compiled were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vegetable</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fennel</td>
<td>10 dams a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinach</td>
<td>16 dams a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint</td>
<td>40 dams a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunip</td>
<td>21 dams a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>1 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kankachhu</td>
<td>4 dams a ser (from Kashmir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunwretu</td>
<td>2 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaqaquil</td>
<td>3 dams a ser (wild carrot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upalhak</td>
<td>1 dams a ser (from Kashmir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jutu</td>
<td>3 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poi</td>
<td>1 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachnar buds</td>
<td>1/2 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chukka (sorrel)</td>
<td>1/2 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathua</td>
<td>1/4 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratsaku</td>
<td>1 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chulai</td>
<td>1/4 dams a ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic flowers</td>
<td>1 dam a ser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Peter Mundy mentions the names of colewort, lattice, mint and beets among the herbs in India and turnips and carrots and potatoes among roots.91

**NON – VEGETARIAN MEALS**

The following were the meat preparations as given by the Abul Fazl in his days by upper and middle class, particularly, Muslims.

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90 Ibid., pp -45 -66.
91 op. cit Mundy, II, p -309.
QABULI: In ten seers of rice, 7 seers of meat and 3½ seers of ghee were required. To make qabuli delicious they put in it skinned gram, onions, cinnamon, round pepper, cardamoms and cloves, fresh ginger and cumin seed. Some also added almonds and raisins.

DUZDBIRYAN: In order to prepare five dishes 10 seers each of rice and meat and 3-1/2 seers of ghee were needed.

QIMA PALAO: For this dish rice and meat in the above proportion was necessary.

SHULLA: For preparing six dishes of shulla 10 seers of meat, 3 ½ seers of rice, 2 seers of ghee and one seer of gram were required besides prescribed quantities of garlic and onion and all other items of spices as needed for Qabuli.

BUGHRA: Twelve dishes of this preparation needed 10s. Meat, 3s. Flour, 1-1/2 seers ghee, 1s. Gram, 1 ½ s. vinegar, 1s. Sugar candy, besides ¼ s. each of onions, carrots, beets, turnips, fennel and ginger. Saffron, cloves, cardamoms, cinnamon and round pepper were also added.

QIMA SHORBA: For preparing ten full dishes of qima shorba, 10s. Meat, one seer ghee and ½ s. grams were adequate besides all other items as needed for shulla.

HARISA: dish was prepared from 10s. Meat, 5s. Crushed wheat, 2s. Ghee, 1s. Gram, besides salt, onions and ginger. This made five dishes.

KASHK: For making five dishes of this 10s. Meat, 5s. Crushed wheat, 2s. Ghee, besides salt, onion, ginger, cinnamon, cardamoms, cloves, cuminseed and saffron were required.

HALIM needed the same quantity of meat, wheat, gram, spices and saffron as for kashk. One seer ghee, ¼ s. of turnips and carrots, spinach and fennel each gave ten dishes.
QUTAB or SANBUSA could be prepared in 20 different ways for full four dishes. The quantities of items needed were: 10s. Meat, 4s. Fine flour, 2s. Ghee, 1s. Onions, ½ s. fresh ginger besides the other usual spices.

BIRYAN was made in various ways and for a whole Dashmundi sheep one seer of ghee, 2s. Salt, besides saffron, cloves, pepper and cuminseed, were needed.

YAKHNI was made of meat. One seer onion and ½ s. of salt were needed if yakhni of 10s. Of meat was to be prepared.

YULMA: For this they scalded a sheep in water till its wook came off and then prepared the yulma dish like that of yakhuni. But for this a lamb or kid was more preferable.

KABAB was made of various kinds. Half a seer of ghee was adequate if kabab from 10s. Meat was to be prepared. Usual spices were also necessary.

MUSSAMAN was prepared of a whole fowl whose bones were taken out through the neck. The ingredients needed for its preparation were ½ s. minced meat; ½ s. ghee; 5 eggs; and the usual other spices and saffron.

DUPUYAZA: To have five dishes of this preparation they took 10s. Meat, s. ghee, 2s. Onions and other spices.

MUTANJANA sheep: It was made of 10s. Meat, 2s. Ghee, and other spices or of fowl and fish.

DAMPUKHT: For the preparation of DAMPUKHT they needed 10s. Of meat, 2s. Ghee, 1s. onions and other spices.

QALIYA: Almost the quantities of meat and other items were the same as in the above for the preparation of this dish. In preparing it, the meat was minced and the gravy was thick, in opposition to the mutanjana.

MALGHUBA was perhaps the only meat dish which besides the above quantity of meat, 10s. Curd besides other spices was added.92

92 op. cit Ain, Text, p-43; Blochmann, pp-61-64
Some of the meat dishes mentioned in the Ain have also been referred to by the contemporary foreign travellers. Herbert Moll alludes to dampukht i.e. fowl boiled in butter of ghee and stuffed with raisin and almonds. It was prepared with spices in butter and Muslims had a special preference for it.  

Abul Fazl has recorded the prices of various animals and birds whose flesh was eaten by the people:

Table 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Price per head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dashmundy sheep</td>
<td>Rs. 0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Afghan sheep first kind</td>
<td>Rs. 2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Afghan sheep second kind</td>
<td>Rs. 1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Afghan sheep third kind</td>
<td>Rs. 1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kashmiri sheep</td>
<td>Rs. 1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Hindustani sheep</td>
<td>Rs. 1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Barbari goat</td>
<td>Rs. 0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mutton per mound</td>
<td>65 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Goat per mound</td>
<td>54 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Goose</td>
<td>20 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Duck per head</td>
<td>One rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Tughdari (bastard) per head</td>
<td>20 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Kulang (crane)</td>
<td>20 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Jarz (kind of bastard)</td>
<td>18 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Durraj (black partridge)</td>
<td>3 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Kabg (partridge)</td>
<td>20 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Budana</td>
<td>1 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Lavah</td>
<td>1 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Karwanak (stone curlew)</td>
<td>20 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Fakhta</td>
<td>1 dams</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

