

Fashion and Designing under the Mughals (Akbar to Aurangzeb): A Historical Perspective

A thesis submitted to the University Of North Bengal

For the award of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

By

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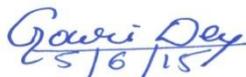
University of North Bengal

(Raja Rammohanpur, Darjeeling)

June, 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis “Fashion and Designing under the Mughals (Akbar to Aurangzeb): A historical Perspective“, has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. Bijoy Kumar Sarkar, Associate Professor of Department of History, University of North Bengal. No part of this thesis has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.


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CERTIFICATE

I certify that Gouri Dey has prepared the thesis entitled “Fashion and Designing under the Mughals (Akbar to Aurangzeb): A Historical Perspective ”, for the award of Ph. D. degree of the University of North Bengal, under my guidance. She has carried out the work at the Department of History, University of North Bengal.


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Abstract

The Mughal rule is considered a 'Golden Age' of delicacy in the sub-continent. It is the least treaded path in the history of the Mughals, which being glorious and vividly colourful yet we know so less. On this perspective it is an attempt to bring this side of the fusion culture in India to light.

The priceless legacy of miniature paintings and chronicles from the Mughal era provides an insight into the dress code of the nobility at the time. By examining them one can easily determine that 'fashion and designing' was a major art form that received special encouragement by all the Mughal emperors.

Each emperor maintained his own contemporary style of dressing in court and otherwise. Babar, who was brought up in the cooler climate of Turkistan, retained the costumes of his homeland (Mongol clothing); the most popular garments in his period were '*chafan*' (long coat) and '*postin*' (sheep skin coat). It can be said that he must have worn them for traditional Mongol tunics, wearing a layered look composed of a striped *nima* (undershirt), a blue long-sleeved shirt, a $\frac{3}{4}$ th length sleeved Asian style tunic and a purple *chogha* with short sleeves.

In the period of Akbar there was a combination of Indian and imported skills and techniques, which led to the flowering of classical forms and shapes and they later became an integral part of Indian dress design. Akbar took the initiative of introducing local textiles, which were best suited to the hot climate of the region. He himself took interest in the fashioning of court dresses and introduced the '*chakdar jama*' to his court, which was a cross over tunic, with slits around the skirt and an asymmetrical hemline. Although it was in fashion in India since medieval times,

Akbar restyled the garment and developed it into a formal gown by removing slits, rounding the hemline and increasing the fullness of the skirt.

There had been great motivation for beautiful garments. The Mughal grandeur famed worldwide which was very well reflected in the clothes worn by the Mughal men and their ladies. Their garments revealed not only their riches and tastes but also excellent work done by the tailors in those times. Mughal emperors like Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan took equal interest as their ladies in wearing beautiful garments. The role and contribution of the royal Mughal ladies were also quite apparent in the field of dress. The ladies certainly had no difficulty in getting costly materials for their cloths and expert tailors to switch these clothes. Cloth came from foreign lands and different part of India including southern India famed for its woven fabric. The riches and the most of the exquisitely wrought brocades, fine linens and *alachas* or silk stuffs interwoven with gold and silver were among the present which passed between the great Mughal and the neighbouring kingdoms. Some of these items were exhibited at the fairs and festivals held in the royal seraglios. Among the various *karkhanas*, or manufacturing house under the Mughal emperors, we find a separate dress and apparel making units known as *Tushak Khana* and a shawl department. Shawl was a very popular garment among the Mughals. For weaving shawls there were one thousand *Karkhanas* in the city. Silk weaving also received special encouragement; silk cloth produced in Punjab gained fame throughout the world. Even embroidery was done here. Beautiful costly dresses were only used for few hours. Akbar is said to have employed eleven thousand tailors for the manufacture of clothes for his household.

The fashion in garment introduced to our land by the Mughals have legacy come down to their various modified forms. But the study of fashion and designing under Mughal has limited and scarce records and a few researches have been done. In this wide area of fashion under Mughals, it is a very meticulous and cumbersome subject to handle with. Traditional and cultural bondage in certain cases is yet again a giant feat to come up with. Most of the literatures available are superficial to this subject, either being secondary or the subject being handled in a less perspective to the knowledge of the intrinsic relevance of the entire and apparel to the traditional and evolutionary blending in the sub-continent. Very little work has been done in relation to its modern context.

PREFACE

The medieval period of Indian history begins when the immemorial systems, rules and customs of ancient succession of foreign conquerors imposed new rules and introduced an exotic creed of clothing patterns.

The Mughals were Muslim conquerors of Turkish and Mongolian descent who counted among their formidable ancestors both Genghis Khan scourge of Christendom in the middle ages, and Timur who had swept down from Afghanistan in 1398 to sack the ancient northern city of Delhi. In 1526 Timur's descendant, Babur came to Delhi to stay and its zenith in the seventeenth century, the empire established by him covered all of the Indian subcontinent except for its southernmost tip. In the empire's heartland, Mughal courtly life combined the finest of imported Persian ways and the indigenous traditions of the ancient Hindu kings of Rajasthan, the Rajputs. It emerged as a confident imperial culture, distinctively India, but at its best, flexible and open to ideas from the world outside moulded to give the world in return a cult of mesmerizing art and artifacts from music, architecture to dress and beautification. It is an attempt to present the fashionable life style of Mughals who ruled from 1526 practically to 1803, when British captured Delhi and Agra. The context belongs to the period of reign of the great Mughals, Akbar (1556-1605), Jahangir (1605-1627), Shah Jahan (1628-1658) and Aurangzeb (1659-1707).

With the advent of the Mughals, India witnessed the arrival of many elements which were introduced into the Indian society which intermingled with the culture of that period in course of time. Even the name of the land became more popular as *Hindustan* among the foreign travellers. They not only influenced the political scenario of the country, but also of social, cultural and artistic life of India. From stitched fabrics to extensive use of silk among women and worsted cotton among the male; the embroidery and lace-making were on the same

contour as to the sweetness of Urdu and its poetry in music under the legendary maestros. *Zardozi, chikankari, kalamkari, meenakari*, the famous *kim-khwab* silk brocade weaving of Banaras, *Dhaka malmal*, the leather shoes and sandals of Kashmir, Delhi, Lucknow and Amritsar, leather water vessels of Bikaner, the Kashmir shawls and carpets. The Mughals past in India does not merely linger but overwhelms us.

Mughal age not only saw the intricacies of the emperors and princess in their style of dressing, but also the princesses, queens and other ladies of the royal Mughal harem. The ladies of the Mughal dynasty were almost as royal Mughal harem. The ladies of the Mughal dynasty were almost as remarkable as their male counterparts. Nur Jahan for instance brought a revolution in the manner of dressing of the harem. Purdah system was prevalent but these beautiful and extremely talented women did not let a chance where they could improvise something new for themselves. The accounts of foreign travellers and Gulbadan Begum's *Humayun Namah* tell a tale elaborately dealing with such creative instances.

Rekha Mishra's *Women in Mughal India*, Zenat Causar's *Muslim women in Medieval India*, Tanushree Poddar's *Nur Jahan's daughter* and Soma Mukherjee's *Royal Mughal Ladies and their Contributions* are no less to have a presence to justify Mughal ladies' innovations in dress and dress ethics of the period.

The Mughal dynasty certainly witnessed a great contribution from Akbar to Shah Jahan among the Mughal emperors while Nur Jahan was noteworthy among the empresses. It is very difficult to find exclusive and elaborate information on the textile and hosiery items that survived till date. Scattered and scanty information in different works are not sufficient for a student of history and therefore failed to justify the glorious contribution of that era in a field of fashion and designing.

The present study is therefore an attempt to present collectively and as elaborately as possible in a comprehensive manner on the contribution on the Mughals from the time of Akbar to Aurangzeb with special emphasis on Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Nur Jahan, Shah Jahan's daughter Jahanara, Roshanara, Aurangzeb daughter Zeb-un-Nisa are no less to mention.

It is so mystic and enchanting to see the trend of traditional clothes grow and even in this modern world of computerized design, refined the Mughals which can be seen peeping through the bridal dress, *Sherwanis* and beautiful *Ghagra* and *Cholis*. The *meenakari*, the multi-coloured diamonds hold our breath even today.

I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Bijoy Kumar Sarkar, who have been a tremendous mentor for me. I would like to thank him for encouraging my research and for allowing to grow as a research scholar. His advice on both research as well as on my academic career has been priceless. I would also like to thank my teachers of the History Department: Prof. Ratna Roy Sanyal, Prof. Ananda Gopal Ghosh, Prof. I. Sarkar, Dr. Anita Bagchi, Dr. Dhalia Bhattacharya, Dr. Sankar Kumar Das, Dr. Sudash Lama and Mr. Varun Kumar Roy for their kind cooperation in getting my paper to completion. I want to thank them all for letting my thoughts on paper and for their brilliant comments and suggestions.

A special thanks goes to librarians and staffs of North Bengal University (Darjeeling), National Library (Kolkata), Asiatic Society of Bengal (Kolkata), National Museum (New Delhi), the National Archives (New Delhi) and Calico Museum of Textile (Ahmedabad) for the kind help they extended to me.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Hafiz Sharib Qamar Khan for the help extended by him and his kind assistance in consulting Shariat and some of the Persian scripts.

I would also like to thank all my friends and others who supported me in writing and incensed me to strive towards my goal.

A respectful thanks goes to my father-in law, Mother- in law, my brother-in-law, Rinku and my loving thanks to my daughter, Jeea for all the sacrifices that they have made on my behalf. Their prayer for me was what sustained me thus far.

At the end I would like to express my appreciation to my husband, Mr. Ashis Dey who has spent his valuable time with me and was always my support in the moments when there was no one to answer my queries.

Gouri Dey

Place: Siliguri

Date: 5th June, 2015

Glossary

<i>Angharkha</i>	An archaic name for the <i>jama</i> , a long sleeved over garment worn by Mughal men.
<i>Anwat</i>	Ornament for toes.
<i>Bazubands</i>	Armllets; Jewelled ties encircling the upper arms.
<i>Begum</i>	Indian Muslim Noble woman. A title of rank and respect.
<i>Binduli</i>	ornament of forehead.
<i>Chakdar jama</i>	Four pointed skirt worn by both men and women introduced by the Mughals.
<i>Choli</i>	Women's traditional short-sleeved tightly fitted, breast-length blouse generally worn under a sari.
<i>Churidar</i>	Full-legged trousers that gathered to fit the ankle at the hemline.
<i>Dhoti</i>	Long loincloth worn by Hindu men.
<i>Duppata</i>	Thin shawl of silk or Muslim worn over the head and shoulder by Muslim women.
<i>Farman</i>	An order of the Emperor or sultan in a written document.
<i>Ghagra</i>	Women's long open-fronted pleated skirt introduced by the Mughals. The skirt opening was hidden by a long apron like panel tucked in at the waist.
<i>Gusalkhana</i>	Bathing room.
<i>Hamam</i>	Turkish style steam bath.
<i>Howda</i>	Sedan chair frame for riding on elephants.
<i>Jama</i>	Over garment or overdress, earliest form of a coat in India.
<i>Jawahar-khana</i>	Jewellery house.
<i>Jitals</i>	Copper coins of Delhi Sultanate.
<i>Johri</i>	Goldsmith

<i>Jutti</i>	Shoes
<i>Kadas</i>	Rings of wrists or feet.
<i>Kangan</i>	Hand ornaments (bracelets)
<i>Karkhana</i>	Work shop or factory.
<i>Katar</i>	Thrusting dagger with double-edge blade and a transverse grip between two parallel bars.
<i>Khalifa (Caliph)</i>	Title formerly used by Muslim rulers who were successors of Muhammad.
<i>Khil'at</i>	Robe of Honour
<i>Kurnish</i>	A form of court etiquette performed before the Emperor by bending one's torso.
<i>Kurta</i>	An over shirt or tunic, worn by both sexes today.
<i>Mang</i>	A head ornament usually studded with precious stones.
<i>Mullahs</i>	Person claiming to be religious leaders of the Musalmans
<i>Nath</i>	A nose ornament, brought into India probably by the Muslims.
<i>Nauraz</i>	New day the beginning of Iranian year at the month of spring.
<i>Paan</i>	Mildly narcotic preparation of betelnut.
<i>Pagri</i>	The turban worn by Hindu men. A large, self-draping stripe of cotton 5 to 25 yards long; it is wound around the head in various styles. Often with one end hanging down the back.
<i>Paijama</i>	Long, loose trousers, usually made of a thin material; they sometimes were wound around the lower leg.
<i>Palki</i>	Palanquin or a litter
<i>Patka</i>	Sash worn by nobility.
<i>Purdah</i>	The veiling of women, can also refer to their confinement at home.
<i>Ratnas</i>	Precious jewels.

<i>Sajda</i>	Prostration.
<i>Sehra</i>	A veil of flowers or pearls worn by a bride groom.
<i>Shalwar</i>	Baggy trousers and long overblouse.
<i>Shariat</i>	Muslim religious law
<i>Takauchiah</i>	Pointed shirt which is often seen in pictures from the time of Akbar.
<i>Tikka</i>	Pendant extending to the forehead from chain worn over the head.
<i>Makhmal</i>	Close cropped warp-pile fabric with a smooth rich surface produced by double weaving or with wires.
Waist coat	Also called a vest. A front buttoning, sleeveless garments worn usually by men under a jacket or coat.
<i>Zari</i>	Thread of gold and silver.

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The Great Mughals 1526-1707 (Chronological order of reign)

Babur 1483-1530
Reigned 1526-1530

Surviving sons
Humayun 1508-1556
Reigned 1530-1556

Kamran
Askari
Hindal
Farukh
Died aged 2
Alwar
Died aged 4

Surviving daughters
Ma'suma
The Very Chaste Princess

Gulrukh
The Rose- Faced Princess

Gulrang
The Rose-Coloured Princess
Dildar's first child, born
between 1511 and 1515

Gulchhra
The Rosy-Cheeked Princess
Gulbadan
The Rosebody Princess born
c.1523

Akbar 1542-1605
Reigned 1556-1605

Jahangir (Salim) 1569-
1627
Reigned 1605-1627

Shah Jahan (Khurram)
1592-1666
Reigned 1627-1658

Aurangzeb 1618-1707
Reigned 1658-1707

استر با بر همراه برده صحبت و سلامت حضرت یافته و حضرت
 بادشاه متوجه کابل شدند در آن وقت حکم کابل محمد مقیم
 پسر ذوالنون ارغون که پسر کلان ماهیدیکم بود داشت
 کابل را بعد از وفات الخچیک مرزا از عبدالرزاق مرزا
 گرفته و از مرزا عبد الرزاق مذکور عموزاده پادشاه بود
 بادشاه بدولت کابل آمدند دوسر روز قلیچکی شد و
 بعد از چند روز بعد و قول کابل را به بندگان حضرت
 یادته سپرده با مال و اسباب خود یافتند بارش پسر
 خود رفت و فتح کابل در او افرماه ربیع الثانی سنه ۹۲
 نهمه و ده بوده بعد از میر شدن کابل به شکست رفتند
 و یکباره اجمه کرده کابل آمدند و حضرت خانم که والد حضرت
 پادشاه باشند در شش روزت کرده از عالم قانی بد از ایضا
 رحلت نمودند و در بیع نوروزی حضرت خانم را مانند جهان
 باغ که مردم و بصل اکه باشند کنه از تنکه متقالی داده گذاشتند
 درین اثنا فرماتهای سلطان حسین مرزا بتا کنه آمدند که

Chapter I

Introduction-

Fashion what we call in modern high-tech world is but a human behaviour. It is in general term, a popular style or practice, especially in clothing, footwear, accessories, makeup, body piercing or furniture all to represent one self in a distinctive manner and style. It is the trend in which a person dresses or to prevailing styles in behaviour. Costume, the more technical term, has become so linked to the term fashion that the use of the former has been relegated to special senses like fancy dress or masquerade wear, while fashion means clothing more generally including the study of it. Aspects can be feminine or masculine, some trends are androgenous. It can be defined as what a specific group of people wear and use during a giving period of time.

It is an art of learning to combine colour, form, pattern and texture for the right effect for the right time, the place and the people. Fashion is a mode of action and a method of conduct, manner and custom or general life to hold social position. It is also an outcome of latest and most admired style in clothes, cosmetics and behaviour. For centuries individuals or societies have used clothes and other adornment as a form of non-verbal communication to indicate occupation, rank, gender, sexual availability, locality, class, and wealth or group affiliation. Fashion is considered as a form of free speech which not only embraces clothing but also accessories, jewellery, hairstyle and body art. Fashion is a language of sign, symbol and iconography that non-verbally communicate meaning about individuals and groups. It enables us to make ourselves understood and rapid comprehension by the onlooker.

People are so aware that others make judgement about them through their clothes and accessories that may run up huge debts to appear to belong to a particular lifestyle. Frequently the rest of their role-set are doing likewise. Those with high status occupations

will wear the clothes they think others expect them to wear. They will not wish to experience role conflict by wearing the incorrect clothing. It is from the clothes a person wears that we get our first impression of personality. They provide mental clues to a person's status and occupational role as well as being a means of confirming to peer group expectations. Clothes also have the utilitarian functions of providing both protections from the extremes of the elements, keeping us warm or cool or safe. They also act as an aid to modesty or immodesty as the wearer so desires. The state of a person's clothes is synonymous with self-respect and is a sign of respectability. It also adds another sign that the person has sufficient status in society to maintain at the cost of time and money, laundering, dry cleaning and repair. To be respectable some expenses has to be incurred in the maintenance of cleanliness and neatness.

One of the most favoured forms of semiotic distinction is fashion. It acts as speechless motivation towards communication in three forms, namely fashion is approved by others then it is copied because of competition and finally it is replaced as it becomes common place and has ceased to fulfil its functions of being distinctive.¹

Designing is a plan to make or work out a plan for device, it is a decorative or artistic work. Designing as a process can take many forms depending on the objects being designed and the individual or individuals participating, it is a composition in art referred to the panning and arrangement of form and colour in two or three dimensional work. Design is the human power to conceive, plan and realize products that serve human being in the accomplishment of any individual or collective purpose. Design when applied to fashion includes considering aesthetics as well as function in the final form.²

The Mughal Empire ruled the South Asian region including current northern India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan from the early 16th century to the 19th century. As the name of the empire, Mughal, which means Mongol in Persian language indicates, the empire was built by a foreign tribe of Mongol origin. Babur, the progenitor of the Mughal Empire, is a direct

descendant of Timur who descended from Genghis Khan.³ The Mughal age was an era marked by many distinctive features and development in almost all fields of architecture and development of different kinds kharkhanas of which apparel designing and applying new fashions of dresses are the prominent. The Mughal were great lovers of art which is found in their buildings and in their dresses.⁴ The Mughals were men of artistic inclinations. They not only brought the Persian culture into India but also mingled with the Indian culture and gave a new form almost in all fields.⁵ R.C Mazumdar is of the opinion that “the Mughal period was entirely an age of innovation and renaissance, but of a continuation and culmination of processes that had their beginning in the later Turko-Afghan period. In fact the art and architecture of that period after 1526, as also of the preceding period, represent a happy mingling of Muslim and Hindu art traditions and elements.”⁶

The Mughal Empire, once an economically and culturally prosperous country, also left many historical works.⁷ Persian historians of the Mughal Empire have written about the fashion, designing, textiles of the Mughal Period.⁸ The historian does not merely log and interpret data, he also portrays life and tells a story about the kings and about their daily activities.⁹ To know about the Mughals, we are fortunate for the sources are numerous and varied and are rich in detail about every facet of life.¹⁰ Memoirs like Babur Nama and Humayun Nama gives a glimpse of the reigns of Babur and Humayun and their life style. But the theme of the fashion in dresses gave a different approach by the historians of Akbar’s reign.¹¹ Abul Fazl’s Ain-i-Akbari and Akbar Nama and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad’s Tabqat-i-Akbari give sober and succinct account of Akbar’s liking for dresses and its innovation and attention towards its development.¹² He was fond of new pattern of dresses and jewellery and it was his personal initiatives that there was development of different Kharkhanas¹³ known as *Toshak Khana* (apparel making), *Farash Khana* (carpets), *Zin-Khana* (saddles and bridles), *Bistar Khana*, (bedding’ and tents for the emperor’s journey),¹⁴ *Zargar Khana* (gold smith department),

Shafa Khana (dispensary), *Chirabafi Khana* (shawl, scraf weaving), *Huqabandi Khana* (silk cords and tapes), etc.¹⁵

The most important autobiography of Mughal period is that of Nur-ud-din-Jahangir. Jahangir ruled for twenty-two years but ill-health and sorrow forced him to give up writing his autobiography in the seventeenth year of his reign, he then entrusted the task to Motamid Khan, who continued till nineteenth year of his reign.¹⁶ *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* by a Persian historian Khafi Khan also throws light on the social and cultural aspects of the Mughal society during the reign of Jahangir.¹⁷ Jahangir writes about his sisters and other relatives with feeling, he also writes about his beloved wife Nur Jahan with emotion, she had won his heart with her devotion. He frankly writes about his drinking bouts, dinner parties and festivities in the company of women. He describes Nauroz festival, weighing ceremonies. He recounts the magnificent presents of cloth and gold and jewels exchanged with queens and princesses and the liberal allowances made to them. Jahangir was fond of jewellery and his tastes were seen in the use of various kinds of precious gems in his jewelleries¹⁸. Even the military servants who captured diamond bearing territories were liberally praised, such as Ibrahim Khan whose excellent exertions in the spring of 1616 brought the eastern province of Khukra (in Bihar) and its alluvial diamond deposits into the empire's grasp. Jahangir was in habit of covering himself with strings of pearls or precious stones. In 1615 he introduced pearl ear-rings for men. He also mentions of different turban ornaments, a range of jewelled plumes, aigrettes, and turban fringes which formed a central part of Mughal royal dresses.¹⁹

Shah Jahan's period also witnessed the changes in the life style of the Mughals, chroniclers like Qazwini and Abdul Hamid Lahori describes the reign of Shah Jahan, a period of cultural and artistic changes, he brought the Mughal artistic choice to a great height, he was a great builder.²⁰ Under his patronage crafts, industries and commerce flourished in India as never before during the Muslim period.²¹ The chronicler of Shah Jahan says " the carpet industry of

Kashmir and Lahore has developed to such an extent that woollen carpets are prepared at the cost of Rs.100 per yard. Shah Jahan was very fond of splendour and loved gorgeous and flowery dresses with delicate embroidery.²²

Among the contemporary writers of Aurangzeb's reign are Muhammad Kazim of Alamgir Nama, Rai Brindaban of Lubb-ut-Tawarikh, Musta'id Khan of Maasir-i-Alamgir, Ishar Dass of Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri, Bhim Sen of Nuskha-i-Dilkush and Khafi Khan of Mutakhib-Al-Lubab.²³ Aurangzeb was not interested in innovation of new design in clothing, rather he wore very simple clothes and preferred white colour in his dresses being a true Sunni.²⁴

Aurangzeb did not put much attention to the development of *kharkhanas* or any textiles industry. During his reign the number of *kharkhanas* decreased. It suggested that he hated luxuries. Travelogues, or travel diaries, were written by men wanting to capture all that they had seen that was new and strange to them.²⁵

Although the Mughals recorded much of their own activities through their official court chroniclers, these European accounts do much to help us fill in the gaps. For the Mughals, everyday events were mundane and uninteresting, so they were not recorded – for the visiting Europeans however, even the smallest detail of daily life could be fascinating. The Mughals were prone to giving events at court a very 'glossy' sheen. Being able to contrast their observations with European reports can be very revealing, offering a different (if no less biased) angle.²⁶

The European travellers in the Mughal Empire freely wrote about the life of the Mughals. Their sources of information were limited and therefore they collected all they could, whether in the form of detailed information or little anecdotes. Minor matters also being described at length, it is in fact that their importance is great while describing the life style of the Mughals in a minute form.²⁷ Court-scenes, festivals, processions and sketches of the personages are

mentioned by the European travellers with whom they came in contact. Some of the travellers, who visited the royal court, tagged almost everything whatever they had seen around the courts. The foreign travellers have written almost on all aspects of the Mughal Empire. The glimpse of Mughal choice of fashion and the taste of their clothes is also well mentioned by the European travellers in their accounts.²⁸

Many of the European travellers like Sir Thomas Roe, Edward Terry, Francisco Pelsaert, Pietro Della, John De Laet, Peter Mundy, Bernier and Manucci stayed in Mughal court and wrote about the Mughal society.²⁹

According to the account of Captain William Hawkins, he stayed in Agra in 1607 and lived there for five years and collected information about the affairs of the Mughal court and royal family. He recorded information about the Nauroz celebrations, weighing ceremony of Jahangir, Court glamour and Emperor's daily life; he even describes the luxuries enjoyed by the Mughals.³⁰

Sir Thomas Roe's writings known as 'Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great Mughal' presented a vivid picture of the courtly life of the Mughals. He recorded his impressions about the empress, princes, princesses and men and women that mattered in the Mughal court like Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Prince Khusrau, and other nobles and above all Nur Jahan Begum. He also highlights the passion of gems of Jahangir.³¹

Niccolao Manucci writes the most detailed account of the Mughals in 'Storia del Mogor' translated by W. Irvine. It is a source for reconstructing the Mughal history in the line of its development of garments industry.³² Manucci says that the ladies of the harem wear two or three garments each weighing not more than one ounce and worth from forty to fifty rupees each. The account of Manucci is the first hand information about the Life style of the Mughals.³³

Francois Bernier, a French physician and a man of superior education, arrived in India in 1658 and stayed in Agra, portrayed important personalities and described interesting events of the Mughals.³⁴ Being a physician whenever he was taken in Mughal harem he used to be covered from head to waist with shawls before he was taken inside the harem for the treatment of the ladies. He even described the costly dresses of the Begums, perfumed with essences and the use of precious jewellery while touching their pulse. His notices of Mughal society are penetrating because his source of information were many and varied and his stay in the Mughal capital was for long years.³⁵

Peter Mundy's 'Travels' was edited by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, which is also an valuable source of information³⁶ highlighting the life style of the Mughals. He describes Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and some other cities.

Francisco Pelsaert (a Dutch traveller) came to India in 1620 and lived till 1627. He stayed most of the time at Agra. He wrote about the social structure and administrative system of the Mughals. Pelsaert was in friendly terms with many nobles, who often invited him to their houses. He visited their mansions and received useful information about the working of Mughal Court and royal household.³⁷

Among the later European travellers who visited India during the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb were Peter Mundy, Mandelslo, Tavernier, Thevenot and others. Many of them capture the Mughal society in their accounts during their visit to India.³⁸

In addition to the writing of Persian chroniclers and accounts of foreign travellers, Mughal paintings form a very important source for the study of Mughal fashion and designing. Mughal miniature paintings are available in abundance, it portrays all aspects of Mughal life³⁹. Most of the schools, especially the Mughal one, depicted court life, thus we may have a visual knowledge of costumes, utensils, furniture and other aspects of life. Moreover some

painters were able to transcend the limits of the court art tradition and make a realistic description of the common man's life and work. Mughal painting is a particular style of South Asian painting, generally confined to miniatures either as book illustrations or as single works to be kept in albums, which emerged from Persian miniature painting, with Indian Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist influences, and developed largely in the court of the Mughal Empire. Mughal painters also work without restraints as it were after the reign of Akbar.⁴⁰ From the time of Jahangir onwards they begin to depict the harem scenes with untrammelled freedom. These paintings indeed help in recapitulating the harem atmosphere; delicate almond eyed beauties are depicted bathing, adorning themselves, stretching up to gather flowers from the trees, playing vina or sitar, or languishing by the lakesides or dressed in their finery awaiting their lovers.⁴¹ Paintings of official festivities generally depict birth or marriage of the princes. Paintings recapitulating the harem exclusively, depict scenes of ladies playing chess and chaupar, colouring their feet, enjoying a dance performance or Holi festivals. Paintings provide much of our information about dress in India during 16th and 17th centuries.⁴²

Manuscript illustration of the 12th-16th century usually depicts standardized costume types; in general these represent a continuation of oldest traditions, although a variety of textile designs appear in women's dress. In 15th century manuscript in the western India style, the princes are shown in double breasted coats with heavy floral patterns, evidently the Persian or Indo-Persian dress of the period. Some manuscript also show women wearing long Persian tunics, The Indian women in the manuscript are dressed in a short bodice (choli), and skirt (ghaghra) with starched transparent scrap (orhni), a dress type that continued for several centuries.⁴³

Clothing styles of Indian subcontinent underwent a major change in the twelfth century when Arab Muslims conquered North and Central India. They were followed in later years by the

Mughals from Central Asia. The earlier Muslim women's costume consisted of wide-topped trousers fitting snugly from calf to ankle, a long shirt like blouse called a *kurta* and a fitted outer jacket and *dopatta*. But under the Mughal rule the style of the dress changes. Under the rule of Emperor Akbar there was a influence of Rajput dress in Mughal apparels by which a graceful new style appeared. A pleated open-fronted skirt called a *ghagra* was worn with an apron like panel tucked into the waist to cover the front opening. The upper garment was a short sleeved, breast length blouse called a *choli*. Thus the *ghagra* and *choli* continued to be the basic elements of the Muslim woman dress.⁴⁴

During the Mughal rule along with the clothes, accessories too play an important part with their costume. Jewellery can be quite opulent ranging from chokers and chains around the neck to dangle earrings, arm and wrist, bangles and anklets.⁴⁵ The materials used include silver, gold and mixed metal often with precious and semi-precious stones. The Indian woman has always been anxious to adorn even load herself with a large variety of bulky ornaments.⁴⁶ There was no departure from the traditional custom during the Mughal period.⁴⁷ All the travellers agree, and this is confirmed by their experience, that ornaments were "the very joy of their hearts."⁴⁸ They would deny themselves other necessities but would not forgo ornaments, which had to be totally abandoned when a woman unfortunately becomes a widow.⁴⁹ Ladies were accustomed to the use of ornaments from their very childhood. Each Princess had her own private collection of gems and they rivalled each other in their brilliance. Often they would wear pearls in great profusion, covering their wrists, chests, and ankles. Jewellers were constantly being commissioned by members of the royal household to produce gold ornaments and to mount pearls in the form of the moon, a crescent, or a star, as well as making special items of other gems.⁵⁰

Babur established the Mughal Empire in 1526 which lasted for over 200 years. The Mughals ruled most of the Indian subcontinent by 1600. The Mughal emperors married local royalty,

allied themselves with the local Maharajas and attempted to fuse their Turko-Persian culture with ancient Indian styles. The Mughal dynasty reached its peak during the reign of Akbar and it went into a slow decline after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and was finally defeated during the 'war of independence' in 1857. This class lived in extraordinary luxury with abundant resources at their disposal. They lived a life of reckless festivity, grand banquets and lavish homes and often had inflated egos. Their food and dress was very costly, and their homes were huge palatial structures. The dress and attire of the rich Hindus and the Zamindars began to change remarkably. They began to like the Mughal dress. Ornamented and pearl-studded glittering, dress, '*salwar*' and '*kamiz*' were adorned by the Hindus and the Muslims alike. In the Mughal Age, the rich and middle class women wore attractive dresses. They used to go out sometimes in palanquins. On the other hand, the condition of the villagers was not very good. They wore ordinary dresses and wooden sandals.⁵¹

The Mughal period, not only a period of experiment and innovation but also a period of continuation of those practices, had their seeds sown in the rule of Delhi Sultans. The Mughals no doubt brought new patterns in their dressing but the root of their dressing styles came from the sultans and the Hindu Rajas.

