The Riverside Mansions and Tombs of Agra: New Evidence from a Panoramic Scroll Recently Acquired by The British Library

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Introduction

The riverfront at Agra once formed one of the great sights of Mughal India. In addition to the great fort founded by the Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) and the Taj Mahal (the tomb built for the Emperor Shah Jahan’s wife Mumtaz Mahal), both banks of the River Yamuna were lined with great mansions, palatial garden houses and imperial gardens. The Emperor Babur (r. 1526-30) had been the first to build a garden at Agra, nearly opposite the site of the Taj Mahal, and the others were laid out mostly in the time of the Emperors Jahangir (r.1605-27) and Shah Jahan (r.1628-58), who gave the land on the riverbanks to their sons and to the great nobles of the empire. Jahangir’s powerful Iranian wife Nur Jahan laid out the garden now known as the Ram Bagh and also converted the garden of her parents, T’imad al-Daula and his wife ‘Asmat Banu Begum, into the first of the great tombs in Agra itself. Apart from the emperor and the imperial women, all the men who built gardens or tombs on the river front were mansabdars (high-ranking officers of the court), whose numerical rank or mansab defined the status and income of its holder (see below for an explanation of the system). The houses of the princes and mansabdars lined the right bank up- and down-river from the fort, while the left bank was mostly devoted to imperial gardens.

The riverfront scheme thus affords fascinating insights into imperial family connections, Mughal court society, its ethnicities, social conditions and property rights. Land could be bought, but the prestigious riverfront sites were granted to the nobles by the emperor and could be reclaimed after their death. The best way for a Mughal mansabdar to ensure that his mansion or land was not reclaimed was to build his tomb on it, when it became inviolable. Several of the garden houses were therefore converted into tomb gardens. After Shah Jahan moved the capital to Delhi in 1648, Agra declined and its gardens and buildings became of less importance to the emperor, so that most of those houses and gardens remaining are still generally known by their last Shahjahani owner.

Apart from the Taj Mahal and the fort, only the gardens and tombs of the upper left bank of the river round the tomb of T’imad al-Daula survive today in anything like the state in which their former splendour can be appreciated. The city was repeatedly sacked in the eighteenth century by Afghan invaders as well as more local marauders in the form of Jats, Rohillas and Marathas, until it came into the possession of the East India Company in 1803. A thorough study of the riverfront at Agra was made by Ebba Koch in her book on the Taj Mahal. Apart from what survives on site, she relied on various pieces of evidence for her reconstruction of the riverbank scene. A map of Agra in the Jaipur City Palace Museum made in the eighteenth century shows the whole riverside on both banks lined with gardens and palaces from north of the city wall down round the great bend in the Yamuna to the Taj Mahal itself. The map

2 Ibid., fig. 17. The River Yamuna flows north-south past the fort before turning to flow eastwards past the Taj Mahal.
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depicts buildings in the traditional Indian way: structural elevations placed within plans of their gardens. Hindi inscriptions, often corrupt, help to identify them. Other pieces of evidence include damaged fragments of an early nineteenth-century scroll in the Taj Museum in Agra showing the elevations of buildings from the river.\(^3\) Some key pieces of evidence are already in the British Library. These include the notebooks of Florentia Sale, who was in Agra 1831-35 and recorded her impressions of the monuments along with postcard-sized drawings of them by Agra artists.\(^4\) Sale was later to find fame as the indomitable female prisoner of the Afghans in the First Afghan War. Her journal has several drawings of the rarely depicted lesser monuments, including some of the ruinous riverside palaces. Some of these are numbered suggesting that once all the monuments of the riverside were included in sets of such drawings.\(^5\) Another relevant account is a description of the monuments of Agra by Lal Sil Chand in his \textit{Tafrih al-`Imarat} written for James Lushington, Magistrate at Agra 1825-26, while another copy of this text was prepared for James Davidson, Sessions Judge at Agra 1836-37.\(^6\) It must be stressed, however, that Agra had not been an imperial residence for nearly two centuries and that much of what survived in the nineteenth century as local knowledge was inaccurate.

\textbf{New Evidence: The ‘Agra Scroll’ Or. 16805}

A recent addition to the British Library’s collections is of crucial importance in recreating the appearance of what had been one of the great imperial cities of the world as it appeared in the early nineteenth century (figs 1-2).\(^7\) It is in the form of a painted and inscribed scroll showing the elevations of all the buildings along both sides of the river as it flows through the whole length of the city. The scroll consists of eight pieces of English wove paper glued together to form a continuous whole and backed with linen. It is secured at one end to a wooden roller with large circular end-pieces and secured at the other end to a wooden bar. Both bar and end-pieces are decorated with pseudo-Mughal carved motifs. A thin sheet of goatskin secured to the bar wraps around the whole. The length of the scroll is 763 cm and the width 32 cm.

The scroll is drawn in a way consistent with the development of Indian topographical mapping. The river is simply a blank straight path in the middle of the scroll, its great bend totally ignored, while the buildings and gardens on either side are rendered in elevation strung out along a straight base line. Buildings and inscriptions on each side of the river are therefore upside down compared to those on the opposite side. In this it conforms to the plans of Chandni Chowk and the Faiz Bazaar in Delhi prepared for Colonel Jean-Baptiste Gentil in 1774 and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.\(^8\) The way the buildings are drawn in simple elevation without any attempt at perspective or ‘picturesqueness’ recalls the many sets of postcard-size views of the Agra monuments produced in the 1820s and 1830s for interested tourists.\(^9\) The fragments showing the riverside buildings in the Taj Museum must once have been part of such a scroll.

\(^3\) Ibid., figs 72 and 73.
\(^4\) BL, MSS. Eur B360. Her husband Col. Robert Sale was Commandant at Agra 1831-35.
\(^5\) Sale’s numbers and the numbers on the new scroll discussed herein do not unfortunately coincide.
\(^7\) It appeared at a country auction in England unfortunately without a provenance linking it to any family whose ancestors were in India in the early nineteenth century.
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Fig. 1. The Agra Scroll showing the top or northern part of the river and its adjacent buildings. Agra, c. 1830. Watercolour and ink on paper, 93 x 32 cm. British Library, Or. 16805, detail 1.

Fig. 2. The Agra Scroll showing the bottom or southern part of the river and its adjacent buildings. Agra, c. 1830. British Library, Or. 16805, detail 2.
Inscriptions in English and Urdu are written above each building, two of which enable the scroll to be approximately dated. One piece of evidence is the reference to ‘Major Taylor’s garden’ near the Taj Mahal. This is Joseph Taylor of the Bengal Engineers who worked at Agra from 1809 with George Steell, the Executive Engineer, serving in that post himself 1821-25, and despite occasional forays into theatres of war and a five year period in Bengal 1825-30, remained in Agra until his death in 1835. He was promoted to Major in 1827 and to Lieutenant Colonel in 1831. He is referred to in Florentia Sale’s journal of 1831-35, who records that Colonel Taylor and his family had lived in the imperial apartments in the fort (this was no longer allowed by 1831) and also had fitted up a suite of rooms at the Taj Mahal between the miḥman khana (the assembly hall for imperial visits on the east side of the tomb itself) and the adjacent river tower. This evidence of dating of the scroll between 1827 and 1831 is unfortunately contradicted by the absence of the Great Gun of Agra on the riverbank north of the fort. This was a vast piece of ordnance that lived in the fort, but some time after the British takeover in 1803 was dragged round to the riverbank north of the fort with a view to shipping it down to Calcutta. The project was abandoned, but the gun was depicted in all panoramic views of the fort from the river, until it was blown up for its scrap value in 1833.

It would seem probable that either Taylor or Sale was the commissioner of this scroll. The handwriting, in both Urdu and English, is almost certainly the work of an Indian clerk, although interestingly the use of Urdu shows certain Anglicisms; no doubt the clerk was simply transcribing notes written by the scroll’s commissioner. The scroll’s dating then would be 1833-35 (when the Sales left Agra) if the absence of the gun is the key point, but 1827-31 if the reference to Major rather than Colonel Taylor is to be relied upon. At the moment it seems best to date it 1827-35. It must be stressed, however, that the artist was not necessarily sketching all the monuments afresh, but could rather as with most Indian artists be relying on earlier versions of the same subject for some of them. A key discrepancy for instance arises in Ja’far Khan’s tomb, which is much better preserved in the scroll than in Florentia Sale’s drawing in her notebook (compare figs 5 and 6).

The scroll has two numbering systems for each of the banks of the Yamuna. The right bank numbering begins beyond the northern city wall and follows the river down past the fort and the Taj Mahal. The numbering system for the left bank begins opposite the Taj Mahal and follows the river upstream. The monuments and gardens are named in English and Urdu. In what follows, the English inscription is given first, then the transliterated Urdu title and description, and finally a translation of the latter.