93 Herbert Moll, p-254; Fryer, p-234.
The Ain mentions the following items of pickles along with their prices:

Table 1.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price in dams per ser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sour limes</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Lemon –juice</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Wine vinegar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sugarcane vinegar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pickled ashtarghar</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mangoes in oil</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mangoes in vinegar</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mangoes in salt</td>
<td>1 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mangoes in lemon –juice</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Pickled ginger</td>
<td>2 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Adarshakh ginger</td>
<td>2 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Pickled carrots</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Pickled bamboo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Pickled apple</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Pickled quinces</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Pickled garlic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Pickled onions</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Pickled Badinjan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Pickled raisins &amp; manuqqa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Pickled Kachnar</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Pickled Peaches</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Pickled Sahajna (Horse raddish )</td>
<td>1 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Pickled Karil buds</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Pickled Karil berries</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Pickled Suran</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Pickled mustard</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Pickled Tori (cucumber)</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Pickled Cucumbers</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Pickled Badrang (gourd)</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Pickled Kachalu</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Pickled Raddishes</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ibid, Ain, pp., 50- 58.
In 1615, the prices of various conserves were as noted below:96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price per mound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ginger green</td>
<td>Rs. 2 and 27 pais per mound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Myroblan</td>
<td>Rs. 3-1/2 per mound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mangoes</td>
<td>Rs. 4-1/2 per mound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Salt fruit</td>
<td>Rs. 5 per mound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HOUSING PATTERN OF UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS: According to Monserrate, Delhi had fine private houses, 'well-built lofty and handsomely decorated.' Bernier says that a house was considered beautiful which was spacious and had a courtyard garden, trees, a basin of water, and handsome furnished apartments with large fans.98

In Bengal, the nobles' houses were built of bricks, some of them in three storeys and in grand style. A single house in the Deccan cost a noble Rs. 150,000. The furniture included bedsheets, mirrors, chairs and stools, all richly decorated with inlay work. Fine wooden boxes of inlay were produced in Gujarat and were in wide demand. The floor was often covered by rich carpets and cushions. Bernier says that the whole floor would be covered by a cotton mattress, four inches thick. A fine cloth was spread over the floor during summer and silk carpets during winter. The cushions were quilted with 'flowered' cloth ornamental with delicate silk embroidery, interspersed with gold and silver, or with brocaded velvet and flowered satin. The roof too would be richly gilded with costly hangings of rich curtains.

The people of this class differed widely in incomes and earnings, behavior and outlook, and this was reflected in their living standards, and life-style. This

96 op., cit Letters Received III, 1617, p. 41
97 op., cit Monserrate, Commentary (trans.) Hoyland, and Benerji, p. 97
98 op., cit Bernier, 247.
class had a habit of savings from their income and earnings, and some of them, especially the merchants and traders at times even adopted the means by which they might appear indigent, or in need of subsistence.\textsuperscript{99} That is although they had lot of money they put up an outward cover of poverty. The style of dress of the middle class did not differ very much from that of the upper class. In fact, both men and women wore simple and plain cloth, they also used turbans and caps. The Hindu Pandits wore only two pieces of cloth one a Dhoti to cover the lower limbs, and the other a scarf to cover the upper part of the body, the quality of the cloth depending on their status. Shoes were of various types. The merchants wore shoes with heals for convenience,\textsuperscript{100} while other used shoes without heals. Thevenot, express that “the rich Baniyas cover the upper leather of their with velvet embroidered with great flowers of silk and the rest are satisfied with red leather and small flowers, or some other gantry of little value.”\textsuperscript{101}

Men and women of this class were quite fond of ornaments. The middle class were quite well off and their women were laden with jewelry. Manucci says, “their children – carry from the birth to seven years of age little well on their legs, either of gold or silver and a little chain of the same metal around the waist.”\textsuperscript{102} Most section of the middle class celebrated family functions such as the birth of a child, marriages, and festivals on a grand scale. Feasts and exchange of presents were common features on these occasion money was spent lavishly according to means and status.\textsuperscript{103}

**RECREATIONS AND PASTIMES (UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS)**

The Mughal period has been called the age of joy and pleasure on account of organisation of different kinds of games, sports, and various other kinds of pastimes and recreation. There is no much difference between the pastimes of Mughal period and those of today. One of the very significant feature

\textsuperscript{99} Op., cit., Pelsaert, p. 63.  
\textsuperscript{100} Op., cit., Thevenot, p. 52.  
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{102} Op., cit., Manucci, III, p.138  
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid 150.
of the outdoor games and amusements of that period was that they had been greatly influenced by the military and adventurous characteristics of the age. Some of the games like Chaugan (Polo), hunting animal fights, racing etc. were, practically, the monopoly of the aristocratic few, while other like chess, chaupar, playing cards, pigeon-flying, kite-flying, wrestling, fencing etc. were accessible to the rich and the poor alike.

**INDOORS GAMES:** The important and popular indoor games were chess, playing cards, chaupar, chandal-mandal and dice gambling.

**CHESS:** Abul Fazk writes that it was most popular indoor games at that time for both high and low classes. Akbar is said to have played the game of living chess with slave girls as pieces moving on the chequered pavement of the pachisi court at Fatehpur Sikri. The emperor played this game “four-handed and two-handed” and his chief object was to test the value of men, and to establish harmony and good fellow-feeling at the court.

Once, the Bihar Governor, Jamal-ud-din, invited the British Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe to a dinner at Hafiz Jamal, Jahangir’s pleasure garden near Ajmer. After the dinner the Nawab played at chess. De Laet also remarked about the Indians’ fondness for the game of chess. Edward Terry found the Indians very skilful in that most innocent and ingenious game we call chess. In 1614, William Edward, an employee of the East India Company at Ahmedabad, sent to Sir Thomas Smith, the governor of the East India Company in London, a pair of play tables for the game of chess, as a token of my remembrance.