The style of clothing which the Turkish invaders brought in India was not exclusively Muslim or Arabian. It was, in fact, the product of fusion of the style of various countries such as Transoxiana, Iran, Afghanistan, and Arabia. They had developed a good taste and also talent for refinement in their apparel. In India they were greatly impressed with the skill of Indian craftsman in various fields whether dress designing or the jewellers who were skilled in making different pattern in the jewelleries.⁵² In addition to the fineness and delicacy of the fabric, Indian textiles were also noted for their brilliant colours and prints. Cotton, like linen, naturally resists dyes, but Indian craftsman learned early on the secrets of mordants and dyes and how to manipulate them. Remarkably, India managed to keep the complex technique of

cotton dyeing secret from the world until the seventeenth century. Indian craftsman had also developed techniques for using dyes to create grid/check patterns, delicate floral prints and complex pictorial scenes on textiles.⁵³

The Mughal rule is considered a 'Golden Age' of delicacies in the sub-continent. It is the least treaded path in the history of the Mughals, which being glorious and vividly colourful is yet known so much less. Moreover, the Mughal gave an impressing impact in Indian culture, its fusion of dresses and its yarn and fabrics are still used in Indian society and have become a part and parcel of Indian culture.

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Chapter II

Sultan- Mughal link in Mughal attire in India-

An event of immense and lasting impact of Indian history was the advent of the Muslims in the North-West lured by tales of the fertile plains of the Punjab and the fabulous wealth of Hindu temples. Mahmud of Ghazni first attacked India in 1000 AD. Others raiders from central Asia followed him but these invasions were no more than banditry. It was only in 1192 that Muslim power arrived in India on permanent basis. In that year Mohammed of Ghori who had been expanding his power all across the Punjab broke into India and took Ajmer. The following year his general Qutub-ud-din Aibak took Varanasi and Delhi and after Mohammed Ghori's death in 1206, he became the first Sultan of Delhi.¹

The Delhi Sultanate is a term used to cover five short-lived dynasties, Delhi-based kingdoms or Sultanates, the first three of which were of Turkic origin, the fourth Sayyid and the last of Lodis. The Sultanates ruled from Delhi 1206 and 1526, when the last was replaced by the Mughal dynasty. The five dynasties were the Mamluk dynasty (1206–90); the Khilji dynasty (1290–1320); the Tughlaq dynasty (1320–1414); the Sayyid dynasty (1414–51); and the Afghan Lodi dynasty (1451–1526).²

Mamluk dynasty

Rulers' Reign-

Qutub-ud-din Aibak (1206–1210): Founder of the Slave Dynasty.

Aram Shah (1210–1211): Eldest son of Aibak

Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (1211–1236): Son-in-law of Aibak

Rukn-ud-din Firuz (1236): Son of Iltutmish.

Raziyat-ud-din Sultana (1236–1240): Daughter of Iltutmish.

Muiz-ud-din Bahram (1240–1242): Son of Iltutmish.

Ala-ud-din Masud (1242–1246): Son of Rukn-ud-din Firuz.

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (1246–1266): Grandson of Iltutmish.

Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1266–1286): Son-in-law of Iltutmish.

Muiz-ud-din Qaiqabad (1286–1290): Grandson (on daughter's side) of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (1246-1266).

Kayumar (1290): Son of Muiz-ud-din Qaiqabad.

Khilji dynasty

Rulers' Reign

Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji (1290–1296).

Alauddin Khilji (1296–1316)

Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah (1316–1320)

Tughlaq Dynasty

Rulers' Reign:

Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (1321–1325)

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325–1351)

Mahmud Ibn Muhammad 1351 (March)

Firuz Shah Tughlaq (1351–1388).

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq II (1388–1389).

Abu Bakr Shah (1389–1390).

Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah III (1390–1393)

Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah I 1393 (March–April)

Mahmud Nasir-ud-din (1393–1394)

Nusrat Shah (1394–1399): Grandson of Firuz Shah Tughlaq,

Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1399–1413): Son of Mahmud Nasir-ud-din,

Sayyid Dynasty

Rulers' Reign:

Khizr Khan (1414–1421)

Mubarak Shah (1421–1434)

Muhammad Shah (1434–1445)

Alam Shah (1445–1451)

Lodi Dynasty

Rulers and their reign

Bahlol Lodi (1451–1489): Founder of the Lodi Dynasty

Sikander Lodi (1489–1517.)³

Ibrahim Lodi (1517–1526).

Ibrahim Lodi the last ruler of Delhi Sultanate was defeated by Babur in the First battle of Panipat in 1526 and thus ending the Delhi Sultanate. The Sultan hegemony was broken and the Sultanate of Delhi passed into the hands of the Changtai Turks better known as the Mughals.⁴ Without wasting any time Babur despatched a force under Mahdi Khwaja to occupy Delhi and another under Humayun to seize Agra. The twilight of the Sultanate had ended with Ibrahim, the night of people's suspicion and fear was not long, and the Mughal rule ushered a new dawn in India which brightened as time advanced.⁵

The impact of Islam permanently influenced the development of all areas of human endeavours- language, cuisine, architecture and most importantly the dress. The Sultanate period saw the increasing use of tailored garments such as robes, gowns and coats of extravagant fabric and trim. In the cities were to be seen costumes and dresses of various kinds.⁶ Five centuries preceding the Delhi Sultanate, Moti concludes that jackets tunics and trousers became more common in 12th century.⁷ The Miftahu-'l fuzala (1469) describes the *badana* as a robe on which three corned and four cornered pieces of cloth were stitched for decoration.⁸

The Sultan, the Nobles all the inmates of the harem and even the servants wore clothes of good quality.⁹ The dress of the Sultan and the elite consisted of a *kutah* or head dress, a tunic worked in brocade and long drawers. On official occasion the Sultan wore four cornered head-dress (embroidered with gold thread and studded with jewels), long tartaric gowns and *quba*) all buckled in the middle of the body, the Hindu aristocracy dressed like the Muslim aristocracy, except that in place of *kutah* they used a turban and in place of long drawers they wore dhoti trimmed with gold lace¹⁰ which were imported from the regions such as Awadh into Delhi. Cotton cloth of a little superior quality was called calico (*kirpas*) and was widely used. Cloth of fine variety included muslin which was produced at Sylhet and Dacca in Bengal and Deogir in the Deccan. This was as fine and expensive as to be used only by the nobles and the very rich. Gujarat also produced many variety of fine cotton stuff. Barbosa tells us that Cambay (Khambayat) was the central for the manufacture of all kinds of finer and coarse cloth, beside other cheap variety of velvets, satins, *tafettas* or thick carpets.¹¹

Religious groups of the Hindus and Muslims put on various types of clothes .the orthodox Muslims wore clothes of simple material like linen; they put on a long turban or a tall drawers cap loose gowns and wooden sandals .the Hindu ascetics wore the sprain jubbah and the Egyptian *dastar*.¹² The poor class believed in reducing their clothing to a minimum. They

usually went bare-headed and bare-footed a single dhoti was considered a sufficient and respectable dress. In the villages the peasants sometime put only a loin cloth (*langota*) which Babur takes pains to describe in detail. That was due both to climatic condition as well as poverty.¹³

In spite of the variety of dresses for Hindus and Muslims, a common type of Indian dress had emerged by the fifteenth century. The Hindu turban was quite popular among the Muslim of the upper classes, and the Hindu aristocracy adopted from the Muslim nobility the use of tight-fitting drawers and loose coat.¹⁴ Right from the king and noble at the top, down to the humblest citizens, the Muslims had become thoroughly Indianized. The costly royal dresses, the glided and studded swords and daggers, the parasols (*chhatra*) of various colours etc. were the typically Indian paraphernalia of royal pomp and splendour. The use of rings, necklaces ear-rings and other ornaments by men was also due to Indian influence; they are forbidden under Islamic law. Similarly tight-fitting cloth for men and tight-fitting trousers for women (often worn underneath the *lahenga*) were adopted by the Rajputs from their Muslim neighbours.¹⁵

Of women's clothes they were usually two varieties. One consisted of a long *chadar*, not unlike the modern *sari*, a bodice with long sleeves and a brassiere (*angiya*) for grown up maidens and married women. The other variety, was more popular in Uttar Pradesh, consisted of a *lahenga*, a long and loose skirt, an *angiya* and a long scarf to cover the head.¹⁶ Muslim women of the upper classes usually wore loose drawers, a shirt and loose skirt, an *angiya* and a long scarf with the usual vest. In some places especially in Gujarat and the Deccan women wore shoes made of leather ornamented with gold and silk.¹⁷

Besides, women all over the country wore all kinds of ornaments, the rich of gold and poor of silver. Hindu women did not put on gold ornament below the waist.¹⁸

The Muslims all over the country dressed heavily but the Hindus were scantily dressed “they cannot wear more clothing” says Nicolo Conti. For the heat they only wear sandals, with purple and golden ties as we see in ancient statues. The south Indian kings and nobles also wore long hair. Some tie their hair at the back of their head with a silicon cord, and let it flow over their shoulders but their beards. There was no special uniform for any one, not even for soldiers.¹⁹

Fabrics under the Sultanate:

Various varieties of cloth were both painted and printed by using blocks of wood. Apart from the manufacture of cloth, other miscellaneous goods such as carpets, prayer carpets, coverlets, bedding, bed strings, etc were also manufactured in other parts of Gujarat. Cotton cloth itself could be divided into two categories- the coarse (*kamin*) and the fine (*mahim*). The coarse cloth which was also called *pat*, was worn by the poor and the *faqirs*. It was often manufactured in household in the villages, but was also produced in some areas.²⁰

Varieties of cotton cloths used during the reign of Delhi sultans:

1. *Pat* was the name of a coarse cotton cloth worn by the poor and devrishes.
2. Another coarse cotton used to make cloth was *Karpas*, the thinner variety priced at 20 *gaz* to the *tanka* and at 40 *gaz*, and thus being the cheapest piece of cloth in the time of Alauddin Khalji. Amir Khusrau also speaks as if *Karpas* was the meanest of cloth and the silk *Harir*, the most expensive.
3. *Bard* was another kind of low priced cotton cloth. According to Barani, a finer variety of it came from Lakhnauti (Bengal).²¹

Silk was imported from Bengal where silk worms were reared. However, a greater supply of silk yarn, including raw silk and that of cotton and silk mixed at Delhi and its neighbourhood. The silk at Cambay (Khambayat) was among the costly item of cloth controlled by Alauddin

Khalji. The *patolas* of Gujarat with many fancy designs were highly valued. In the cities were to be seen costumes and dresses of various kinds.²²

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq maintains a Kharkhanas in Delhi for the embroidery works. The cloth for winter garments is imported mostly from Alexandria, while those of summer are woven in royal kharkhanas.²³

The Sultan of Delhi had a *tiraz* factory (*dar-al-tiraz*) in which there were four thousand manufacturers of silk making all kinds of textiles for robes of honour (*khilla*), robes (*kasawa*) and presents (*itlakat*). Al-Umari while speaking about the dress of the nobles of Delhi during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq writes, “No Indian but the Sultan and those whom he permits could use saddles with gold embroideries. The rest according to him could use only silver embroideries.” Regarding the costumes of the Indians, he wrote, “Most of their tartar (*tartari*) robes are embroidered with gold (*muzarkasa-bi-dhahab*). Some wear garments with both sleeves having a tiraz border of gold embroidery (*zarkas*). Giving an account of Sultan Muhammad decided to recognise the Abbasid caliphate.” He paid allegiance to the representatives of the family, who were in Egypt in the year (1343-44 A.D) and in return he received a robes of value, they should inscribe the name caliph and nothing else. These are said to have been the specific orders given by Muhammad Tughlaq.²⁴

Making an overview of the accounts left by Quluqshandi, Umari and Barani, there is no doubt that the Sultanate period was the time when there was a preponderance of gold/silver embroidery on dresses and on saddles and other leather works. The precious embroideries were affixed either on the arms or on the shoulders or in front or even at the skirt edges of garments. The use of such decoration by the Muslim aristocrats came into fashion at this time. One interesting custom noticed during this time was embroidering of the writings from Holy Scriptures with metal thread, indicating perhaps that this work was well absorbed in the mainstream of culture by that time. Gold embroideries in India seem to have reached a new

phase in history. This could be known from frequent references to costumes of different kinds embroidered with gold and silver by several workers. But what is important to note in this context is that initially the *tiraz* inscription in the name of caliph started to be made in *zarkas*. The makers of such embroideries were called *zarkisa*.²⁵

Ibn Batuta gives interesting details of the gold embroidery during the Sultanate period (1287-1290). The beautiful exquisite *zari* works were found not only on the dresses and draperies, but Batuta has left a picturesque description about majestic pavilion, with five *parosals*, where Sultan Kaiqubad celebrated *Navroz* festival. The popular colours were violet, purple, and blue. The sultan used to wear a long coat and belt interwoven with high workmanship of gold. It seems that when the Sultans after the initial invasions settled down in Delhi, they adopted embroidery from the Tartar and Khotan. When Mahummad Bin Tughluq ascended the throne, *zardozi* became the dress of the court and courtly nobles. Amir Khusro the Persian poet also gave the details of gold embroidery during the period of Ilutmish.²⁶

Fatuhah-i-Firozshahi, the autobiography of Firozshah Tughlaq, is of immense importance in regard of description of dresses of the Sultan which were made with embroidery. According to the account sultan wore *kulah* (turban) on his head, which was studded with precious stones. In public meeting the Sultan used to wear *Barani* (either of wool or silk) with its shoulders beautifully embroidered. Firoz Shah Tughluq classified embroidery into various types, accordingly the objects prepared for giving as presents by the kings or royal nobles should be the best ones; in other words these should be beautifully embroidered but at the same time restriction was imposed on figurative motifs on robes. Firoz shah ordered that only those symbols could be used for decoration which was allowed in the Shariyat. In his reign the clothes of rich people were made of silk, embroidered with gold or *zari* but from this time these have been banned as there was prohibition for such clothes in Shariyat and empowered only those garments which have been approved by the Prophet as lawful. From his account it

can be easily distinguish the Sultan by his dress which was lavishly embroidered by gold from other persons of noble birth. This is also evident in some painting of the period.²⁷

Amir Khusrau in his works mentions stuffs both of foreign and Indian origin. Thus according to him Sultan Kaiqubad (1287-1290) sent to Bughra Khan's camp embroidery cloth of Cathay and Iraq. Among the silks are mentions *khazz*, *aksun* and *parniyan*. foreign stuffs namely, very soft atlas, *aksun*, which is said to a kind of fine painted chinese silk, *nasij* (a kind of silken stuff embroidered with gold), *zarbaft* (silk), *dibahaecin* (chinese brocade), *khazz* (Persian silk) and *harir* (silk).²⁸

Amir Khusrau gives list of clothes controlled by Alau-ud-din Khalji, cloth from *kirpas* to *harir* which hide the body and used both in summer and winter from *sir* to *galim*, which greatly differ in their fibres, from *juz* to *khuz*, which are similar in structure. He even praise for muslin, manufacture both in North and Deccan. Fine quality of muslin in poetic expression.

*“The fineness of its cloths is difficult to describe: the skin of the moon removed by the executioner star would not be so fine. One would compare it with a drop of water if that drop fell against nature, from the fount of the sun. a hundred yard of it can pass the eye of needle, so fine is its texture and yet the point of the needle can pierce through it with difficulty. It is so transparent and light that it looks as if one is in no dress at all, but has smeared the body with pure water.”*²⁹

During the reign of Alau-ud-din Khalji he ordered that fine stuffs i.e, *tasbin* (*kalmia*) *tabrizi* (embroidered brocades), *kharzhai* (Delhi silk), *khimkhab* (brocades), *sustari harir* (silks), *cini* (chinese silk), are not meant for common people.

The contemporary Persian historians have left some interesting accounts of the costumes of Firoz Shah Tughluq and his courtiers and the dress of reforms he affected. At one place he is

said to have worn a *kulah* costing a lac of *tanka* which once belonged to his predecessor. In public audience he wore Barani with embroidered sleeves, but in private life he wore a shirt. The officers wore silken robes in public and shirts in private the turban and *kulah* were common articles he wears.³⁰

For an interesting account of the Muslim of the fourteenth century we are indebted to Qalqshandi, the dress of the soldiers including the Sultans, Khans, Maliks and other officers wore gowns (*tatariyal*), *jakalwat* and Islamic qabas tucked in the middle of the body and short turbans which did not exceed five or six forearms. The garments were made of *bayd* and *jukh*. The nobility usually wore gold embroidered tartaric gowns which at times had gold embroidered sleeves and other put the embroidery between the shoulders like the Mongols. Their head dress was four cornered and ornamented with jewels, they pleated their hair in hanging lock expect that they put silk tassels in their locks. Their waist was girt with gold and silver belts and wore shoes and spurs. The judges and learned men wore ample gowns (*farajiyat*), striped material (*jaradiyat*), (*durra*) a garment opening in front and buttoned.³¹

Some of the information of the textiles in Sultanate period are:-

- Aksun:** Amir Khusrau mentioned it as black silk.
- Atlas:** It is a generic name for satin.
- Astar:** Generic name for any kind of silk lining.
- Bairami:** It is a Turkish word apparently muslin of very high quality as indicated by Ibn Batutah.
- Bard :** The word has been generally used in Arabic for a large wrapper which covered the body during the day and also in night.

- Barani:** The word used by explained as some sort of upper coat. Sultan Firoz is also said to have worn it and it is explained simply as a woollen or silken coat with embroidered sleeves.
- Bhaira:** It appears in the list of costly stuffs whose prices were controlled by Alau-ud-din Khalji.
- Bihari:** A high class muslin apparently manufactured in Bihar. Its loveliness and fineness have been emphasised by Amir Khasrau.
- Cini:** Barani explains it as a general name of silk stuff of Chinese origin.
- Deogir:** It is famous muslin from deogiri.
- Jhanbartali:** A very fine quality of muslin.
- Juzz:** A stuff of silk, where a single piece of : A stuff of silk, where a single piece of which has dyed in five colours.
- Katan:** Generic name for linen, best quality came from Greece.
- Khazz:** It is said to have been a kind of heavy plushy velvet material made of silk and wool.
- Kirpas:** Generic term used for all kinds of cotton stuffs.
- Mashru Shari:** Apparently it was a mixed silk and goat hair stuff.
- Nasij:** The silk stuff with gold brocades wrought with figures of birds and beasts.
- Parniyam:** A kind of silk as mentioned by Amir Khasrau.
- Sanbaf:** Fine muslin produced in Bengal.
- Tarbizi:** Silk or brocade imported from Tabriz in Persia.³²

Barbosa mentions *Sanbaf*, the best of all textiles produced in Bengal. Ibn Batutah has left some interesting account about the textiles in Muhammad-bin- Tughluq time. Enumerating the present sent by Muhammad-bin- Tughluq to the emperor of China, he says, “in exchange of his present the Sultan sent him a better one namely one hundred good horses equipped with saddles and bridles; one hundred male slaves and one hundred songstresses and dancers, one hundred pieces of *bairami* cloth made of cotton which as to beauty had no equal; one hundred pieces of silk cloth called *Khazz*, the silk of each of them being from four to five different colours; one hundred pieces of *strinbaf*; one hundred pieces of *sanbaf*; five hundred pieces of the Kashmir woollen material of which one hundred were black, one hundred white, one hundred red, one hundred blue.”³³

According to Barbosa, a kind of sash named *shirband* made in Bengal was liked by the Europeans ladies for their head-dress and by the Arab and Persian merchants for use as turban.³⁴

Wool too was used in the Sultanate period. The finer qualities of woollen cloth and furs were largely imported from outside, and were almost exclusively worn by the nobles. The dyeing industry was also mention during the Sultanate period. Indigo and other vegetables dyes were responsible for the bright colours of the dresses. Weaving was also a house hold industry, carried out in towns or in some villages. The weaving material was purchased by the weavers themselves, or supplied to them by merchants³⁵. The luxury items were however generally produced in the royal *kharkhanas* or worth shops. During the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq there were 4000 silk workers who wove and embroidered different types of robes and garments. Even in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq there were number of slaves who worked in the royal *kharkhanas* of different types.³⁶

The jewellers specialised in making curios articles were highly praised. During the reign of Sikander Lodi an artist by the name of Mian Tah was a genius in workmanship. He made an

ear ring in the design of a lotus, inside which was set a fly. When the woman put it in her ear, it seemed a bud so long as the head was kept still. As soon as the head was shaken, the bud opened up into a lotus, the fly flew out and hovered in front of the eye. When she stopped shaking the head, the fly returned to the lotus and became a bud once more. The artists could create such works of art because their art was handed down from generation to generation.³⁷ Even Babur describes that during the reign of Lodis there were endless workmen of every kind. There is a fixed caste for every sort of work and for everything, which had done that work or that thing from father to son till the reign of Mughals.³⁸ In reality, Indians had of course been sewing well in advance of the Delhi Sultanate. There are, for example, images of women wearing *cholis* (a short, fitted bodice) in the Ajanta cave paintings, dating from the 1st to the 6th century. Writing in 1322, the Persian poet, Amir Khusran said rapturously of Indian muslins, “*They are like a pleasant gift of a springtide and sit as lightly upon the body as moonlight on the tulip or dewdrops on the morning rose.*”³⁹ And in the sixteenth century, the Arab trader, Sulaimen, wrote, “*They are wove to that degree of fineness that they may be drawn through a ring of middling size.*” Cotton textiles remain a major Indian export up to the present day. And there is significant evidence, from the diary of Emperor Babur, to support the view that the *jama* (tunic) was worn by men before his invasion of India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁴⁰

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Chapter III

Influence of Shariah on dress-code-

The Islamic world however was not a cohesive world geographically, regionally, topographically or ethnically. The Persians had a chauvinistic attitude towards their cultural traditions, while the Central Asians of Balkh, Transoxiana and the people of the North West Frontier regions lived by their tribal loyalties and perceptions. Muslims settled in India had interacted differently with the people here and had themselves met with a myriad of responses.¹ Indian culture is synthetic in character. It comprehends idea of different orders. It embraces in its orbit beliefs, customs, rites, institutions, arts, religions and philosophies belonging to strata of society in varying stages of development. It eternally seeks to find a unity for the heterogeneous elements which make up its totality. At worst its attempt end in a mechanical juxtaposition, at best they succeed in evolving an organic system.²

Quranic injunction made might also, therefore, look to us as compromises between uniformity and existing custom. The famous Quranic laws are to obey God, His Prophet and those in authority could be taken to mean the subject to command the God and his Prophet. In respect of women the Quran recognizes that women have rights similar to those of men, a recognition given partial reflection in the Islamic law of inheritance. The principle derived almost certainly from Islam's insistence on Individual obligation in respect of fidelity to God borne by both men and women³.

Symbolically the Mughal rulers aspired to act within the framework of the Shariat yet the latter was not strictly applied under Indian conditions in all matters.⁴ Islamic orthodoxy revolves around the Shariat which primarily consist of the Quran and the Hadis which deals primarily with the Sultanate period adds new information on the understanding of the Ulema and interpretation of Shariat in the Indian context.⁵ The Ulema a very distinct group

expressing popular voice and came to be seen as a very distinct group to constitute a solid framework behind changing ruling dynasties. Originating as the reciters of the Quran they soon took up the responsibility of guarding Islam against the reaction of vanquished people of other religions. Religion and art are expression of culture in two different media. The evolution of culture may, therefore be traced equally well in either of the, for consciousness of a race changes originally and in all parts together.⁶

Ulema occupy a prestigious position as the guardians, transmitters and interpreters of Islamic religious knowledge. Considered experts on legal issues, they advised the rulers whenever the need arose. Under the Mughals, the state patronage to religious figures had become an established tradition.⁷ The Ulema became a prestigious position and tried to make laws on the social and cultural life of the people during the Mughal period.⁸

During the reign of Akbar the Ulema and orthodox Muslims did not approve many of Akbar's policies.⁹ Akbar, as well as his mother and other members of his family, are believed to have been Sunni.¹⁰ His early days were spent in the backdrop of an atmosphere in which liberal sentiments were encouraged and religious narrow-mindedness was frowned upon. When he was at Fatehpur Sikri, he held discussions as he loved to know about others' religious beliefs. On one such day he got to know that the religious people of other religions were often bigots (intolerant of others religious beliefs).¹¹ This led him to form the idea of the new religion, Din-i-Ilahi and propagated Sulh-e-Kul meaning universal peace. His idea of this religion did not discriminate other religions and focused on the ideas of peace, unity and tolerance. During the early part of his reign, Akbar adopted an attitude of suppression towards Muslim sects that were condemned by the orthodoxy as heretical.¹² However, as Akbar increasingly came under the influence of pantheistic Sufi mysticism from the early 1570s, it caused a great shift in his outlook and culminated in his shift from orthodox Islam as traditionally professed, in favour of a new concept of Islam transcending the limits of

religion.¹³ Consequently, during the latter half of his reign, he adopted a policy of tolerance towards the Shias and declared a prohibition on Shia-Sunni conflict, and the empire remained neutral in matters of internal sectarian conflict.¹⁴ In the year 1578, the Mughal Emperor Akbar famously referred to himself as:

“Emperor of Islam, Emir of the Faithful, Shadow of God on earth, Abul Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi (whose empire Allah perpetuate), is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing ruler.”¹⁵

In 1580, a rebellion broke out in the eastern part of Akbar's empire, and a number of fatwas, declaring Akbar to be a heretic, were issued by Qazis. Akbar suppressed the rebellion and handed out severe punishments to the Qazis. In order to further strengthen his position in dealing with the Qazis, Akbar issued a *mazhar* or declaration that was signed by all major Ulemas in 1579.¹⁶ The *mahzar* asserted that Akbar was the *Khalifa* of the age, the rank of the *Khalifa* was higher than that of a *Mujtahid*, in case of a difference of opinion among the *Mujtahids*, Akbar could select any one opinion and could also issue decrees.¹⁷

Jahangir and Shah Jahan to followed the footsteps of his father and grandfather but as an orthodox Sunni Muslim, Aurangzeb felt that his empire should be a land of pure Islam, administered according to the restrictive rules and regulations laid down by the early Khalifas. He was astute and shrewd enough not to be unaware of the administrative and political fall-outs of his zealous and in a sense bigoted following of the precepts of Islam. As a die-hard Sunni Muslim he believed in the Islamic theory of kingship and wanted to follow its precepts. The essential feature of this theory is that the ruler should strictly enforce the Quranic law in the administration of his empire.¹⁸

Aurangzeb imposed Sharia law, which he codified, re-imposed the Jiziya, and as had Babur, destroyed temples in order to build mosques. He is known to have treated non-Muslims harshly.

Under Aurangzeb, Mughal court life changed dramatically. According to his interpretation, Islam did not allow music, so he banished court musicians, dancers, and singers. Further, based on Muslim precepts forbidding images, he stopped the production of representational artwork, including the miniature paintings for which the Mughals are renowned.¹⁹

In 1659, he took the first step in this direction by issuing a number of ordinances to restore the Muslim law of conduct as per the teaching of the Quran. The practice of inscribing the *Kalima* (the Muslim confession of faith) on the coins were discontinued to prevent defilement in the hands of the infidels.²⁰

The celebration of *Nauroz*, the *Zoroastrian* New Year's day, was stopped, thus discontinuing a custom followed by his predecessors in imitation of the Persian kings. Bhang or cannabis Indica was no more to be cultivated because of its addictive harmful properties. *Muhtasibs* or the moral police were placed in all big cities to check on and curb the practice of un-Islamic habits such as drinking, gambling and illicit traffic of women.²¹

They also had the power to punish the Muslims for heresy, blasphemy, failure to say the prayers (*namaz*) and to observe the fast of the Ramzan. The Sufis and Shias were not spared. The Ismailia or Bohra community of Gujarat suffered serious persecutions for heresy among the Muslim communities.²²

Music was banned in the court in 1668 and the musicians were told to go away. They were, however, given pensions. An exception was made for the royal band and it continued. *Tuladan* or the ceremony of weighing the emperor on his two birthdays (according to the solar and lunar calendars) was discontinued as it was un-Islamic.²³

Likewise, *Jharoka darshan*, a custom according to which the Mughal emperors used to appear at the outer balcony of their palaces in the morning to receive felicitations from their subjects, was also stopped. The rejoicings and merry-making on the anniversary of coronation as also on birthdays were prohibited by the emperor.²⁴ However Aurangzeb made various prohibitions on the use of clothes and thus followed Quranic laws for its implementation; he wore simple clothing and always observed the religious prohibition on the wearing of gold and silver by the men.²⁵

Aurangzeb, in his reign increase the role of the Ulema and promulgated laws that overtly conformed to dictates of the Sharia. Aurangzeb gave extensive powers to the Qazis in the civil administration and general and detailed affairs of the state. The state systems of taxation were brought in line with the sharia and patronage of court astrologers ceased.²⁶ Shariat was the civil law available but it remained in a petrified state under Aurangzeb reign the *Mullas* impressed him for making law prohibiting women of the harem wearing tight trousers which were becoming fashion. Aurangzeb had issued some order in the beginning but nobody cared to follow them²⁷. At the insistence of the Ulema Aurangzeb seems to have reissued the orders in 1666. Evidently the ladies of the royal harem did not like it, knowing that the ladies of Ulema also go with latest fashion, to clinch the issue Jahan Ara Begum invited to her palace a number of the wives of the most eminent Ulema. They came dressed in the latest fashion wearing tight fitting trousers and heartily drank the wine offered to them. Soon they got intoxicated and lay pell-mell on the floor. Then Jahan Ara Begum brought Aurangzeb and asked him if it was fair to forbid the ladies of the palace what was permissible for the wives of those who were guardians of the Shariat.²⁸

The complexity of Indian life is ancient, because from the dawn of history, India has been the meeting of conflicting civilisations. Through its north- western gates migrating hordes and conquering armies have poured down in unending successions, bringing with them like

the floods of the Nile much destruction, but also valuable deposits which enriched the ancient soil, out of which grew ever more fresh and ever more luxuriant culture.²⁹

However fashion of wearing gorgeous dresses and ornaments was the personal liking of the royal men and women. In spite of religious prohibition, the royal ladies as well as the men sometimes violated the law and did what was the fashion of the day.