10 For his service record, see BL, IOR L/MIL/10/21, ff. 139-43.
11 BL, MSS. Eur B360(a), after no. 3 and again opp. no. 28.
13 To cite Dr Stephan Popp of the Institute of Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna: ‘The inscriptions do not distinguish yet between final ī (feminine ending) and final e (masculine plural ending). It is striking that the nobles and emperors are all mentioned in singular instead of respectful plural. The Persian relative construction with ‘ki’ instead of Urdu ‘jo’ is also striking. I consider the regular position of genitives after the possessed, poetic in Urdu, in these very prosaic, short and purely informative texts, to be an Anglicism.’ Personal communication of 20 October 2011.
14 The authors are indebted to Dr Stephan Popp for his assistance with the Urdu inscriptions.
15 See Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, pp. 27-8 for a more complete explanation of the system.
and the amount of pay sanctioned to cover the cost of their maintenance. Most mansabdars obtained payment in the form of land tax from their jagirs or assigned lands, which however did not carry with it any administrative duties or responsibilities for these areas. The mansabdari system included also the sons of the emperor who had to earn their ranks in this meritocracy. By the time of Jahangir the dominant ethnic group of the Mughal ruling elite came from Iran, with the highest positions being held by the family of Jahangir’s wife Nur Jahan. The dense interrelationships that united family and power are reflected in the placement of their houses and gardens in riverfront Agra.

**Detailed Description of the Scroll**

**The Right or West Bank**

![Fig. 3. The Village of Kilwas](image)

The scroll begins with the unnumbered village of Kilwas outside the old city walls, a village which has long since disappeared within the expanded city.

No. 1 Jaswant Singh’s Tomb.
Chhatrī-yi Rāja Jasvant Singh.
Rāja Jasvant Singh Jodhpūrvāle ne Shāhjahān Pādshāh ke ‘ahd mēṅ ta ‘mīr kiyā.
‘The chhattri of Raja Jasvant Singh.
Raja Jasvant Singh of Jodhpur in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan constructed (it).’

The first construction of note is a chhatri (or memorial kiosk) rather than a tomb of the Rajput Jasvant Singh Rathor, Raja of Jodhpur (r. 1638-78), since like all Hindus he was cremated and his ashes conveyed to one of the holy rivers of India. As he died in Kabul, his chhatri cannot represent the actual site of his cremation. It is a square light-yellowish sandstone pavilion or baradari with three pseudo-arched jalis per side under a heavy chhajja (eave) and cornice, set in a walled enclosure with octagonal corner turrets surmounted by domed chhatris (here meaning kiosks). Three gateways lead down to the river. Only the chhatri itself and the river wall survive.\(^{16}\) Jasvant Singh was one of the leading Mughal generals under both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, but his wavering between sides in the fratricidal war of 1657-58 meant that the eventual victor Aurangzeb never trusted him.\(^{17}\) He was intimately related to the Mughals through the marriage of his great-aunt Jagat Gosain or Mannmati to Jahangir (Shah Jahan was her son) and through subsequent marriages of Rathor princesses to various Mughal princes.

\(^{16}\) Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, figs 99-100.\(^{39}\)

No. 2 Muneeja Begum’s Garden.
Bāghicha-yi Munejā Begam.
Munejā Bēgam ne Shāhjahān Pādshāh kē ‘ahd meṅ banvāyā.
‘The garden of Lady Manija.
Lady Manija had it built in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan.’

Nothing has survived of the old structures or gardens between Jasvant Singh’s chhatri and the tomb of Ja’far Khan (no. 5) and they are not represented on the Jaipur map, so that the information on nos 2-4 in the scroll is completely new. Manija’s garden and that of her brother next door (no. 3) introduce in the scroll the typical river frontage of these gardens: an embankment wall often structured with arcades on which are placed individual pavilions, here ruined, terminates at each end in an octagonal turret, while similar walls and turrets originally surrounded the entire complex. Manija was sister to Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan, Jahangir’s chief minister, and hence aunt to Mumtaz Mahal. She was married to Qasim Khan Juwaini who was nicknamed ‘Manija’ himself on account of his wife. He was governor of Agra when Jahangir died but was received graciously by Shah Jahan and appointed to be governor of Bengal. Shah Jahan thought the Portuguese established in the Bengali riverside port of Hugli were overreaching themselves and determined on their destruction. Qasim Khan organized the attack and capture of Hugli from the Portuguese in 1632 but died a few days afterwards.18

No. 3 I`tiqad Khan’s Garden.
Bāgh-i Navāb Iʿtiqād Khān.
Navāb Iʿtiqād Khān ne ki mansabdhār-i panj-hazārī thā Shāhjahān ke ‘ahd meṅ banvāyā.
‘The garden of Nawab Iʿtiqād Khan.
Nawab Iʿtiqād Khān, who held the rank (mansab) of five thousand, had (it) built in the age of Shah Jahan.’

Iʿtiqad Khan (d. 1650) was the brother of Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan and Manija Begum. His garden and that of his sister next door (No. 2) have very similar arcaded and turreted river frontages. The inscription is over a garden that seems to contain a ruined tomb rather than a mansion, but another attached garden separated by a gully intervenes between his land and that of his sister, which might have been his garden-house. All trace of the three gardens has disappeared. Iʿtiqad Khan held high rank in the reigns of both Jahangir and Shah Jahan, being governor successively of Kashmir, Bihar, Bengal and Awadh. According to Shahnawaz Khan, he was renowned for his good taste and was one of the first three nobles of Jahangir to build a mansion in Agra: his was visited by Jahangir in September 1614.19 It was also later much admired, so much so that he felt obliged to present it to Shah Jahan, who awarded it in 1643

to the Persian noble ‘Ali Mardan Khan, the governor of Qandahar after he had deserted to the Mughal court.\(^{20}\)

*No. 4 The lesser Garden.*

*Bāghicha-yi kacchī.*

*Shāmil arāżī-yi bāģh-i Navāb I’tiqād Khān kī mabnī / batī (?).*

‘The unbuilt garden.

Includes the grounds of the building / path (?) of I’tiqād Khan’s Garden.’

The precise meaning of the inscription is not quite clear, but the garden is obviously another part of I’tiqad Khan’s complex without any constructions. It seems to have a gate on the south side.

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This concentration of the upper right bank of the Yamuna on structures connected with the family of Nur Jahan continues with the next tomb, that of her nephew Ja’far Khan, which is here revealed for the first time as a double-storeyed structure. The square tomb chamber is surrounded by a veranda with seven arches on each side ending in engaged corner turrets and surmounted by a smaller square upper chamber with five blind arches on each side, while *chhatris* can be seen on each of the four corner turrets. What must have been a riverside wall had already gone, but in each corner of the compound there remained the four octagonal double-storeyed sandstone towers crowned by *chhatris*. The form of the tomb is essentially an early seventeenth century type of construction and it greatly resembles the tomb of Ja’far Khan’s grandfather I’timad al-Daula (No. 7 on the left bank), with its two storeys, its attached corner turrets and its flanking towers on the river defining the boundaries.

Ja’far Khan (d. 1670) was the son of another of Nur Jahan’s sisters and was married to his cousin Farzana Begum, the sister of Mumtaz Mahal. He was thus the son-in-law as well as the nephew of Asaf Khan and also Shah Jahan’s brother-in-law, and he rose to high office under that emperor and his successor Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) holding a *mansab* of 6000/6000.\(^{21}\) He held various governorships as well as being made vizier to both emperors. For his *haveli* (mansion) see No. 12 (right bank) below.

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\(^{21}\) Ibid., vol. i, pp. 722-3.
Fig. 6. Rosa Nawaub Jaffer Khan. From the notebook of Florentia Sale. 1831-35. BL Mss Eur B360(a), No. 43.

A drawing in Florentia Sale’s notebook shows Ja’far Khan’s tomb with its engaged corner turrets almost completely ruined and lacking the upper story, which is the way it has remained (fig. 6). This was presumably the state of the tomb in Sale’s time in Agra 1831-35, so the artist of our scroll must have been relying on an earlier image for his rendition of a more intact structure.

No. 6 Hakim’s Garden.
Bāgh-i Ḥakīm.
Ḥakīm Muḥammad ‘Azīm Khān ne Shāhjahān ke ‘ahd meñ bānvāyā.
‘Hakim’s garden.
Hakim Muhammad ‘Azim Khan had (it) built in the age of Shah Jahan.’

This garden was popularly known as the garden of Hakim Kasim ‘Ali in the early nineteenth century but who this new owner, Muhammad ‘Azim Khan, may be is still unknown. Hakims were physicians and were often greatly favoured at court in the Mughal period. Together with the neighbouring garden downriver of Rai Shiv Das (No. 7) it was a popular recreation place in the eighteenth century for the people of Agra. Both gardens were built over later.23

22 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, figs 96-8.
23 Ibid., pp. 76-7.
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No. 7 Rai Sheo Dass’ Garden.
Bagh-i Ray Shīvdās.
Rāy Shīvdās ne ki sūbadār Akbarābād kā thā Muḥammad Shāh ke ‘ahd meṅ ta ‘mīr kiyyā.‘The garden of Rai Shivdās.‘
Rai Shīvdās, who was province governor (subadar) of Akbarabad (i.e. Agra), in the age of Muhammad Shah, constructed (it).’