**DICE-GAMBLING:** Gambling was considered unlawful both by the Hindus and the Muslims; Thevenot, Eye witness of this game, says that there used to be much gambling during festival days. He narrates the story of a Delhi merchant

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105 Ibid.
who lost all his money, goods, house, even wife and children in the game. The
winners later showed the generosity of returning the wife and children; but only a
small portion of the huge money won from him was returned to him.\textsuperscript{110}

\textbf{PLAYING CARDS:} K. M. Ashraf's view that it appears to have been first
introduced in Hindustan by the Mughal Emperor Babur.\textsuperscript{111} The game consisted
of twelve suits of twelve cards each, making a total of 144 with different kind of
kings and their attendants.\textsuperscript{112} Akbar only made some suitable alternations in the
cards.\textsuperscript{113} Jahangir was intensely fond of it.\textsuperscript{114} Roe once saw Shahjahan playing
cards earnestly. This game was equally popular with the common people who
displayed different tricks at cards.\textsuperscript{115}

\textbf{CHAUPAR:} The game Chaupar is of Indian origin. A reference in Ain-i-Akbari
shows that sometime as many as 200 Mughal nobles used to take part in the
play. A match used to be 16 games. During Akbar's reign, participants were not
allowed to go home till they had finished the games which sometimes lasted for
three months. The playing of Chaupar was particularly famous among
Rajputs.\textsuperscript{116} Zeb-un-Nisa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb spent most of her
spare time in playing chaupar with her girl's friends.

\textbf{CHANDAL-MANDAL:} Abul Fazl describes the technique of playing this game.
As in Chaupar, the pieces are moved to the right and pass through the whole
circle. The player who is first out is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from
the fifteen players; the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on. The
first player, therefore, wins the most and the last one loses the most whereas of
the other players, both lose and win. Akbar appears to have been very fond of

\textsuperscript{110} Indian Travels and Careri ed. by S. N. Sen, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} Thomas Roe, The Embassay of Thomas Roe to the Court of Great Mogul, Edited by
this game and he played it in several ways. Manucci opines that the "greatest amusement of the Muslims was" to pass the greatest part of their time among the women. This is so much the case that through them important business of court is transacted. For his part he had done a great deal through the first princess.

To ask one another to solve puzzles and narrate stories were other pastime of the people in those days. Rahim speaks of the dance of dolls which might have been an interesting pastime for the young girls. Dancing, singing and narratives from the classics were other pastimes of the people. Another hobby was the rearing of domestic birds like parrots, mynas and others to tutor them. Children had their playthings in the house and they were usually coloured. Among them were small cots, black bees and wasps, caskets balls, swans, chakor, and peacocks and sparrows, naturally, made of clay or wood. Among other initiating play things used to be canes, horns of beasts, and also lutes.

MUSIC AND SOCIAL PARTIES: Abul Fazl mentions, "Music as talisman of knowledge" which formed one of the most favourite pastimes. The nobles and the rich were good at music both instrumental and vocal. In Akbar's court, there were a large number of musicians including Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris and of both sexes. Abul Fazal has mentioned thirty six names of musicians in the Ain. The Mughal Emperor, Babur, himself, excelled in music and composed songs. His son, Humayun, enjoyed a book and a song it with palatable food and flasks of wine.

It is worthwhile to mention that women singers played the most important role in the society of Munhall. The women singers sang at feasts and marriage festivals. It is evident that some ladies of the royal family also took keen interest in music and were themselves good singers. Ratnavali, the wife of Purim Mal sang Hindi melodies sweetly. Man Singh’s queen, Mrignayani was expert in

118 A Papy's of Mughal India, p. 203
120 Tuzuk-i-Baburi, pp 292-303
music. It is said that Nurjahan Begum and Petunias Begum also sang well and the former even composed songs. Mirabel was a good singer. Kittens were sung by the devotees in praise of God.\[^{121}\] It appears in Ain-I-Akbari that a large number of wind and string instruments were used by the musicians were Dhal, Sarah, Away, Daft, dadah, Peshawar. Khanjara, tantra mantra, vina, sarbin, rubab, sarangi, murli, ranak, tal, kat tal, mashk, ambhiti, sarmandal, kingira and upang.\[^{122}\]

**JASHANS:** Jashans or social parties, accompanied with feasts, dancing, music and other means of entertainment, formed a very important indoor diversion for the sovereigns and the well to do classes. On such festive occasions, vocal as well as instrumental music was played and dainty wines, dry fruits and rich dishes were served to the participants, who busily engaged themselves in some indoor games like chess, chaupar, playing cards, etc. In short, music and dancing, feasts as well as drinking, constituted the chief ingredients of such social gatherings.

**MINA BAZAR:** Mina Bazar or fancy fair also formed another important means of recreation for the Emperor, his family and important members of aristocracy. The pomp and grandeur of these ‘fancy fairs’ appeared to have been greatly increased during the reign of Shahjahan. Manucci gives a graphic picture of the various past times of the ladies of harams. To this must be added that they have permission to enjoy the pleasure of the comedy and dance, to listen to tales and stories of love, to recline upon beds of the running water, to hear singing and another similar pastimes.\[^{123}\]

There were many outdoor games. This game became popular among the nobles and ladies of the royal households. The commoners could be spectators only and not participants. Amber was very fond of the game. Abul Fazl remarks that eternally the game added to the splendor of the court, but viewed from a higher point reveals concealed talents. Akbar selected the polo players by the

caste of die “as the never orders anyone to be a player.” Following were the important outdoor games:

WRESTLING: Wrestling was considered to be not only a pastime but also an exercise to keep them fit. Many wrestling matches took place under the royal patronage and the Mughal kings and princes took delight in seeing them and heartening the contestants by their presence. The winners were profusely rewarded.

BOXING: According to De Laet “He enjoys looking at boxing matches at conjuring.” Akbar kept a large number of Turani and Persian boxers at the court for he was especially fond of this game. Manucci also refers to this game.

RIDING: Horse riding was a common sight. Sometimes the rich also enjoyed elephant riding. Princesses used to enjoy horse riding.

BOATING: Boats were used mostly as a means of transport but sometimes nobles did not use them to refresh themselves by boating on river and lakes. Rare pleasure boats, More Pankhs or Bajras, were constructed for this purpose for nobles.

RACES: Horse Racing and dog racing were sources of entertainment among the high class Mughal nobles. Akbar took great delight in it.

PIGEON FLYING: Pigeon flying was a common entertainment for both the high class and the common people. Akbar renamed the sport as Ishqbaz. Royal pigeons were taught to perform charkh and bazi. During the reign of Jahangir the number of Khasah pigeon seems to have increased to 10,000. Manucci refers to

126 Op., cit., De Laet., The Empire if the Great Mughal, ed. Hoyland and Banerjee, Bombay, 1928, p. 82.
this game and informs us that the pigeons were also engaged for carrying
messages from one place to another.131

HUNTING: Hunting was one of the best means of recreation and amusement
during the Mughal times and was indulged in by kings, nobles and the
commoners. Almost all the great Mughals were fond of this game. Akbar was
very fond of hunting lions, tigers, elephants,132 leopards, deer, water fowls, dogs,
wild asses, etc. and he had also devised new method for that purpose.