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Chapter IV

Dress and Fabrics of the Mughals-

The great Mughal emperor Akbar was not only a great ruler, an administrator and a lover of art and architecture but also a true admirer and entrepreneur of different patterns and designs of clothing. The changes and development brought by him from Ottoman origin to its Indian orientation based on the land's culture, custom and climatic conditions. This is apparent in the use of the fabric, the length of the dresses or their ornamentation. Since very little that is truly contemporary with the period of Babur and Humayun has survived in paintings, it is not easy to determine exactly what the various dresses look like other than what has been observed by the painters themselves. But we catch a glimpse of the foreign style of these dresses even in the paintings from Akbar's period which make references, as in illustrations of history or chronicles of the earlier times like the Babar-Namah or the Humayun-Namah.¹ With the coming of Mughals in India we find the Iranian and Central Asian fashion in their dresses and a different concept in clothing.² (Plate no. 1)

Dress items of the Mughals:

Akbar paid much attention to the establishment and working of the various *karkhanas*. Though articles were imported from Iran, Europe and Mongolia but effort were also made to produce various stuffs indigenously. Skilful master and workmen were invited and patronised to settle in this country to teach people and improve system of manufacture.² Imperial workshops (*Karkhanas*) were established in the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Ahmedabad. They turned out master pieces of workmanship. Their figures, patterns, knots and variety of fashions astonished the travellers so they recorded in their travelogue.³

The Mughal wardrobe was as efficiently maintain as other department. All articles which were brought or were ordered to be woven or received as tribute or presents were carefully preserved and recorded.⁴

A man is adorned by twelve things:

1. Trimming his beard.
2. Ablution of his body.
3. Drawing the sectarian marks of caste.
4. Anointing with perfumes and oil.
5. Wearing gold earrings.
6. Wearing the jama fastened on left side.
7. Bearing the mukuta which is a golden tiara worn on turban.
8. Wearing a sword.
9. Carrying a dagger and like, at the waist.
10. Wearing a ring on the finger.
11. Chewing betel.
12. Wearing sandals or shoes.

A woman is adorned by sixteen things:

1. Bathing
2. Anointing with oil
3. Braiding the hair.
4. Decking the crown of her head with jewels.

5. Anointing with sandal-wood unguent.
6. Wearing dresses of various kinds.
7. Sectarian marks of caste, and often decked with pearls and golden ornaments.
8. Tinting with lamp- black like collyrium.
9. Wearing earrings.
10. Adorning with nose-rings of pearls and gold.
11. Wearing ornaments round the neck.
12. Decking with garlands of flowers or pearls.
13. Staining the hands.
14. Wearing a belt hung with small bells.
15. Decorating the feet with gold ornaments.
16. Chewing pan.⁵

Akbar's historian Abul Fazl described a few articles of his dress as follows,

1. *Takuchiya* was a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly, it has slits in the skirt and was tied on the left side. Akbar ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side, it require 7 *gaz* (yards) and 7 *girah*, and 5 *girah* for the binding. The price for making a plain one varied from 1 to 3 rupees. But if the coat was adorned with ornamental stitching, its price varied from 1 to 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ rupees. Besides, a misqal of silk was required.
2. *Peshwaz* was also a coat of the same form, open in front. It was tied in front. It was sometimes made without strings.

3. *Dutahi* was a coat with lining. It required 6 gaz and 4 girah for the outside, 6 gaz lining, 4 girah for binding and 9 girah for the border. The price for making one varied from 1 to 3 rupees. 1 *misqal* of silk was required.
4. *Shah-ajida* (royal stitch coat) was also called *shast-khatt* (or 60 rows), as it had 60 ornamental stitches per girah. Generally it had a double lining, and was sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making was 2 rupees per gaz.
5. *Suzani* required a quarter of a ser of cotton and 2 dams of silk. It was also a coat with embroidery depicting leaves and flowers. If sewed with bakhiya stitches (back-stitching), the price of making one was 8 rupees. One with ajida (button whole stitches) costed 4 rupees.
6. *Qualami* required $3\frac{3}{8}$ ser cotton and 1 dam silk. The cost of its making was 2 rupees.
7. *Qaba* which was generally called *jama-i-pumbadar* was a wadded coat. It requires 1 ser of cotton and 2 misqals of silk. Cost of its making was 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees.
8. *Gadar* was a coat wider and longer than the *qaba* and contained more wadding. In Hindustan, it took the place of a fur-coat. It required 7 gaz of stuff, 6 gaz of lining, 4 girah for binding, 9 for bordering, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ser of cotton and 3 *misqals* of silk. Cost of its sewing was $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees.
9. *Farji* had no binding and was open in front. Some put buttons to it. It was worn over *jama* and required 5 gaz and 12 girah stuff; 5 gaz 5 girah lining; 14 girah bordering; 1 ser cotton and 1 *misqal* silk. Cost of its making was $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 rupee.
10. *Fargul* resembled the *yapangi* (rain coat) but it was more comfortable. It was brought from Europe but soon it became popular that everyone used to wear it. It was made of several stuffs. It require 9 gaz $6\frac{1}{2}$ girah stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 *misqals* of silk and 1 ser of cotton. It was made both single and double. Cost of its sewing was from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 rupees.

11. *Chakman* was made of broadcloth or woollen stuffs or wax cloth. Akbar ordered it to be made of *dara* wax cloth which was very light and pretty. Rain water could not get through it. It requires 6 *gaz* stuffs, 5 *girah* binding and 2 *misqal* of silk. The cost of making one of broadcloth was 2 rupees; of wool 1 ½ rupees; of wax cloth ½ rupee. Out of a large number and wide variety of coats, waistcoat, jackets(*phatuhi*) and tunic (*angarakha*) used during the medieval period, only a few have remained fashion this days, and *chakman* is one of them in simplified form, under the modern name of *achakan*. (Plate no. 2)

12. *Shalwar* (drawers) was made of all kinds of stuffs, single and double, and wadded. It require 3 *gaz* 11 *girah* cloth, 6 *girah* for the hem through which the string ran, 3 *gaz* 5 *girah* lining, 1 ¾ *misqal* silk and ½ *ser* cotton. Cost of its making was from ¼ to ½ rupee.⁶

During cold weather same clothes were worn but with woollen long gown made with wool and wild goat's hair but the favourite was pashmina which was made of exceptionally light and warm wool like the lamb's wool.⁷

13. *Shawls and stuffs*- Many improvements were made in this department under Akbar's guidance. The imperial wardrobe began to patronise Tus shawls, which was made of the wool of an animal of that name. This shawl is well known for its lightness warmth, and softness. Natural colour is black, white and red. People used to wear it without altering its natural colour but Akbar had dyed it into various colours.⁸ Akbar showed great interest in the shawl manufactured of Kashmir. It is mention in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the generic term for *sal*, Akbar gave his own Hindi designation *param naram* (very soft), and he changed the name of *kapurdhur* (camphor dust), a Tibetan stuff to *kapurnur* (camphor light). The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a fairly good account of Kashmir shawls.⁹ The garments stored in the imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months

and years of their entries, and according to their colour price and weight. Such an arrangement is called *misl*, a set, and their variety is noted on cloth labels sewn to one of the corners of the shawls. In the Irani months of Azar and Farwardin they are brought to Karkhanas and sorted out in accordance with their prices, varieties, colours and weights.¹⁰

14. *Patka*- It is a long and elegant strip of textile which adorned nearly every noble waist in India once. It's finest and finds the most sumptuous expression in the age of the great Mughals. Among the woven silks of India the Mughal Patka ranks as one of the finest expressions of the Indian court weaver's art. Although surviving examples appear to date only from the early 18th century onward, by which time the imperial Mughal style was well past its apogee, they constitute perhaps the largest body of evidence for the excellence and sophistication of Indian silk- weaving under court patronage.¹¹ Worn around the waist to secure a coat of splendid silk or fine muslin as well as accessories such as ornamental daggers, the Mughal Patkas vary from 2 ¼ m to over 4m in length and from about 40cm to 60 cm in width. Their format invariably comprises bordered panels at either end of a bordered central field. In most cases these end panels and borders are patterned with flowering plants and vines in coloured silks against a brilliant metal woven background. The fine scale of the patterns, the naturalism and sensitivity of the draughtsmanship and the rich but restrained colouring, all contribute to refined and appealing artistic statement.¹²(Plate no.3).

Costly dresses worn at feast or presented to the nobles and servants of The Mughal women's concept of beauty did not confine itself to jewellery and cosmetics alone, but extended to various kinds of costly brightly coloured, richly designed and brocade patterned dresses. With the arrival of the Mughals in India, we find the coming of Iranian and central Asian fashions in dresses too. Before this the Indian women never wore stitched

upper bodies with a separate garment,¹³ but with the coming of the Mughals, culture came to a totally different concept in women's as well as men's clothing. When the Mughals first came to India their women wore long gowns, caps and trousers.¹⁴ Mughal women inside the harem wore short tight bodice tops with the midriff showing ankle-length loose pants under a thin long skirt and a large veil covering their heads, but not their faces as is evident from contemporary paintings.¹⁵

15. *Kartiji*- It is an inner garment worn beneath the gowns as a short bodice reaching to the hips.¹⁶ Another jacket worn over the dress like a vest was called *nimtana*. Gulbadan Begum in her Humayun Nama, while describing Mirza Hindal's marriage, mentions nine jackets (*nimtana*) with garnitures of jewelled balls four shorter jackets (*kartiji*) with 'ball trimmings' among the articles of dowry for the bride Sultana Begam.¹⁷

Bodice, jacket and breaches:

The garment to drape the upper part of the body is a pair of hollow cups or cases. Stavorinus writes –“they support their breast and press them upward by a piece of linen which passes under the arm and is made fast on the back”.¹⁸

The bodices were sometimes “brocade lined with pearls and kept together with a beautifully wrought clasp in diamonds and emeralds,¹⁹ the use of this garment was greatly popularised in India under the influence of the Mughal culture with its fashion of close-fitting garment for women. The bodice in its latest form is said to have been brought into fashion by one of Aurangzeb's daughters.²⁰

Some of the ladies wore half smocks reaching the waist, which were made of fine cotton or silk through which their skin was quite visible.²¹ While going out they put on a waist-coat over the smocks, the sleeves of which reached till the middle of the arm and covered the rest of the arm with ornaments.²² (Plate no. 4)

Breeches (trousers) were common among Mughal ladies which usually reached the ankle.²³ These breeches which did not differ much from those of men, were tied at the naval by mean of a silver or silk string running through them ,which hanged down to the knees or even lower. These breeches were in tapering shape and slowly tight ones began to be considered fashionable and more and more ladies started preferring those.²⁴ The breeches were made of silk or brocade, mostly white or red in colour, or striped with all sorts of colours.²⁵

Apart from the bodice, jacket and close fitting trousers, the Mughal ladies wore the *jagulfi*, “a sort of empire-gown fastening at neck and waist, opening between the fastening and permitting a glimpse of the breasts and with long tight wrinkled sleeves and long flowing skirt” reaching down to the ankles.²⁶ This garment in course of time was adopted by the Rajput and other women as an imitation of it or with modification. Sometimes a short under petticoat was worn below the skirt of the outer robe, usually slit open in front. According to Abul Fazl, instead of drawers, some ladies wore *lehnga* stitched on both sides and fastened with a belt, which appeared to be short under-petticoat and with it no chemise was worn. Over the *lehnga* is worn the common shalice or *petticoat*.²⁷ During 16th and 17th centuries, stripes, were very popular patterns for these skirts. Under the Mughal influence long skirts became the fashion even if it meant hiding the foot-ornaments.²⁸

Mughal women did not wear gloves or stockings, probably for the many different varieties of hand and foot ornaments used by them .According to Manucci, gloves and stockings were not used by them because of the hot climate of this country.²⁹ Women of aristocratic or royal families put on shoes of various designs and beautiful slippers covered with golden and silver flowers, usually red in colour and with backs.³⁰

Head cover:

Both Hindu and Muslim ladies covered their heads with an *orhni* or *dupatta* which Manucci described as a sheet of gold cloth of different types and colour.³¹ This cloth “hung down on both sides as low as the knees and was sometimes made of white calicos. Sometimes the Mughal ladies covered their heads with a shawl or *mantilla* made of the finest material and dyed in delicate colours.”³² Gulbadan begam in the *Humayun Nama* mentions the *taq*, a type of cap worn by unmarried girls, and the *lachak*, which was a handkerchief folded cross ways and tied under the chin by two corners, used by married women.³³

Both the *taq* and the *lachak* were probably meant only for princesses and daughters of nobles. Sometimes the royal women wore turbans some of which had in them “a valuable aigrette surrounded by pearls and precious stones.”³⁴

Jutti:

There are ample evidences of a variety of footwear in Mughal miniature paintings and painting from the provincial courts shows the royalty in elegant footwear with zardozi work.³⁵ Ladies *jutti* has more delicate form with gold base worked with precious stones, beetle wings and sequins along with zari wire. Even the glass beads and stones replaced the semi precious stones,³⁶ their shoes used to be splendid, worked in many patterns, with gold and silver spangles. They were made with sharp points curling upward but worn down at the heel, variously coloured and garnished with precious stones.³⁷ (Plate no. 5)

Whenever the Muhammadan ladies went out they covered themselves from head to toe with white shrouds or burqas.³⁸ During the winter season the Mughal women wore the same clothes but covered themselves from top of other garment “with a woollen *cabaye* (*qaba*, a long open gown), of fine Kashmir make.”³⁹ Above all those, they put on fine shawls so delicate and fine that they could go through a small finger-ring.⁴⁰

The Mughals ladies were not just content with wearing beautiful, costly and decorative garments. Some of them like Nurjahan went a step forward and introduced new fashions and design in dress⁴¹. In place of the ‘*peshwaz*’ or ladies gown she introduced a very light dress called ‘*dudami*’ which weighed just two dams⁴². Her *panchtoliya*, a scarf weighing only five *tolas* too was a light substitute for head cover or *orhani*,⁴³ their *jamawars* were suits of woollen cloth with wool or silk. They also wore *Tus* or cloth made of wild goat’s hair, but perhaps their most favourite fabric was *pashmina* which was made of exceptionally light and warm wool like the lamb’s wool.⁴⁴ (Plate no.6)

According to Bernier, “Shah Jahan, the king seated upon his throne in the most magnificent attire, his vest was of white and delicately flowered satin with silk and gold embroidery of finest texture. The turban of gold cloth had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamond of an extraordinary size and value besides an oriental topaz. A necklace of immense pearls suspended from his neck reached to the stomach”.⁴⁵ (Plate no. 7)

Ornamentation:

Jewellery has been the obsession with women through the ages and of all ages. Ornaments are worn not only for the purpose of attracting the attention of others around the women but also as a distinctive mark of status, rank and dignity.⁴⁶ Both Hindus and Muslims have given religious significance to the use of ornaments. Hindus consider gold as auspicious.⁴⁷ A word must be said on the precious gems and stones (*ratnas*) used by the Mughals in their day to day life. They were incredible both in their quantity and value potential. A separate department was assigned, *JawharKhana*, which was efficiently maintained by an intelligent, trustworthy and clever treasurer, and an experienced clerk, a *darogah* and several skilful jewellers (*Johri*) to his assistance. So vivid was the collection of these precious stones that they were classified into twelve classes according to their value.⁴⁸ In the classification of

gemstones, as recorded by the court historian Abul Fazl in his account from the treasury of the emperor Akbar (1556-1605), the spinels appear to be of the utmost importance both from the fact that they are listed first and from the financial value allotted to them preceding diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls. Spinel was admired for their red colour which in the Persian literature was dominant in Mughal India symbolizing both wine and the sun evoking the light of dusk.⁴⁹ On the occasion of Jahangir's birthday celebration in 1617, Roe was stunned at the sight of the emperor, who appeared⁵⁰ "*clothed, or rather laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls and other precious vanities, which were so great and so glorious. His sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent; his head, neck, breast, arms above the elbows, at the wrists, his fingers each one with at least two or three rings, fitted with chains, or drilled, Diamonds, rubies as great as walnuts and pearls such as his eyes were amazed at*".⁵¹ Roe's impression were confirmed by many later European visitors to India, but for a sense of sheer scale of the Mughals' wealth it is hard to surpass the report of another Englishman, William Hawkins who resided in princely style at Jahangir's court in Agra in the year 1609-11. In the assessing the extent of Jahangir's treasury, he resorted to the use of the '*battman*', a Turkish measure typically reserved for grain and other bulky goods, which was equal to 55 English pounds.⁵² by this reckoning Jahangir had 82 pounds (more than 30 kilograms) of diamonds, none smaller than 2 carats. There were 12 *battmans* of pearls, five of emeralds, and two of rubies, plus five thousand pieces of cornelian, two thousand spinels, and an apparent infinity of semi-precious stones. And this was just the loose stones. Hawkins moved on to counting jewels wrought in gold. Jewelled swords and daggers he numbered in their thousands, gems- studded saddles at one thousand. For personal adornment, there were two thousand 'brooches for their heads' (head ornaments).⁵³ Jahangir himself testified to the importance that gems and jewels bore in the empire. Military servants who capture diamond bearing territory were liberally praised, such as Ibrahim Khan whose 'excellent exertions' in

the spring of 1616 brought the eastern province of Khukra (in Bihar) and its alluvial diamond deposits into the empire.⁵⁴ Towards the end of 1617 he recorded his pleasure that his own son, Shah Jahan had presented him with the single largest tribute of his reign, a mountain of rubies, diamonds, sapphire, emeralds and pearls which when added to a sizeable population of elephants and horses and their jewelled harnesses and armour, total value 2,260,000 rupees.⁵⁵ In 1917 it is recorded that Jewelled objects became the part of the insignia of power particularly from Jahangir's reign onwards. Jewels were the focus of court ceremonial when courtiers presented jewelled objects which were assessed and their value recorded, and of royal birthday ceremonies in which the emperor was weighed against gold, then jewels, silver and other items in turn.⁵⁶ In November 1617, Jahangir reciprocated Shah Jahan's display of loyalty with gift of his own.⁵⁷ *"On this day I made a present to my son Shah Jahan of a ruby of one colour weighing 9 tanks and 5 surkh (184 carats) of value of 125,000 rupees with two pearls. This is the ruby which was given to my father at the time of my birth by Hazrat Maryam- Makani, mother of His Majesty Akbar, by way of present when my face was shown and was for many years in his sarpech (turban ornament). After him I also happily wore it in my sarpech. Apart from its value and delicacy, as it had come down as of auspicious augury to the everlasting state, it was bestowed on my son."*⁵⁸

Large spinels inscribed with possessor's name and imperial titles were similarly handed on in dynastic succession. These were often strung as single pendants, or were combined with pearls in necklaces or bazubands (jewelled ties encircling the upper arms).⁵⁹

The Mughals and their ladies were very fond of ornaments, which they used to wear it from head to toe. Only the king and those whom he favoured and permitted used golden kadas (rings) on feet. Such kadas for wearing on wrists were presented by him to the nobles and servants of the state as a mark of honour and reward.⁶⁰ A touch of gold on the woman's body is considered to be auspicious. Muslims lady lay emphasis on holy amulets and ornaments

with stone setting and their basic ornaments is to secure protection against evil eyes.⁶¹ Women in India were accustomed to the use of ornaments from their very childhood. The noses and ears of girls were pierced through at an early age. Gold and Silver or brass ornaments according to the means of the parents were put in these holes which it seems grew wider and wider with age.⁶² Mannuci described the Princess wore on their arms above the elbow, rich armlets two inches wide, enriched on the surface with stones, and having small bunches of pearls, depending from them. At their wrists are very rich bracelets or bands of pearls, which usually go round nine or twelve times. In this way they often have the place for feeling the pulse so covered up that, *“I have found it different to put my hand upon it. On their fingers are rich rings, and on the right thumb there is always a ring, where in place of stones, there is mounted a little round mirror having pearls around it. This mirror (arsi) they used to look at themselves, an act of which they are very fond at any and every moment”*.⁶³ (Plate no.8)

Anklets:

There was different kinds of ankle-ornaments worn by the Mughal ladies. *Chura* consisting of two hollow half circlets which when joined together formed a complete ring; another one *Dundhani* was the engraved form of the first; next is known as *Masuchi* which was like the second but differently engraved.⁶⁴ Pail or anklet called *khalkhal* in Arabic. These produced jingling sound when its wearer moved about. *Ghungghru*, consisting of small golden bells, usually six on each ankle and stung upon silk was worn between *Jehar* (three gold rings) and *Khalkhal*. *Bhank* was a triangular and square ornament for the instep. *Bichhwah*, another ornament for the instep was shaped like a half bell.⁶⁵ *Anwat* was an ornament for the great toe.⁶⁶ Other ornaments the women wear include rings on their toes, and *Shekels* on their legs were made hollow and some glass beads let were loose in them so that when the leg is moved they make a noise like a rattle snake.⁶⁷ These ornaments are generally made of gold studded

with precious gems. The anklets which had gold rosettes, set alternately with diamonds or lidded and set with precious or semi-precious stones. Despite the usual restrictions on wearing gold on the feet the diameter would be too great for a conventional armband. Each alternate rosette is lidded and foiled in a colour, which matches its stone. The stones, beginning with the pearl and moving clockwise, are blue sapphire, ruby, diamond, emerald, yellow sapphire, spinel, hessonite garnet, turquoise and coral. The pair of anklets are made from gold with applied lozenges and stamped spheres imitating granulation. The imitation granulation was done by stamping sheet gold onto a shaped depression in a jeweller's mould.⁶⁸

Head décor:

The Mughal ladies decorated every part of their bodies from head to toe. Abul Fazl describes thirty seven ornaments worn by the women in Mughal period of which five head ornaments like *Sis-phul* which was a bell shaped piece of gold and silver, hollow and embellished from inside with attachments fastened to the hair over the crown of the head, *Mang* was worn on the parting of the head, *Kotbiladar*, which consisted of five bands and a long centre drop was worn on the forehead, *Sehra* mainly used in marriage ceremonies and other special occasions consisted of seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face, and finally the *Binduli*, which was smaller than a gold *mohar* and worn on the forehead.⁶⁹ Women sometimes wore turbans which often had in them valuable ornaments studded with precious stones and pearls.⁷⁰

The hair ornamentations are also sets in gold with rubies, emeralds and diamonds and with strings of pearls and red glass beads from the Northern India in the mid 19th century. This hair ornament was an exhibition piece acquired by the Indian Museum in 1855. It would have

been worn with the long coils, terminating in serpent heads, framing the face and the strings of pearls with pendants fanning out over the forehead.⁷¹ (Plate no.9)

Hand Ornaments:

Abul Fazl describes lists of bracelets which include *kangan* which were of different designs, surmounted with small knobs, *gajrah*, a bracelets of gold and pearls; *jawe*, consisting of five golden barley corns strung on silk, and fastened on each wrist; ⁷² *chur* a bracelets worn above the wrist; *Bahu* like the *chur* but little smaller; *churin*, thinner than the bracelets and worn in a bunch of seven or more. Sometimes the bracelets were in the form of pearl bands which went round the wrist nine or twelve times, Manucci being a hakim, found these an obstruction for feeling the pulse as these were covered the wrist completely.⁷³

Arms without ornaments were considered a bad omen for the women in Mughal India. The upper part of the arms above the elbows were ornamented with armlets called *bazuband*, usually two inches wide, inlaid with precious stones and having small bunches of pearls hanging down.⁷⁴ *Tad* was a hollow circle worn on the arm just below the *bazuband*.⁷⁵

The Mughal ladies were also fond of wearing rings of various pattern and design on their fingers. The rings were studded with precious stones like diamonds and sapphires.⁷⁶ On the right thumb there was always a ring where in place of stone a little round mirror (*arsi*), having pearl around it. This is because as Manucci say, that the Mughal ladies were very fond of looking at themselves in these tiny mirrors quite often.⁷⁷ Abul Fazl also mention about *Anguthi* (finger ring) which were of different kinds.⁷⁸

Ear Ornaments:

All women wore pierced earrings or pendants usually made of gold, silver or copper which hung down from the ears almost touching the shoulder.⁷⁹ *Bauli* was worn in the upper part of the ear while *kundala* was for the lower part. The women also wear several small rings of gold or silver in holes bored around the rim of the ear.⁸⁰ Abul Fazl describes different type of earrings worn by the ladies like *kuntala*, a tapering shaped earrings; Karnphul (ear flower) shaped like a flower of the Magrela; *pipal-patti*, crescent- shaped, worn as a bunch of eight or nine in each ear; *champakali*, smaller than the red rose, worn on the shell of the ear; and *morbhanwar*, which was a ear pendant shaped like a peacock.⁸¹ These ear ornaments are made in gold and silver set with diamonds; pendants of pearls, green glass and emeralds, strands of pearls and rubies. The considerable weight of these ornaments is only partly supported by the hook, which passes through the ear; the strands of pearls would be looped up and the twisted gold tie threaded into the hair. Some other earrings are gold with applied stamped motifs, gold wires and granulation. However, though these ear ornaments are very obviously stylized cobras or *nagas*, the upper projecting section is the head of a semi-abstract animal (bat) with long ears and fangs. It thus relates to the group of ear ornaments with bizarre animal and bird heads. Another shared feature is the use of geometric motifs. This pair would have been worn with five other ornaments on each ear by Sudra women.⁸²

Nose Ornaments:

Nose ornaments were not known in India in the ancient times. The pre-Muslims literatures do not refer to *nath* or nose ornament. The fashion of nose ornamentation was brought into India probably by the Muslim invaders from the north-west,⁸³ but the nose ornamentation became popular in Mughal Harem as is known from the Persian miniature paintings.⁸⁴ Its presence in the Mughal Harem is known from the various sources, Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-*

Akbari mentions nose ornaments like the *besar*, which was a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl was attached and at the other a golden wire which is clasped on to the pearl and hung from the nose by a gold wire.⁸⁵ Different types of nose ornaments are used like, Phuli which was like a bud, the stalk of which was attached to the nose, Laung, which had the shape of a clove, which was a golden circlet with a ruby between two pearls or other jewels worn in the nostril.⁸⁶

Jewellery for neck:

Various types of necklaces mostly made of gold and silver and studded with gems and pearls were worn by the Mughal women.⁸⁷ They are enamelled gold and silver pendant set with rubies, emeralds, natural white sapphires and rock crystal, strands of pearls and emerald with two rubies. *Har* was a necklace of strings of pearls interconnected by golden roses.⁸⁸ The Mughal women also had three to five rows of pearls hanging from their neck coming down as far as the lower stomach. Round their neck they also had strings of pearls or precious stones and over these a valuable ornaments having in its centre a big diamond, a ruby, emerald or sapphire round it huge pearls.⁸⁹ A few necklaces are full with enamelled gold plaques and pendants; some set with pendent pearls and green glass beads, whereas the strands of pearls terminate in emerald and ruby beads. Each of the large central pendants is enamelled with slightly different motifs using the same red, white and green palette, highlighted with touches of pale blue. The plaques, which secure the strings of pearls, are enamelled in an unusual combination of opaque yellow and white flowers with lime green leaves on a translucent ground.⁹⁰

Pendants and Locketts:

The pendant (*taviz*) with rubies and emeralds in gold is one of the features of Mughals. The palmate at the centre relates to those found in the Iranian-influenced decorative arts of the

late 16th and early 17th centuries, rather than to the period of Shah Jahan when floral decoration became more naturalistic. The detail is painstaking, with the eyes of the birds being minute emeralds set in gold. The back is inscribed with a Koranic verse. The amulet, which is bored along the top edge, would have been the central pendant to a necklace.⁹¹

Pendants are also enamelled gold, set with rubies and a diamond on the front, and with green glass imitating emeralds. These pendants, with their carefully shaped, flat-set rubies, and green glass imitating emeralds, are worked in a style, which goes back to the late 16th century. The gemstones are used almost like mosaics, set into chased depressions and separated by gold left in slight relief to delineate the pattern. The residual areas are then engraved with flowers and foliage. The back is beautifully enamelled in a rhythmic portrayal of a bird amongst flowers, using the standard Moghul palette of white, red and green, though with touches of opaque yellow and blue.⁹²

The lockets are the enamelled gold set with diamonds. Each locket has a rose-cut diamond at its centre, the other stones being roughly faceted and a rather unusual feature in Indian jewellery where small diamonds are, typically, flat-cut. The larger of the two lockets has translucent blue at the front, the smaller and a rather pale translucent green. The backs have similar motifs of red, green and blue birds and flowers on a white ground, on the larger contained within a quatrefoil frame and on the smaller within an oval.⁹³