Rai Shiv Das or Sheo Das was deputy governor of Agra when Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur was subadar or governor of the province from 1722, during the reign of Muhammad Shah (r. 1719-48). This and the neighbouring Hakim’s garden were favourite recreational grounds for the people of Agra in later times. Nothing now survives of either garden. The scroll shows for the first time a substantial walled compound between octagonal towers with an unusually high wall facing the river. As if to compensate for excluding the view, in the centre of the wall is a wide corbelled out balcony in the shape known as bangla after the curving roofs of Bengali architecture, echoing the two such pavilions in the Khass Mahal in the Agra Fort (No. 21 right bank). The form of the multi-columned bangla is more typical of Jaipur architecture (which drew from Mughal architecture) than its original Mughal expression, as is the smaller balcony immediately above it and which was no doubt accessed by a high walkway or open roof terrace behind the wall, so that the garden must have been laid out by Rai Shiv Das or his royal master over what remained of an earlier garden, as was the case with no. 6 above.

No. 8 Khuleel Khan’s House.
Bagh-i Khalīl Khān.
Khalīl Khān ne ki barā rafīq aur khair-khwāh ʿĀlamgīr kā thā banvāyā.‘The garden of Khalil Khan.‘

The inscriptions here unfortunately add nothing to what was already known of this structure from other sources, other than that the Khalil Khan in question lived in the time of Aurangzeb. No one of this name is of sufficient importance to make it into Shahnawaz Khan’s great biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobility, so it is very possible that in fact Khalilallah Khan is meant (d. 1662). He rose through the ranks in the 1630s and 1640s and played an important part in Shah Jahan’s abortive attempt to capture Balkh. His being granted a riverside plot at Agra implies extraordinary influence on Shah Jahan, which may be explained by his wife’s relations with the emperor. According to Niccolao Manucci, an Italian visitor to the Mughal court, Shah Jahan became a notorious womanizer after Mumtaz’s death and in particular had two favourite mistresses, the wives of Ja’īr Khan (see no. 5 above) and Khalilallah Khan. He was made governor of Delhi and eventually sided with


Aurangzeb in the 1657-58 wars, chasing down Dara Shikoh as far as Multan. He was rewarded with the governorship of the Punjab in 1658 but died four years later. His house must have become semi-ruinous as attested by the decapitated Mughal corner towers of the compound, but seems to have been partly taken over by a British officer to judge by the rectangular windows with shutters. Nothing now remains of it.

The pilgrim hostel seen behind the trees that line the bank looks rather like a large Mughal tomb with a central dome and four corner domes, but tombs uncared for by the occupants’ descendants often were lived in and the Marathas may have adapted it. The tomb may be that now locally known as the ‘tomb of Mir Jumla’. On the Jaipur map it is shown in the position of the tomb of Shayista Khan.

This seems not to be the haveli or mansion of Hakim ‘Alim al-Din with the title of Wazir Khan, as had previously been thought. He was a great supporter of Shah Jahan as a prince, but died in 1641. Another officer with the title Wazir Khan, who also held the rank 5000 in the reign of Aurangzeb, was Muhammad Tahir Khurasani. He was a loyal supporter of Shah Jahan’s son Aurangzeb when a prince and after that monarch’s accession in 1658 was given the title of Wazir Khan. He was governor for a time of Khandesh and then of Agra (1660-63), when he may have built this house. He was then made governor of Malwa and promoted to the rank of 5000 zat, and 5000 sawar. He is recorded as laying out a garden in the centre of Aurangabad where he died in 1672. Our artist shows a ruined large construction near the river and a better preserved house further back behind the trees to the south, which may be more modern.

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26 For this and the previous tomb, see Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, pp. 75-6 and fig. 95. The Jaipur map followed there shows this and the next (no. 11) the other way round.
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No. 11 Mookeem Khan’s House.
Havelli-yi Muqīm Khān.
Muqīm Khān ne ki Akbarī amīr va namīn (?) se tha banvāyā.
‘The haveli of Muqim Khan.
Muqim Khan, who was a nobleman of Akbar’s (reign) and of the (?), built it.’

Only one Muqim seems known from the time of Akbar, Wazir Khan Muqim. Akbar gave him the rank of 700 and the title Wazir Khan. Under Jahangir he was made co-wazir (minister in charge of imperial finance and revenue collection, also called divan or divan-i kul) with another noble, then divan or finance minister of Bengal, and later was sent with Prince Parviz to the Deccan. He died in 1620.28 This gentleman however seems unlikely to have had the rank (he never rose to more than 2000 sawar) to be given a riverfront plot at Agra. The house seems relatively well preserved in the scroll, but some of it looks later then the early seventeenth century and has had some kind of British intervention.

Fig. 9.

No. 12 Jafur Khan’s House.
Havelli-yi Navāb Jaʿfar Khān.
Navāb Jaʿfar Khan ne ki manṣabdār-i panjhazārī thā ʿĀlamgīr ke ʿahd meṅ taʿmīr kiyā.
‘The haveli of Nawab Ja’far Khan.
Nawab Ja’far Khan, who was a manṣabdar of five thousand, constructed it in the age of ‘Ālamgīr.’

For Ja’far Khan, who was closely linked by marriage to the imperial family, see No. 5 above. He remained in his brother-in-law Shah Jahan’s service until his nephew Aurangzeb’s victory was secure in 1658 and then submitted himself to the new emperor. He was made governor of Malwa and then grand wazir in 1663-64. He was allowed to build a house on the banks of the Yamuna in Delhi and there Aurangzeb visited him on several occasions. He died there in 1670. His house in Agra was completed in 1637, when Shah Jahan visited him there. The artist of the scroll shows a large compound with the usual octagonal corner towers, one completely gone, but the northern one is intact. An arcaded veranda seems to have run along the river frontage. The central structure of the building is ruinous but has a high central vault. The Jaipur map shows this and the next (No. 13) the other way round. It also indicates the presence of a tomb of Shayista Khan, which the scroll ignores. The position of Ja’far Khan’s haveli on the scroll opposite the tomb of I’timad al-Daula on the other side of the river and the double storied arcade terminating at its northern end in an unusually high tower relates it to the remains of a Mughal structure locally known as Sheron Wali ki Kothi or ‘Library of Dara Shikoh’.29

28 Ibid., p. 989
29 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, p. 76, fig. 94, there taken to be remnants of the haveli of Wazir Khan.
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No. 13 Shaisteh Khan’s house.
Havalī-yi Navāb Shāyista Khān.
Navāb Shāyista Khan ne Shāhjahān ke ṣah mēn bāvnāyā.
‘The haveli of Nawab Shayista Khan.
Nawab Shayista Khan had it built in the age of Shah Jahan.’

Shayista Khan (d. 1694) was the son of Asaf Khan and hence brother-in-law to Shah Jahan; he was consequently advanced to high posts early in his career. He was always a partisan of Aurangzeb and in 1658 advised Shah Jahan not to proceed against Aurangzeb himself but to send the inexperienced Dara Shikoh. The latter’s defeat at the battle of Samugarh settled the fate of the empire. Aurangzeb rewarded Shayista Khan with high titles and governorships in the Deccan, Bengal and Agra. His wealth at his death was enormous and was as was the rule escheated to the crown to fill the treasury in the Agra fort. Our artist shows the haveli to have included an arcaded pavilion of seven bays built somewhat off-centre between the two small towers at either end of the river frontage. The original river frontage appears to have been interrupted by a later passageway. The placement of the southern tower and the interrupted riverfront are confusing. It is unlikely that the arcaded pavilion is placed in the centre of a frontage of which the southern tower is missing, since the southern tower here is identical to the northern one and cannot be part of the next structure. The undetailed structures behind are presumably nineteenth century additions.

No. 14 The Moobarik Munzil Mosque.
Masjid-i Mubārak Manzil.
Shāhjahān Pādshāh ne bāvnāyā thā.
‘The Blessed House Mosque.
Emperor Shah Jahan had it built.’

No. 15 Aulumgeer’s Palace.
Havelī-yi ʿĀlamgīr.
Shahjahān Pādshāh ne ta’ mīr kīyā.
‘The haveli of ʿAlamgir.
Shah Jahan constructed (it).’

These two complexes may be considered together. The history of the plot can be traced back to Akbar’s time and the mansions built on it were used by successive princes including Shah Jahan. After his accession, Shah Jahan gave it to his third son Aurangzeb. Despite its name, the Mubarik Manzil was never a mosque, but is a large hall rather like the Divan-i ṣAmm, the public audience hall in the Agra Fort. Behind the riverfront arcade, the style of the original Mughal architecture on the ground floor with its engrailed arches suggests that it must have been built at the same time as the Divan-i ṣAmm in the fort in the 1630s, while the adjoined towers at each end rather resemble those of his grandfather Iʿtimad al-Daula’s tomb across the river (No. 7 left bank ). The second storey with its round-headed arches and the construction behind it with its protruding three-sided bays were added in 1817 and after, when it became the local Custom House. This structure survives much as represented here. If the hall served originally as an audience hall, then the structure next door, which seems totally modernized, apart from one arcaded veranda on the riverfront, was presumably the more private part of the prince’s palace.

31 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, pp. 74-5, and fig. 92.
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Fig. 10.

No. 16 Asuf Khan’s House.
Haveli-yi Āṣaf Khān.
Āṣaf Khān ki betā Iʿtimād ud-daula aur bhāī Nūrjahān Begam kā aur chand roz Jahāngīr kā vazīr bhī hogayā thā ta mir kiyā.
‘The haveli of Asaf Khan.