Herbert Moll did not find them using dogs fit for the purpose as they did in
Europe. Fryer, however, opines that they did use dogs. They also kept hawks
for hunting. These were, usually, brought from Persia and they preyed upon
partridges and other such birds. De Laet found the Indian hunters as very clever
archers. dexterous in shooting the flying birds with their arrows which were
skillfully fashioned out of light seeds carefully dried for the purpose. They made
bows out of the horns of the buffaloes. The Indians were very excellent
marksmen and shot with their arrow. When they aimed with their guns, says
Terry, with single bullets they took long.133 Bernier gives in details the hunting of
Nilgais and Lion in Mughal India in the reign of Akbar and Jahangir.134

Archibald constable remarks: The Emperor Akbar, who was a great
sportsman, caused not only an account to be kept of the game he shot, but
ordered that particulars of the guns used should also be recorded. Jahangir
inherited his father’s love of sport, except that he never hunted elephants nor did
he care for shooting water-fowl. In his memoirs, he gives many details of his
hunting exploits, and tells us how he caused the officials of the Hunting
department to draw up a “game book” embracing his life from the age of twelve
to fifty. This list tells us that during these years he shot 17,167 head of game of
all kinds, including 86 Tigers, 41 sparrows, 3276 crows and 10 alligators.135

132 Akbarnamah II (Bevridge Trans.), pp. 368, 393, 513.
Shahjahan also took keen interest in tiger-hunting for which he kept ferocious buffaloes with very long horns. They fought with each other and with tigers.\textsuperscript{136}

**ANIMAL FIGHTS:** The fighting between animals of different varieties afforded important means of popular recreation. The Emperor and the aristocracy entertained themselves with expensive and risky combats between elephant, tigers, deer, leopards, camels, boars, buffalo, and horse's ete.

Peter Mundy records that animal fights took place only in the presence of the King, in the afternoons of Tuesdays and Saturdays in Agra. Usually, two elephants were appointed for the day to engage in fighting. They were brought to the place earmarked for the fight and the king sat in Jharoka or window to witness the fight. They started when ordered and ran against one another with their trunks aloft. They pushed each other with all their strength till separated by mahauts or by fireworks or bamboos or staves. They were again set to join the fight.\textsuperscript{137} Sometime one got the victory by overbearing the other in strength. In Jahangir's time daily fights used to take place.

**JEWELLERY:** Finger \textcite{Fryer} says 'The rich women have their arms and feet fettered with gold and silver, the meaner with brass and glass and tithing, besides rings in their noses, ears, toes and fingers.'\textsuperscript{138} Ralph Fitch writing about Patna, said 'Here the woman be so bedecked with sliver and copper that it is strange to see, that they use no shoes, by season of rings of silver and copper they wear on their toes.'\textsuperscript{139} He also explained that the Indian women are very strangely allured wearing on their noses, ears, neckles, armes, and legges many rings set with jewels and lockets of silver and gold in their ears, and a long bare of gold upon the side of their noses. Their ears with the weight of their jewels are worn so wide that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them.\textsuperscript{140} The use of costly gold ornaments inset with precious gems was very common, the value and

\textsuperscript{136} Op., cit., Manucci-I, p. 191.
\textsuperscript{137} Op., cit., Tavernier, I, p. 106; Mundy, II, p. 121-128.
\textsuperscript{138} Op., cit., Fryer, 11, 117.
\textsuperscript{139} Ralph Fitch ed. W. Foster, pp. 22 - 3 - 28.
\textsuperscript{140} Op., cit., William Foster, ed., Early Travels of India, p. -12.
richness of their ornaments depended on their rank and wealth.\textsuperscript{141} Almost every part of the body—ears, nose, neck, wrists, ankles and arms etc. was adorned with them.\textsuperscript{142}

**THE LOWER CLASS: (COMMON PEOPLE)** The lowest class of Muslim society was composed mainly of the artisans, shopkeepers and petty traders, small number of peasants, workers and clerks. Besides these barbers, tailors, washermen, ferrymen, grass-cutters drumbeaters, betel-leaf sellers, flower sellers, oilmen, jugglers, musicians, shepherds and still others. Beggars and the destitute also came under this category.\textsuperscript{143}

According to Moreland, common people led a miserable life. Because the upper class generally, felt, that they do not deserve anything better; and scarcely anyone will make an effort for a ladder by which to climb higher. It is hard to find, because a workman’s children can follow no occupation other than that of their father, nor can they inter—marry with any other caste. There are three classes of people who are, indeed, nominally free, but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery—workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers. Pelsaert, remark about the poor wages by various categories of workmen is quiet apt where he says and hard labour performed “For the workmen there are two scourges, the first of which is low wages goldsmiths, painters, embroiders, carpet—makers, cotton or silk weavers, blacks consultancy, coppersmiths, tailors, masons, builders, stonemasons, a hundred crafts in all, for a job which one man would do in Holland here passes through four men’s hands before it is finished any of these by working from morning to night can earn only 5 or 6 tackas.”\textsuperscript{144}

We are on a somewhat firmer ground in assessing the standard of living of the workmen since their wages have been given in the *Ain* and also by the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{141} Op., cit., Della Valle, 1, p. 45.
\item \textsuperscript{144} The word ‘tacka’ is some times hard to interpret but the equation here given shows that Pelsaert used it for the Dam the word is presumably Tanka. That is 4 or 5 stivers in wages. op., cit Roe, Thomas, Embassy to the court of the Great Mugul, 1615-19,Edited, W. Foster, London 1899,p.102
\end{itemize}
European travellers during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. According to the Ain an ordinary labourer got about 2 dams a day, while a superior labourer could get 3 dams a day. Carpenters got 3 to 7 dams and builders from 5 to 7 dams per day. Pelsaert says the wages of ordinary servants and attendants of Agra ranged from 3 to 4 Rs. per month, but sometimes the month was regarded as forty day's. Pietro Della Valle says that at Surat servants cost very little – about Rs. 3/- a month. Slaves were numerous and demanded little more than their keep. The second (scourage) is the operation of the Governor, the nobles, the Diwans, the Kotwal, the Bakshi and other royal officers. The author (Pelsaert) goes on to add “if anyone of them wants workmen, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but he is seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare to raise any objection, and in the evening paid half his wages or nothing at all”.