Mughal Turban Ornaments:

Only the emperor himself, his intimate relations, and select members of his entourage (beasts as well as men) were permitted to wear a royal turban ornament. As the empire matured, differing styles of ornament acquired the generic name of *sarpech*, from *sar* or *sir*, meaning head, and *pech*, meaning fastener. Initially, however, in Akbar's time, the principal turban ornament appears to have been the *kalgi*, a relatively simple gold or jewelled stem of Turco-

Persian origin, into which was inserted a plume of feathers. Ideally, the feathers was of a heron.⁹⁴ Royal portraits from Jahangir's reign show a more elaborate style of noteworthy gems clustered at the base of the plume and with a pendant pearl encouraging a gentle droop from the plume itself. During Shah Jahan's reign an entirely mineralogical version of the *kalgi* appeared, an ornate, heavily jewelled brooch, in which a stylized 'plume' as well as the stem was composed of gems set in gold and backed by polychrome enamel. Even when solid, however, the 'plume' often affected the drop of Jahangir's *kalgi* and was adorned by one or more pendent stones. In this form the turban ornament was known as a *jigha*, although it is important to note that most *jighas* retained a stem (*tana*) at the back for the insertion of the original feathered plume. In a more elaborate form still, the *jigha* acquired a wide jewelled base, a *sarpatti*, of three, five, or seven panels which was secured to the turban by silken or jewelled ties. *Sarpattis* of five or seven sections often sported three or five *jighas* respectively.⁹⁵ (Plate no.10)

There is a considerable debate about the origins of these new designs. Susan Stronge has argued that the development of the Mughal *jigha* owed something to the influence of the jewelled hat aigrettes of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Europe. Illustrations of these would have been available to the emperors and their goldsmiths in the portraits of their sovereign and patrons that European visitors presented at court. Recently Oppi Untracht has countered that it may have been the European who derived their aigrettes from India, noting that portraits of nobles travelled in both directions and that the European took some time to replace the turban-friendly stem of the *kalgi* with a pin that was more suited to European hats.⁹⁶ At the very least, the debate serves to highlight the interchange of artistic ideas between vibrant cultures. It is certain that European noticed both the ornaments and the symbolism of kingship they radiated. In the 1660s, Francois Bernier (1620-88), a French physician who reside at the court of Aurangzeb, witnessed a state occasion in which the

emperor's *sarpech* dazzled: 'A turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extra ordinary size and value, beside an oriental topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun,' another French traveller, Jean de Thevenot (1633-67), observed that in Golconda the local sultan had expanded turban ornamentation to prodigious- even grotesque-dimensions.⁹⁷

Nurjahan married her daughter Ladli Begum to Jahangir's son Shaharyar. Jahangir himself mention "*I present my son Shaharyar with Jewelled Charquab (coat) with turban and two horses with a gold saddle and even offered ornaments, and other present to the bridegroom*".⁹⁸ Innayat Khan mentions that Shah Jahan held a grand ten day long celebration to inaugurate Shahjahanabad, an immense gold embroidered velvet canopy sixty four metres by forty one metres ordered from Gujarat at a cost of 100,000 *rupiya*, was put in *Diwan-i-am*, the durbar hall for the occasion. Innayat Khan also mentions the fabulous Peacock Throne that Shah Jahan had commissioned on his accession, to display the vast collection of gems accumulated during the preceding reigns. The Peacock throne was a unique achievement of the jeweller's art. "*It is the richest and most superb throne which has ever been seen in the world*, says Tavernier all studded with rubies, garnets, diamonds, rich pearls and emeralds.⁹⁹

European jewellers in Mughal India:

Of the six principal Mughal emperors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan were the ones most famed for their love of decoration and show.¹⁰⁰ Foreign visitors who sought to win their favour brought gifts for them of top quality loose stones and also jewels set in fashion of their own countries. Sir Thomas Roe noted sourly in 1618, Jahangir was increasingly hard to please. At that time Dutch and English traders found it hard to compete with the Portuguese in the gifts they presented at court.¹⁰¹

Yarn and fabric:

The garment of Mughal ladies were made of the finest muslins, silks, velvets and brocades. The muslins used for their clothes were of three types-*Ah-e-Rawan*(running water), *Baft hawa* (woven air) and *Shabnam* (evening dew). Many paintings of the Mughal Harem show ladies wearing muslin were so fine that they appeared to be almost transparent. Because of their intense fineness of texture they are spoken of in poetic language as muslin called *Shabnam* were brought from Dhaka *malmal*.¹⁰² Some of the Dhaka muslin was so fine that they became invisible to the eye when made to float on water.¹⁰³ Lot of silk was brought from China and Persia and also from parts of India like Banaras, Bengal and Orissa to make beautiful dresses for the royal ladies who had great love for silk. Some well known fabrics used by the Mughal ladies were satin, *kimkhah*, *katan*, *tasser*, *tafla*, *ambari*, *atlas*, etc.; imported velvet both plain and brocaded, called *makhmal* was also used.¹⁰⁴ Cotton too form a predominant place in Mughal clothing.

Once, the Mughal emperor Akbar asked his courtiers, which was the most beautiful flower. Some said rose, from whose petals were distilled the precious *itr*; others, the lotus, glory of every Indian village. But Birbal said, "*The cotton boll*". *There was a scornful laughter and Akbar asked for an explanation. Birbal said, "Your Majesty, from the cotton boll comes the fine fabric prized by merchants across the seas that has made your empire famous throughout the world. The perfume of your fame far exceeds the scent of roses and jasmine. That is why I say the cotton boll is the most beautiful flower."*¹⁰⁵

Wool was also used by the Mughals. Wool was obtained from different animals like sheep, camels, goats and angoras. Indian wool was not of superior quality, it was coarse, suitable for blankets only. Fine wool had to be imported from Tibet and Himalayan areas. Woollen goods therefore were costly. Fashion in Agra and Lahore were influenced by Akbar's preference.¹⁰⁶

Innayat Khan in his 'Shah Jahan Nama' also speaks of the delicate fabrics used for the dresses of the royal ladies which were also perfumed with fragrant oils.¹⁰⁷ He says that this was the reason why Jahanara's garment once caught fire so easily from a burning lamp and caused her severe burns.¹⁰⁸ Like their ladies, the Mughal Emperors like Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan took equal amount of interest in wearing beautiful garments. Cloth came from foreign land and different parts of India. Southern India famed for its woven fabrics.¹⁰⁹ Bernier speaks of the riches and most exquisitely wrought brocade, fine linens and *alachas* or silk stuffs interwoven with gold and silver.¹¹⁰ Bernier also speaks of *Karkanays* (*karkhanas*) where embroidery was done. He also says that these costly articles of dress beautifully embroidered with needle work, cost ten or twelve crowns or even more but they were only used for a few hours.¹¹¹ The Mughals also wore *tus* or clothes made of wild goats' hair. The ladies of Mughal harem did not enjoy the pleasure of wearing nylons, chiffons and georgettes, but a better material provided softness or liquefaction to their dresses. It was a silk, the very touch soothed the fingers and the body, its sleek lustre was synonymous and splendour.¹¹² Terry says that the country yields good store of silk which they weave curiously, sometimes mingled with silver or gold. They make velvet and satin taffetas.¹¹³ Fine cotton clothes was manufactured at Delhi, Lahore, Agra, Patna, Banaras, Burhampur, Dhaka and many other places. Dhaka produced prodigious quality of fine white clothes and silken stuffs.¹¹⁴ The royal manufactories or Karkhanas were spread all over the country from Kashmir, Lahore and Agra to Ahemdabad, Fatehpur and Burhampur. The workmanship of Kashmir was renowned and its shawls were superb.¹¹⁵ A large number of costly stuffs with gold and silk threads and brocades were prepared in the imperial Karkhanas the most popular among them were *zardozi* and *kalbatlun* which were silk stuffs embroidered with *zari* (floral designs embroidered with gold and silver threads, stars, leaves and flowers).¹¹⁶ The order of the colours is:-

tus (tusi),
safed- alcha (safed - white),
ruby -coloured,
Golden (*sunahri*),
Orange (*narangi*),
Brass- coloured,
Musk- colour (*pitliya*),
Crimson (dark red),
Grass- green (sap-green),
Cotton- flower colour (mauve colour),
Sandalwood-colour (*chandni*, yellow ocher),
Almond colour (*badami* light brown),
Purple (*bengani*),
Grape-colour (*anguri*, light green),
Mauve (a shade of purple),
Parrot-colour (*totai*, light green),
Honey-colour (dark brown),
Brownish lilac (dark brown),
Colour like the *ratanmanjani* flower,
Colour like the *kasni* flower,
Apple-coloured (light red),

Hay coloured (chrome yellow),

Pistachio (*pistai*, dark green),

Bhojapatro colour (brown),

Pink (*gulabi*),

Light blue,

Colour like the *galghah* flower,

Water-colour,

Oil-colour,

Brown-red,

Emerald-colour,

Bluish like china-ware (*lajward* colour),

Violet (*baingani*),

Bright pink,

Mango-coloured (chrome yellow deep),

Musk-colour,

Colour like the *fakhta* bird (ring-dove, grey).¹¹⁷

White and black are believed to be the origin of all colours. They are looked upon as extremes, and as the component parts of the other thus white when mixed in large proportions with an impure black, will yield yellow; and white and black in equal proportions will give red. White mixed with large quantity will give a bluish green.¹¹⁸ In keeping in with his interest in textiles, Akbar showed great interest in the shawl manufacture of which he gave his own Hindi designation, *Paramnaram* (very soft), and he changed the name of *Kapurdhur*

(camphor dust), a Tibetan stuff to *Kapurnur* (camphor light). He encouraged in every possible way, manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. A kind of shawl called *mayan* is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed together. Both are used for *chiras* (turbans), *fotas* (loin bands) etc. *Tus* shawl was made from the hair of *tus* goat. Corded and patterned shawls (*tarah* shawls) were made of white, black or mixed wool.¹¹⁹ Attention was paid to the manufacture of the following varieties of shawls:

1. **Zardozi** - Apparently this shawl was embroidered with gold wire and sequins.¹²⁰ Prince of Wales Museum has already good examples of this kind of shawl. The *zardozi* embroidery which was firmly established by the Mughals in the large production continues to mention excellence during the regime of Jahangir. His memoir *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* mentions at several places such expensive gorgeous robes of honour.¹²¹ *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh* describes Agra famous for its gold and silver embroidery on turbans and Gujarat for stuffs of gold embroidered velvet. Shahjahan's period may be called the golden period in regard to sophistication of this craft. With the sifting of his political seat from Agra to Delhi, the court based *karkhanas* spread up in and around Delhi; the *karkhanas* then worked in full swing, and the craftsmen moved to Delhi from Agra as well as other parts of the country.

But the period of Aurangzeb shows a turning point in *zardozi* work. Due to incessant warfare, royal resources became scarce. Besides, Aurangzeb was in favour of austere living. The court no longer patronized this art and as a result many craftsmen left the Mughal metropolis and took shelter around provincial courts.¹²³

2. **Kalabatun** - The design seems to have been brocaded with gold wire.

3. **Qasidah** - In this variety the pattern was embroidered and not woven.

4. **Qalghai** - This type was made either of silk or gold wire or bore pine-cone patterns.

5. **Bandhnun**- Shawls had tie – dye pattern.

6. *Chint*- Shawls were apparently painted or decorated with floral pattern in the manner of calico prints. According to Moorcroft even in the early nineteenth century some shawls with green flowers tied in small hard knots to protect them from the action of the dye were made. When united each flower was surrounded by a small white field to which small eyes of spots of yellow, red were added by the embroiderers.

7. *Alcah*- It was a white banded stuff.

8. *Purzdar*- It is described by Jarrett as all sorts of stuff of which the outside is plush-like. There is little doubt that by *purzdar*, that kind of shawl is meant in which the size is obtained by joining together several strips –the *khandasamghatya* of ancient times.¹²⁴

The shawls before Akbar's period were narrow. He ordered them to be made up to suit length.

Wool was also extensively used during the period of Mughals. It is generally obtained from the hair of goats', yaks and dogs of Central Asia through various agencies. After spinning wool the *pashm farosh* sold the wefts to the *kar-khandar*. The two methods of shawl weaving *amlakar* and *kani* shawl (twill tapestry), the former was introduced by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, and the later by Akbar. The famous designs texture was known as *Pashming kani*, *jora kani*, *qasaba kani*, *romai*, *shah passand*, *tamvar* and *hasiya*. The *kani* shawl method was complicated; it required the greatest concentration and skill. With the help of small sticks called *tuj* bobbins, square pieces of various sizes with designs were prepared and then joined together¹²⁵. Akbar not only introduced dye but also used silk and *kalabatun* in order to prepare the brocades were used along with the shawl wool. Gold thread and cotton were also used in some styles.¹²⁶ Embroidery was introduced in the latter half of the sixteenth century and received impetus from Akbar. Muslin a kind of silk which was the part and parcel of Mughal clothing even got its place in lyrical and poetic expression. *Shabnam* is such a

transparent when moistened and stretched over blades of grass in the dawn, *abrawan* a kind of fine fabric is invisible to the eye when held in the flow of stream, *baftihawa* woven winds the lightest and airiest of all texture. Abul Fazl praised the quality of muslin of Sonargaon (Dacca)¹²⁷.

Kalamkari is also a form of art patronised by the Mughals. Cloth could be patterned on the loom by using coloured yarn. Usually however, printing of cloth was done by applying the colour on the cloth with a pen or brush by hand (*qalamdar*) or *qalamkar* or imprinting it with engraved woods blocks dipped in paint or prints as in Gujrat and Western India¹²⁸ (Plate no.11)

Shisha embroidery was originated in 17th century in India, the use of decorative mirror or *shisha* was introduced from Iran during the Mughal Empire. However the shisha embroidery was not used much in the Mughals clothing.¹²⁹

Mixed Goods- Moreland opines that a substantial proportion of the raw silk consumed in India was used for the production of mixed goods which are still a feature of the hand weaving industry.

A perusal of the Ain-i-Akbari indicate several varieties of stuffs mixed with silk ,brocades, *baftas*, *mayan* shawl (silk and wool mixed) manufactured at Lahore, *qutni* (stuff made up of silk and wool),*tassar*, *alcha*, etc. Stuffs with gold and silk thread (*zardozi*, *kalabatun*, *kashida*, *qalghai*) were manufactured in Kashmir. *Thattah* used to produce, says Alexander Hamilton, *cabulleys* (silk mixed with carmenia) besides *cuttenee* (*jamawars*) of silk.¹³⁰

Perfumes and other accessories:

Flowerbeds occurred in some of the gardens primarily for their beauty and fragrance. For example, the gardens laid out by the aristocracy adjoining their mansions used to be so

planned to consist of fruit bearing trees and sweet scented attractive blossoms. The immigrant Muslims had introduced some flowers of the Islamic countries, for example, roses and their cultivation by the sixteenth century had become quite common. Odoriferous plants of both foreign and Indian origin were used for extracting scented oil required generally for anointing the skin and hair, so that its industry gained considerable importance.¹³¹ Agra, Jaunpur and Ghazipur were then noted centres for the manufacture of scented and sweet smelling oils.¹³² But the more sophisticated perfumes too were extracted from flowers, having stronger and more refined scents such as that of roses, *gul-i-henna*, jasmine, and saffron and so on.¹³³

How much the Mughals love perfumes is brought out by the royal memoir-writer, Jahangir, himself. When his mother-in-law, Asmat Begum, struck upon a new method of preparing essence of rose, or *itr-i- Jahangiri*, the enthusiastic son in law wrote, “*It is of such strength in perfume that if one drop is rubbed on the palm of the hand it scents a whole assembly, and it appears as if many red rose-buds had bloomed all at once.*”¹³⁴

Nurjahan introduced *itr-i-gulab* (perfume of rose) which is also known as *itr-i- Jahangiri* became very popular.¹³⁵

Abul Fazl’s catalogue of perfumes and the method of their preparation make an interesting reading; Akbar created a separate department called *khushbu khana* (department of perfumery). Shah Mansur was put in charge of it.¹³⁶

Some of the choicest recipe was as follows:

1) ***Santhuk*** was used to keep the skin fresh. It was prepared from *zabad* (civet), *chuwa*, *chambeli* essence and rose water.

- 2) **Argaja** was used in summer for keeping the skin cool. It was prepared from *chandan* (sandal wood), *iksir*, *mid chuwa*, *banafsha* (violet root), *gehla*, *karpoor* (camphor) and ‘*arq*’ of rose (rosewater; *gulabjal*).
- 3) **Gulkama**, an incense prepared by the special process from *ambar* (ambergris), ladan, musk (kasturi), agar (aloewood), *iksir i-‘abir*, juice of *gul-i-surkh*, rose-water, extract of *bahar* and juice of *bahar-i-naranj*.
- 4) **Ruh-Afza** was also burned in censers and gave a very fine smell (*khushbu*, *sugandha*) in the household. It was prepared from agar (aloewood), *chandan* (sandalwood), *iksir*, *loban*, *dhoop banafsha* (violet-root), *chharila* and rose water.
- 5) **Opatna**, a scented soap, made by an intricate process of *ladan*, agar (aloewood), *bahar-i-naranj* and its bark, *chandan* (sandalwood), *char*, *chharila musk*, *pacha* leaves apples, moth, violet-root, *dhup*, *ikanki*, *kachur*, *loban*, rose-water and extract of *bahar*.
- 6) **Abirmaya** was prepared from agar (agarwood), *chandan* (sandalwood), violet-root, *chhar*, *dawalak*, *amushk*, ladan, *bahar-i-naranj* and rose-water. It was used as a soap.
- 7) **Kishta** smelt very fine when burnt and was exhilarating. It was prepared from agar (aloewood), ladan, *lobal*, *chandan* (sandalwood), *iksir*, *dhup*, violet-root, *mushk*, *chharila* and rose water.
- 8) **Bukhur**, is an incense made of agar (aloewood), *chandan* (sandalwood), ladan, *mushk*, *iksir*, refined sugar and rose-water.
- 9) **Fatila**, an incense prepared from agar (aloewood), *chandan* (sandalwood), *iksir*, ladan, violet-root, *loban*, refined sugar and rose-water.
- 10) **Barjat**, is a soap made of agar (aloewood), ladan, *mushk*, *chandan* (sandalwood), *loban* and *kapur* (camphor).

11) **Abir-iksir**, a soap prepared from *chandan* (sandalwood), *iksir* and *mushk*.

12) **Ghasul**, a liquid soap made of *chandan* (sandalwood), *katul*, *mushk*, *chuwa*, *karpoor* (camphor), milk and rose-water.¹³⁷

The fine smelling (*khushbudar*) flowers were largely patronised:

1) The **Sewti**- Whitish blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.

2) The **Bholsari**- Whitish in the rain.

3) **Chambeli**- White, yellow, and blue; in the rain and partly during winter.

4) **Ray-bel**- White and pale yellow in the end of the hot season, and the beginning of the rain.

5) The **Mongra**- Yellow; in summer.

6) The **Champa**- Yellow; all the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries constellations.

7) The **Ketki**- The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white; it blooms during the hot summer.

8) **Kuza**- White; during the hot season.

9) The **padal**- Brownish lilac; in spring.

10) The **Juhi**- White and yellow like jasmine; during the rains.

11) The **niwar**- Whitish; in spring.

12) The **kewara**- From Leo to Libra.

13) The **chalta**- White petals with yellow stamens, blooms during the rainy season.

14) The **gulal**- In spring.

15) The **tasbih gulal**- White; in winter.

- 16) The *nargis*- White; in spring.
- 17) The *singarhar*- It has small white petal; in hot season.
- 18) The *violet*- Violet; in hot season.
- 19) The *karna*- White; in spring.
- 20) The *kapur*- bel.
- 21) The *gul-i-zasfaran*- Lilac-colour; in autumn.¹³⁸

The more sophisticated perfumes too were extracted from flowers having stronger and more refined scents such as that of roses *gul-i-henna*, *jasmine*, *saffron*.¹³⁹

Out of different varieties of perfumes mentioned by Abul Fazl, *duwelak* was the cheapest from 3 to 4 dams per seer and the most expensive one was *ambar-i-ashhab* whose price ranged from one to three *mohurs* per *tola* or eighty to two hundred and forty *mohurs* per seer.¹⁴⁰

The following is an authoritative list of perfumes and their prices in Akbar's reign (c. 1600 A.D.):

- 1) *Ambar – i- Ashhab*
- 2) *Zabad (civet)*
- 3) *Mushk*
- 4) *Agar*
- 5) *Chuwa*
- 6) *Gaura*
- 7) *Bhimseni kapur*
- 8) *Mid*

- 9) *Zafaran*
- 10) *Zafaran-i-kamandi*
- 11) *Zafaran-i-kashmir*
- 12) *Chandan*
- 13) *Kalanbak*
- 14) *Silaras*
- 15) *Ambar-i-ladan*
- 16) *Kafur-i-china*
- 17) *Arq-i-fitna*
- 18) *Arq-i-Bed-i-Mushk*
- 19) *Arq-i-gulab*
- 20) *Arq-i-Bahar*
- 21) *Arq-i-chambeli*
- 22) *Banafsha*
- 23) *Azfar-ut-Tib*
- 24) *Barg-i-Maj*
- 25) *Gugal*
- 26) *Loban-i-sargard*
- 27) *Loban*
- 28) *Chhar*
- 29) *Chharila*

Henceforth, the use of *itrs* became very popular in the harem and the court. The different *itrs* were used on the person according to the season. Gradually perfumes become a characteristic feature of lifestyle of the Mughal and of those who emulated them and could afford this costly luxury. The later Mughals used *itrs* so wantonly that they are credited to have flown them into harem cascades, tanks and fountains and virtually bathed with them.¹⁴¹

Women as whole had a deep liking for cosmetics to beautify themselves since ancient times as is evident from Ajanta paintings and Mythological legends suggest. The Mughal ladies were also not lagging behind they use every possible means to beautify themselves, they use costly dresses with heavily studded jewellerys, used oil to massage their body and used paste of sandalwood, rice powder to gain glory to their face.¹⁴²

Patterns, Designs and Motifs used by the Mughals in their Costumes:

There can be no doubt that by far the greatest transformation took place in the field of design during the Mughal period. The finest early Indian textiles were often plain, as with the clear muslins. The garment pieces represented in Hindu or Buddhist sculptures and murals tend to be plain or geometrically patterned with chequers, stripes or chevrons, sometimes worked in diagonal bands alternating with processions of *hamsas* (sacred geese) and stylized rosettes.¹⁴³

During the Mughal period all this changed. A naturalistic flowering plant motif, quite different from anything seen in earlier Indian art, distinct even from the semi-naturalistic flowers of earlier Persian manuscripts, emerged to become the dominant theme in Mughal arts and crafts from the mid-17th century on. The style was almost certainly heavily indebted to the European herbals known to have been circulating at the Mughal court in early part of the century; it appears to have crystallized as a result of the ecstatic reaction of the emperor Jahangir (1665-27) to the flora of Kashmir in the spring of 1620.¹⁴⁴ The motif reached its

zenith under Shah Jahan (1627-58), from whose region may date the sumptuous gold and silver ground textiles with flowering plants woven or embroidered, which have come to epitomize the culture of the Mughal court. Painting from the earlier years of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) show lavish use of 'cloth of gold' ground textiles in furnishings and costumes though towards the end of his reign increasing bigotry made him adopt a puritanical attitude towards luxuries.¹⁴⁵ The flowering plant motif in many forms continued to dominate textile design throughout the 18th century, with increasing stylization. It appeared as a diaper of flower springs in court's coat-fabrics, and as a row of single flowering plants at the ends of shawls and court girdles. As a large flowering plant framed in a niche, it was the usual theme of furnishing such as prayer mats and tent hangings, which like Mughal court dress represented a culture often originally alien to that of the craftsmen –weaver, embroiderers, chintz-painters who made them, and whose adaptability had long proved itself a prime asset. The distinctive high Mughal style which had evolved by the mid-17th century, while owing its initial inspiration to the flower cult of the aesthete Jahangir, could not have come into being without the skills, the artistry and interpretative genius of Indian craftsmen, most of them anonymous.¹⁴⁶ (Plate no.12)

In 16th and 17th centuries stripes were very popular patterns for the skirts (*lahenga*) when it comes to colours, the Muslim women preferred white dresses either plain or wrought with flowers.¹⁴⁷ The dazzling range of textiles which Abul Fazl mentions in *Ain-i-Akbari* notwithstanding all those exquisite silks and cottons from the four corners of the world. The emperor most often wore plain white with only an occasional streak of colour of gold to it.¹⁴⁸ Through the period the most fancied articles was *patkas* and its patterning is more complex with an emphasis on geometric designs, diamonds and zigzag and the like with no marked or bold floral patterns discernible. During Jahangir reign the *patka* turn into double *patka*, a white one brocaded in gold and decorated with registers of floral scrolls and during Jahangir

reign motifs of patkas were broad horizontal bands with scrolling vine and alternating with those with zigzag patterns. The Sashes in Mughal era are decorated with pearls.¹⁴⁹ Miniatures from the time of Akbar also the early days of Jahangir's time depict an unusual form of dress instead of *Jama* being finished with a normal straight hem at the bottom it ended in a sort of zigzag with from four to six points which were often tucked into the shawl or the belt of the wearer to allow freedom of movement when out hunting or during other such activities. For shawls the patterns were woven into edges, then later they came to be embroidered with the finest thread. Clothing became more luxurious during the time of Shahjahan and Jahangir. The *buta* motif a pattern of buds is used during the Mughal era. Fabric were generally silk with flowers leaf.¹⁵⁰ (Plate no.13)

Berneir while describing Shah Jahan's attire in the court writes in his account that "The king appeared seated upon his throne at the end of the great hall in the most magnificent attire, which was of white and delicately flowered satin with silk and gold embroidery of fine texture."¹⁵¹ The male costumes like *Jama* coat, *Choga* have ornamental embroidery the front and the back yoke, the shoulder, the cuff, the border and the edges of the front opening are heavily embroidered. The rest of the body is either plain and where the base fabric is *kani* style woven material or the design moves along the boundaries of the flowered pattern on the fabric. The body is covered with repetitive pattern of lobes or design along tailing stems. *Dupatta (orhni)* are unstitched garment adorned with gold embroidery. Patka made of thinner fabric. The body design is in *ari bel*, while border has repetitive floral motifs.¹⁵² The *Lehnga* is stitched by satin fabric, the embroidery is the floral pattern mainly in the gold gilded wire intercepted at places with silver cups placed in shapes of a flower.¹⁵³

Lehenga and Choli:

Though it is difficult to trace back the history, the *lehnga* is believed to have originated in the Mughal era. In the Mughal times, ladies used to wear this attire on all special occasions. During that time, it was believed that the *lehnga choli* had all the qualities that would define Indian exquisiteness in its purest form.¹⁵⁴

According to Abul Fazl, instead of drawers, some ladies wore *lehnga* stitched on both sides and fastened with a belt, which appeared to be a short under-petticoat and with no chemise was worn. Over the *lehnga* is worn the common shalice or petticoat.¹⁵⁵ In the 16th and 17th centuries, stripes were very popular patterns for these skirts. Under the Mughal influence long skirts became the fashion even if it meant hiding the foot-ornaments.¹⁵⁶ (Plate No.14)

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Chapter V

Textiles under Mughals-

The advent of the Mughal dynasty gave an undeniable boost to production of the up-market textile, as to other craft. Textiles are singled out for mentioned by Abul Fazl, the minister and biographer of Akbar (1556-1605), in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, compile in the 1590's as a subject in which the emperor took particular interest. Akbar favoured woollen garment – the chosen wear of Sufis (Muslim mystics) – ‘from his indifference to everything that is worldly’ in preference to the richer stuffs. His penchant for wool is also indicated by the steps he took to improve shawl manufacture; especially in the relation to dyes and width of fabric.¹ *Ain-i-Akbari* goes into fascinating details on the manner of classifying garments in the imperial wardrobe (*toshkhana*). The textiles were arranged according to the date of entry which was recorded, sometime with other information, on a label tacked on to the piece (practice which survived in provision *toshkhana* into the 20th century). Price, colour and weight were also taken into account. Within these boundaries, textile took precedence according to the nature of the day, astrologically auspicious or otherwise on which they were received. A further refinement took into account the colours, of which thirty five are listed in the order of precedence. Abul Fazl further records that imperial workshops had been set up in the cities of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Ahmedabad, where the best of the local craftsmen were requisitioned to supply the needs of the court.² Persian masters were brought in to teach improved techniques. It is questionable whether the Hindu weaver had much to learn from Persia in this traditional field of cotton and silk weaving. What does seem likely is that, while the shawl industry which Akbar improved may itself have been a foreign import to Kashmir by Muslim craftsmen from Turkistan as late as the 15th century.³ Whatever the impact of the Persian intervention in the technical field and *Ain-i-Akbari* states that many categories of

textile formerly imported from abroad could then be made in the royal workshops there can be no doubt that by far the greatest transformation took place in the field of design. The finest early Indian textiles were often plain, as with the clear muslins which one acclaimed in the cities of the Roman world. The garment pieces represented in Hindu-Buddhist sculptures and morals tend to be plain and geometrically patterned with chequers, stripes or chevrons, sometimes work in diagonal bands alternating with processions of *hamsas*, (sacred geese) and stylized rosettes.⁴

In medieval India there was hardly a city or town worth the name where no cloth was manufactured. The *Sabha Sr'ngara*, a literary work composed between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mentions as much as 130 kinds of textiles.⁵ The weaver produced four major types of fabrics cotton, silk, woollen and mixed. The first two were the most important. Woollen fabrics were manufactured mostly in the north-western regions close to the Himalayas (mainly shawls and blankets), as well as in the Punjab and Rajasthan.

All textiles produced in the Indian cities may be divided into two groups: (1) Luxury items for the court, nobility and commercial elite and like golden and silver brocade, choicest shawls and silks, fine and superfine muslins, brush-painted cottons, satin, velvet, gauze, etc. These fabrics are most frequent mentioned by the sources like chronicles, bardic poems, travelogues under poetic names like *ab-i ravan* (flowing water), *tanzeb* (body beauty), *meghavana* (cloud over the forest or just dark forest) so on.⁶ (2) It comprised the majority of chintzes, cheap shawls and blankets, all coarse fabrics of cotton, silk, tasar (made of wild silkworm), etc., which the sources define as “cheap,” “coarse” and “for the populace.”