Asaf Khan, who was the son of Iʿtimād al-daula, the brother of Nur Jahan Begum, and for some days also the vizier of Jahangir, constructed (it).’

Asaf Khan was the son of Iʿtimād al-daula, who was the vizier of Jahangir, and the brother of Nur Jahan, Jahangir’s powerful queen, as well as being the father of Mumtaz Mahal, Shah Jahan’s beloved wife. He was one of the most powerful nobles under Jahangir, but at the end of that reign thwarted his sister’s attempts to put her son-in-law Shahryar, the youngest son of Jahangir, on the throne and instead secured the succession for his own son-in-law Shah Jahan. He was duly rewarded with the most powerful offices in the empire until his death in 1641. His palatial house in Agra was built in Jahangir’s reign and was one of the most splendid in the city; there he several times entertained Jahangir. Our artist shows only the corner towers which are still standing today, embedded in modern structures.

The main structure is oddly undetailed and would seem to be modern from the way it is drawn and washed, which does not accord with other contemporary descriptions which state that it was as grand as an imperial palace. It survived until the Uprising of 1857, after which it was blown up on account of its proximity to the fort.

No. 17 The Kucheree Ghat.
Kachahrī Ghāť.
Navāb Mūsavikhān ne Shāhjahān ke ʿahd meṅ banvāyā.
‘Kachahrī Ghat.
Nawab Musavi Khan had it built in the age of Shah Jahan.’

Here the scroll parts company from the Jaipur map, which has in this position two small enclosures named as the haveli of Hafiz Khidmatgar. A khidmatgar is a male servant, serving under a steward or khansaman, so that the map’s evidence seems on the face of it unlikely. The scroll first of all shows two small Hindu temples on the riverfront on the south side of Asaf Khan’s haveli. Next are two fairly modern domed pavilions with steps between them leading down to the water, so that this is the ghat or bathing place referred to. An Agra map of 1868-69 seems to be referring to this ghat under the heading Panalal Ghat, which is situated in the right place on the riverbank.

32 Shahnawaz Khan, vol. i, pp. 287-95.
33 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, p. 32, fig. 89.
34 Ibid., p. 74.
35 BL, Map X/1381/1-5; Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, p. 35, fig. 28.
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_kachari_ (courthouse or administrative office) there is no sign, but its location here may be connected with the office of Musavi Khan (d. 1644), who held the office of _sadr kull_ (minister of religious land grants) in Jahangir’s and Shah Jahan’s reign. He also had a garden or office on the other side of the river (see No. 6 left bank below).

No. 18 The Khajah’s house.
_Havelī-yi Khwāja Dharamsāla._

_Navāb Lodīkhān ne Akbar Pādshāh ke ʿahd banvāyā aur Muḥammad Shāh ke vaqt meṅ Khwāja Sarā ne is meṅ ek ḥavelī banvāī aur Marahṭōn ke ʿahd mēṅ dharamsāla muqarrar huā._

‘The _haveli_ of Dharamsala Khwaja.

_Nawab Lodi Khan had it built in the age of Emperor Akbar; in the time of Muhammad Shah, Khwaja Sara built a _haveli_ in it and in the age of the Marathas, it was dedicated as a pilgrim’s hospice.’

The Afghan Khan Jahan Lodi was a favourite of Prince Daniyal (Akbar’s second son) and was obviously an extremely personable man, since he rose to high office under Jahangir and was one of the _amirs_ most esteemed by the emperor. He was not a sufficiently enthusiastic supporter of the new emperor Shah Jahan in 1627 and became fearful of his position; he rebelled in 1629 and was hunted down and killed in the Bundela country in 1631. The Jaipur map concurs that his mansion was just north of the fort beside Dara Shikoh’s. It has now totally disappeared and this seems to be the only known view of it. Unusually for these riverside mansions, a high red sandstone wall borders the compound by the river’s edge, once terminated in high octagonal towers of which only the bases remain. A Shahjahanite type of arcaded pavilion is at a high level within the compound, but the tall structure on the left seems more modern. It must have reverted to the emperor after Khan Jahan’s rebellion and death in 1631, but whom he gave it to does not seem to be recorded. At all events in the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah an unknown nobleman Khwaja Sara built a _haveli_ inside it and after the Marathas captured Agra it was used as a _dharamsala_ or hospice for Hindu pilgrims who had come to bathe in the river (the Yamuna while not as sacred as the Ganga was still sacred with its own eponymous goddess). A more modest structure to the south appears to be of seventeenth-century construction but converted to European use with blocked up arcades. It is not inscribed.

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Fig. 11.

No. 19 The Padree’s garden.
_Bāgh-i Pādrī._

_Yih bāgh Jān Bāṭīs kā hai aur zamīn is kī min jumla ḥavelī Dārā Shukoh hai._

‘The priest’s garden.
This garden belongs to John Batis, and its ground is in total the _haveli_ (of) Dara Shikoh.’

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37 Ibid., vol. i, pp. 795-804.
The artist shows a modern-looking bungalow built in the up-country style with a double height central block surrounded by a deep, arcaded veranda, that seems to be built in the grounds of Prince Dara Shikoh’s palace next door. In the wall facing the river is a European classical style gateway. The bungalow presumably belonged to a Father John Batis (Giovanni Battista or Jean-Baptiste), who was perhaps one of the Catholic missionaries in Agra. Various semi-ruinous buildings intervene between it and the tall tower, which presumably marked the northern end of the prince’s palace itself. The double storeyed arcade just north of the tower also seems to be included in the notebook of Florentia Sale (fig. 12) from a model done before it was partly Europeanized (see next).

Fig. 12. Dara Sheko’s palace. From the notebook of Florentia Sale. BL Mss Eur B360(a), No. 39.

No. 20 Dara Shekhoh’s palace.
Havell-yi Dārā Shukoh.
Dārā Shukoh ne is kī ta mīr kī.
‘The haveli of Dara Shikoh.
Dara Shikoh constructed (it).’

The palace of Dara Shikoh (1615-59), the eldest son and favourite of Shah Jahan, was built immediately north of the fort in the early 1640s. Apparently the most splendid in the city, it was visited on several occasions by the emperor. A plan of the fort and its immediate surroundings from the first half of the nineteenth century shows two large courtyard enclosures with pavilions on the riverfront, loosely borne out by our artist’s view. The absence of the...

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38 The unpublished plan is in the Agra Office of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. AF 236. It shows a range of rectangular structures or platforms placed before the continuous riverfront of the two courtyards which do not appear on the scroll.
southern tower makes it difficult to define its extent, but in William Hodges’s view of the fort taken in 1783 from the river just north of Dara Shikoh’s palace, both towers are included, although the southern tower has lost its upper storeys. Both are close to the fort, although Hodges invariably exaggerates or diminishes distances according to his picturesque principles. Clearly parts of the palace have been converted to European use since some of the arcades have been blocked up and rectangular windows inserted.

The Agra fort was the palace-fortress built by the Lodi dynasty in their capital city. They were displaced by Babur in 1526. Akbar started rebuilding its mud walls with magnificent red sandstone fortifications in 1564 and several of his buildings remain within the fort. Its three main courtyards were rebuilt by Shah Jahan, who added his characteristic white marble constructions, finished by 1638, when he decided to move the capital to a new city of Shahjahanabad (Delhi). The artist of the scroll shows the string of buildings topping the river front elevation, from north to south: the NE corner tower of the fortification wall; the top of the haveli of Dansah Jat, according to Sil Chand the fort governor of the Jats who took Agra in 1761, now called Raja Birbal’s house; the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque, whose white domes are among the most visible parts of the palace and which was added by Shah Jahan in 1654; the river gate called Khizri Darwaza; the hammam (bathhouse) of Shah Jahan with its verandah still in situ, several columns of which were shipped by Lieutenant Governor Sir A. C. Lyall to London for the Royal Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886; the top of the arcaded ranges of the courtyard now called Machchhi Bhavan; the Divan-i Khass (hall of private audience); the Shah Burj (imperial tower pavilion), the imperial viewing pavilion called Bangla-i Darshan; the Khwabgah (imperial sleeping pavilion); the Bangla-i Jahanara (pavilion of the emperor’s daughter Jahanara), followed by the female apartments of the so-called Jahangiri Mahal, dating from Akbar’s time, with partly walled up riverfront; the Akbari Mahal and the SE corner tower of the fortification. Just north of the fort the arrangements there provide a clue to the date of the scroll: this is the Bisram Ghat where an enormous piece of ordnance was dragged round from in front of the Delhi Gate after 1803 with the intention of taking it to Calcutta. Its absence indicates that the scroll must be dated after 1833 when it was blown up for its scrap value on the orders of the Governor-General Lord William Cavendish Bentinck.

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39 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, fig. 355.
41 The verandah of the hammam was near collapse when seen by the Governor-General Lord Hastings in 1814 and he ordered some of the columns to be dismantled with the intention of shipping them to Calcutta. Some were still in Agra for Lyell to ship them to London, see E. Koch, ‘The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan’s Bath in the Red Fort of Agra’, The Burlington Magazine, cxxxiv (1982), pp. 331-9, reprinted in E. Koch, Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology, Collected Essays (New Delhi, 2001), pp. 255-68.
42 See n. 12 above and references.
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No. 22 Islam Khan Roomee’s house.