Salbank, writing in the early seventeenth century about the people between Lahore and Agra, says that the plebeian sort is so poor that the greatest parts of them go naked. But Ralph Fitch says that the people go naked save a little bound about their middle, but in the winter, the men wear quilted gowns of cotton and quilted caps. Moreland points out that, women did not wear any blouses with their sari, and treats it as an illustration of the paucity of clothing. Then, he goes on to describe the decency clout worn by the men, the sari worn by the women. Abul Fazl says that the common people of Bengal for the most part went naked, wearing only a cloth (lungi) about the loins.

The poor did not use shoes but, generally, went barefoot. Moreland says that he has not found a shoe mentioned anywhere north of the Narmada except in Bengal, and thinks that this was due to the high cost of leather. Then, as now,
women both rich and poor wore jewellery profusely. As many travellers noted a man of quality would not move out in public without being attended by a train of attendants, pages and slaves. Bernier says for two or three who wear decent apparels, there may always be wretched seven or eight poor and ragged miserable beings.  

FOOD AND DRESS: The food pattern of the commoners can be viewed from the description of the food habit of kalketu (a contemporary commoner) by Bengali poet Mukundarama in his work as: pulse especially, masur, potato, bhat (boiled rice), amani (salt rice-water), and green vegetables. He further expresses in his poetry that curd and cheap sweets made of milk, jaggery and oilseeds which the poor could afford only on rare occasions such as festivals and marriages etc. Manrique described about common Bengali food, that, they generally took rice, and at the times the poor people got satisfied with rice and little salt, very few could afford milk and other milk products, and the fish were taken by the majority. Kondon was a kind of wild rice and sawan was the unhusked rice eaten by the poor. Pelsaert says that workmen 'know little of the taste of meat'. He goes on to say, 'for their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little (khichri) made of green pulse mixed with rice eaten with butter in the evening, in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, sattu. The food of the very poor is described as boiled rice, nichany (the Rgged millet) millet and grass roots on the western coast. In Bihar, they ate the pea like grains, which used to cause sickness. Wheat was not, apparently, a part of the diet of the common people even in the wheat-producing region. In Malwa area, Terry says that 'the ordinary sort of people did not eat wheat, but used the flour of a coarser grain; made up in round, broad and thick cakes (Chapatis) which were wholesome and hearty. Food grains were supplemented by herbs, beans and other vegetables.

152 Sudama-Charit, p.-13.
154 Op., cit., Abul Fazl, 1, 416.
But Irfan Habib, declares that even in the smallest village's sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid, could be procured in abundance. It may be assumed that the *gur* (*jaggery*) was commonly consumed in the villages. Salt which was a government monopoly was twice as expensive in terms of wheat prices prevalent in the sixteenth century as compared with modern times. Chillies or capsicums were unknown, cloves, pepper and cardamoms were obviously too expensive. Fruits of the common kind, mangoes, melons, berries, coconut etc. were available to the poor in season.

It appears from contemporary accounts that the articles in the diet of the common people in most part of India consisted chiefly of rice, millets and pulses. In most parts of India, rice being the major crop, formed the staple diet of the masses. Millets of (*Juwar* and *Bajra*) held the same position in western India. Irfan Habib says that 'generally speaking, it was the lowest varieties out of his produce, which the peasant was able to retain for his own family.'

**HOUSES:** The housing pattern of the common people was far below that of aristocracy. Majority of the houses in Mughal period were made of mud and were very small, had thatched roofs and walls built in clay and straw. Pelsaerts described that some earthenware pots were used for cooking and keeping water in the house. He also writes that "Their bed clothes are scanty, nearly a sheet or perhaps two, serving both as under and over-sheets. This was sufficient in hot weather, but in bitter cold nights is miserable indeed, and they try to keep warm over litter cow dung fires which are bit outside doors." The Hindu common houses with little or no furniture, flowers made of *Pounded earth* and plastered with *cow-dung* have been noted by Manucci, clay houses with straw – or palm leaves – roofs have been noted by Manrique in Bengal. And some houses were made of *bamboos*. *Reed-walls* were found in the huts of *Orissa*, but

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160 Jahangir's India, p. 61.
161 op., cit Manucci, Travels-p-246
generally there were thatched straw houses and every year the roofs were repaired before the rainy season. Monserrate also found most of the houses low and flat-roofed. Unlike Terry, he saw houses which had windows to let in fresh air, although they were unglazed. According to Manucci, the houses of the common people in India, during period under review, were constructed of earth and pieces of wood bound together with ropes. The wooden posts served as supporting pillars and roofs were thatched. In the building of the entire house, not a single nail was ever used by them. The floors in the houses were made only on pounded earth “Spread over with a wash of cow’s dung”. The great majority of people in the country used this floor as their bedding and had no other mattress to lie upon.

The poor rural peasants lived in single-room houses made of mud with thatched roofs. The poor, sometimes, shared the room with their goat and cow, but the better sort would have a number of rooms, depending upon the size of their family, space for storing foodgrain and a walled courtyard. The rooms would not, generally, have any windows, the entrance sufficing for light and air. Manrique found that they were kept very clean with frequent plastering on the floor and walls with mud mixed with cow-dung. Regarding the use of cow-dung in poor as well as in rich houses and its antiseptic qualities see the accounts of Manrique and Pietro-della-valle. Palsaert, indeed, says that the poor use earthen pots even for cooking.