At the Mughal court, textiles were extraordinarily important. The sub-continent had been known for its cotton production since Roman times, and silk weaving was well established in northern India before the Mughals arrived. Indians were also masters at printing and dyeing

cotton with colourfast dyes skills much appreciated by their trading partners. The region was a major exporter of fabrics to markets as diverse as Europe and South East Asia. The most exquisite fabrics produced in India stayed at the court and court demands for fabrics of all types drove producers to even greater heights of creativity. Akbar set up royal workshops (*karkhanas*) patterned on the workshops of the Safavid Persian court, over much of his empire. Specialized *karkhanas* produced textiles, embroidery, clothing and a whole range of other goods. Court demand for clothing and textiles were so high that the court often ordered goods from independence workshops. Indigenous textiles for the court were produced in Bengal, Gujarat and Kashmir at various Mughal capitals. Some of the most complex textiles ever made were produced during a fifty year period from the late seventeenth century into the early eighteenth century during the reign of Aurangzeb. The complexity of the weaving techniques that produced *patkas* is difficult to comprehend. Nevertheless, the skill and attention to detail needed to create such intricate double cloth weaves is truly exceptional. The court also is truly exceptional. The court also acquired textiles from many other countries, but for sheer beauty, none of the imports could outshine the local production.⁸

Undoubtedly the Mughal rulers encouraged manufacture of various items which also catered the need of the common public although the evidence on the latter is scanty. In these workshops there were produced arms and ammunition. Carriages and portable litters for the emperor, carpet mattresses, harness for the horses in the imperial stable, beds, tents, clothes, jewellery, gold and silver wares, perfumes, medicines, shawls, turbans and other metals. The articles were supplied to the various government departments at market rates. The profits were shown as the income from *karkhanas*.⁹ The following *karkhanas* were concerned with the weaving of textile fabrics and the needle work connected with them, *farrash khana* (for tents and carpets), *kurkyaraq khana* and *toshak khana* (for dresses and stuffs of all kinds used

for weaving apparel etc.), and the shawl department.¹⁰ In the workshops skilled artists and artisan worked in metal, stone, ivory and other substances, and the upper reaches of art were approached in the work of goldsmiths and painters. Each department was conducted and supervised by master workers of established reputation.¹¹

Bernier testifies his experience. He writes that within the fortress, large halls are seen in many places called *karkhanas* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall the embroiders are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another goldsmiths, in a third painters, in a fourth varnishers in lacquer work, in a fifth, jointers, turners, tailors, and shoe makers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans , girdles, with golden flowers, drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. The article of dress which lasts only a few hours may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered *karkhanas* where the workers remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and the physician of the city educates his son for a physician. No one marries but in his own trade or profession and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by the Muhammadans as by the Hindus.¹²

During the Mughal period, dresses with gold and silver embroidery were much in fashion with the royalty and the nobility. The treasures of Akbar included a wide range of stitched garments which were embellished with metal embroidery. Bernier while describing Shahjahan's appearance in the court in his accounts wrote, "*the king appeared seated upon his throne at the end of the great hall in the most magnificent attire, which was of white and delicately flowered satin with a silk and gold embroidery of fine texture.*" He also mentioned other stuffs striped with gold and silver and also turbans embroidered with gold.¹³

The following is the list of gold, silk, cotton and woollen stuffs and their prices during Akbar's age (c. 1600 A.D.):

1. Brocaded velvet from Yazd per piece (length, than) - 15 to 150 gold *muhr*
2. Brocaded velvet from Europe per piece - 10 to 70 gold *muhrs*
3. Brocaded velvet from Gujarat per piece - 10 to 50 gold *muhr*
4. Brocaded velvet from Kashan per piece - 10 to 40 gold *muhr*
5. Brocaded velvet from Herat per piece - price not known
6. Brocaded velvet from Lahore per piece - 10 to 40 gold *muhr*
7. Brocaded velvet from Barsah per piece - 3 to 70 gold *muhr*
8. Mutabbaq Brocaded from Khallukh and Turkistan - 2 to 70 gold *muhr*
9. Milak brocade per piece - 3 to 70 gold *muhr*
10. Brocaded from Gujarat per piece - 4 to 60 gold *muhr*
11. *Tas* brocade from Gujarat per piece - 1 to 35 gold *muhr*
12. *Dara 'i-baf* (brocade silk from Gujarat) - 2 to 50 gold *muhr*
13. *Muqayyash* (silk with stripes of silver from Gujarat) - 1 to 20 gold *muhr*
14. *Sherwani* brocade from Gujarat - 6 to 17 gold *muhr*
15. *Mushajjar* (silk with leaves and branches woven in it)
from Europe per *gaz* - 1 to 4 gold *muhr*
16. *Deba* (coloured) silk from Europe per *gaz* - 1 to 4 gold *muhr*
17. *Deba* silk from yazad per *gaz* - 1 to 1 ½ gold *muhr*
18. *Khara* per *gaz* - 5 *rupiya* to 2 *muhr*

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| 19. Satin from Chinese Tartary | - price not known |
| 20. <i>Nawar</i> from Chinese Tartary | - price not known |
| 21. <i>Khazz</i> silk | - price not known |
| 22. <i>Tafsila</i> (stuff from Mecca) per <i>gaz</i> | - 15 to 20 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 23. <i>Kurtahwar</i> from Gujarat per piece | - 1 to 20 <i>muhr</i> |
| 24. <i>Mindil</i> per piece | - 1 to 14 <i>muhr</i> |
| 25. <i>Chira</i> (for turbans) per piece | - ½ to 8 <i>muhr</i> |
| 26. <i>Dupatta</i> per piece | - 8 to 9 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 27. <i>Fotas</i> (loin-bands) per piece | - ½ to 12 <i>muhr</i> |
| 28. Counterpanes per piece | - 1 to 20 <i>muhr</i> |

SILK:

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| 1. Velvet from Europe per <i>gaz</i> (yard) | - 1 to 4 <i>muhr</i> |
| 2. Velvet from Kashan per piece (<i>than</i>) | - 2 to 4 <i>muhr</i> |
| 3. Velvet from Yazd per piece | - 2 to 4 <i>muhr</i> |
| 4. Velvet from Mashhad per piece | - 2 to 4 <i>muhr</i> |
| 5. Velvet from Herat per piece | - 1 ½ to 3 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 6. Velvet from Khafi per piece | - 2 to 4 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 7. Velvet from Lahore per piece | - 2 to 4 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 8. Velvet from Gujarat per <i>gaz</i> | - 1 to 2 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 9. <i>Qatifayi-I-purabi</i> per <i>gaz</i> | - 1 to 1 ½ <i>rupiya</i> |

10.	<i>Taja-baf</i> per piece	- 2 to 30 <i>muhr</i>
11.	<i>Dara 'i-baf</i> per piece	- 2 to 30 <i>muhr</i>
12.	<i>Mutabbaq</i> per piece	- 1 to 30 <i>muhr</i>
13.	<i>Sherwani</i> per piece	- 1 ½ to 10 <i>muhr</i>
14.	<i>Milak</i> per piece	- 1 to 7 <i>muhr</i>
15.	<i>Kimkhab</i> from Kabul and Persia per piece	- 1 to 5 <i>muhr</i>
16.	<i>Tawar</i> per piece	- 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>
17.	<i>Khuri</i> per piece	- 4 to 10 <i>rupiya</i>
18.	<i>Mushajjar</i> from Europe per <i>gaz</i>	- 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i>
19.	<i>Mushajjar</i> from Yazd per piece	- 1 to 2 <i>muhr</i>
20.	Satin from Europe per <i>gaz</i>	- 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i>
21.	Satin from Herat per piece	- 5 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>
22.	<i>Khara</i> per <i>gaz</i>	- 1 to 6 <i>rupiya</i>
23.	<i>Sihrang</i> (changing silk, <i>jhilmil</i>) per piece	- 1 to 3 <i>muhr</i>
24.	<i>Qutni</i> per piece	- 1 ½ <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>
25.	<i>Katan</i> (fine muslin) from Europe per <i>gaz</i>	- ½ to 1 <i>rupiya</i>
26.	<i>Tafta</i> (<i>taffeta</i>) per <i>gaz</i>	- ¼ to 2 <i>rupiya</i>
27.	<i>Anbari</i> per <i>gaz</i>	- 4 <i>dam</i> to ½ <i>rupiya</i>
28.	<i>Dari 'i</i> per <i>gaz</i>	- 8 <i>dam</i> to 2 <i>rupiya</i>
29.	<i>Sitipuri</i> per piece	- 6 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>

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| 30. <i>Qababand</i> per piece | - 6 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i> |
| 31. <i>Tat bandpuri</i> per piece | - 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 ½ <i>muhr</i> |
| 32. <i>Lah</i> per <i>gaz</i> | - 1/3 to 1/7 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 33. <i>Misri</i> per piece | - ½ to 1 <i>muhr</i> |
| 34. <i>Sar</i> per <i>gaz</i> | - 4 to 8 <i>dam</i> |
| 35. <i>Tassar</i> per piece | - 1/3 to 2 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 36. Plain <i>kurtawar</i> satin per <i>gaz</i> | - ½ to 1 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 37. <i>Kapurnur (kapurdhur)</i> per <i>gaz</i> | - 5 <i>dam</i> to 1 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 38. <i>Alcha</i> per <i>gaz</i> | - 8 <i>dam</i> to 2 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 39. <i>Tafsila</i> per piece | - 7 to 12 <i>rupiya</i> |

Cotton clothes:

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|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Khasa</i> per piece (than) | - 3 <i>rupiya</i> to 15 <i>muhr</i> |
| 2. <i>Chautar</i> per piece | - 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 9 <i>muhr</i> |
| 3. <i>Malmal</i> per piece | - 4 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 4. <i>Tansukh</i> per piece | - 4 <i>rupiya</i> to 5 <i>muhr</i> |
| 5. <i>Siri saf</i> per piece | - 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 5 <i>muhr</i> |
| 6. <i>Gangajal</i> per piece | - 4 <i>rupiya</i> to 5 <i>muhr</i> |
| 7. <i>Bhiraun</i> per piece | - 4 <i>rupiya</i> to 4 <i>muhr</i> |
| 8. <i>Sahan</i> per piece | - 1 to 3 <i>muhr</i> |
| 9. <i>Jhona</i> per piece | - 1 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i> |

10.	<i>Atan</i> per piece	- 2 ½ <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i>
11.	<i>Asawali</i> per piece	- 1 to 5 <i>muhr</i>
12.	<i>Bafta</i> per piece	- 1 ½ <i>rupiya</i> to 5 <i>muhr</i>
13.	<i>Muhmudi</i> per piece	- ½ to 3 <i>muhr</i>
14.	<i>Panchtoliya</i> per piece	- 1 to 3 <i>muhr</i>
15.	<i>Jhola</i> per piece	- ½ to 2 ½ <i>muhr</i>
16.	<i>Salu</i> per piece	- 3 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>
17.	<i>Doriya</i> per piece	- 6 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>
18.	<i>Bahadur shahi</i> per piece	- 6 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>
19.	<i>Garba suti</i> per piece	- 1 ½ to 2 <i>muhr</i>
20.	<i>Shela</i> from the Dakhin per piece	- ½ to 2 <i>muhr</i>
21.	<i>Mihirkul</i> per piece	- 3 <i>rupiya</i> to 2 <i>muhr</i>
22.	<i>Mindil</i> per piece	- ½ to 2 <i>muhr</i>
23.	<i>Sarband</i> per piece	- ½ to 2 <i>muhr</i>
24.	<i>Dupatta</i> per piece	- 1 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i>
25.	<i>Katancha</i> per piece	- 1 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i>
26.	<i>Fota</i> per piece	- ½ to 6 <i>rupiya</i>
27.	<i>Goshpech</i>	- 1 to 2 <i>rupiya</i>
28.	<i>Chhint</i> per gaz	- 2 <i>dam</i> to 1 <i>rupiya</i>
29.	<i>Gazina</i> per piece	- ½ to 1 ½ <i>rupiya</i>
30.	<i>Silahati</i> per gaz	- 2 to 4 <i>dam</i>

Woollen stuffs:

1. Scarlet broadcloth from turkey,
Europe and Portugal, per gaz - 2 ½ rupiya to 1 muhr
2. Scarlet broadcloth from Nagpur and Lahore, per gaz (*than*) - 2 rupiya to 1 muhr
3. *Suf-i-Murraba'* per piece - 4 to 15 muhr
4. *Parmnaram* per piece - 2 rupiya to 20 muhr
5. *Chira-yi-paramnaram* per piece - 2 rupiya to 25 muhr
6. *Fota* per piece - ½ to 3 muhr
7. *Jamawar-i-paramnaram* per piece - ½ to 4 muhr
8. *Goshpech* per piece - 1 ½ rupiya to 1 ½ muhr
9. *Sarpech* per piece - ½ to 4 muhr
10. *Aghri* per piece - 7 rupiya to 2 ½ muhr
11. *Parmgarm* per piece - 3 rupiya to 2 ½ muhr
12. *Katas* per piece - 2 ½ rupiya to 10 muhr
13. *Phuk* per piece - 2 ½ to 15 rupiya
14. *Durman* per piece - 2 rupiya to 4 muhr
15. *Patu* per piece - 1 to 10 rupiya
16. *Rewkar* per piece - 2 rupiya to 4 muhr
17. *Misri* per piece - 5 to 50 rupiya
18. *Burd-i-yamani* per piece - 5 to 35 rupiya

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 19. | <i>Manji Namad</i> per piece | - 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i> |
| 20. | <i>Kanpak Namad</i> per piece | - 2 <i>rupiya</i> to 1 <i>muhr</i> |
| 21. | <i>Takya Namad</i> from Kabul and Persia | - price not known |
| 22. | Country made <i>Takya Namad</i> per piece | - 1 ½ to 5 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 23. | Loin per piece | - 14 <i>dam</i> to 4 <i>rupiya</i> |
| 24. | Blanket per piece | - 10 <i>dam</i> to five <i>rupiya</i> |
| 25. | Kashmiri caps per piece | - 2 <i>dam</i> to 1 <i>rupiya</i> ¹⁴ |

Kharkhanas under the Mughals:

During Mughal period there were two forms of industrial organizations the artisan system in which the independent artisan supplied his own capital however small, his own material and his own labour in manufacture and the *karkhana* system in which the artisan worked to order in state controlled *karkhana*.

As regards imperial *karkhanas*, the emperors issued instructions to governors, officers and *Jagirdars* in the provinces to induce the best master artisans and workers in various arts and crafts from all over India to join the *karkhana*. Under Akbar, who took special interest in these *karkhanas* there were possibilities of improved design and workmanship. The manufactured articles were not intended for sale in the market but for meeting the needs of the state in the court and the camp and for distribution among the nobles, constituting the elite, and among the foreign ambassadors for presentation to brother rulers. The *karkhanas* in turn served as radiating centres of skill. Abul Fazl remarks that skilful masters and workmen settled here to teach the people an improved system. The workshops furnished all stuffs made in foreign countries.¹⁵

The royal *karkhanas* were found all over the country. Big centres were found in Kashmir, Lahore, Agra, Ahmedabad, Fatehpur and Burhanpur. The workmanship of Kashmir was renowned. Its *palkis*, bedsheets, trunks, inkstands, boxes, and spoons were used all over India. But its shawls were superb. “Great Plains has taken to manufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra and Lahore but notwithstanding every possible care they never have the delicate texture and softness of the Kashmir shawls.”¹⁶

The state *karkhanas* worked on lines of large scale industries in which the raw materials, the tools and implements, and the workshops was provided by the state. The workers who were the real producer were concerned only with wages he received and had nothing to do with the consumption of the goods produced by him. They could not develop into real commercial factories.¹⁷ The *karkhanas* cared to produce the commodities more according to the taste of the emperors which displayed the skill of the workmen. Though accounts of the costs involved in their production were properly maintained it was not a factor to decide production cost. The state had no dearth of finance and the emperors had no end to their fancy and refinement of taste. Under the circumstances these *karkhanas* could never develop into commercial industries, on the contrary their existence depended on the choice and taste of the emperors and the state requirements. As a result of this with the decline of the Mughal Empire these *karkhanas* also declined.¹⁸ The state extended its patronage to manufacture and Lahore was a great centre of handicrafts where “art or crafts was practised.”¹⁹ Elaborate arrangements were made for importing raw materials. Cloth was also manufactured by private concerns as for instance shawls and carpets at Lahore. There were more than a thousand workshops of shawls in Lahore only. A kind of shawl called *mayan* is chiefly woven which consists of silk and wool mixed. As a matter of fact it was not a regular shawl at all because it was used for *chiras* (turbans) and *fotas* (loin bands) etc.²⁰ Coarse varieties of woollen goods were also produced and 20 kinds of Lahore woollen stuffs were on sale Agra

market. The silk industry seems to have been in a flourishing state here as it turned out brocades and velvets which again were on sale in the Agra market. The cotton goods, *ormesins*, *aljaks*, embroidered goods and painted stuffs were specialities of Lahore.²¹ Ships and boats too were built here.²² Agra manufactures too turned out a variety of goods. Amongst the textiles, carpets occupy the most important place though cotton goods too were produced. Silken stuffs and very fine cloth of gold and silver were woven for turban lace or other adornments for women.²³

Beside this, brocaded velvet, silk, cotton cloth and woollen stuffs were also prepared.²⁴ Sialkot, Bajwara and Sultanpur were also famous for embroidery. Silken paper of very fine texture, white, clean and durable was produced at Sialkot. Many kind of *bafta*, *chira*, *fotah*, *sozni*, *adsaka*, table cloth, tray covers, small tents with figure were also manufactured there.

Gujarat a city of the Punjab which had soon grown up into a great industrial town by the time of the Aurangzeb became a great manufacturing centre famous for sword, jandhars and embroidery. To create demand for the home industry Akbar had ordered that “*people of certain rank must purchase certain articles*”. The value of these articles depend upon the cost-lines of the material as well as the artistic skill spent upon them, so these crafts, could not become popular in spite of the active imperial patronage.²⁵

Supplies came not only from private individual weavers and dealers but from private establishments of provincial governors or high officials. This implies that either these high officials maintained private *karkhanas* where the artisans worked under direction with materials supplied by officials themselves or that they engaged in private trade themselves procuring manufactured articles purchased from the market with the help of their agents or brokers.²⁶

In the middle of the seventeenth century the French doctor Bernier saw these factories at work during his visit to the Mughal capital.²⁷ Bernier has left an eye witness elaborated account of these *karkhanas* which he saw the growing considerably during his day in India. There is also available list of *karkhanas* in the official manuals called *dastur-ul-amals* and certain other historical work composed at the end of the seventeenth century. State factories were also maintained in provinces at Burhampur, Aurangabad and Kashmir. The state *karkhanas* manufactured goods to meet the royal demands. State was thus the biggest entrepreneur. The Mughal emperors monopolized the best skilled workers.²⁸

Centres of textiles production:

The manufacture of velvet, embroidered with gold or silver in the royal *karkhana* at Ahmedabad deserves special mention, because beautiful pavilions made up this rich material were sent from this city to the imperial court of Agra. In 1635, Sipahdar Khan who had been newly appointed as viceroy of Gujarat, forwarded to the emperor a magnificent present as *peshkash*²⁹

Silk was an old industry, Akbar evinced great interest in the production of silk and encouraged foreign artisans to improve silk-weaving. Silk yarn was also found in abundance in Kashmir, besides Bengal. The silk of Kasimbazar was yellowish like Persian and Sicilian silk, but when bleached white by the manufacturers it was like Palestinian silk. The industry progressed much under Jahangir and Shahjahan. Peter Mundy found the sale of skein silk to have been a monopoly of the governor and it has to be purchased from the kotwal of Patna.³⁰ Agra was the metropolis of northern India and that Akbar took interest in the industry, encouraged it so much that the demand in court circles was stimulated considerably and large quantities of silk cloth were requisitioned not only for royal *kharkhanas* and wardrobe but also by nobles and upper classes in the empire.³¹ In fact Akbar sought to improve the output

by his patronage: the production of foreign stuffs was studied, foreign workmen were encouraged to settle in India, silk spinning was perfected, silk weaving expanded and imperial workshops at Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur, Ahmedabad and Gujarat manufactured the materials that were imported from foreign countries.³² Gujarat was noted in the time of Akbar for the excellence of its cotton and silk goods. Abul Fazl writes of stuffs worked with gold thread and of the kinds *chirah* (a partly coloured cloth for turbans), *fotah*, *jamahwar* (flowered woollen stuff) *khara* (undulated silk cloth), and velvets and stuffs from Turkey, Europe and Persia are also produced. Other sources speak of *kimkhab*, *dopatta*, *badla*, *kurta*, embroidered cloth, *kinara*, *pagri*, and *tazeb* of Gujarat and *khassa* of the Deccan.³³ Ahmadabad was noted for its gold and silver- worked cloths and painted cloths. Pattan in Gujarat manufactured “good cotton cloths”, which were carried to “distant parts as gifts of value”. The weavers of Broach produced *baftas* which were “famous all over India, the country producing the best cotton in the world.”³⁴(Plate No.15)

Khandesh was noted for good cloth stuffs woven there, *siri saf* and *bhiram* coming from Dharmangaon, Burhanpur was famous its fine white and coloured or painted cloths, belts and gold and silver embroidered turbans. Bidar was reputed for cotton cloths embroidered with gold and silver.³⁵ Malwa ranked next to Gujarat industrially.³⁶ Abul Fazl speaks approvingly of the cloth of the best texture that was woven there, and refers to the white muslin (*mahmudi*) of Sironj, an important centre of manufacture of gold and silver embroidered cloth. It was also reputed for fine see through or transparent muslin (ab-i-Irawan or flowing water) *saIris* for use in the seraglios of the emperor and the nobles.³⁷

Mughal handloom products were of five types:

- 1 White ordinary cloth, produced in Sind, Bengal and Orissa, and exported to South Asia, the Archipelago.

- 2 Coloured ordinary and plain in texture or calicoes, bafItas or cotton cloths dyed red or blue exported to Mozambique, Abyssinia, the Phillippine Islands, Sumatra and Far East.
3. Flowered fabrics worked in gold and silver from Benaras, Ahmadabad, Bihar and Agra and exported to Asian and European countries from both coasts of India.
4. Chintz or printed used locally and also exported to Asian and European countries.
5. Muslins highly prized export.³⁸

The cotton industry, already well-established in Akbar's time continued to flourish under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. By 1627 the Gujarat export trade in calicoes came to be established. Madras calicoes became a principal item of the eastern coast exports by the end of Shah Jahan's reign. Textiles industries, particularly silk and cotton, required certain associative processes like reeling, bleaching, dyeing, printing.³⁹

Another source of extravagance was dress. It was costly both for quantity and materials- cotton, painted or plain, wool, silk, striped or plain, embroidered velvets and brocade, etc.⁴⁰

Reference made by historian Ali Muhammad Khan in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is indicative of the high reputation and primacy enjoyed by Gujarat throughout the Mughal period among all the imperial provinces not only because of the fertility of the soil but also by virtue of the excellence of its manufacturers of silk and brocade. In the province of Gujarat 'the beauty and ornament of India, all kinds of fine arts and crafts were flourishing and that the article made in the royal *karkhanas* at Ahmedabad were rich, splendid and lustrous and of proper weight.⁴¹

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Abul Fazl speaks of the existence century. He is particularly enthusiastic about the weavers' shop in which master craftsmen produced all sorts of textile. The city of Agra was renowned for its wide range of economic activities which included commerce, in land and foreign made industries and handicraft. Agra remained one of the biggest

commercial centres under the Mughals. According to Sujan Rai, author of the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, ‘article of seven divisions of the globe are bought and sold here’. Monserrate mentions that every necessity of human life could be obtained in the market of Agra including articles which have to be imported from distant corners of Europe.⁴²

Agra was not merely a trading centre. Ample evidences point to its teeming with local industries and flourishing craft. According to Abul Fazl, the masterpieces of workmanship of Agra astonished experienced travellers.⁴³ In his memoirs Jahangir says: ‘*Inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in the acquirements of crafts....*’ It was the textile industry on which the fame of Agra rested chiefly. Cotton, silken and woollen cloth of different types was manufactured in large amount.⁴⁴ Manucci mentions the manufacture of cloth of extreme fineness incorporating gold and silver threads used for turbans and laces and other adornment for women. In addition to textile the manufacture of carpets was an important industry.⁴⁵ Abul Fazl says that Akbar cared more for dress than food, employing skilled tailors for new inventions. His wardrobe was elaborate with 1000 complete suits a year, partly given away as gifts. Even Abul Fazl distributed his wardrobe among his servants every year. The dress of rich Muslims included *shalwars* or tight trousers, shirts, waist coat, long coats, (*qaba*), and cotton stuffed vests (*arcabi ek*) shawls, waist scraives (*patka*) in winter, turbans and shoes (either leather or embroidered silk). Muslim ladies also used *shalwars*, shirts, *ghagra*, *dopatta* and *burqa* and the rich used *qabas* and kashmi shawls. Hindu ladies used sari, *angiya* and also *dopatta*.⁴⁶

Craft and craftsmanship:

The period saw the emergence of several regional centres with their distinctive quality. The craftsmen who dispersed to the provincial courts, got a new boost by the introduction of *riyasati karkhanas* which replaced the early court *karkhana*. The system of *karkhanas* which

was introduced during the Mughal period was a vital economic system and after a lapse of time, this becomes rejuvenated in the provincial court under the *riyasati karkhanas* system. The *zardozi* craftsmen working at Delhi and Agra at this stage shifted to the provincial centres. Thus while the traditional *karkhanas* system was losing its roots in Delhi, it was gaining its strength in the provincial areas.⁴⁷

The craft was in existence in the pre-Islamic period. During the sultanate and Mughal periods due to patronage extended by the rulers, the craft seems to have established firm roots in India .but the fall of the Mughal Empire resulted complete dislocation of the craft tradition of the craft tradition, forcing it to shift its activities from Delhi and Agra to several provincial courts. During this period new centres like Hyderabad, Jaipur, Patiala, Rampur, Bhopal and Banaras emerged as active centres of this craft.⁴⁸

Among the most important centres of cloth printing the Gujarat towns and cities were of special significance. The very process, as practised in the seventeenth century, was described in detail by the French businessmen George Roques. The wooden blocks used by the printers were of three sorts (1) for the border with carved edges; (2) for the background – plain; and (3) various kinds for various pattern details.⁴⁹

The dyeing ingredients used by the Indian dyers and printers were of extremely high quality. To learn the Indian dyeing recipes Father Courdoux, a French Jesuit chemist, specially visited the country in the 40s of the eighteenth century. From his letters, Roques' book and other sources it is known that for making dyestuffs Indian dyers used juice and peel of lemon, lime, pomegranate, myrobalan, as well as milk, flour, alum, ochre, antimony, alkaline solutions, copper and iron vitriol, , indigo, saffron, sandal, safflower, etc.⁵⁰

Throughout medieval period the list of dyeing stuffs as well as the number of chemical agents and operation expanded: in the earlier period organic dyes prevailed, later on mineral and chemical dyestuffs began to play an important role; mordants came into use.⁵¹

In the technology of the textile production as spread in medieval Indian cities and towns the distinction between luxury goods and common demands goods is noticeable. The former kind of manufacture was distinguished by special talent, artistic taste and dexterity of the craftsmen, while the latter by a higher level of technology and productivity. As it was discussed above, the manufacture of choice fabrics was much more labour- and time-consuming-it required not *charkha* but spindle, not printing but brush painting, more complicated types of bleaching and dyeing. To make a simple sari a weaver had to work between 6 and 7 days; for a choice sari a month or more was needed. In Sindh a weaver of *lungi* (a local variety of a high quality cloth of mixed cotton and silk) could weave about 15 inches a day only.⁵² The labour required for manufacturing different types of fabrics can be judged by the cloth prices mentioned. Mirza Nathan, 17th century Mughal General, bought in Malda a piece of Muslim (Malda was famous for his kind of clothes) for Rs. 4000.⁵³ According to Abul Fazl, chintz was dozens of times cheaper than even the simplest muslins and silk, not to mention velvet, gauze and brocade.⁵⁴ Medieval period, was, not a “dark period” for the Indian textile technology. The list of Medieval innovation included *charkha*, horizontal loom with heddles and threadles, draw-loom, block-printing, silk-twisting implements, ribbon-loom, vertical-loom for carpet-making, new dyeing ingredients. It was noteworthy that in the tenth-thirteenth century textile occupied a rather modest place in the Indian export. The travelogues of this period the list of goods exported from India with spices, scents, precious stones, pearls, coral, herbs, elephant tusk, etc., The eighteenth century sources also inform about *nurdeah* who stretched and measured cloth, *raffugar* who darned the small holes and knots on the clothes and *dagh dhobi* whose job was to remove all

the stains. Apart from the abovementioned profession other craftsmen also participated in the textile production: *naqqaash* was an artist who created on paper the pattern for future fabric; *talimguru* had to sort the threads colour wise and make the interweaving scheme, *bataya*'s work was to interweave silk and golden thread; *zarbaf* was a brocade-maker; there were also embroiderers like *cikandoz*, *zardozi*. Cotton was probably produced in every part of the country both for local consumption and distant markets. Contemporary sources mentioned variety of cotton fabrics, 150 names occur in the first ten years of the English factory records¹³. There were variety of names for different types of textiles. Some were named after their place of origin, e.g., *dariabadi*, *khairabadi* etc., the east coast variety of percalles (*parkalas*), 'moorees' (*muhris*) and 'salempores'. Most varieties were produced in most places, longcloth came mainly from southern Coromandel and northern India, muslin from Deccan and Bengal (the finest from the district of Dacca), the best painted cloth from southern Coromandel and fabrics of mixed cotton and silk from Gujarat. The export varieties came mainly from four regions, the Indus Plain including Punjab and Sind, Gujarat and the west coast as far south as Kabul, the Coromandel Coast, both south and north, and Bengal.⁵⁶

Internal and external trade, royal workshop and private manufactories provided the requirements of the *haremsara*. Silk was imported from many foreign countries like China and Persia as well as produced indigenously.⁵⁷ Bernier says that the consumption of fine cloths of gold, brocades, silk, embroideries, pearls, musk, amber and sweet essence in the seraglio "is greater than can be convinced."⁵⁸ Manucci and Bernier talk in general terms, but Abul Fazl gives specific names of cottons, silk and woollen fabrics, Indian as well as those imported from "Turkey, Europe and Portugal." The well-known fabrics were Satin, Atlas, *Kimkhab*, *Khatan*, *Tafta*, *Ambari*, *Tasser*, etc. Plain and brocaded velvet (*makhmal*) was imported from Europe, Sashan, Yazd, Mashad, Herat and many other places.⁵⁹ By the time of Shah Jahan, more and more foreign stuff had begun to be imported.