\textit{Haveli-yi Islām Khān Rūmī.}

Islām Khān Rūmī ne ki mansabdār-i haft hazār thā Akbar Shāh Pādshāh ke ʿahd meṅ taʿmīr kiya.

‘The haveli of Islam Khan Rumi.

Islam Khan Rumi, who was a \textit{mansabdar} of seven thousand in the age of Emperor Akbar, constructed (it).’

This \textit{haveli} is in an important position just south of the fort and was built by Islam Khan Mashhadi, who had a distinguished administrative career under Jahangir and Shah Jahan as \textit{bakshshi} (official in charge of military administration and intelligence) and then as \textit{subadar} (governor) of Bengal and of the Deccan. It is a massive two-storey structure with an arcaded elevation facing the river, completed in 1635 when Shah Jahan visited it, and with a \textit{tahkhana} below for the hot weather. It survived well into the nineteenth century.\footnote{Koch, \textit{The Complete Tāj Mahal}, pp. 65-6.}

Islam Khan Mashhadi performed exceptionally well as a governor and reached the highest possible rank for a \textit{mansabdar} of 7000 as our scribe notes, but died shortly afterwards in 1647. Islam Khan Rumi (the sobriquet indicating he came from the Ottoman lands or Rum) was a different official whose career blossomed under Aurangzeb. He never achieved the exalted rank of 7000. No Islam Khan seems to have been prominent in the reign of Akbar as the inscription supposes.\footnote{See Shahnawaz Khan, vol. i, pp. 694-6 and pp. 698-700, for the careers of these two men.}

No. 23 Sahibjee’s house.

\textit{Haveli-yi Himmat Khān al-mashhūr bi-Ṣāḥib jī.}

Ṣāḥib jī ne ki panjhażāri mansabdār thā Akbar Pādshāh ke ʿahd meṅ taʿmīr kiya.

‘The haveli of Himmat Khan also known as Sahibji.

Sahibji, who was a \textit{mansabdar} of five thousand, constructed (it) in the age of Emperor Akbar.’

The Jaipur map interposes the \textit{haveli} of Mughal Khan next, which seems to have completely vanished by the time of our scroll. As for Himmat Khan, it is not clear which Himmat Khan our scribe had in mind. There are two possibilities in Shahnawaz Khan’s text, but both flourished in the reign of Aurangzeb not of Akbar and neither seems to have been called Sahibji.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 624-7.} This \textit{haveli} according to the Jaipur map and other sources was that of A’zam Khan, who was son-in-law to Asaf Khan, Jahangir’s brother-in-law, and one of the chief nobles under Jahangir and the early years of Shah Jahan, who made him \textit{mir bakshshi} and finance minister.\footnote{Koch, \textit{The Complete Tāj Mahal}, p. 65.} He was governor in succession of Bengal, Gujarat and Bihar, where he died in 1649 with the rank of 6000.\footnote{Shahnawaz Khan, vol. i, pp. 315-9.} As in
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the case of the haveli of Islam Khan, this haveli was a massive two-storeyed block and in this case with octagonal corner towers on the river façade. Both towers were intact in 1789 when Thomas Daniell drew them.48

Fig. 15.

No. 24 Moohabut Khan’s house.
Haveli-i Mahabat Khan.
Shāhjahān Pādshāh ne Mahābat Khān apne rafīq ke vāṣṭe taʿmīr kiyā, aur is ḥavēlī meṅ shīsh mahall aur dargāh-i Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī hai.
‘The haveli of Mahabat Khan.
Emperor Shah Jahan had it constructed by his companion Mahabat Khan, and in this haveli are the mirror glass palace and the shrine of Sayyid Jalal Bukhari.’

Mahabat Khan rose to great prominence in the reign of Jahangir holding the governorships of the Deccan, Kabul and Bengal. He was entrusted with quelling Shah Jahan’s rebellion in 1622 and pursued him through Bengal and the Deccan, before being made Jahangir’s wakil or chief minister with the highest possible rank for a nobleman of 7000. He was reconciled to Shah Jahan after his accession, and was made commander-in-chief. In 1632 he was again sent to the Deccan as governor and captured the hitherto unconquered fortress of Daulatabad. He died shortly after in 1634. As one of the great nobles he had a large palace on the riverfront, but here in a ruinous condition. The Jaipur map has a small haveli of Hoshdar Khan between those of A’zam Khan and Mahabat Khan, not noticed here, while to the east of the latter and in its grounds are the next two structures which are not in the Jaipur map.

No. 25 The glass Palace.
Shīsh Mahall.
Shāhjahān Pādshāh ne taʿmīr kiyā.
‘The Glass Palace.
Emperor Shah Jahan constructed (it).’

A shish mahal is a chamber of which the walls are covered with mosaic of tiny pieces of mirror glass set in stucco (the Mughal ayina kari) reflecting the light of candles. There seems no record elsewhere of this construction, which was presumably in the grounds of Mahabat Khan’s haveli.

No. 26 Jalal Bokhāree’s house.
Dargāh-i Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī.
Shāhjahān Pādshāh ne taʿmīr kiyā.
‘The shrine of Sayyid Jalal Bukhari.
Emperor Shah Jahan constructed (it).’

According to Sil Chand this is the tomb of Sayyid Jalal Bukhari, a Muslim theologian whom Shah Jahan favoured and appointed in 1642 as sadr-us-sudur (minister of religious land grants) and who died in 1647.49 Shahnawaz Khan writes that he eventually attained the rank of 6000

48 In a drawing now in the RIBA archive: see Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, fig. 80.
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**zat/6000 sawar** on account of his success in undoing the errors of his predecessor Musavi Khan.50 This tomb and the adjacent **shish mahal** are also to be seen in another early nineteenth-century drawing of the buildings on this part of the river front now in the Taj Museum, Agra. The dargah of Jalal Bukhari still exists but the older structures have been rebuilt or overbuilt.51

No. 27 Rajah Maun’s house.
*Havelī-yi Rāja Mān.*

_Shāhjāhān ke ‘ahd mēn Rāja Mān Jodhpūrvāle ne ta ‘mīr kīyā aur ab munhadam hai._

‘The haveli of Raja Man.

In the age of Shah Jahan, Raja Man of Jodhpur constructed (it) and it is in ruins now.’

This **haveli** is described by Sil Chand as a grand complex, and its representation like the previous two appears also in the drawing in the Taj Museum previously referred to. Nothing however seems to remain in the drawings but the masonry wall abutting the river. The scribe has mistaken Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur (r. 1803-43) for Raja Man Singh of Amber (r. 1589-1614). The royal Kachwaha family of Amber (subsequently Jaipur) owned land in Agra and Man Singh’s grandson Raja Jai Singh (r. 1621-67) provided the nearby site for the construction of the Taj Mahal. Jai Singh wanted to present it to Shah Jahan, but the emperor gave him in exchange four mansions in Agra.52 According to the **farman** of Shah Jahan which ordered this exchange, these were the **havelis** of Raja Bhagwan Das, Madhav Singh, Rupsi Bairagi and Chand Singh (son of Suraj Singh), and this must presumably be one of them.53

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**Fig. 16.**

No. 28 **Khan Alum’s garden.**

*Bagh-i KhānʿĀlam.*

_Khān ʿĀlam ne ki mansābdār-i pādshāhī thā Jahāngīr ke ‘ahd mēn banvāyā._

‘The garden of Khan ʿAlam.

Khan ʿAlam, who was an imperial _mansabdār_, had it built in the time of Jahangir.’

Khan ʿAlam was one of the great **amirs** of the time of Jahangir, who was sent on an embassy to Shah ʿAbbas I of Iran in 1611, returning only in 1619. He retired early in the reign of

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50 Shahnawaz Khan, vol. i, pp. 737-40, as (Mir Sayyid) Jalal Sadr.
51 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, fig. 73.
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Shah Jahan to his garden in Agra on account of his old age and his addiction to opium. Built like all these mansions above a masonry embankment, the artist has shown the tahkhana or underground chambers where people retreated to keep cooler during the hot weather. A further tahkhana is visible in the extension to the left or eastwards. To the west abuts the darker masonry embankment of that what appears as the haveli of Asalat Khan on the Jaipur map, with the foundations of octagonal towers. The central pavilion of Khan ‘Alam’s haveli is still standing, although ruinous, and shows traces of British adaptations for residential purposes that are also visible on our scroll. Florentia Sale’s journal has a contemporary drawing showing the same embankment, pavilion and tahkhanas (fig. 17). The garden survives as a nursery of the Horticultural Department of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 17. Khan Ullum ka bagh. From the notebook of Florentia Sale. BL Mss Eur B360(b), No. 23.