The common people’s houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none. Except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking there are two beds, one for the man, the other for his wife for here men and wife do no sleep together, but the man calls his wife when he wants her in the night and, when he has finished, she goes back to her place or bed. This is sufficient in the hot weather, but the bitter cold nights are miserable indeed, and they try to keep warm over little cow dung fires which are lit outside the doors, because the houses have no fire places or chimneys, the smoke from

163 Achutanand Das, Haribamsa, Cuttak), pp. 532 & 537, op. cit Monserrate: Commentary, p. 81
164 op. cit Pelsaert trans. Moreland and Geyl, p. 61
these fires, all over the city, is so great that the eyes run, and the throat seems to be choked.\textsuperscript{165}

Manrique shows the vivid picture of poverty prevailing in India, during the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Those peasant villagers or cultivators who could not pay off the revenue, the Governor of the Province seized his wives and children, made them into slaves and sold them by auction.\textsuperscript{166} Hamilton mentions that he was himself empowered to sell off the families of his creditors in Thatta without going to court.\textsuperscript{167} During epidemic and famine, due to lack of authorities' financial assistance, the suffering people or public are compelled to sell their children and wives because of indebtedness which thus was responsible for considerable amount of slavery that was normally in existence.\textsuperscript{168}

\textbf{STANDARD OF LIVING OF FOREIGNERS (PARTICULARLY BRITISHERS) IN INDIA}

Although the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and the French, came to India mainly on expression of the growing national desire for trade and commerce, but when they were able to establish their factory and warehouse in India, they became a part of Indian society. So, when we discuss the social structure of Indians during the Mughal period, the researcher also draws a brief picture of foreigners' living standard, particularly, of the Britishers, who stayed here for a long time.

Much before the foundation of the English East India Company, India had been visited by a number of English travellers like Thomas Stephens, Ralph Fitch, Newberry and Leeds. They were, essentially, the adventurers and came with that spirit. However, in 1599, John Mildenhall came during the time of Akbar. His object was to try to negotiate with the 'Great Mughal' some kind of commercial treaty or understanding which should be a basis for the English trade

\textsuperscript{165} op. cit. W H Moreland, \textit{Jahangir's India}, Delhi -1972, p -61.  
\textsuperscript{166} Travels of Sebastian Manrique, Vol. 1, p. 53.  
in India. However, more systematic attempts to open up trade with India were made during the time of Jahangir when Howkins, the envoy of the king of England, visited his court in 1609. Howkins met the Emperor at Agra and was given every assurance, regarding trade facilities to be provided to the English. During the reign of Jahangir, East India Company passed through many vicissitudes and pitfalls in order to establish its trade. Therefore, the commercial position of the English was far from satisfactory during Jahangir's time. However, in 1613, the conflict between the Portuguese and the English provided a suitable pretext to the English which considerably helped them in ‘coming closer to the Mughal King’ and thus acquiring trade concessions in India. By 1614, the factors opened the trade avenues at various places like Cambay, Baroda, Broach and Agra.

The commercial position of the English was, definitely, improved and further strengthened by the coming of Thomas Roe, a plenipotentiary of James I. A man of captivating presence yet firm and imperious as the occasion arose, his was the right choice of King of England. By the year 1618, the English company had established factories at Agra, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur and Surat. Surat was the first place where the English and the Dutch established their factories. The Presidency of Surat was esteemed superior to all others in India and was the Headquarter of the English trade from 1616 onwards. The English factory at Surat was visited by a number of European travellers including Pietro Della Valle, Thomas Herbert, Tavernier, Mandelslo Bernier and Thevenot. But the detailed accounts of the every day life of the English men at Surat and the working of the factory can be found in the pages of John Fryer, English surgeon, at Bombay and Surat. John Fryer remarked that English factors began their day with prayers and then the business was transacted.

The English President managed the affairs of the Company with the help of 20 to 24 merchants and officers and had, under his superintendence, the factories at Ahmadabad, Agra, Baroda and Broach. The staff of the factories

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consisted of President, Council ware-housekeeper, the secretary, senior factors, the Chaplin, the surgeon, the junior factors and the writers or apprentices. Dr. Fryer, eye witness to the day-to-day function of the English factors writes that the President had his own suite, "with noble rooms for council and entertainment and seldom dined in the hall". Another important aspect noticed by a contemporary writer that the English factory was made like a college monastery, "a house under religious order than any other". The factors as at college in Oxford or Cambridge dined together in the hall and attended daily prayers in Chaupal, where discipline was strictly observed.

A list of the Presidents/ Chiefs of the English East India Company from 1613-33 at Surat has been given below – (Based on the English Factories in India 1630-33).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Aldnorth,</td>
<td>Was in charge of the Factory in 1613 after Best's Depart – Died at Nariad in 1615.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Keridge,</td>
<td>Appointed agent, February 18, 1616. Title changed to president. In 1618 or 1619 handed over charge in April, 1621.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Rastell,</td>
<td>President in April, 1621 sailed for England in April, 1618.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Wylde,</td>
<td>Elected president April 13, 1628. Sailed for England April 14, 1630.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Skibbow,</td>
<td>Took over charge April 14, 1630.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Rastell,</td>
<td>Arrived from England as President September 26, 1930, Died November, 1631.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Joreph Hopkinson, Elected president December 29, 1631, Died, towards end of 1633.

William methwold, Arrived as president November 7, 1633.

The company tried its best to repress all disorderly and unchristian behaviour. Ovington rightly remarked that “the agents and chiefs in their several factories take care to prevent all profane swearing and taking the name of God in vain by cursed oaths, all drunkenness and intemperance all fornication and unseemliness. The wrong doors were severely reprimanded for their rude behaviour and as punishments were sent to England by “the next ship”. The office of the President were of immense dignity and importance. He controlled all the English factories in western India, Persia and Bantam for a considerable time. The President was, usually, appointed from England and enjoyed great authority at the company’s headquarters. He received a salary of 500 pounds per annum. He served for three to five years.

At noon the office was closed and the factors retired to the dining hall. For the most part, the English enjoyed such food at Surat as they had in England. The food consisted of fine bread and wheat, beef, mutton, chicken meat of pigeons dressed by the English cooks in their own manner. Dinner was a grand affair, Padre Ovington, a Priest who had, evidently, not learnt to abandon the pleasures of table, describes it with evident gusto and involvement. All the dishes and cups were of pure silver, massy and substantial. Before lunch, a large silver ewer and basin for washing hands was taken round by a peon. Indian, Portuguese and English cooks were employed so as to “please the curiosity of every palate”. Ovington further goes on to add that pilau (pulao), cabab, curries with plenty of chutneys and relishes, fowl stewed in butter and stuffed with almonds mud misins “were ordinary dishes”. This was washed down with plenty of generous shiraj wine and arrack punch served round the table. On Sundays and other holidays, the meal was made more large and splendid.