Quilts and coverlets, bed sheet and pillow, were made at home. Silk quilts of Satgaon were famous. These were also prepared at Patna, Qasim Bazar, Murshidabad and Orissa.⁶⁰ Banaras silk and embroidered silk fabrics were rightly renowned. Terry says that the country, “yields good store of silk which they weave curiously, sometimes mingled with silver or gold. They make velvets and satin taffetoss” fine cotton cloth was manufactured at Delhi, Lahore, Agra, Patna, Banaras, Burhanpur, Dacca and many other places. Dacca produced prodigious quality of fine white cloth and silken stuffs.⁶¹

Clothes, embroideries, carpets, shoes, vanity boxes, items of furniture and score of other nick-nack prepared in the royal *karkhanas* and imported from abroad. European ambassadors, traders and visitors were happy to provide large and small ink glasses, gold and silver laces, fine scarlet and green broad cloths and several articles of Chinese and Japanese workmanship. The royal manufactories or *karkhanas* were spread all over the country from Kashmir, Lahore and Agra to Ahmedabad, Fatehpur and Burhanpur. The workmanship of Kashmir was renowned. Its *palkis*, bedsheets, trunks, inkstands, boxes and spoon were used all over India.⁶² But its shawl were superb. “Great plains have been taken to manufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra and Lahore but notwithstanding every possible care, they never have the delicate texture and softness of the Kashmir shawl.” Kashmir, Fatehpur and Jaunpur carpets were also famous. Woollen carpets or *qalins* were imported from Iran and Central Asia. Thick carpets were called *Pari* while *shatranji* carpets were both woollen and cotton. In short, there were “*karkhanas* in large halls seen in many places. In one hall (work) embroiderers, in the other goldsmiths, painters, varnishers, lacquer worker, joiners, tailors, turners, shoemakers, (makers of) silk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made by turbans, girdles with golden flowers and drawers worn by females. So dedicatedly fine as to wear out in one night.”⁶³

With all these items of dress and decoration , the harem-ladies knew how to live in sensual luxury, and the Mughal kings and noble knew how to provide them with this luxury. Young ladies in neck bottom dresses, having their hands painted with delicate designs of henna, laughing like wayward birds, one with the spirit of feminist, togetherness and a feeling of camaraderie. Many Mughals miniatures having recaptured the sensuous and appealing charm that have remained the hall mark of Indian ideal of feminine dresses and beauty.⁶⁴

India witnessed the beginning of a mercantile economy during the Mughal period. During Akbar's reign, Ahmedabad became a thriving centre of trade in textiles and by some accounts was one of the largest cities in the world at that time. Mughal India had a bigger industry than any other pre-colonial country of the world at that time. It was an exporter of a range of products including cotton textiles and silks.⁶⁵

Bengal textiles manufacturers were renowned around the world, however for their finely woven goods, especially muslins and other delicate cloths. The muslins were sent from Bengal to meet the substantial courtly demand in Mughal times.⁶⁶ While cloth painting and printing were not done in Bengal, embroidery was widespread, and was especially important in Bengal's trade from the mid sixteenth to seventeenth century. The fine cloths of the region were elaborately finished in number of ways. In some cases, the cloth was given a fine sheen with smooth chunk shells which were rubbed over the fabric.⁶⁷

The growing trade in calicoes and the other fabrics not only provided necessary impetus for popularising the weaving industry but also gave birth to a number of ancillary trades in this regard may be made of cotton carding, spinning, thread processing, bleaching, dying, embroidering with gold and silver threads.⁶⁸

The various categories of handicraft producers residing in towns were firstly weaver (*Julaha*) of cotton, silk and woollen clothes and those who plied allied industry, carders (*dhuhiya*),

spinners (*Katera*), processors of thread (*koli*), painters (*chitari*), embroiderers (*patwa*), dyers (*rangrez*), bleachers, workers in gold and silver thread and weaver of rough fabric.⁶⁹

Later on this technique spread in Europe from India is attested by the fact that the English word “chintz”, like, for instance, its Russian counterpart, *chintz* are both derived from the Hindi *chint*. The Indian chintzes had a tremendous market in Europe. For Moliere’s Monsieur Jourdain to get a chintzes robe was equal to entry to the most aristocratic society. In 1680 the British weavers ransacked the London headquarters of the East India Company, as the English textiles were unable to compete with the Indian fabrics, especially chintzes. The seventeenth and eighteenth century’s mercantilist works echo the widespread complaint against the Indian fabrics that ruin the British weavers.⁷⁰

Techniques of dress embroidering:

Zardozi as a technique is understood to be a distinctive style of stitching as it differs from the traditions of embroidery like *kantha*, *kasuti*, *phulkari*, etc. where the movement of the threaded needle is guided by a variety of stitches. In other embroideries, silk, cotton or woollen threads are used, which are pliable enough to move freely. However, in *zardozi*, the thread only acts as binding medium, whereas the body of the design is completed by laying varieties of metallic threads in several shapes and forms along with beads, stones, beetle wings, etc. The whole process is more indicative of applique rather than embroidery. Thus it may be called metal applique. This this is further corroborated by the fact that *zardozi* always gets payments for amount of wire stitched on the cloth by weight. They never used the work *kadai*, the Hindi word for embroidery; instead refer to it as *salme sitare ki kam ka takna* which means lying of *salma*, *sitara* on the body of the fabric.⁷¹

During the Mughal period, the court costumes of the Mughals were all made in *zardozi* work. Consequently, there grew up important centre of this craft, as the centre of court *karkhana*

shifted with the change in capital by different Mughal emperors. Akbar's court was at Agra, which was shifted to Delhi by Shahjahan, the epicentres of the Mughal culture.⁷² But court-run workshops were organised in several other places to cater to the requirement of the court, small or big. The Mughal paintings from the time of Akbar provided an illuminating picture of *zardozi* work prevalent during the time. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives the rich account of *zardozi* work in various items, particularly the shawls. The text elaborately speaks about the production of the embroideries under the *karkhana* system. It further refers to people generally wearing such shawls without altering its natural colour. His majesty had them dyed. The emperor paid much attention to craftsmanship and the genuineness of the materials. He took special care that pure gold and silver was used. All embedded textured fabrics used to give the finished products a subtle aura.⁷³

Besides garments, the Mughals adopted this craft in various other items. One of the most important objects which seem to have been decorated with *zardozi* work was the tent material. In describing the camp furnishing of the tents Abul Fazl commented about various types of tent structures viz. *Chubin*, *rawati*, *do-ashiyana manzil*, *zarhindoz*, *ajaiibi*, *mandal shamiyana*, all having inner lining of velvet brocade.⁷⁴ It is to be noted that he did not specifically mention gold embroidery, but he referred to *zardozi* tent in some places in connection with the servants. It is thus clear that the temporary structures for the emperors also had works in gold embroidery on the inner side. Looking at the rich assemblage of *zardozi* material, and on the basis of information giving Akbar's patronage, there is no doubt that the *zardozi* craft reached its highest peak during this time.⁷⁵ (Plate No.16)

Monserate also corroborates this view. It is said that the emperor used to wear garments of silk, beautifully embroidered in gold pearls and gold jewellery. The list of the official records presenting the state of things at the death of Akbar was included in De Laet Manrique's *Itinerario Itenerentens*. These were published in 1531 and 1640. Abdul Aziz reproducing these

facts states that there were 5,000,000 items with gold and silver decorations, which included tents, *kanats* etc. decorated with gold and silver covering; covering clothes for horses and elephants, cloak for every kind etc. Also various kinds of coats and equestrian ornaments, worked and embroidered with gold, silver and precious stones, including the arms borne and insignia carried before the imperial persons and those of the royal house.⁷⁶

The *zardozi* embroidery which was firmly established by Akbar in the large production system, continued to maintain its excellence during the regime of Jahangir.⁷⁷

The author of the *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh* while giving an account of craft and industries of different provinces writes, “Agra was famous for its gold and silver embroidery on turbans and Gujarat for stuffs for stuffs of gold embroidered velvet.”⁷⁸

Shahjahan’s period may be called the golden period in regard to sophistication of this craft. With the shifting of his political seat from Agra to Delhi, the court based *karkhanas* spread up in and around Delhi; the *karkhanas* then worked in full swing, and the craftsmen got patronage from all sections of rich people. As the seat of Mughal rule was shifted to Delhi, a large number of craftsmen moved to Delhi from Agra as well as other parts of the country.⁷⁹

But the period of Aurangzeb shows a turning point in *zardozi* work. Due to incessant warfare, royal resources became scarce. Besides, Aurangzeb was in favour of austere living. The court no longer patronised this art and as a result many craftsmen left the Mughal metropolis and took shelter around provincial courts.⁸⁰

Reference made by historian Ali Muhammad Khan in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is indicative of the high reputation and primacy enjoyed by Gujarat throughout the Mughal period among all the Imperial provinces not only because of the fertility of the soil but also by virtue of the excellence of its manufacturers of silk and brocades. In the province of Gujarat the beauty and ornament of India, all kinds of fine arts and crafts were flourishing and that the articles

made in the royal *karkhanas* at Ahmedabad were rich, splendid and lustrous and of proper weight.⁸¹

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Abul Fazl speaks of the existence of various state workshops in Akbar's palace at Agra at the end of the sixteenth century.⁸²

The Mughal ladies too took initiatives in the development of textiles industry. The Mughal ladies contributed to the flourishing economy of Mughal age. The needs and requirement of the Mughal ladies gave an impetus to many industries, to fulfil certain requirements of their goods were brought from foreign lands. Starting with textiles as we know the harem ladies dressed in the costliest clothes made from the finest material whether of cotton silk or wool. The muslins called *Shabnam* were famous as *Dhaka Malmal* and came from Dhaka.⁸³ The great love of Mughal ladies for silk especially in making their dresses resulted in a lot of silk being imported from foreign lands and also many parts of the country like Banaras, Bengal and Orissa.⁸⁴ Nur Jahan Begum took personal interest in textiles manufacturing, during her times and because of her encouragement in Agra there seems to have existed a whole market called Kinari Bazar where the craftsmen were engaged in the manufacture of the famous *Kimkhab* textile. The dress making and jewellery making industries got a boost under her encouragement and innovations. More and more skilled craftsmen got employed in this industrial units.⁸⁵

Textiles seem to be a flourishing trade in Mughal India. Almost all the emperors of the Mughal dynasty gave special attention for the development of it. The Mughal rulers and their royal ladies have a passion for wearing costliest and rarest materials. The textiles were brought almost from every corners of the world to fulfil their need.

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Chapter VI

Indigenous impact on Fashion Culture with Special Reference to

Rajputs-

Relation between Mughals and Rajputs:

The Mughal Rajput alliance developed during the sixteenth century in response to the political needs and interests of the two most important ruling elites in the country- the Mughal and the Rajput. The relations between the two developed in the framework of a comparatively slow expansion of the empire, and limited economic growth. This, in turn, led to interval tension which was reflected in increased religious divisiveness and of the reassertion of the principle of regional independence by the Marathas and others. These factors, as well as internal conflict among the Rajputs, had a definite impact on the evolution of Mughal Rajput relations during the period. ¹ Akbar is famous for his Rajput policy. He opened a new chapter in this direction. The Rajputs were the leaders of the Hindus in the military field and they were well-known for their bravery. No wonder Akbar, who wanted to found his Empire on the willing co-operation of the Hindus, decided to win over the Rajputs.²

The ruler of Amber, Raja Bharmal was the first one to establish friendly relation with Akbar in 1562. The younger daughter of Bharmal, Harkha Bai, (also known as Jodha Bai) was married to Akbar. Akbar gave complete religious free-dom to his Hindu wives and gave an honoured place to their parents and relations in the nobility.³

Bharmal was made a high grandee. His son, Bhagwan Das, rose to rank of 5000 and his grandson, Man Singh to rank of 7000. Akbar emphasized his special relation-ship with the Kachhawaha ruler in other ways as well. The rulers of Jaisalmer and Bikaner had also

entered in to matrimonial relations with Akbar. The only state which had stubbornly refused to accept Mughal suzerainty was.⁴

Mewar although Chittor and the plain area around it had come under Mughal domination, Udaipur and the hilly area which formed the larger part of Mewar had remained under the control of the Rana. Akbar even adopted a hardliner approach to deal with Mewar.⁵

He re-imposed Jaziya and declared war against Rana as Jihad. But his reliance on religion to tackle Mewar menace failed to yield decisive result. Then after the battle of Haldighati in 1576, Mughals could not establish their complete authority over Mewar. This clearly indicates that had Akbar not adopted a broad based, tolerant, friendly approach with Rajputs, it would not have been possible for him to control Rajasthan.⁶

By 1585-86 Akbar's Rajput policy had developed completely. His relation with Rajputs was stable and balanced by now. Rajputs were not only friends but partners in the Mughal Empire. Ain-i-Akbari lists names of 24 Rajput mansabdars. Raja Todarmal was made the head of revenue department.⁷

Akbar's Rajput policy proved extremely successful for Mughal Empire and is considered as the best examples of his diplomatic skills. He formed strong and stable empire with the help of Rajputs, a martial clan among Hindus and he could get rid of the influence of his own conspirator nobles and kinsmen.⁸

The Rajput marriage revolutionised the outlook and state policy of Akbar. He was simply amazed to note the devotional attachment of the Amber Rajputs to him. They were ever ready to lay down their lives for the personal protection of Akbar and the honour of the Mughal throne. Akbar won over their love and services beyond all contemplations. Akbar too adopts a rational approach to the problem of Hindu subjects, especially the Rajputs. Many Rajputs were taken into the Mughal service. Many were created Mansabdars. The

Jizya was abolished. Pilgrimage tax was also abolished. Everything was done to remove the feeling among the Rajputs that they were being discriminated against. It was this policy of reconciliation towards the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular which enabled Akbar to conquer the whole of Northern India and a part of the Deccan.⁹

Jahangir continued Akbar's policy of establishing personal relation with the Rajput rajas by entering into matrimonial relation with them. He had already a Kachchawaha princess, Mani bai, the daughter of Raja Bhagwant Das and a Jodhpur princess, the daughter of Mota raja Udai singh, in Akbar's lifetime (1585). Princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer had also been married to him. After his accession, he contracted a number of other marriages in Rajput ruling houses, including one with the daughter of ram Chandra Bundela and another with the daughter of Jagat Singh Kachchawaha, the eldest son of Raja Man Singh. All this marriages were contracted while Mewar was still defying the Mughals. Once Mewar had submitted and the alliance with the Rajput had attained a measure of stability, matrimonial alliances between the Mughals and the Leading Rajput states became less frequent.¹⁰

Early in Jahangir's reign, Shah Jahan was married to Bai Lilawati, granddaughter of Raja Gaj Singh and daughter of his son Rao Sakat Singh. There is no other recorded marriage of Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb with the daughter of the leading Rajput houses. It would appear that marriages between members of the Mughal ruling house and the leading Rajput houses had a limited political purpose which had been largely fulfilled by the time Mewar made its submission. While the marriage did lead to cordial relations between the Mughals and the leading Rajput houses, they were entered into subsequently on rare occasion except in anticipation of an impending struggle for power.¹¹

The practice of giving Hindu princesses to Muslim kings in marriage was known much before Akbar's time, but in most cases these marriages did not lead to any stable relations

between the families involved, and the women were lost to their families and did not return after marriage.¹²

However, Akbar's policy of matrimonial alliances marked a departure in India from previous practice in that the marriage itself marked the beginning of a new order of relations, wherein the Hindu Rajputs who married their daughters or sisters to him would be treated on par with his Muslim fathers-in-law and brothers in-law in all respects except being able to dine and pray with him or take Muslim wives. These Rajputs were made members of his court and their daughters' or sisters' marriage to a Muslim ceased to be a sign of degradation, except for certain proud elements who still considered it a sign of humiliation.¹³

The Mughal Harem consists of women of different races including the Rajputs. The emperors especially Akbar, allowed his Hindu wives to practise their own faith inside the harem. Akbar also celebrated Muslim and Hindu festivals in his court.¹⁴ The celebration of the Hindu festivals, Holi, Rakhi, Dussehra and Diwali along with the various Eid's became regular feature at the imperial court. Several paintings of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's period depict the scattering of colours in the court and the palace in His Majesty's presence.¹⁵ (Plate no.17)

In Hindu festivals Akbar even wore the '*tilak*,' the red forehead spot, mark of a Hindu who has fulfilled his rites. He altered the style of his turban to a Rajput one, adopted much of the Rajput style of dress, just as he tried to persuade the Muslim ladies of the harem to wear, for coolness sake, the short bodice, bare midriff and the light gauzy skirts and veil of Hindu women. The Timurid descended ladies indignantly refused and kept to the customs of their mothers and grandmothers, but it might indeed have been these, to her, grievous deviations of her revered Emperor that, in 1576, made Gulbadan decide to make the haj.¹⁶

The air would have been scented, probably with ambergris or sandalwood or aloe wood in case the emperor came- Akbar was fond of scent. Incense burner would have been lit at evening 'against insects and any possible vulgar food smells. Outside, on the steps, row of patterns, or even slippers, may have been dropped so that the maids and eunuchs could come together and go silently barefoot; and there would have been a garden of flowers, the brilliance of bougainvillea, of oleander, roses, the gentle blue of plumbago, in spirit narcissi and, of course, a fountain splashing into a pool.¹⁷

Rajputs became the Generals of the Mughal armies and were rewarded by way of revenue and land and as revenue and land passed through the generations, so did family loyalty to Mughal rule. Ceremonial and secular patronage also played a part in the connection between Mughal and Rajput with an elaborate array of, 'non-Islamic symbols to reward and promote solidarity in the heterogeneous cavalry which served them. This they had quite thoroughly done by the end of the sixteenth century. Men were rewarded with the personal robes of the Emperor, turban jewels, swords, horses and decorated quivers, never with Koran's. Through military service, marriage and patronage, the Rajputs emerged as a caste whose loyalty was to Mughal court. Akbar, one of the so-called 'grand Mughals' married a Rajput princess making his son and eventual successor Jahangir half Rajput. In turn, Jahangir's son Shah Jahan was also a son of a Rajput mother. Nehru refers to this period as 'Mughal-Rajput cooperation' and suggests that racially this 'Turk-Mongol dynasty became far more Indian than Turk or Mongol.... The Mughal nobility became progressively Indianized and the Rajputs and others were influenced by Persian culture'.¹⁸ It is these changes, some of which occurred towards the end of the Mughal period, but continued throughout the Raj period, changed the way Hindus and Muslims viewed themselves and each other.¹⁹

The Rajput character has been described by Tod in glowing terms. The Rajput race is the noblest and proudest in India, they are of highest antiquity and purest descent, they have a

military autocracy of a feudal type and brave and chivalrous, keenly sensitive to an affront and especially jealous of the honour of their women.²⁰

Mingling of dress between Mughals and Rajputs:

Dress- It were useless to expatiate on dress, either male or female, the fashion varying in each province and tribe, though the texture and materials are everywhere the same: cotton in summer, and quilted chintz or broadcloth in winter. The ladies have only three articles of parure; the *ghaghra*, or 'petticoat', the *kanchuli*, or 'corcet'; and the *doppatta*, or 'scarf', which was used to cover the upper part of the body as well as used as a veil. The other items were the *lugdi*, the medieval version of a sari, *angarli* and *kamcholi* types of blouses. Earlier the blouse was tied at the back with strings in order to keep the breasts in place. Later under Mughal influence blouses with front openings came in vogue. Ornaments are without number. For the men, the trousers of every shape and calibre, a tunic girded with a ceinture, and a scarf, form the wardrobe of every Rajput. The turban is the most important part of the dress, and is the unerring mark of the tribe; the form and fashion are various, and its decoration differs according to time and circumstances. The *balaband*, or 'silken fillet', was once valued as the mark of the sovereign's favour, and was tantamount to the courtly "orders" of Europe. The colour of the turban and tunic varies with the season; and the changes are rung upon crimson, saffron, and purple, though white is by far the most the common. Their shoes are mere slippers, and sandals are worn by the common class. Boots are yet used in hunting or war, made of chamois leather, of which material the warrior often has a doublet, being more commodious, and less oppressive, than armour. The dagger or poniard is inseparable from the girdle.²¹

The men wore a *dhoti*, termed the loin cloth by the British, and a loose fitting, long, shirt or *angarkhah*. A peculiar feature of the shirt was that it was double breasted and the two lapels

were secured by pieces of coloured strings or chords. These were always on the left side in case of Rajputs. The simplicity of dress of the earlier rulers gave way under the influence of the Mughals and the nobility took to a short coat, closed at the neck, called the *achkan* with a central row of buttons and tight fitting *pajamas*. The coats were embroidered with threads of gold and silver. The cloth used was wool, silk or muslin. Both men and women wore shoes, or rather slippers, which were made of leather with a peculiar curved toe. The richer classes had their shoes made from tiger, panthers and antelope skins and ornamented with gold and silver.²² (Plate No.18)

The famous head dress of the Rajputs was the turban, *pagdi* or *safa*. In fact going about without a head dress-a *safa* or veil- *ghunghat* was concerned as an ill omen. The turban came in many lengths and was tied with slight variations by different clans and known by different names such as *Bundi Shahi*, *Udai shahi*.²³

Royal Dressing:

The Royals of the state had their own distinctive style of dressing. The turbans are larger and often have jewels or feathers attached to them to signify their stature. To tackle the mammoth task of tying the royal turbans, professional *Pagribands* were employed. Specialized departments such as *Rangkhana*, the *Chhapakhana* and the *Siwankhana* were deployed by the princely states to attend to the dyeing, printing and tailoring of the textiles forming part of the royal wardrobe. The *Toshak khana* and looked into the everyday attire of the royal family while the *Kapaddwadra* looked into their dresses on festive and formal occasions.²⁴ The Rajputs, due to their close association with the Mughal courts adopted the Mughal styles of clothing and preferred richly embroidered brocades and silks from Benares. Exquisite Kashmir shawls and pashminas replaced the local Dhabla in their wardrobe.²⁵ The Hindus and Muslim generally put a virtually the same dress and only marked of difference was that

whereas the Muslims tied the strings of their coats on the right side, the Hindus did it on the left.²⁶

Persian dress was worn by Muslims, but during Akbar's time Rajput dress was adopted.. the Mughal Turban different from the contemporary *bakharama* type is not having loose fringed ends sticking out on both sides. The Indian coat or *angarkha*, fastened at the side as in China, was different from the Persian gown that buttoned down the front and fitted loosely.²⁷

A garment seen in the paintings from the Akbar's period but rarely depicted in latter periods was called *chakdar jama* . it may be derived from the Rajput court's *takauchiah*. The *chakdar jama* was shaped much like the standard Mughal *jama* except that the skirt fell in four to six long points instead of in the circular hem of *jama*.²⁸

The impact of Mughal culture on Rajasthan was limited and confined to the court nobility and upper section of the official class, in the religious and cultural life the rulers and the people adhered to a great extent to their traditional beliefs and customs, but their court life, formalities and manners and upper section of the official class, but their court life, formalities and manners were influenced by the Mughals. The Mughal influence came not all at once but it penetrated slowly and gradually and was adopted after long resistance in most parts of Rajasthan but the new pattern gathered round it the traditions of the past, and was stamped with a form that was unique and interesting. Thus when we speak of the Mughal influence in dress we mean not alone of what the Mughals gave to Rajasthan but also what had evolved out of the contact of the two important and prominent races, the Mughals and the Rajputs. But when many of the rulers of Rajasthan entered into alliances with the Mughals emperors and began attending the Mughal court and exchanging presents, they gradually adopted the Mughal dress.²⁹ The portraits of Vijay Singh of Jodhpur and Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur in full dress with trousers, *Patka*, *chakdar jama* and crested turban with flat folds depicts the dress

worn by rulers of Rajasthan in the later parts of our period. (Plate no.20). The female dress, as *sari*, bodice and *petticoat* remained the basic dress after the traditional fashion in Rajasthan. But after Mughal contact it underwent some changes. There were now long bodice, short *sari* and *petticoat* at several folds. This kind of evolution in dress and ornaments of male and female was a result of frequent mixing of the two people of royal status.³⁰

The picturesque and graphic description by the poet Bihari was given a visible form in Mewar paintings especially by means of decorations such as the use of Bindia, Anrag, Tika and *Tilak* between the eye- brows, *Mehandi* on toes and fingers. The style of wearing pagri and *jama* in Chavand Rigmala set led some scholars to trace the Mughal influence on this pictures.³¹ (Plate no.20). However it is to be taken into consideration that this style of wearing is typically Indian in origin which was even adopted by the emperor Akbar himself. The costumes had lost its wider appreciation since the time of Humayun. The prevalence of this type of dress in Mewar does not bear Mughal influence but shows the developed form of the dresses. The stringed coat came into prominence with the influence of Rajput and Mughal styles. A long skirt like coat with strings was a dress worn by middle class people and also farmers. In the paintings belonging to the 16th century the use of turban, scarf, tunic, *patka*, *kamarband* and dhoti is found to be the main dress of the people in Mewar area. The dresses of the upper castes were more fine and costly while those of the lower castes were made of cheap and rather rough.³² (Plate No.21)

After sixteenth century we see a change in the dress pattern mainly due to fact that Maharana Karan Singh exchanged his turban with that of Shahjahan which was a form of establishing brotherhood. Thus, the Mughal turban entered the domain of art after this event. This style of turban was in use during the reign of Maharana Jagat Singh-I, Raj Singh and Jai Singh. Maharana Amar Singh II had evolved a new design of *Pagari* and was known as *Amarshahi-pag* which was a little shorter than the Mughal turban and remained in use upto the reign of

Maharana Raj Singh II. The turban of Maharana Ari Singh bears a close resemblance to the Bundi design.³³ When the Rajput Kingdoms were conquered by the Mughals, starting with Amber captured by the Emperor Akbar in 1562, the Rajput states gradually came under Mughal rule, with the ancient kingdom of Mewar the last of the Rajasthani kingdoms to fall in 1615. Many of the Rajput rulers were given high military rank in the Mughal army, and further ties were forged through the Mughal policy of inter-marriage with the Rajput royal houses. The Rajasthani Rajas thus started to attend the Mughal court and to assimilate many aspects of court culture, which they then took back with them to their own places. From palace architecture to dress and miniature painting, Mughal ideas and aesthetics blended with local styles to form a new post Mughal Rajput culture.³⁴

The situation was somewhat different in the Pahari region which, unlike Rajasthan, was geographically remote from the centres of Mughal power and was less strategically important to the Mughals nevertheless, the Hindu Pahari rulers had also accepted Mughal rule by the early seventeenth century and likewise incorporated aspects of Mughal painting – including portraiture – into their local styles.³⁵

The realist depiction of courtly life was already taking place at the Mughal court by the end of the sixteenth century, and high-ranking Rajputs were themselves depicted in many of these paintings.³⁶

The Mughal style carried started dwindling everywhere: in the ‘provinces’ as much as at the Rajput court. Local terms for objects and fashions which were called differently at the Mughal court were of course in use, most interesting mixes of languages and terminologies occurring. Consider this verbal description of an 18th century painting of the Jaipur ruler, Sawai Pratap Singh, by the artist Jivan, taken from a state inventory. (Plate no. 22).

The term of special interest in this entire description of “*phenta dupatta*” which could mean either a *phenta* and a *dupatta*; or a *phenta* of two widths/double-folded. Both rendering could be valid: for a *phenta* was often worn with a matching *dupatta* or scarf; and a *phenta* could be worn of two widths or double-folded. In either case, one note that the word used in the description *phenta*, no *patka*, although quite obviously the matter is meant. Whether this was common usage at Rajasthani courts is not known; thus far we have used it for the garment consisting of two narrow strips worn by women with a *peshwaz*.³⁷

Of uncommon interest are *patkas* that one hardly sees at the Mughal court. A fine, and altogether exceptional, piece is the *patka* worn by Maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar as he moves, seated on horseback, with a whole entourage of companions and courtiers. It is a figurative *patka*, with an extremely daintily rendered scene of a landscape with men and animals moving around in it adorning one of the panels on an end that falls in front. Every detail is clear, every little object in perfect place. The scene is in all likelihood embroidered, which, in itself, would make the garment unusual, for the rest of it seems to be silk brocaded with silk threads and gold *zari*. The refinement of the piece, and the suddenness with which the eye alights on this little detail in the *patka*, are thing for which one is more or less unprepared.³⁸

The Mughal rule began in India during the 16th century and subsequently, the art of jewellery-making flourished throughout this era. Wearing expensive jewellery marked one’s position.

The emperors and empresses as well as courtiers and other people of high ranks were adorned with heavy jewellery beset with huge stones and beads. Various jewellers were hired privately to create magnificent jewellery pieces for the royal family and other important people. Rajasthan, the north-west state of India, served as an exclusive hub for jewellery-

making. The Mughal royalty often formed alliances with the Rajput rulers and married Rajput princesses.

As a result, the Mughal jewellery was further influenced by the Rajputs and thus began the fine combination of Rajput quaint craftsmanship and Mughal delicate artistry. Some Mughal jewellery pieces were also influenced by the 17th century Europe.