55 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, fig. 76.
Mumtaz Mahal died in Burhanpur in the Deccan in 1631 while giving birth to the couple’s fourteenth child. The desolate emperor had her body conveyed back to Agra and gave her the most magnificent of all the Mughal imperial tombs. It was begun in 1632 and its structure was completed save for some decoration by 1643. Set on a slightly elevated bank of the river, the mausoleum consists of a double-storeyed domed tomb chamber, a refinement of the earlier Humayun’s tomb at Delhi, surrounded by four graceful minarets, all faced with white marble, and flanked by a mosque on the west side and a matching assembly hall (Mihman Khana) on the east, both in red sandstone with marble domes. Four corner towers, larger versions of those seen already on the river facades of other gardens, surrounded the compound. An entrance gateway on the land side led to the tomb through a vast char bagh garden. The aqueduct for conveying water to the gardens from the river is visible on the right. Agra artists produced large and beautiful drawings of the building, including this view from the river, and all the details of the buildings, during the first decades of the nineteenth century.56

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56 Ibid., figs 205, 232, 240, 241, 243, 353, 361-63, for example.
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No. 30 Major Taylor’s garden.
Bāghicha-yi Telar Sāhib.
Khwāja Āgāh Khān ne Shāhjahān Pādshāh ke ‘ahd meṅ ta’mīr kiyā, aur ‘ahd-i sarkār-i Angrez meṅ Telar Sāhib ne bāghicha banāyā.
‘The garden of Mr. Taylor.’
Khwaja Agah Khan constructed (it) in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan, and in the age of the British government, Mr. Taylor built a garden.’

Taylor as we have already seen had established himself in apartments in the Taj Mahal constructed between the Mihman Khana and the riverfront tower on the east side of the mausoleum and also in the imperial apartments in the fort. Agah Khan (d. 1657) was a eunuch (khwajasara) in the service of Mumtaz Mahal and was faujdar (magistrate) of Agra and head of the mutawali (trusteeship) of the Taj until 1652. This garden appears in the drawing in the Taj Museum previously referred to along with the other gardens from the fort down to the garden of Khan Dauran (No. 32), but there are no inscriptions, so the reference to Major Taylor is here unique. A temple with a marble dome is visible here below the east wall of the Taj compound. The haveli of Agah Khan is represented here by the riverfront façade of an arcaded walkway. In the Sale journal the corresponding drawing is called Doulah Khan’s palace, i.e. of Khan Dauran, showing it to be well preserved, with a loggia perched behind trees on the high mound to the west overlooking Major Taylor’s garden (fig. 20).

Fig. 20. Doulat Khan’s Palace. From the notebook of Florentia Sale. BL Mss Eur B360(a), No. 40.

No. 31 The Elephant shed.
Hāthī thān.
Shāhjahān Padshāh ke ‘ahd meṅ ta’mīr huā aur minjumla makānāt havelī-yi Khāndaurān Khān kī hai.
‘The elephant stable.
It was constructed in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan, and the houses belong in total to the haveli of Khan-Dauran Khan.’

57 Ibid., p. 59.
58 Ibid., fig. 72.
Nothing is visible here resembling an elephant shed, except perhaps an arcaded structure mostly hidden by the hillock on the bank.

No. 32 Khan Douran Khan’s house.
Haveli-i Khan Dauran Khan.
Haveli-yi Khāndaurān Khān-i Lang.
Khāndaurān Khān ne ki mansabdar-i haft-hazārī thā Shāhjahān Pādshāh ke ‘ahd meṅ ta ‘mīr kiyā. ‘The haveli of Khan-Dauran Khan the Lame.
Khan Dauran Khan, who was a mansabdār of seven thousand, constructed it in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan.’

Khan Dauran was one of the chief commanders early in the reign of Shah Jahan and attained the highest rank of 7000. He played key roles in the Deccan with the capture of Daulatabad in 1633 and also in suppressing the Bundela rebellion in 1636. He was governor of Malwa and then of the Deccan. He was devoted to the service of Shah Jahan but became renowned for his cruelty. The inscription refers to him as lame, but this is not recorded by Shahnawaz Khan. His mansion is two-storeyed with arcaded elevations as is the case with most of the river front houses, but is unusual in the clear definition of a high central chamber accessed by three great arches flanked by two symmetrical blocks. The tahkhana below is carefully depicted. The most visible remains today are the western corner tower and part of the embankment wall. A drawing in Florentia Sale’s journal refers to the building as the tahkhana of Khan Daulat Khan (fig. 21).

Fig. 21. Tyur Khana of Khan Doulat Khan. From the note book of Florentia Sale. BL Mss Eur B360(a), No. 38.

59 Shahnawaz Khan, vol. i, pp. 778-83.
60 The building was in private hands until 2015, when it was taken over by the Archaeological Survey of India, and no access was permitted; it is possible that more of it might have survived.
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The Left or East Bank

We now cross the river and proceed back upstream. The gardens and monuments on the left or eastern bank on the scroll are numbered in the reverse direction to those on the opposite bank. On this side there are fewer mansions and more gardens, most of them former imperial gardens. The inscriptions on the scroll are necessarily fewer in number on this side and are separated by long tracts showing just the bank of the river lined with palm trees.

![Image](image1.png)

**Fig. 22.**

No. 1 The Mahtab Garden.
*Mahtab bagh.*
*Mahtāb Bāgh.*
*Shāhjahān Pādshāh ne apne maqbara ke vāste banvāyā.*
‘The Moonlight garden. Emperor Shah Jahan had it built as his grave.’

Our anonymous scribe continues the mistaken tradition that Shah Jahan had this matching garden laid out opposite the Taj Mahal so that he could be buried there in a matching mausoleum. In fact it was laid out by the emperor as a *char bagh* garden (divided by paths and canals into four) for viewing the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal on the opposite bank. An octagonal pool reflected the Taj Mahal in its waters and this was immediately in front of the *bangla* pavilion depicted here, whose existence is confirmed by Aurangzeb’s report to his father in December 1652 that, despite the garden being flooded, the *bangla-ha* (pavilions) were in splendid condition. 61 The *bangla* form or pavilion with a curving roof was adopted by the Mughals from traditional Bengali architecture, hence the name (cf. nos 7 and 21, right bank). Here on the scroll it is exactly opposite the centre of the Taj Mahal (see fig. 2). Two of the corner towers on the east side of the *char bagh* garden were also then still extant, but only the river one now survives. Another view but more imaginary is in Florentia Sale’s notebook. 62

![Image](image2.png)

**Fig. 23.**

62 BL, MSS. Eur B360(b), no. 32, showing the garden with both riverside corner towers reduced to their bases and a central rectangular pavilion instead of the *bangla* one.
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No. 2 The Uchanuk garden.
Achānak Bāgh.
Achānak Begam ne apne maqbara ke vāste Shāhjahān Pādshāh ke ‘ahd men banvāyā.
‘Achanak (‘Sudden’) garden.
Achanak (‘Sudden’) Begum had it built as her grave in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan.’

Sil Chand mentions the garden and says that it belonged to Achanak Begam, one of the women of Akbar’s harem who is otherwise not known. He claims that the garden was once full of fruits and flowers.\textsuperscript{53} In the Jaipur map its grounds form part of the neighbouring garden, one of the imperial char baghs, see No. 3 below.

No. 3 The Char Baugh.
Ek patthar ke gyārah (11) sidhi thān.
Bābur Pādshāh ne taʿmīr kiyā aur is ko bāgh-i gul-afshān aur chārbāgh bhi kahte haiṅ.
‘The place of the Eleven Steps Stone.
Emperor Babur constructed it, and they also call it the Flower-Spreading Garden or the Char Bagh.’

According to the Jaipur map Babur’s Chahar Bagh (or, abbreviated, Char Bagh) was situated next to the Mahtab Bagh, opposite the Taj Mahal, and it shows a second imperial Chahar Bagh beside it, which is closer to the placement of the Char Bagh on our scroll. The Char Bagh was the earliest Mughal garden in Agra, laid out by Babur after he conquered the Sultan of Delhi Ibrahim Lodi in 1526. The name Char Bagh or Four Gardens refers to the symmetrical arrangements of water channels dividing the square into four quarters, but was also used in a looser sense for a formal garden. Babur’s riverfront Agra garden was also known as the Hasht Bihisht or Eight Paradises.\textsuperscript{64} The scribe’s mysterious Eleven Steps relate to one of the few surviving structures of these gardens, a baoli or Mughal step-well from the sixteenth century, still called Gyarah Sidhi or Eleven Steps.\textsuperscript{65} The alternative title Bāgh-i Gulafshān or Flower-Spreading Garden is not mentioned by Babur but by Jahangir in his memoirs.\textsuperscript{66} In the nineteenth century the garden was renowned for the fertility of its soil, but even then nothing remained but some wells as shown by the artist. A long reach of the river with only palm trees intervenes before the next garden and is not reproduced here.

\begin{center}
Fig. 24.
\end{center}

No. 3½ The Lal Baugh.
La 1 Bagh.
Aiżan mutaʿallaqa-yi Bāgh-i Gul-Afshān.
‘The Red Garden.
Also attached to the Flower-Spreading Garden.’

The Red Garden was yet another of the imperial gardens on this side of the river, of which nothing remains.

\textsuperscript{53} Sil Chand, f. 99b.
\textsuperscript{64} Koch, \textit{The Complete Taj Mahal}, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., and fig. 64, also p. 35, fig 29 for its situation.
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No. 3⅓ The Pathan’s Mosque.
Masjid Pathānoṅ kī.
‘The Pathans’ Mosque.
Also attached to the Flower-Spreading Gardens.’