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173 Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-67, Cambridge, 1907, p. 27.
Peter Mundy also mentions that, occasionally, the English had at their table served the flesh of fowls, antelopes and perchance of wild bear. Occasionally, however, they had dopiaza and rice, khichri and pickled mangoes. The recipe for dopiaza is mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari the author further added that the English use arrack for strong drink and beer made of sugar. Sometimes they used a composition of arrack, water, sugar and lime juice which was called chrebockbsa (char-bakbra), four portions (divisions) and then the loyal toasts, the king and the company were drunk by all. After lunch, all retire for the afternoon. Work started again at four. At six, the factory was cleared for outsiders and the gates were opened at dawn the following morning.

Fruits: Persian fruits such as apricots, plums and cherries were also enjoyed by the English. This was followed by a collection of fruits and preserves after which they bathed in a tank or cistern with water in it, water five feet deep.

Drinking: European wines and bottled beer were also added and served with regularity. A wealthy, Indian who sometimes ate at the factory premises, was pleasantly surprised to know that sometime the total ran to sixteen courses. We learn from a letter of 1671 that in an English factory in India drinking was favourite pastime. The usual drink was ‘Pouleponge’ or Punch arrack, a spirit distilled from molasses, mixed with lemon juice, water and nutmeg. It was very pleasant to taste although hurtful to body and health. Along with this they were very fond of Shiraz and European wines. Ovington, in his voyage, gives a long and interesting account of the public table at the English factor, where all the factors sat down with the President and senior merchants and dined off in dishes of pure, massive silver containing viands prepared by three different cooks – English, Portuguese and Indian and drank the most expensive wines from Europe.
Surat castle “well walled ditched, seasonable, great and faire with number of faire pieces of ordnance, where of some of exceeding greatness. Before this lyeth a pleasant green in midst of which is a may pole to hang a light on and all sound” “very many noble lofty houses, flat at topp and terraced and plaster”. The road led through the gardens of the city, which lay outside the city walls. In these the Indian merchants wandered on warm evenings “to take the air and feast in pleasant summer houses” There were many fountains and rivulets of fresh water and “Grottoes descending underground by huge, arches and stone steps shaded by trees on each hand. The traveller reached at last the English factory and must have felt a sober satisfaction to note that it was built of stone and excellent Timber with wood curving without Representations, very strong for that each floor is half a yard thick at least, of the best cement, very weighty… with upper and lower Galleries or Tesras walks. The President had spacious Lodging with noble Rooms for counsel and Entertainment.

According to John Fryer, “The President at Surat had a large commission and vice (President) had a counsel also, and a guard when he walked or rodes aboard, accompanied with a party of horse, which were constantly kept in the stables, either for pleasure or service, he had his Chaplins, physician, servants his linguist and a mint master. At meals he had his trumpets usher in his coures and soft music at the table; he want sometimes in his coach drawn by large milk white oxen, sometimes on horse back; otherwise in Palanquin, carried by cohors (Khars), Musseman Porters”.180

The English factors serving in East India Company tried to follow the Indian practice at meal times. They washed their hands before and after the meals. They considered this necessary due to ‘decency’ and also on account of the heat and dust which were so troublesome. The company at Surat had engaged Indian, Portuguese and English cooks who prepared meals suiting different tastes. The Indian cooks prepared Pulao which was boiled so artistically that every grain ‘lies singly without being cooked together, with spices inter-mint’. Another Indian preparation relished by the Englishmen was dampukht, i.e. ‘air-

cooked'. It was 'boned and stuffed with raisins and almonds. They also liked Kabab, which was beef or mutton cut into small pieces or sprinkled with pepper. They had also pickles made of bamboo or mango or soya sauce. Ovington remarks that the people of Surat were fond of asafoetida which they, occasionally, intermixed with chapatis. Because of its beneficial effects, the Englishmen felt tempted to taste it at times.\textsuperscript{181} They used it as a cure against wind at the stomach in spite of its 'stinging savour'.\textsuperscript{182} The English used sometimes a composition of araq, water, sugar and lime-juice, called charbakhra.\textsuperscript{183} It seems to correspond to Mandelslo's Palepuntz' (Pal Punch), which was a kind of drink consisting of aqua vitae, rore-water, juice or citrons and sugar.\textsuperscript{184} Another important past time which the English enjoyed, remarked Mendelslo, was shooting buts or targets, at which Mandelslo, showed him so export that he was able to pocket a hundred mahmudis or five pounds sterling every week. Britishers bathed in a tank with water in it five feet deep. They also enjoyed the full pleasure of picnics. This aspect of Surat provides us with a sanguine picture of factory life in India.

But the tenure of President John Wylde (1628-30) was the period of degradation. During this period, the discipline in Britishers was poor. Prayers were neglected, Sundays were spent in feasting, drinking and gambling and the "beastly sin of whereon and most polluted filthy talk daily common discourse at meals were rife". Bribes were freely taken by authorities. Dennis Kincaid described about the curious habits and odd behavior so faithfully, affectionately and humorously, the general story of British social life in India.\textsuperscript{185} Dennis Kincaid has given that it was real pleasure to visit the open country; (Villages) as the entire Senario remembered him of the English fields, richly cultivated farm-lands and, further decorating with the presence of large number of Pea-cocks which clustered round the stagragent pool –watching the Camels moving ferking in the

\textsuperscript{181} A Voyage to Surat, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{183} Op., cit., Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{184} Op., cit., Mandelsto, Ed. Commirariat, p. 4.
shadow of dusty Palm groves. He corroborates further that the roads were shady with over arching banana trees and the travellers could remark.\textsuperscript{186}