The Rajput Mughal relation not only blended the cultural and political sphere but also mark its impression on the fashion and artistic sphere of life. The Rajput and Mughals exchanged their life styles and gave a new world of fashion which can be seen even after many years of Mughal rule.

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Chapter VII

Mughal society through the lens of fashion culture-

Mughals lived a life of luxury. Their palaces in which they lived were fabulously made. They had many wives. They were very fond of music and dance, food and especially beautiful and costly costumes. They had big gardens and pools in their palaces. They really lived like kings as kings should. But Babur and Humayun led a very turbulent life. They move from one battleground to the other and could not settle down to a peaceful life. It was Akbar who founded the institutions which determined the course of the life of his descendants.¹ The Mughals did not have family life in the right sense of the term if we wish to put it. The legally married wives, concubines and slave girls, young and beautiful, who were numerous in count, were attached to the emperor's bed. The emperor alone presided over the *harem* like the golden cock among his gilded hens.² (Plate no.23)

Wives of Mughal Emperors:-

An extremely important place in the Mughal harem was occupied by emperor's wives. All the Mughal emperors had many wives but all the wives did not enjoy the same equal status. Only the chief queen and other prominent queens lived in big Mahals and enjoyed great luxuries.³

The chief queens of Babur, the founder of Mughal dynasty, as recorded by Gulbadan begam, were- Ayisha Sultana Begam, Zainab Sultana Begam, Maham Begam, Masuma Sultan Begam, Gul-rukh Begam, Dildar Begam and Bibi Mubarika. The Afghan lady among them who was Humayun's mother, Maham Begam, was the chief queen. Humayun's wives were Bega Haji Begam, Hamida Banu Begam Akbar's mother, Gunwar Begam, Shad Bibi, Khanish Agha Khwarizmi and Mah-Chuchak Begam.⁴

Akbar's Wives- The wives of Akbar's are Ruqaiya Begam, Salima Sultan Begam (previously the wife of Bairam khan and after Bairam khan's assassination she was accepted as Akbar's wife), Rajput princess of Amber Jodha Bai (also known as Harka Bai), daughter of Raja Bihari Mal.⁴ Other Rajput wives were: daughter of Kanhan, the brother of Rai Kalyan Mal of Bikaner,⁵ daughter of Rawal Har Rai of Jaisalmer,⁶ and sister of Rana Udai Singh of Marwar,⁷ the princess of Merta and Dungarpur,⁸ he also married Bibi Daulat Shad, and daughters of Abdullah khan Mughal and Miran Mubarak Shah of Khandesh.⁹

Jahangir's wives- The wives of Jahangir were Man Bai, daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amer,¹⁰ daughter of Rai Singh of Bikaner,¹¹ Jodh Bai or jagat Gosain daughter of Mota raja or Udai Singh of Marwar,¹² Raj Kumari Karamsi, the daughter of Keshav Das Rathor,¹³ daughter of Jagat Singh,¹⁴ daughter of Rawal Bhim,¹⁵ Kanwal Rani the daughter of the ruler of little Tibet,¹⁶ daughter of Ram Chandra Bundela,¹⁷ others were Sahib-i-Jamat, the daughter of Khwaja Hassan, Nur-un-Nisa Begam, sister of Muzaffar Hussain, Saliha Banu daughter of Qasim Khan, daughter of Mubarak Chak and Hussain Chak of Kashmir,¹⁸ and finally Mehur-Nisa, the famous Nurjahan Begum.¹⁹

Shahjahan's wives- The wives of Shahjahan includes daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safawi, the daughter of Nur Jahan's brother Asaf Khan, Arjumand Banu Begam (known as Mumtaz Mahal) and daughter of Shahnawaz Khan.²⁰

Aurangzeb's wives- Aurangzeb had four wives, Dilras Banu Begam, Aurangabadi Mahal, Nawab Bai, and Udipuri Mahal.²¹

Harem of the Mughal Emperors:

The Harem conjures of the vision of a sequestered place ensconcing beautiful female forms in mysterious magnificence. It was indeed made so by the Mughal Emperor Akbar during his long reign of half a century. He brought in a large number of inmates to adorn it. He provided

them all luxuries and made elaborate arrangements for their seclusion and security. During the time of his successor Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb the Mughal Harem attained the peak of excellence.²² Each night he visited a particular wife or Mahal and was received warmly by the wife and slaves who dressed for the special occasion, seemed to fly rather than run about their duties. In hot weather, they undressed the husband and rubbed his body with pounded sandalwood and rose water or some other scented or cooling oil. Some slaves chafed the master's hands and feet or sang, played music or danced. The wife sat nearby all along. In the evening, they drank a great deal of wine for the women learnt the habit from the husbands and drinking had become fashionable in the last few years. The husband sat like this until midnight, until drink or passion sent him to bed. Then if one of the pretty slave girls caught his fancy, he called her and enjoyed her, his wife not daring to show any signs of displeasure, though she would take it out on the girl later.²³ No doubt the harem is the relaxing and merrymaking place for the emperors; they paid special attention for the security of the harem where the ladies of all races live together. The security of the harem which was a very sensitive matter was in the hands of faithful and absolutely trustworthy eunuchs, known as *khwaja Sara*. They were castrated or emasculated men who were employed customarily in women's quarter. The Mughals used the title, *Khwaja Sara* respectfully for the keeper, incharge or superintendent of their harem. Precisely, it was the title of the administrative officer of the harem who regulates its supplies of stores, salaries and stipends and kept its account, fixed duties of the servants and maintained perfect discipline.²⁴

Meena Bazaar

During the Mughal era Meena Bazaars, also known as *Kush Ruz* (Day of Joy) were exclusively held for women, while the emperor and a few princes were the only males present.²⁵

The Bazaars took five to eight days during the *Nauroz* (New Year) festival. Emperor Humayun was the first to organize them, but Akbar and his successors made them more elaborate. The fair was closed for the public, while the women of the harem, Rajput ladies and the wives and daughters of the noblemen in the court, set up their own stalls to sell cloth, jewellery, handicrafts etc. Only the emperor, princes and some nobles were allowed to enter the bazaar to purchase the goods, which were sold at high prices.²⁶ The ladies of the harem and other women attended it and there was brisk buying and selling. The king used such days to select articles which he liked and also fixed prices of the things. He utilised this occasion also to scrutinise the affairs of the harem people, and to arrange marriages of boys and girls.²⁷ This custom is said to have been borrowed by the Mughals from the Turkisthan and Transoxiana where such bazaars were held once or twice a week in every village, but there women as well as men participated in buying and selling.²⁸

The *Meena bazaar* was an exclusively women's affair and not open to the general public. Beautiful stalls were set up by the royal ladies and other harem women and also the wives and daughters of the nobles, who acted as traders, to sell a variety of commodities ranging from handicrafts, jewellery, clothes, brocades, fruits, flowers, etc. The commodities were sold at high prices and the return went for the charitable purposes. A lot of bargaining was done in this bazaar, the women who sold these articles were very charming and beautiful, and quite skilled at the art of conversation and therefore became good sellers.²⁹ *Meena bazaar* was held by his successors also. Jahangir is recorded to have held meena bazaar inside the fort (of Agra) at night. It was a private affair, exclusive to the ladies of the harem, around which many a romantic tale was woven. Like a village *hath* or *painth*, it was a weekly fair and the surprising feature is that it was held regularly in tents even when the king was travelling and living in camp. Shah Jahan continued to follow the custom. This is how it was institutionalised. Certainly it provided an occasion to purchase clothes, ornaments, cosmetics

and other things of their daily needs and to while the time in shopping. During the time of Shah Jahan these bazaars were even more *une affaire de grandeur*.³⁰

Celebration of *Nauroz*:

It is a court function; the participation of harem ladies was incidental. The celebration of *nauroz* or the New Year's Day was borrowed from Persia and was the greatest festival in the Mughal era. It marked the advent of spring and was held on 20th or 21st march, the first month of the Persian year.³¹ It was the greatest festival during the Mughal times and was celebrated for nineteen days.³² Most chroniclers and many foreign travellers have described the gaiety and splendour of the festivities when "wine flowed in rivulets, verse and ode flew in hundreds, gaiety and merriment ruled everything", while dance and music thrilled the hearts of all.³³ Preparations for the festival were made months ahead, the palaces, porticoes, gardens, private and public audience halls and even the market places were richly decorated. The common people also decorate their houses and wore good clothes.³⁴ Musicians and nautch girls thrilled the audience by their performances. The festival of *nauroz* was introduced by Akbar and continues till it was abolished by Aurangzeb on grounds of his religious orthodoxy.³⁵

Emperor's Birthday:

The Emperor's birthday was another extremely joyous occasion at the Mughal court. On this day the emperor was weighed against some precious metals and commodities in imitation of the Hindu fashion. Humayun was the first Mughal emperor to adopt this custom of weighing.³⁶ Akbar celebrated both his solar and lunar birthdays on these days the weighing ceremony formed an important part of festivities.³⁷ Akbar's regulation about weighing continued under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Most of the foreign travellers witnessed the brilliance of this ceremony and have written about it.³⁸ Sir Thomas Roe's description may be

quoted at some length in evidence. “*The king’s birthday and the solemnity of his weighing to which I went----- was carried into a very large and beautiful garden, where was prepared the scale, being hung in large trestles, and a cross-beam, the seals of massy-----, here attended the nobility, all sitting about on carpets and ladies watched from behind the curtains. The king appeared clothed, or rather laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious. He was weighed with gold and jewels and distributed among the poor*”.³⁹

Marriage ceremony:

Marriages of the Emperor and other members of the Mughal royal used to be celebrated in extreme grandeur and amidst gaiety and merry making. In such occasion, the royal ladies had an important role to play. The royal marriages were usually arranged by the emperor, even in the case of love matches. But the entire responsibility of arranging the feasts and festivities depended on important royal ladies of the Mughal harem. Marriages were celebrated lavishly.⁴⁰ Betel leaves were given as a mark of acceptance of proposal by the elders of the bride’s family. The *heenabandi* ceremony was performed next in which henna was applied on the bridegroom’s hands and feet by the harem ladies.⁴¹ Then came the day of actual wedding. On the day of the wedding princes and nobles went to the groom’s place to offer him wedding presents. Then a magnificent procession was taken out where the groom mounted an elephant and was followed by important men, some on decorated horses and some on foot, till the procession reached the *Diwan-i-Aam* (Hall of Public Audience). The emperor himself tied on the groom’s forehead the *sehra* made of pearls and gems. Then the marriage procession started for the bride’s place where they were cordially received and at an auspicious hour the marriage was performed by the Qazi in front of the emperor. Finally gold and silver coins and gems were showered on the newly wedded couple.⁴² One of the grand

Mughal royal family marriages was that of Shahjahan's eldest son Dara Shukoh with Nadira Begam, the daughter of Prince Parvez, another son of Jahangir.⁴³ (Plate no.24). Mughal history is quite abundant with stories of grand marriages like that of Aurangzeb to Dilras Banu Begam and marriage of Dara's daughter Jani Begam to Sultan Azam, son of Aurangzeb.⁴⁴

Coronation of the emperor:

Another grand festive was when a new king comes to the throne. The king did not let the coronation ceremonies lack any sort of grandeur or gaiety. The coronation festivities usually continued for about a week. The palaces, gardens, market places and other public places were grandly decorated. Fireworks were displayed at night. Tournaments in archery were also organised. Jagirs were given to the nobles, the chief ladies of the harem also became the recipients of a lot of money and valuables.⁴⁵

Purdah system:

Purdah meant living in seclusion or behind a screen or at least covering off the face by a veil. The lives of harem ladies were governed by strict rules of purdah. These ladies usually did not have the liberty to move out but well hidden behind veils. But inside the harem they could move around as they pleased. They were also provided with various kinds of luxuries and comforts. The daily life in the harem was full of gaiety and mirth.⁴⁶ During the Mughal era all Mughal emperors emphasized on the enforcement of purdah but Akbar made a regulation to which Badaoni refers, "And if a young woman was found running about the lanes and bazaars of the town and while so doing either did not veil herself or allowed herself to be unveiled she was to go to the quarters of prostitutes and take up the profession". Young girls were directed by their elders to seclude themselves from the eyes of strangers.⁴⁷ According to Manucci and Berneir, who once came as physicians in the harem gave in their accounts that

the ladies in the harem led lives of great comfort in their accounts that the ladies in the harem led lives of great comfort, luxury and materialistic pleasure. They lived in a grand apartments luxuriously furnished, with lovely gardens, fountains, tanks and water channels attached to them. They wore beautiful and expensive clothes made from the finest material and adorned themselves with jewellery from top to toe.⁴⁸ Whenever the ladies moved outside their palaces they put on veils, usually white in colour, which covered their faces,⁴⁹ they seldom travelled on foot, they mostly travelled in covered palanquins with several servants and eunuchs surrounding them on all sides. They also travelled in covered howdahs on elephant backs, *chaudoles* and sometimes in carriages covered on all sides to maintain purdah. When a lady rode an elephant, the animal was made to enter a tent near the palace gate and the mahout covered his face with a cloth so that he was unable to see the princess when she entered into the covered howdah.⁵⁰ Whether the ladies travelled in palanquins, *chaudoles*, howdahs or carriages, proper care was taken to hide them from the view of the people outside and they became almost inaccessible to the sight of man.⁵¹ Not only outside the palaces but also within the palaces the Mughal ladies followed strict purdah. No one at the court was allowed to see the women housed except the emperor and few selective relatives.⁵² The men having this special privileges included the fathers and brothers of the royal ladies living inside, they too could meet the women only in the presence of her husband.⁵³ Roe writes about Jahangir and his wives that “No man enters his house but eunuchs; his women were never seen”.⁵⁴ But from the strict core of purdah system, Nur Jahan broke the purdah convention and did not mind to come out in public. But the majority of the women were deprived of this opportunity for this even painting of Mughal ladies were rare because of strict purdah.⁵⁵

Status of girl child:

The daughters of the Mughal family or the Mughal princesses occupied places of great honour in the seraglio. The birth of a girl in those days was less welcomed than that of a boy. But the Mughal emperors loved their daughters a lot and made the best arrangement for their education and cultivation of their talents. They were brought up in great luxuries and had for themselves available all the exclusive material things that life needed. But, many of them, especially after Akbar's time onwards, remained unmarried. Many writers and foreign travellers like Manucci have blamed Akbar for starting this tradition, but many scholars do not agree to this theory because Akbar got his sister and daughters married off to eligible men.⁵⁶ What he disapproved was marriage between first cousins.⁵⁷ Even by the time of Shah Jahan, certain restraints on the marriage of princesses is seen. Probably this was done to limit the contenders to the throne. But Aurangzeb got some of his daughters and nieces married to first cousins. Apart from this one factor, the Mughal princesses had almost everything they wanted including the love of their father and brothers. Shah Jahan's love for his eldest daughter Jahanara is well-known. So did Aurangzeb loved his eldest daughter Zeb-un-Nisa, till she became a threat to his policies and his throne.⁵⁸

Etiquette and court manners of the Mughal:

In a social milieu where status rather than wealth was the ruling concern, etiquette reflected an reinforced hierarchies. The Mughal court etiquette had a long lineage behind it, although the Iranian prototype, especially the *Sasanid*, seems to have been the primary inspiration. Many of the court rituals and norms of conduct, especially the notion of a visible imperial majesty and grandeur. Among those replicated in the Mughal court were: prostration before the Emperor or his throne; kissing his feet or any other limb, the hand in particular; several forms of salutation by bending from the waist downwards; and the custom of distribution of

gifts, titles and in particular; several forms of salutation by bending from the waist downwards; and the custom of distribution of gifts, titles and offices on special occasions such as royal birthdays, or festivals.⁵⁹ There were several levels of etiquette within the court, where concessions could be granted by the king but infractions of the norms led to severe punishments; within the royal family, where age, relationship, and gender were important factors. *Kornish* and *Taslim* have been mentioned by Abul Fazl the recognized odes of salutation to the king. *Kornish* consisted in placing the palm of the right hand on the forehead and bending down the head. While offering *Taslim*, the person placed the back of his right hand on the ground, raise it slowly till he stood erect when he put the palm of his hand on the top of his head.⁶⁰ Akbar issued orders that *Taslim* should be repeated thrice. *Taslim*, however, became common mode of greeting among nobles during the succeeding reigns but Aurangzeb forbade it in April 1670 and introduced *Salam-alekum* instead. Akbar, the founder of Din-illahi, introduced another salutation called *Sijdah*, perhaps at the insistence of his friends admirers and disciples.⁶¹ As it consisted in bowing down the forehead to the earth, it was looked upon as man-worship by the orthodox. Akbar thought it wise to forbid this practice in *Darbar-i-Am* but allowed it in private assemblies. The custom appears to have been continued during the reign of Jahangir when the subjects prostrated themselves before the king in grateful return for any royal favours conferred on them and also on receipt of royal mandates⁶²

Within the family the mother and elderly aunts are shown the greater courtesy with titles and offices on special occasions such as royal birthdays, or festivals. Many Mughal miniatures open a window on the formatting of etiquette over time. Many paintings of Shah Jahan's court are marked by the display of overpowering grandeur, order and immutability. A very large number of courtiers, richly attired, each standing in the exact spot assigned to him

according to his rank and all of them in the same erect posture, eyes fixed on the Emperor's face.⁶³ (Plate no.25)

Period of experiment and innovation:

The knowledge of India's ancient dress is based on works of art, such as sculptures and paintings that survived over time. Since this art was almost always financed and created for the pleasure of the upper classes, our picture of ancient India's clothing is primarily the dress of the royals and their deities. Members of the subcontinent are vast and varied regional groups wear, and have worn, clothing and ornaments designed to clearly define their status in Indian society. Two garments predominant in India: the dhoti for men, and the sari for women. These items of clothing have been the basis of Indian costume from as early as the second century B.C., and probably date back even further to pre historical times. Clothing styles of the Indian subcontinent underwent a major change in the twelfth century, when Arab Muslims conquered north and central India; they were followed in later years by the Mughals, from central Asia. Muslim religious codes required that the body be covered as much as possible, bringing about the use of the *jama*, a long-sleeved coat reaching to the knee or below, belted with a *sash*, and combined with wide hipped trousers called *isar*. Another garment, the *farji*, a long, gown-like, short-sleeved coat, was worn by scholars, priests, and other high officials. Since silk was forbidden by their religious laws, Muslim men wore garments of cotton or wool, and sheer cotton became a luxury fabric. The Koran did not forbid the use of silk by women, and ladies of the court wore luxurious silks to great advantage. The earlier Muslim woman's costume consisted of wide-topped trousers fitting snugly from calf to ankle; a long shirt-like blouse called a *kurta*; and a fitted outer jacket and *dopatta*. Under the rule of Emperor Akbar, a graceful new style appeared: a pleated, open-fronted skirt called a *ghaghra*. It was worn with an apron-like panel tucked into waist to

cover the front opening. The upper garment was short-sleeved, breast-length blouse called a *choli*. To this day, the *ghaghra* and the *choli* continue to be basic elements of the Muslim woman's dress, the apron-like panel having metamorphosed into the traditional *sari*, which is worn as an over garment, with one end draped around the hips and the shoulder and, perhaps, the head. The Muslim rules of dress had little effect on the costume of south India. The dhoti continued to be preferred by most Hindu men, although it was forbidden by a few castes (social classes within Indian society), and the *sari* became the favoured garment of most women.⁶⁴

The Mughal period was not only a period of experiment and innovation but also a period of continuation and culmination of those processes that had their seeds sown in the later part of the rule of Delhi Sultans. In other words, the spirit of harmony and synthesis that commenced in the closing years of the Delhi Sultanate continued and culminated in the Mughal period. In short the dress, manners, social amenities and festivals which the Mughals introduced in India ceased to be foreign and were accepted by the people. Akbar's desire to weld the two people into a unity and social cohesion led to the Hindu- Muslim synthesis in dress, diet, etiquette modes of living, functions and festivals. The Mughals Emperor were very much particular about their dress and spent lavishly over it. Akbar was fond of his dress. Jahangir adopted for himself certain special clothes of which "Nadir's coat" was one of them. Shah Jahan was very fond of splendour and loved gorgeous and flowery dresses with delicate embroidery. The Royal ladies were also fond of soft wearing saris along with silk petticoat.⁶⁵

The Mughal grandeur famed worldwide was very well reflected in the clothes worn by the Mughal men and their ladies. Their garments revealed not only their riches and tastes but also the excellent work done by the tailors in those times. The fashions in garments introduced to our land by the Mughals have come down to us in their various modified forms which are found even today.⁶⁶

Akbar like his successor, lived in a world of textile, clothes and jewels and created elaborate rules restricting the wearing of some emblem, jewels and types of clothes to certain rank in Mughal society.⁶⁷ Akbar himself introduced many trends in dress which was adopted by fashionable courtiers, instead of *jama* he says *sarbagati*, *izar* he says *yar-pirahan*, *nimtana* to *tanzeb*, for veil he says *chitragupita*, *patka* he says *katzeb*, for shawl, *param-naram*.⁶⁸

Akbar whose aesthetic taste for attire was high and employed skilled tailors to improve the styles of the costumes in his wardrobe. Akbar generally changed his dresses daily to match them with the colour of the planet of the day. Akbar changed the fashion by ordering court dress to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side double (*doshalla*). Paintings of the last decade of the sixteenth century in *Akbar Nama* show that the dress consisted of a knee-length coat lengthened and later in the eighteenth century the skirt became full and was gathered into a high waist.⁶⁹ The court costume consisted of an unlined outer coat (*jama*), trouser (*paijama*) and a turban. These garments were worn with a sash (*patka*) at the waist, ceremonial weapons and elaborate jewellery often including a turban ornament. The word *jama* is a generic name for coat or outer garments and can be used for many different garments. In Govardhan's painting Akbar wears the typical Mughal *jama* made of a fine somewhat transparent white *fabric* depicted with a faint regular all over pattern of flower sprigs in gold. The long sleeves are close fitting and the *jama* front closes in a similar way under the outer arm, with several length of fabric that matches the *jama*. *Jama's* full skirt extends below Akbar's knee. The crumpled legs of his *paijama* extend from below the *jama* to his ankle. This crumpled look is probably created by cutting the snug lower leg of the *pyjama* longer than the wearer's leg length and then crushing the excess fabric into small folds around the ankle. Akbar's *pyjama* is probably made of silk brocaded with another gold floral pattern; a favourite design became synonymous with Mughal decorative art. Akbar wears a relatively flat red and gold striped turban wrapped around his

head. One end of the turban forms a fan like cockade at the front. This shape is often described as a couch shell “and many be derived from the Hindu Rajput style *pagri*, and indigenous turban of non-Muslim design. The *chakdarjama* introduced by Akbar in his court reportedly introduced the convention of Muslim time the *jama* under the right arm and Hindus tying theirs under the left. This practice made it possible to tell an individual religion quickly and easily. The court costume shown in Akbar’s period continued to be the standard dress during his son Jahangir’s rule. Clothing like the court itself became increasingly elaborate formal and codified. An aesthete known for his exquisite taste and always involved in the design process, each of Jahangir’s garments was expressly designed for him and like all garments worn by royalty was worn only once, no matter how many months and how much labour went to its creation. The court followed his fashion closely⁷⁰, Jahangir decreed that certain textile and garments should be made should be made for his use alone. As a reward of his high honour, the emperor rewarded selected courtiers with gifts of clothing and jewellery. One of these garments, the *nadiri* was a special sleeveless over coat design by Jahangir himself. The emperor is also credited with a number of innovation in *quba* (over court) decoration including embroidery at the hems of the garment’s long sleeves and a new folded collar style. The *tus* shawl made of the finest wool from Kashmir introduced by his father, Akbar, has another garment that could be worn only if received from the emperor. Jahangir also introduced the *salimshahi* a sleeper with a finely pointed to, that was still in used during the late twentieth century.⁷¹ During the Mughal era, clothing could also be used to humiliate and degrade. Aurangzeb disgraced his defeated eldest brother Dara Shikoh and his young nephew by dressing them in dirty rags of the poorest quality and parading them through street.⁷²

The Mughal emperor Jahangir inherited the imperial wardrobe; the Indo-Islamic dress was already quite distinctive. The fashionable high heeled shoes were replaced by equally

fashionable soft slippers (plate) and the *Safavid* turban of multi coloured striped stuffs had become popular.⁷³ Jahangir was in habit of covering himself with strings of pearls or precious stones. In 1615 he introduced pearl ear ring for men. At that time a piece of the finest muslin fifteen yards (13.71m) long and are yard (0.91m) wide was made at Dhaka in Bengal. To make such a piece of cloth which contained between one thousands and eighteenth hundred warp threads per width, the weaver required five months..⁷⁴

In Shah Jahan's time the *jama* reached almost to the ankles, and the turban became a mass of thin material with innumerable folds, hanging down at the back and round with strings of jewels, in such a way that the cap became quite invisible.⁷⁵ (Plate no. 26)

Fashion of the Mughal Begums and princesses:

Married or spinster, happy or unhappy, the princesses lived in the *mahal*, well protected and well looked after. They rarely went out. They did not visit ladies of nobles; it was the other way round. In the event they went, they did so with the special permission of the king; they left at nine o'clock in the morning, accompanied by three or four eunuchs and dozen ladies of honour, and returned before nightfall. They live in luxury and magnificence; they spent most of their time and money in toilet and beautifying themselves. Beauty of the face mainly in the eyes, the lips and the nose and these were given special attention. The nose was decorated with a *nath* or clove, which was usually studded with diamond. The *nath* was generally a love token presented to the bride by the bridegroom.⁷⁶

According to Berneir, the dresses of the Begums are superb and costly perfumed with the essence of roses. They changed their dresses several times a day, especially in summer when they put on such exceeding thin raiment that their skin shows through. Tavernier says, their clothes were so fine that one could see all the skin as though it was uncovered. Mannucci says that the ladies of the harem wear two or three garments each weighing not more than one

ounce and worth from forty to fifty rupees each. He says that Roshanara was fond of wearing sari, the traditional dress of the Hindu women. Berneir says it was so delicate that it is also wore in night.⁷⁷ Tavernier says they sleep in these clothes and never put them on again but give them away to their servants. While sleeping the only apparel put aside was *dopatta*, a cloth worn over the head, something reaching down to the knees which was made of the finest muslin and woven with gold thread.

European hats became popular among the begums during the reign of Jahangir. An English merchant in 1614 asked his principals in England for half a dozen of coloured beaver hats for the begums in Jahangir reign.⁷⁸ Mannucci claims that the begums were heavily bejewelled as on his visits to the *harem* for treating the inmates, jewels were brought to him in trays for his appraisal, or as an opening for conversation. Some of the stones he says were of extraordinary size and strings of pearls much equal in size, there were strings of rubies pierced and strung together just like the pearls and about the size of a nut. Zinat Causar, a modern researcher who has taken the trouble to catalogue the various ornaments of the Mughal lady, lists eight head ornaments, sixteen for the forehead, thirty one for the ears, fifteen for the nose, one for the teeth (gold or silver studs fitted to the front teeth), twenty nine for neck, sixteen for the arms, twenty four for the wrists, three for the palms, nine for the waist, fifteen for the feet and ankles and five for the toes. It seems as if begum was a walking treasure house.⁷⁹

The begums for their fine dress, jewels and perfumes where somewhat backward in their ablutions retaining the habits of their distant ancestors in central Asia though there were *hammams* (turkish baths) in the harem, instead of having a bath very day, the begums only wash their face, hand and feet, perfume them self-applied cosmetics. On Friday they had an obligatory bath. They bathed in rose water, they clean their teeth with a twig and a tooth powder prepared with crushed pearls, musk, amber, aloes wood and camphor⁸⁰.