This is meant to be the mosque of Humayun in the village of Kachpura situated further inland from the river than shown on the scroll. The second Mughal emperor (r. 1530-40, 1555-56) built it after his accession in 1530-31.67 We see the backside (the western side) of the building which follows a Central Asian mosque type with a high pishtaq in front of a domed chamber flanked by two lower wings each of four domed bays. This is the only existing view of the complete building. It is odd that it should be called the Pathan’s Mosque, since Humayun spent his reign and his fifteen years in exile fighting the Pathan Afghans whom Babur had dispossessed in 1526.

No. 4 The Motee Baugh.
Motī Bāgh.
Motī Begam ne ki hamshīra Shāhjahān Pādshāh kī thī apne maqbara ke vāṣṭe ta‘mīr kiyā.
‘The Pearl Garden.
Moti Begum, who was Emperor Shah Jahan’s wet-nurse, constructed it as her grave.’

Another long stretch of featureless river bank intervenes (not reproduced here) before the next garden, an imperial garden called Moti Bagh as is clear from seventeenth century accounts of Agra and the Jaipur map. Moti Begum in other nineteenth century accounts is called a wife of Shah Jahan and the name Moti Bagh survives in that of the residential colony built over the garden.68 Further along, the uninscribed stretch of riverbank between No. 4 and No. 5 shows a ruined building, a double storied octagonal pavilion on an arcaded white platform beside a tree; these are the remnants of what is described on the Jaipur map as bagh padshahi, another of the lost imperial gardens that lined the left bank of the river.

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67 See Koch, E., Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (Delhi, 2014), pp. 34-5, fig. 2, pl. 24.
68 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, p. 54.
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No. 5 The Garden of Nawab Bangash.
Bāgh-i Navāb Bangash.
Navāb Bangash ne Shāhjahān ke ‘ahd meṅ banvāyā.
‘The garden of Nawab Bangash.
Nawab Bangash had it built in the age of Shah Jahan.’

This lost garden seems to have been very extensive because the garden of Nawab Bangash stood also in this area, with nothing to be seen but a long embankment wall topped by a ruined pavilion of some sort. The Bangash tribe of Afghans established themselves as the Nawabs of Farrukhabad and was prominent in the affairs of Rohilkhand (western Awadh) and of Delhi in the eighteenth century. One of them perhaps took over this garden for an Agra residence.

No. 6 Mousooee Khan’s Office.
Kachahrī-yi Musavī Khān.
Navāb Mūsavī Khān ne Shāhjahān Pādshāh ke ‘ahd meṅ ta’mīr kiyā.
‘The office of Musavi Khan.
Nawab Musavi Khan constructed it in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan.’

Musavi Khan Sadr had real property on both sides of the river, which according to Sil Chand included a haveli, a kachahri and a ghat, see No. 17 (right bank) above.69 The Jaipur map calls this site the garden of Musavi Khan. Today the twentieth century complex of the ‘Gandhi Smarak’ stands on the foundations of the garden in which Mahatma Gandhi stayed briefly for medical treatment in 1929.70

Fig. 27.

No. 7 Itimad ood Dowlah’s Tomb.
Raużā-yi Iʿtimād al-daula.
Shāhjahān Pādshāh ke ‘ahd meṅ Iʿtimād al-daula ne ki Nurjahān Begam ka bāp thā banvāyā.
‘The mausoleum of Iʿtimad al-Daula.
In the age of Emperor Shah Jahan, Iʿtimad al-Daula, who was the father of Nur Jahan Begum, had it built.’

The tomb of Nur Jahan’s father, Ghiyath Beg Tehrani, given the title of Iʿtimad al-Daula (‘Pillar of the Empire’) is along with the Taj Mahal and the fort one of the three great sights of Agra. A Persian like so many of the high officials of the empire, he achieved the highest rank of 7000 under Jahangir.71 His widowed daughter married the emperor in 1611 and was given the title Nur Jahan (Light of the World). After his death in 1622, shortly after that of his wife, Jahangir gave his property to Nur Jahan and she (and not her father as erroneously claimed in the inscription) was therefore

69 Sil Chand, ff. 104b – 105a.
71 Shahnawaz Khan, vol. ii, pp. 1072-9
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able to build this tomb for her parents in his garden on the bank of the Yamuna (all the property of deceased mansabards normally reverted to the state on their death). Nur Jahan built a structure in the latest Jahangiri taste, a lower platform pavilion with four corner towers and a smaller pavilion above, all the surfaces of which are covered with marble and exquisite intarsia decoration. Unlike the Taj Mahal where the mausoleum was built on the riverside terrace, that of I’timad al-Daula is in the middle of a char bagh garden and is here in the scroll obscured by the riverside entrance pavilion, which has the same basic plan as the tomb but only one layer deep. Corner towers are at each corner of the compound. A tahkhana with a riverfront entrance extends along the whole of the façade, of which the doors are mostly blocked up in the scroll but have now been opened by the Archaeological Survey of India. The tomb was appropriated by the British government in 1842 and became a favourite of the residents of Agra, who used the adapted riverfront pavilion as a guest house to stay for a change of air.72

No. 8 Sultan Purvez’s Tomb.
Rauża-yi Sulṭān Parvez.
Shāhzāda Sulṭān Parvez khalaf-i Jahāngīr Pādshāh ne apne maqbara ke vāste banvāyā.
‘The mausoleum of Sultan Parviz.
Prince Sultan Parviz, the offspring of Emperor Jahangir, had it built as his tomb.’

Sultan Parviz (1589-1626) was the second son of Jahangir. The eldest son Sultan Khusrau rebelled in 1605-06 and was kept imprisoned, until the third son Shah Jahan had him killed in 1622. Shah Jahan eclipsed both his elder brothers in his father’s affections and in his abilities, until he too rebelled in 1622 fearing his step-mother Nur Jahan’s influence on his father. Parviz’s death in 1626 in Burhanpur when subadar of the Deccan removed one of the obstacles to Shah Jahan’s ambitions. Parviz’s body was brought to Agra and buried in his garden where he had built a mansion, the remains of which can be seen in front of the tomb. The tomb alone survives, although in poor condition.73

No. 9 Khawjah Zukuree’s Garden
Bāgh-i Khwāja Ẕakarīyā
Khwāja Ẕakarīyā ne Jahāngīr Pādshāh ke ‘ahd meṅ ta‘mīr kiyā.
‘The garden of Khwaja Zakariya.
Khwaja Zakariya constructed it in the age of Emperor Jahangir.’

The Jaipur map and one other nineteenth-century source give this garden to Khwaja Zakariya, while other such sources give it to Hakim ‘Alim al-Din titled Wazir Khan, an important nobleman of Shah Jahan’s reign, for whom see No. 11 below. Our scroll is apparently the only source that mentions two separate sites, giving the present one to Khwaja Zakariya and the neighbouring one to Wazir Khan, separated by some later structures (No. 10). It seems unlikely on the face of it that Khwaja Zakariya, who only finds mention once in Jahangir’s memoirs as descendant of the Ahir line of the Naqshbandi sufis, should have been given so important a site, but further research is needed.74 The garden here shown seems to be of fruit trees with the remains of an embankment wall.

72 Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, fig. 55, and pp. 48-53.
73 Ibid., pp. 46-7, and figs 50-3 for the present day appearance of the tomb.
74 Jahangir 1999, p. 34.
No. 10 The boatmen’s Shrine.
No. 10½ Hurkishen’s Temple.
(Right:) Mandir-i Mallāhān (Left:) Mandir-i Dīvān-i Harkishan
(Below right:) Yih makān ‘Ālamgīr ke ‘ahd meṅ banā aur Marathōn kī ‘amaldārī meṅ dīvān-i
Harkishan kī Mandir tu mīr huā aur ‘ahd-i sarkār-i Angrezi meṅ mallāhōṅ ne mandir banvāyā.
(Below left:) Aţān.
(Right:) ‘The Boatmen’s Temple.’
(Left:) ‘Minister Harkishan’s Temple.’
(Below right:) ‘This house was built in the age of ’Alamgir, and under the rule of the Marathas,
it was built into Minister Harkishan’s temple, and in the age of the British Government, it was
made into the boatmen’s temple.’
(Below left:) ‘Ditto.’

The two structures are to be considered together, since the long inscription applies to both.
The phrase Dīvān-i Harkishan is difficult to understand. Dīvān may be a title, and Harkishan its
bearer, i.e. the temple of the minister Harkishan. Otherwise it could be a temple of Hari Krishna
too, but then it is not clear what to do with dīvān. These buildings are not referred to in other
contemporary sources. The temple spire seems definitely of the Maratha type, while the other
building seems a later addition to a seventeenth century structure. Only the corner tower on the
right is original to the seventeenth century. Nothing remains of these structures.

No. 11 Wuzeer Khan’s [garden].
Bāgh-i Vazīr Khān.
Vazīr Khān, mansabdār-i panjhazārī ne ‘Ālamgīr ke ‘ahd meṅ banvāyā.
‘The garden of Wazir Khan.
Wazir Khan, a mansabdar of five thousand, had it built in the age of ’Alamgir.’