Kincaid has also given an eloquent testimony regarding the grand style of living enjoyed by the president of East India Company. He was of the opinion that the head of factory was styled as and lived in a luxurious manner like the Mughal governor. Outside the door of his bed chamber stood servants with silver plates and when he appeared they followed him from room to room. He went downstairs a picket of liveried guardsmen sprang to attention in the hall and if he left the factory “Bandarines and moors fewer than two standards marched before him”. He was provided with “well filled stables for pleasure or services” and he had his own chaplain, physician, surgeon, linguist and mint-master. At his entry into the dining room trumpets blew and while he sat at the table violins played softly. All the English merchants dine of together in the hall of factory, the president at the head of the table and the others seated in order of seniority. On certain church festivals, however, they dined in the gardens outside the city. They went in solemn procession, the president and his lady in palanquin with banners ahead, the council in ox-drawn coaches of special splendour, each having “a four square seat, inlaid with Ivory”, and the other factors on Arab horses whose saddles were of embroidered velvet and whose headstalls, rings and cruppers were of solid silver. All the dishes and drinking vessels were of massive silver. Each dinner was attended by a page with silver basin and ever, so that he might wash both before and after the meal, the Peculiarly English grace.\textsuperscript{187} English President lived in a great style and was assisted by a retinue of servants and other factors. The English and the Dutch had the spacious and well-built houses, known as lodges and accommodated different categories of factors including that of the President. In the evening, several of the English factors came to convey him to supper-hall, where, assembled about a dozen merchants along with other members. They all sat down to dinner, with the exception of the President and were served with about fifteen or sixteen dishes of meat besides the dessert.\textsuperscript{188}

\textsuperscript{186} Ibid, p -10 -11.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid, p – 12.
\textsuperscript{188} Op., cit., M.S. Commissariat, Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India, p. 8.
On the holidays the factors amused themselves with archery and musket-shooting; or they would stroll sound the bazaar, the temples and old palaces. They admired the earnest attachment of Hindus to their guilt and reverent worship (or decent cringing" as Mr. Hamilton put it). But the extravagances of the yogis excited their laughter and exasperation. "I have seen a fanciful Rascal", exclaimed Mr. Hamilton, "Seven foot high with a large Turban of his own hair Wreathed about his Head, and his Body bedaubed with Ashes and water, sitting quite naked under the shade of a tree, with pudenda like an Ass." And if they chanced upon a conjurer in a corner of the bazaar they could not resist joining his audience. Then as now the mock trick was a popular feature of the performance. Dr. Fryer relates how he saw some conjurers present a Mock-creature of a Mango-Tree, arising from the stone in a short space (which they did in Hugger Mugger, being very graceful to avoid being discovered) with fruit Green and Ripe; so that a man must stretch his fancy, to imagine it witchcraft; though the common sort think no less.\textsuperscript{189}

Instead of attending the president's sermon the young factors preferred to spend their time with their fighting cocks; especially imported from Siam, or with their other pets with which the factory was crowded. They were less interested in pomp and ceremony than in comfort and while the officials stationed at Swally, the port of Surat, had been formerly satisfied with tents they now demanded bungalows. Private rooms began to be furnished with an elegance that disturbed the directors, and what was to be said of Mr. Young who sat up till two or three" "in the might and drinking of health."\textsuperscript{190}

The uniform of one's servants was an important matter and even visitors had to decide how they would dress their retainers – Sir Thomas Roe, after some thought, chose for his servants an elaborate outfit, including "red taffeta cloaks guarded with green taffeta" as the proper dress for an English ambassador to the Great Mogul. The extravagance of European costume, the ruffs" of twelve, yea sixteen lengths, set three or four times double", the stashed silks and heavy folds of lace, always impressed Indians with awe. A. Mogul

\textsuperscript{189} Ibid, p. - 16.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid, p. - 22.
noble inquired politely if Dr. Fryer slept in those grand clothes of his; and when an English mission visited the Maratha Court, their enormous Caroline wigs caused a sensation. At the sight of them, the king stopped his palanquin and begged the foreigners to come nearer so that he could feel with his own fingers those prodigious ringlets. Considering that his interview took place in the middle of the hot weather it is difficult not to admire the stoic endurance of those English envoys, sacrificing all comfort in their determination to do their country credit by their fashionable appearance.191

It is believed much of mutual understanding and liking can be attributed to our ability to communicate with each other. All educated Indians speak English, while many of them have a better knowledge of English literature than most of us. The British Raj is now history but there is still a sizeable British community in India, businessmen, diplomats, voluntary workers, missionaries, as well as the fast diminishing number of pensioners who choose to retire in India when their active career was ended, partly because they had lost touch with their own country, and partly because they loved India so much.

There is no larger wishful thinking about some kind of special relationship, but there are many reminders of our former connection with each other. Restaurants specializing in Indian cuisine have sprung up all over Britain, while in India cooks in P.W.D. bungalows throughout the length and breadth of the land still firmly cling to the old menus. The British visitor, unless well advised to selected local dishes, can still except to be served with brown Windsor soup, roast chicken and caramel custard.

THE INTEREST OF FOREIGNER IN LAYING GARDENS: In the 17th century even the foreign merchants belonging to the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese companies and developed a special taste and aptitude for laying out gardens in their settlements. In Goa, for example, the Portuguese settlers had their own gardens; but for the most part they had let the same to the local Canarese. These gardens and orchards were watered by canals and had pretty alleys and tunnels set off with fountains and grouters, as witnessed by Pyrad de

191 Ibid, p-22
Lavel.\textsuperscript{192} In the Portuguese territory of Bassein, Careri found in an area of about 15 miles delightful gardens, planted with several sorts of country fruits like Palm, figs and Mangoes. In the Jesuit Church garden, besides European fruits, there were also fig trees and grape vines which yielded fruits twice in a year, in December and March.\textsuperscript{193}

Pietra Della Valle first tasted Indian fruits in Daman in the house of the Father Ractor. They included \textit{paniya, caju, giambi, mango and annanas}. Papiya was little esteemed in India; Annanas was just liked a little, regarded as hot though good for promoting digestions.\textsuperscript{194} Similarly, the English merchants here liked to grow fruit trees in the territories where they lived. Round about Madras, for example, they had gardens in which, besides vegetables, there were fruit trees like coco, guava, pear, jack, mangoes, plums and pomegranates.\textsuperscript{195} In 1672, President Aungier of the East India company at Surat, had provisions sent from there to Bombay, among them being garden seeds and springs of lemon trees to be sown and planted there. He wrote to the Company at London requesting for seeds and spring of other trees as well.\textsuperscript{196}

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\textsuperscript{192} The Voyage of Francois Pyrad of Lavel, Tr. & ed. Gray, 1887 –1890 II, p. 28.  
\textsuperscript{193} Indian Travels of Careri, ed. S.N. Sen, National Archives of India, New Delhi 1949, pp - 168 - 69.  
\textsuperscript{196} The English Factories in India, ed. William Foster, 1670 -77., p.  -57.