Hakim ‘Alim al-Din titled Wazir Khan was one of the most esteemed nobles of the reign of Shah
Jahan. Originally a physician (hakim) he held the office of wazir at the beginning of Shah Jahan’s
reign, then governor of Agra 1628-31 and of the Punjab 1631-41, before returning as governor to
Agra where he died that same year.⁷⁵ He is renowned for his patronage of architecture in Lahore,
where his comparatively long governorship enabled him to build a famous mosque and a hamman or
baths. The haveli named that of Wazir Khan on the opposite bank (No. 10) is that of a later official
of the Aurangzeb period with the same title, hence our scribe’s confusion. The garden of Wazir
Khan had a splendid river façade with a central building of three red sandstone storeys displaying
two superimposed verandahs of high multi-lobed arches flanked by lower symmetrical wings and
topped by a five arched baradari. Since only the two corner towers survive, the central pavilion and
its tahkhana being now ruinous, and the rest of the garden has been built over, the artist of the scroll
provides us with valuable information about the original design of this perfectly planned ensemble.⁷⁶

No. 12 The China tile Tomb.
Rauża-yi Navāb Ahmad Khān.
Yih rauża Navāb Afżal Khān kā hai aur is ko Chīnī kā Raužā bhi kahte haiṅ. ʿĀlamgīr ke ‘ahd mēn tā ‘mīr huā.
‘The mausoleum of Nawab Ahmad Khan. This mausoleum belongs to Nawab Afzal Khan, and they also call it Chini ka Rauza (mausoleum of China tiles). It was constructed in the age of ʿAlamgir.’

The scribe corrects his mistaken title of the tomb of Nawab Ahmad Khan to that of Nawab Afzal Khan in the longer inscription and dates it erroneously into Aurangzeb’s reign. A Persian like so many of the high Mughal officials (the emperors thought they would be more detached than native Indians and hence more loyal to their persons), Afzal Khan Shirazi rose to high office under Jahangir and then Shah Jahan, when he was divan-i kul or finance minister. He died in 1639 at Lahore and his body was brought back to Agra to be buried in the tomb he had built in his lifetime. It is decorated outside with the coloured tiles which were a speciality of Lahore, as found on the walls of the Lahore fort and of the mosque of Wazir Khan, and with painted decorations inside. The tomb survives but its original decoration is largely gone and the interior has been repainted. Only the stump of the northern riverside tower remains, but the southern one had already gone in the scroll. An unnamed minor tomb now known as the Kala Gunbad is nearby.

No. 13 Jehan Ara’s Garden.
Bāgh-i Jahānārā Begam.
‘The garden of Jahanara Begum. Jahanara Begum was the daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan. It was constructed in the age of Shah Jahan.’

Jahanara (1614-81) was the eldest child as well as the eldest daughter of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal, and she held a special place in her father’s affections after the death of her mother in 1631, when she became the Begum Sahiba and ran the emperor’s household. Her garden was one of the largest on the Agra riverfront. It was in fact begun by her mother during Jahangir’s reign and is the only foundation which can be connected to the patronage of the Lady of the Taj. The earlier construction phase can be seen in the uncusped arches of the lower two storeys of the corner towers, to which Jahanara added smaller chhatris. Only one of them survives and the large pavilion fronting the river has now gone, so that the scroll’s evidence is of the greatest importance in that it reveals the riverside elevation to have been an arcade veranda consisting of three bays, each composed of a wide arch with a narrower arch on each side. Doors visible through the wide arches pierce the rear.

Shah Nawaz Khan, vol. i, pp.149-53.
Koch, The Complete Taj Mahal, p. 41, quotes the description of the garden by Shah Jahan’s poet Kalim. The pavilions were painted with flowers.
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wall which is further articulated by blind panelling. The central arch is wider and this accentuation is reinforced by the three central arches of the tahkhana below, the whole composition playing, as in Wazir Khan’s garden (No. 11, right bank), with bilateral symmetry, a favourite of Shahjahan architecture. Corbels supporting the vanished chhajja or heavy eave above each of the two storeys still survive in this drawing. Some of this is visible in a photograph taken by John Murray c. 1860.79

In the early twentieth century the grounds of the garden were rented out by the government to local nurseries which left its trees and bushes largely to wild growth.80 Thus the Bagh-i Jahanara appears today in parts like a romantic English landscape garden with the Mughal ruins in it like follies.

No. 14 The Ram Baugh. 
Rām Bāgh.
Nūrjahān Begam ne ki zauja Jahāngīr Pādshāh kī thī, taʿmīr kiyā, aur is ko Bāgh-i Nūrafshān bhī kahte haīn.
‘The Ram Garden.
Nur Jahan Begum, who was the wife of Emperor Jahangir, constructed it, and they also call it the Bāgh-i Nur-Afs(h)ān (the Light-Spreading Garden).’

The widowed Mihr al-Nisa, daughter of I’timad al-Daula, married Jahangir in 1611 and, renamed Nur Jahan, Light of the World, was instantly catapulted into a position of immense power, especially as the emperor gradually succumbed to his overindulgence in wine and opium. The garden seems to have been laid out shortly after the wedding and is the earliest surviving Mughal garden in Agra. It was named the Bagh-i Nur Afshān, the name Ram Bagh by which it is popularly known being a corruption of its later denomination Aram Bagh. Two pavilions end on to the river, each consisting of alternate open verandas and enclosed rooms, face each other across a pool, with a tahkhana beneath. The garden was never meant to be symmetrical, unlike later Mughal ones, and the pavilions occupy the southern end of the elevated terrace by the river.81 Another tahkhana, still surviving with its vaulted rooms and baths, is beneath the platform further north. Two relatively modest chhatris surmount the corner towers. The garden was another British favourite, used for cultivating fruit trees, and the pavilions were adapted as guest house for visitors to stay.

Fig. 30.

No. 15 The Tirpoliya. 
Tirpoliā.
Nūrjahān Begam ne vāṣṭe sukūnāt-i bāghbānoṅ ke banvāyā thā.
‘The Tirpoliya.
Nur Jahan Begum had it built as a rest(ing place) for the gardeners.’

79 Ibid., fig. 40, along with a modern view of the south-west tower, fig. 41.
80 Unfortunately the leases of the nurseries ran out in 2014 and the future of the garden is uncertain. Personal information by an anonymous gardener in situ on 1 November 2014.
81 See the plan of the garden in Koch 2006, fig. 33.
North of Nur Jahan’s garden a rectangular area end on to the river survives that was perhaps intended for a bazaar with gates at east and west end. The western gate here is presumably meant to have three arches (the meaning of tirpoliya) but only one is visible.

No. 16 Boolund Boorj.
Buland Burj.
Yih burj Buland Bāgh meñ Jahāngīr Padshāh ne banvāyā thā.
‘The High Tower.
Emperor Jahangir had this tower built in the High Garden.’

Nothing remains of this garden other than this four-storeyed tower from Jahangir’s reign, which is the largest among all these gardens. It was unusual in being set in the middle of the river frontage, with a smaller corner tower at either end, of which only the southern one survives. The garden is traditionally attributed to Buland or Sarbuland Khan, a eunuch in Jahangir’s service, but our scribe is surely right in attributing such a large construction to the emperor.82

No. 17 The Boolund Baugh.
Buland Bāgh.
Jahāngīr Pādshāh ne ta’mīr kiyā.
‘The High Garden.
Emperor Jahangir constructed it.’

Nothing remains of these pavilions occupying according to our artist the northern frontage of the Buland Bagh. The Jaipur map records to north of the Buland Bagh the garden of Shah Nawaz Khan, which is otherwise unnoticed in the scroll. Shah Nawaz Khan was a high official of the reign of Shah Jahan, with the rank of 5000. Two of his daughters married sons of the emperor.

Fig. 31.

No. 18 Shah Guda’s Tomb.
Rauza-yi Shāh-u-Gida.
Faqīr Shāh-u-Gida ne apne maqbara ke vāste Shāhjahān Padshāh ke ‘ahd meñ banvāyā aur yih faqīr bahut murtāż thā.
‘The mausoleum of King-And-Beggar.
The fakir ‘King-and-Beggar’ had it built in the age of Emperor Shah Jahan as his grave, and this fakir was much disciplined.’

Nothing seems to be known of this fakir’s tomb.

82 Ibid., p. 37.
Conclusion

From this unique scroll we learn that despite the ravages of time, neglect and war, in 1830 there was still considerable evidence of Agra’s imperial past to be seen along the riverfronts. Many towers and facades remained along with a considerable number of mansabdari and princely mansions albeit partly ruinous. The imperial gardens on the left bank had fared less well – our artist shows long tracts of the river bank populated only by palm trees. The invaluable inscriptions on the scroll afford an even clearer picture than Mughal histories and documents of how much Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan favoured their relatives with prime riverfront properties, revealing new family names for the first time as owners of these stretches.

After the Uprising of 1858, the picture changes dramatically. As in Delhi, whole swathes of the city near the fort were demolished to afford a clear field of fire and the remains of all the nearby mansions were blown up. Roads were laid out along the right bank punching through the gardens that were left. Bridges were constructed across the Yamuna for rail and road that destroyed the environment at either end. Only a few of the imperial gardens at the northern end of the left bank survived in any form, while the rest were converted into fields for crops and are now being built over for Agra’s expanding population. It is now 400 years since the heyday of Agra as an imperial capital and our scroll, suspended half way between then and now, affords us a precious glimpse of how it once was.