Sometimes imitating Hindu women, the begums decorated their forehead with moons, and stars of gold and silver dust⁸¹. Women as whole had a deep liking for cosmetics to beautify themselves since ancient times as is evident from Ajanta paintings and mythological legends suggest. In Mughal times too women were not left behind in the use of cosmetics to beautify themselves. As in all ages, it were the women more than the men of those days, who gave importance to toilette and cosmetics making their daily routine of dressing up and beautification an elaborate and complicated affair. They used different kinds of oil like *narayana* oil to massage their bodies and turmeric paste, sandalwood paste, paste of *kusum* flower, pulse flower powder, rice powder and many other things to wash their bodies.⁸³ Abul fazl says that oils extracted from certain sweet smelling flowers were used for the skin and hair.⁸⁴ Great emphasis was laid on hair care and hair decoration. Hair dyes, methods for curing baldness and removing unwanted hair were also used.⁸⁵ Sometimes hair was washed with *amlaki* fruits.⁸⁶ Manucci reported “their hair is always very well dressed, plaited and perfume with scented oil.⁸⁷ The Mughals were very fond of chewing betel leaf. The Mughal women’s habit of chewing this leaf had reached such proportion that it is said that Jahanara Begum⁸⁸ and princess Zeb-un-Nisa spent the entire revenue of the port of Surat on providing betel for the entire household during their respective times. The leaf when chewed coloured the lips red. The frequent use of betel leaf discoloured the teeth which turned red, but was considered one of the beauties of Indian women.⁸⁹ *Lakha* a form of lip-dye rolls of betel leaves filled with a solution of *cathechu* and the essence of *kevra* blossoms were preserved overnight in a piece of damp cloth, to be chewed early in the morning after treating the lips with black *missi* powder.⁹⁰ Apart from this the women used *collyrium* for the eyes, antimony to darken the eyebrows and eye lashes and *mehendi* and *mahawar* to colour their hands and feet.⁹¹ Manucci writes: All women in India are in the habit of scenting their hands and feet

with a certain earth, which they call *mehendi*, which colours the hands and feet red in such a way that they look as if they had on gloves.⁹²

Men's toilet:

Sweet-scented oils of various kinds were exported from Bengal and applied to the hair and also rubbed on the body. The poor people used coconut oil, and the nobles would anoint their bodies with sandal and other oils extracted from various flowers. In Gujarat, they anointed themselves with white sandal-wood paste mixed with saffron and other scents.⁹³ In hot weather, the rich would add rose-water to keep their skin cool. *Santak* and *argajah* were also used for the same purpose. They used a sweat-powder like that of sandal-wood to get the sweat out of their bodies and head, and daubed it (head) with oil. Hair-dyes were also freely employed to make one look younger. Muhammadans, who usually kept hair on their upper lips, would not let it grow grey even when old by combing it continually with lead black combs.⁹⁴

Paijama and *achhkan* formed the ceremonial costume. Under Mughal influence long skirts became the fashion even it is meant hiding the foot ornaments. The bodice a kind of ladies garment was greatly popularised and brought into fashion by the Mughals in India. Its latest form is said to have brought into fashion by one of the daughter of Aurangzeb.⁹⁵ For the innovative designs in dress that we find in Mughal times, we thank their ladies whose boldness sometimes made them go against the established traditions in many fields including garments and brought many new fashion in their attire. The Mughals ladies were not just content with wearing beautiful, costly and decorative garments. Some of them like Nur Jahan went a step forward and introduced new fashions and design in dress, costumes, jewellery and perfumes. In place of the '*peshwaz*' or ladies gown, she introduced a very light dress called '*dudami*' which weighed just two dams. Her *panchtoliya* a scarf weighing only five

tolas too was a light substitute for headcover or *orhani*, and *badhah*, *kinara* and *farsh-i-chandani* or sandalwood coloured carpets became famous and well known during her time. When it came to colours, the Muslim women preferred white dresses, either plain, or wrought with gold flower. (Plate no.) The other colour among both Hindus and Muslims was red.⁹⁶ She made the royal harem a fashionable place with magnificent clothes, costly jewellery rubies, and pearls where women were inspired to be flaming torches of love, fellowship and chastity.⁹⁷ She had a keen sense of colour combination and symmetry in designs. She was a master mind in innovating fashions and style.⁹⁹ Designed by Nur Jahan had a high price of forty rupees each. An elegant item of female dress known as *Jammu* became popular which consisted of a tightly fit '*kurti*' upto the knee and tight sleeves fastened upto the breast, decorated with frills in front and worn with *Angiya*. Tight fitted trousers were worn with it. Dopattas of thin cloth were worn with this dress.¹⁰⁰

The craft of dyeing flourished during the Mughals and used different patterns big and small articles in their personal clothing.¹⁰¹ Nur Jahan popularized embroidery and sewing and stitching among the young women. Women who had no royal lineage specially flocked around her and time in knitting, sewing, designing and embroidery industry which Meherunisa (Nur Jahan) started in her apartments. Her embroidery work of *Zari* and *Kimkhab* soon made her famous. She worked with soft and skilful fingers and painted silks and carved embroidery and sold them to the women of Harem in the Mina Bazar. She was acknowledged throughout the empire as the oracle of fashion and taste.¹⁰²

Empress Nur Jahan of Mughal dynasty was said to have seen stone tracery on a monument that she found particularly beautiful. She wanted the same designs to be replicated on her clothing and she got an embroiderer to make them for her. Nur Jahan gathered together block makers and printers as well as embroiderers to recreate the design. The Empress' own interest in the craft then set a trend that spread to the rest of the Mughal court.¹⁰³

All the Mughals continued the Islamic court tradition of gift giving. As can be seen from the goods at the weighing ceremony. Textiles and clothing played a major role in this practice. Clothing worn by the emperor became *Malbus-i-khas*, a special costume which was permeated with his royal essence. *Khil'at*, robes of honor, came in sets of three, five or seven pieces depending on the rank of the recipient. These sets were *sarapa*, a turban, and a ceremonial sash. The only surviving garment that has been reliably identified as a court garment from the rule of great Mughals is silk coat. It is variously dated to the rule of either Jahangir or Shah Jahan, between 1605-1658. The coat's fine chain-stitch embroidery shows a complex scene in the Persian style. Lions prey on bounding antelope or doze contentedly and birds fly through the air, all in a fabulously blooming landscape full of tulips, daffodils, poppies and iris, embroidered on a soft, cream-coloured satin ground. The trim around the neck and partway down the garments front opening is the only part of the exterior of the coat that is not embroidered indicating that it may have been expressly fur collar, a style that was frequently worn in cold weather.¹⁰⁴

Cloth and clothes received as presents or commissioned or bought in the open market were carefully kept and classified by the day of the week and the day in the month on which they arrived at court, as well as by price, colour and weight. There was a rank order of clothes and cloth: those received on the first day of the month.¹⁰⁵

The Mughal kings were very particular about new fashions and variety in dresses. They made every possible way to maintain their fashion, and created history by innovating different patterns in dresses and help in the development of textiles industry.¹⁰⁶

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Chapter VIII

Fusion of Mughal apparels in modern fashion and design-

The impact of Mughal dress in Indian life style is found immensely during the modern times. We find the recall of Mughal designing and textiles and its technique in modern era particularly in bridal wear. Almost all the fashion designer of India tried their best to re-use the modern techniques in their designing and created a classic sense in the world of fashion by using the Mughal dress designing.

Designers like Arjun and Anjalee Kapoor brought a new taste of dress designing from Mughal touch. Reminiscing about the Mughal era and bringing the grandeur of the period alive, the latest collection by them has a strong *Jamawar* influence. The gowns, resplendent with ruffles and texture, have a fairytale like feel, the embroidery, interspersed with delicate roses and over-the-top use of feathers, lends glamour to the ensemble. Ethnicity is kept intact, fusing it with modern construction to make the ensemble fit for a modern bride. Fine fabrics, such as rich velvet and Benarasi silk as the base for *lehengas* and *anarkali* suits have been used. Intense thread work embroidery has been meticulously worked upon. Tulle and Cancan has been used to create a lacy, floating look. Deep colours like burgundy, tomato red are used in his designs.¹

According to the fashion designer Anjali Kapoor “*We are presenting garments for the modern woman who is a diva and who likes to create her own fashion statement. The collection Mogul Opera, merges elements from the 17th century Victorian era to the glorious Mughal period, culminating in a beautiful symphony of gowns, lehengas, corsets and sensuous cholis. The collection came to life with bejeweled Lehengas with heavy Zardozi work which used to be the main textiles during the time of Mughal era.*”² (Plate No.28)

Ritu Kumar a famous Fashion Designer who generally work on Mughal touch has taken it upon her to revive many of India's dying traditional embroideries, crafts and weaves. In fact, the profusion of zardozi embroidery got more importance. She researched and brought back this long-forgotten Mughal craft to mainstream fashion and gave a new outlook and liking for this craft which became main pattern for the Indian brides. She brought a new blend of *lehengas* for the brides by giving the touch of Mughal craft into it.³

The design like the floral family, flowered stems, jasmine, rose, and lotus motifs are the most popular. Geometrical designs inspired from various Turkish and Mughal monuments can be found on a number of dresses and the famous Mughal *jaalis* have found an expression in many a designers' works embroideries like Chikankari and zardozi, which originated from Persia (Iran), prevails in modern day fashion in Indian subcontinent.⁴

Rohit Bal is famous for his geometrical motifs that he picks from various Islamic structures. The collection comprised a range of voluminous evening gowns, arabesque motifs in all shades of turquoise, blue and silver. The entire collection was full of pleated outfits, cone-shaped skirts, over-dimensional puff sleeves and ballet inspired tutus. Huge leafy creepers in silver ran across voluminous long skirts; long elegant overcoats and vests came in elaborate jacquards and rich embroidered silks which shows great touch and blend of Mughal era. He brings the Mughal days in his dress.⁵ (Plate No.28)

Sabysachi, the classic fashion designer, brought the Mughal fashion in his long *ghagra choli* and *sherwanis*. He almost used and worked on the different fabrics used by the Mughals. He was known in the fashion industry for bringing old world charm in his dresses particularly the Mughals and showing the world the gorgeous life of the Mughals.⁶

When it comes to use of *Salwar Kameez*, it is the gift of the Mughal world for the Indians. It used to be the main dresses of the royal Mughal ladies but still now in the modern era it is

popular women dress almost worn by every section of the society and in future it will remain the popular dress.⁷

The Mughal Empire, which reigned over Asia and the Middle East from 1526 to 1827, had a profound effect on South Asian arts and culture, especially in terms of weddings among the Mughals. Mughal fashions are most prominent in long *lehengas*, *cholis*, and *pishwas* - flowing floor-length skirts that are most commonly seen in modern Pakistani bridal outfits.

The use of heavy, embroidered silk is also derived from the Mughal Empire - where *kimkhwab* and *Jamawar* silks were popular amongst emperors and their courts. Golden-toned color palettes and contrasting patterns are also features of Mughal fashion design which have been adapted.⁸

Nurjahan had a creative mind. It was under her that the art of decoration reached its zenith. She had a wonderful sense of colour combination and used symmetry in design whether in monuments or in dress designing. She excelled in embroidery and innovated various embroidered works in her dresses. Among them, *dudami* which was flowered muslin was used for gowns, *panchtoliya* a cotton cloth used for veils, the *kinara* a type of silver threaded lace. A dress known as *jammu* consisting of a tight fitting *kurti* up to knee and tight sleeves fastened up to breasts, decorated with frills in front and worn with the *angiya* (jacket) tight trousers and thin cotton *dupattas* became very popular, which is seen in the modern days as young girls used to wear the tight *kurtis* with jeans or trousers.⁸ The symmetry design which was used by Nur Jahan was used by the fashion designer Rohit Bal in Lakme Fashion week collection. The embroidery in dresses is always liked by the Mughal emperors and their begums; the clothes which was embroidered in *chikankari*, *jali* works, *zari* work is considered to be the precious and most costly clothes used by the Mughals. Even today the embroidery work is liked and considered to be the costliest clothes.⁹

While talking about the jewellery, wearing heavy ornaments by the Mughal ladies was always joy of their heart and even today ornament is the passion of the Indian women. Mughal jewellery is unsurprisingly imitated today as well - with its heavy use of gold, shimmering jewels, and thick chains. The Saloni collection from the showroom of Saloni in Mumbai tried to bring back the lost crafts of jewellery making in *jadau* and *kundan* from Mughal collection in modern times.¹⁰

Meenakari is the art of enamelling that was introduced when the Mughals came to India. Beautiful designs of flowers, peacocks, and other traditional motifs are etched into the back of a piece of gold jewellery. These designs are then filled with enamel dust of a specific colour and fired. The result is a gorgeous piece, both in the front as well as the back. . The romance and adventure of this world is captured in the *meenakari* work.¹¹ Jewellery designer Devan brought into lime light his latest collection of ornaments in *meenakari* works which provided in a wide range depicting the reminisce of the Mughal creations. One can feel the Mughal ornaments as design by Devan in modern days by going to the modern Jewellers like Maliram Jewellers and Amrapali Jewellers. The collection in their showroom presents the superb design of the jewellery used by the Mughals which we have seen in the Mughal miniature paintings¹². (Plate No. 29)

In the twentieth century, for formal or semi-formal occasions, a long, full-skirted, narrow-sleeved coat, worn over Jodhpur-style trousers –sometimes called the “Nehru Jacket”–was extremely popular; it even created international fashion. Women’s formal wear at the turn of the twenty-first century consisted of variations of the sari and the *choli*, although westernized fashions lexicon. Whereas clothing traditionally indicated the wearer’s status in Indian society, many of today’s women on the subcontinent express their individual taste through their dress. In addition to the fineness and delicacy of the fabric, Indian textiles were also noted for their brilliant colours and prints.¹³ Cotton, like linen, naturally resists dyes, but

Indian craftsman learned early on the secrets of mordents and dyes and how to manipulate them. Remarkably, India managed to keep the complex technique of cotton dyeing secret from the world until the seventeenth century.¹⁴ Still in this modern era India is famous for various stuffs of cotton as says Ritu Kumar in her book, *In Costumes and Textiles of Royal India Mughal* “customs are all around us - and modern brides have a lot of inspiration to look to from their royal predecessors! From fashion and food to palaces and jewels, the Mughal Empire has left the world with many artistic styles that are truly timeless.”¹⁵

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Chapter IX

Conclusion:

The Mughal rule is considered to be a golden age of delicate clothing with innovations in dress and textiles with various motifs, pattern and fabrics. The priceless legacy of miniature paintings, memoirs, travellers account provides an insight into the dress code of the nobility at the time. By examining them one could easily determine that fashion and designing was a major art form that got special attention from all the Mughal emperors. The Mughals established one of the greatest empires in united India. Their leisurely and relaxed lifestyle provided the artisans of the time with an atmosphere of creativity and experimentation.

Each emperor maintained his own contemporary style of dressing in court. In his palace, the royal ladies in the Mughal harem also favoured wearing gorgeous dresses, gave their full attention in wearing the gorgeous dresses and gave every possible means to maintain it. Apart from their grand apartments and dainty dishes of food, their beautiful dresses and exquisite ornaments were dear to their heart. Their dresses were made of finest silks, brocades, satins or *malmals* and cloth were brought from far and wide. They decorated themselves with ornaments from head to toe. They used to wear a number of ornaments to decorate their body parts. The royal ladies spent their huge amount in beautification. They used to wear a number of ornaments to decorate their body parts. The royal ladies spend their huge amount in beautification. A lot of cosmetics were also used by the ladies, which added to their beauty which shows that they spent huge amount to beautify themselves.

The clothing pattern of the Mughals was also an outcome of the Sultanate period. The Mughals in their early days also adopted the dresses of the Sultans. The Sultanate period used excessive tailored garments like robes, gowns and coats of extravagant fabric and trim. The various kinds of costumes were also used by the nobles. Moti Chandra, an eminent historian,

concludes that jackets tunics and trousers became more common in 12th century. He also concluded that *badana* is a robe on which three corned and four cornered pieces of cloth were stitched for decoration. The dress of the Sultan and the elite consisted of a *kutah* or head dress, a tunic worked in brocade and long drawers. On official occasion the Sultan wore four cornered head-dress (embroidered with gold thread and studded with jewels), long tartaric gowns and *quba*) all buckled in the middle of the body. The Hindu aristocracy dressed like the Muslim aristocracy, except that in place of *kutah* they used a turban and in place of long drawers they wore dhoti trimmed with gold lace. The contemporary Persian historians have left some interesting accounts of the costumes and textiles manufacturing *Karkhanas* during the Sultanate period.

No doubt, the Mughal period saw delicate use of clothes and latest innovation in it but they were sometimes under religious obligatory to use such kinds of dresses. Quranic injunction also made compromises between uniformity and existing custom. The famous Quranic laws are to obey Allah, His Prophet and those in authority could be taken to mean the subject to command the God and his Prophet. Some of the Mughal emperors also issued some Fatwas for the use of dresses but in spite of religious obligatory, Akbar took special care and attention for maintaining his dress as that of his ladies of the Harem. He did not care about the Ulema while promulgating issues for banning some of the fashion in dresses but Aurangzeb had issued some order in the beginning but nobody cared to follow them. At the insistence of the Ulema Aurangzeb seems to have reissued the orders in 1666. Evidently the ladies of the royal Harem did not like it.

The great Mughal emperor Akbar was not only a great ruler, an administrator and a lover of art and architecture but also a true admirer and entrepreneur of different patterns and designs of clothing. The changes and development brought by him from Ottoman origin to its Indian orientation was based on the land's culture, custom and climatic conditions. This is apparent

in the use of the fabric, the length of the dresses or their ornamentation. There had been a motivation for beautiful garments. The Mughal world shows latest form of dress designing, their garments revealed not only their riches and tastes but also excellent work done by the tailors in those times. Emperors like Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan took equal interest as their ladies in wearing beautiful garments and ornaments. Various Kharkhanas were constructed. Among them we find separate apparel making units known as *Tushak khana* was one of the important kharkhanas which the Mughal emperors paid much attention. There was a constant demand for fine materials and all textile pieces brought woven and carefully preserved and were inspected from time to time. Akbar too took interest in manufacturing of shawls. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives good account of Kashmiri shawls and the Hindi designation for the soft shawl like *param naram*. The garments stored in the imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months and years of their entries and according to their colour, price and weight. The Mughal emperors wore different clothes like *Takuchiya*, *Peshwaz*, *Dutahi*, *Shah-ajida*, *Suzani*, *Qualami*, *qaba*, *farji*, *fargul*, *chakman*, Shawls, *Shalwar* and *Patka*. Women dresses include Kartiji, Bodice, Jacket and breeches and *Jagulfi* and *Lehenga* and *Choli* by the Rajput ladies. Both Hindus and Muslim women covered their head called *orhni* or *dupatta* of various colours and fashionable Juttis with ornaments of different patterns studded with precious stones.

The turban is also a body ornamentation which gains special attention. Only the emperor himself, his intimate relations, and select members of his entourage (beasts as well as men) were permitted to wear a royal turban ornaments. The emperors used different styles of turban with different styles of ornaments on it popularly known as *Sarpech* which was inserted with feathers mostly of heron.

The garment of Mughal ladies were made of the finest muslins, silks, velvets and brocades. The intense fineness of texture is so fine and delicate that they are known in the poetic

language as muslin or *Shabnam*, which were brought from Dhaka. Some of them are so fine and transparent which can float in water. Silk is the most commonly used materials by the Mughals. It is mentioned that a lot of silk was brought China and Persia and also from parts of India like Banaras, Bengal and Orissa to make beautiful dresses for the royal ladies who had great love for silk. The fabrics used by the Mughal ladies were satin, *kimkhah*, *katan*, *tasser*, *tafla*, *ambari*, atlas, etc. brocades called *malmal* was also used by the ladies. Different forms of art in the clothing flourished during the Mughal period like *Zardozi* work, *Kalamkari*, *Shisha* embroidery, *polka* dotted work, *buti* works etc. The patterns used in the dresses were generally of flowers with leaf and stems, zigzag, patterns of buds etc.

Textiles flourished remarkably under the Mughals. Various techniques of crinkling, dying, patterning and embroidery were explored. Lahore received special attention and grew into a leading center of textile production. Twenty varieties of woollen cloth alone were exported from Lahore to different parts of the Sub-continent and abroad. For weaving shawls there were one thousand *Karkhanas* in the city. Silk weaving also received special encouragement and silk cloth produced in Punjab gained fame throughout the world, because of its finesse, Indian cotton became very popular in Europe as it was not only colour fast but also far cheaper than the linen available there. This remarkable influence in European markets resulted in many Indian clothing and textile terms entering English and other European languages e.g. bandana, calico (plain-weave cotton fabric with simple block printed design), cashmere (wool from Kashmiri goats), cummer band (a waist band or girdle), *dangree* (coarse cloth woven with two or more threads per weave), khaki (dust coloured cloth used for military uniforms), muslin (thin cotton fabric), pajama, shawl etc. The priceless legacy of miniature paintings and chronicles from the Mughal era provide an insight into the dress code of the nobility at the time. By examining them one can easily determine that ‘costume designing’ was a major art form that received special encouragement by all the Mughal

emperors. Interestingly, each emperor maintained his own contemporary style of dressing in court and otherwise. Babar, who was brought up in the cooler climate of Turkistan, retained the costumes of his homeland; the most popular garments in his period were '*chafan*' (long coat) and '*postin*' (sheep skin coat). It can be said that he must have worn them for traditional rather than practical reasons. Humayun introduced Persian elements in the costumes. He was notorious for seeking the help of planetary movements (every day) in choosing what to wear. He also maintained a special treasure house in his palace to accommodate textiles and garments. Akbar's long reign was largely a peaceful one. In this period there was a combination of Indian and imported skills and techniques, which led to the flowering of classical forms and shapes and later became an integral part of Indian dress design. Akbar took the initiative of introducing local textiles, which were best suited to the hot climate of the region.

During his reign, Emperor Jahangir initiated the printing, weaving and embroidering of Kashmiri flora on textiles. He introduced a garment called '*nadiri*' (literally mean rarity) which was a type of overcoat worn over the *jama*. The garment was designed exclusively for him.

The advent of the Mughal dynasty gave an undeniable boost to production of the up-market textile, as to other craft. At the Mughal court, textiles were extraordinarily important. The sub-continent had been known for its cotton production since Roman times, and silk weaving was well established in northern India before the Mughals arrived. Indians were also masters at printing and dyeing cotton with colourfast dyes- skills much appreciated by their trading partners. The region was a major exporter of fabrics in the markets. The most exquisite fabrics produced in India stayed at the court and court demands for fabrics of all types drove producers to even greater heights of creativity. During the Mughal period, dresses with gold

and silver embroidery were much in fashion with the royalty and the nobility. Thus textiles flourished in Mughal period with the initiative of the Mughal emperors.

The dresses of the Mughals also went through the changes with the passage of time and its indigeneous impact mainly of Rajputs. Persian dress was worn by Muslims, but during Akbar's time Rajput dress was adopted like *chakdar jama*. It also concluded that *chakdarjama* is derived from the Rajput coat called *Takauchiah*. The *chakdar jama* was shaped much like the standard Mughal *jama* except that the skirt fell in four to six long points instead of in the circular hem of *jama*. The Rajput also took the Mughal court culture in their dresses. Thus when we speak of the Mughal influence in dress we mean not alone of what the Mughals gave to Rajasthan but also what had evolved out of the contact of the two important and prominent races, the Mughals and the Rajputs which is read as intermingling of two culture, customs habits foods, clothing pattern etc. though matrimonial alliances or friendship relation as a whole the Rajput remain in important position from the reign of Akbar to Shah Jahan and the relation deteriorated during the reign of Aurangzeb because of his orthodox religious beliefs. The Rajput-Mughal relation not only blended the cultural and political sphere but also mark its impression on the fashion and artistic sphere of life. The Rajput and Mughals exchanged their life styles and gave a new world of fashion which is still seen generation after generation.

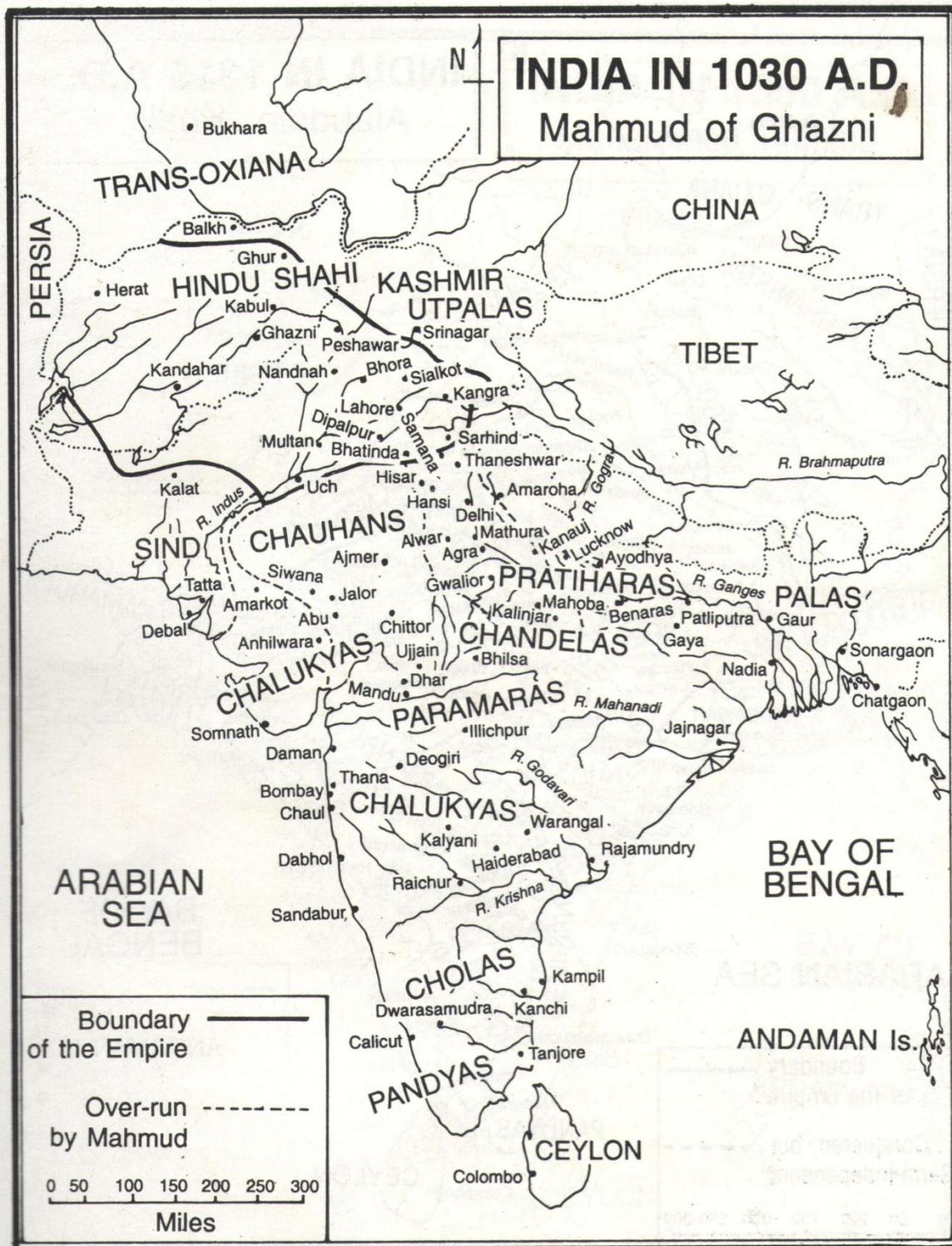
The Mughal emperors lived a lavish life and lived in a large palace with many queens, concubines, attendants, servants and slaves. The queens of the emperors were provided all luxuries and made elaborate arrangements for their seclusion and security. During the time of his successor Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb the Mughal Harem attained the peak of excellence. The emperors celebrated every occasion of merry-making, pomp and luxury like *Nauroz*, Marriage, *Khus ruz* known as Meena Bazar, Emperor's birthday and Coronation festivities. The harem is the relaxing and merry-making place for the emperors. They paid

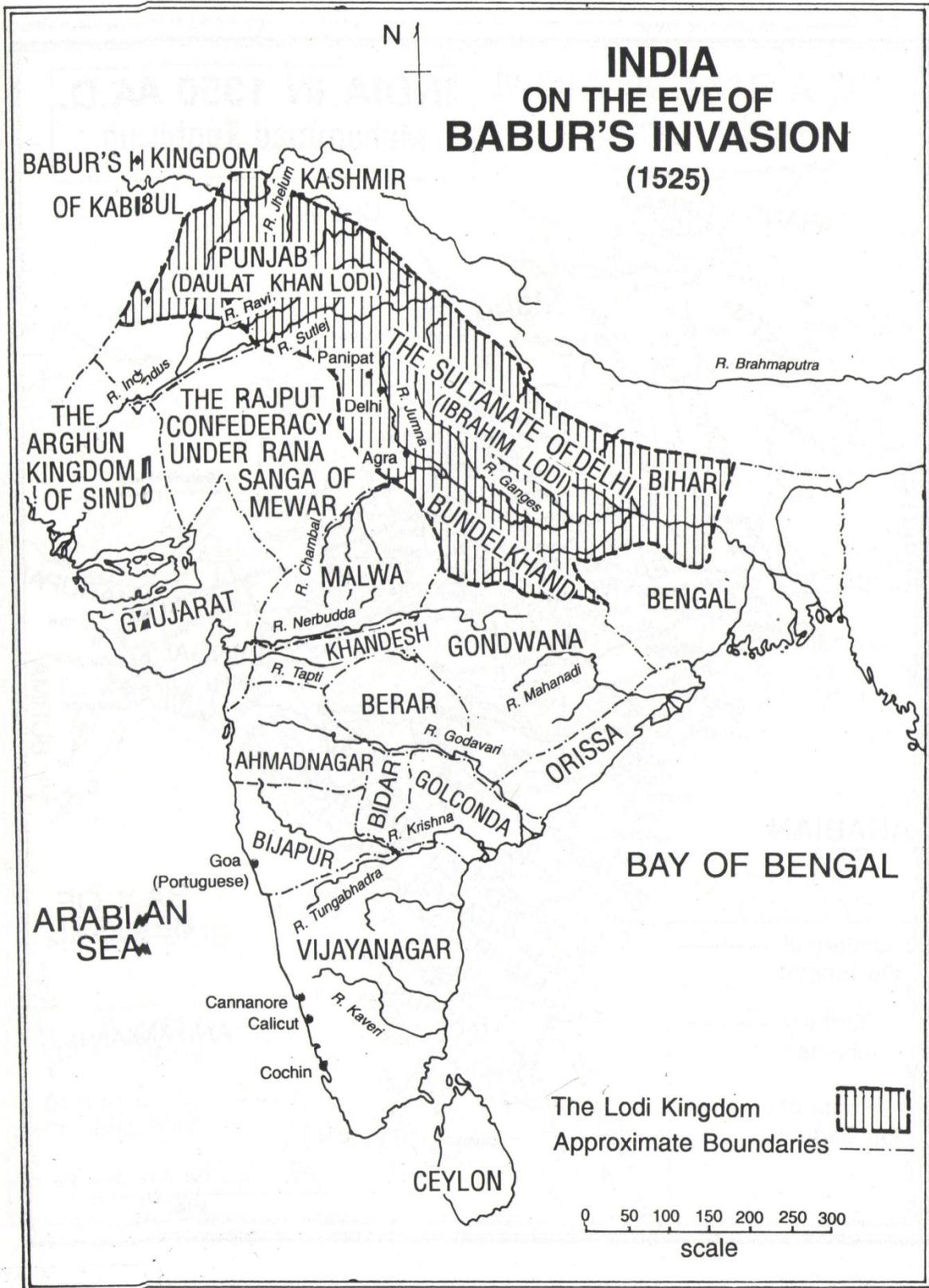
special attention for the security of the Harem where the ladies of all races lived together. The security of the harem which was a very sensitive matter was in the hands of faithful and absolutely trustworthy eunuchs, known as *Khawaja Sara*. They were castrated or emasculated men who were employed customarily in women's quarter. The Mughals used the title, *Khawaja Sara* respectfully for the keeper, incharge or superintendent of their harem. The Mughal emperors took special attention for the etiquettes to be followed in the court. All nobles and officers of higher should perform some court etiquettes before entering into the court like *kurnish* and *sijda*.

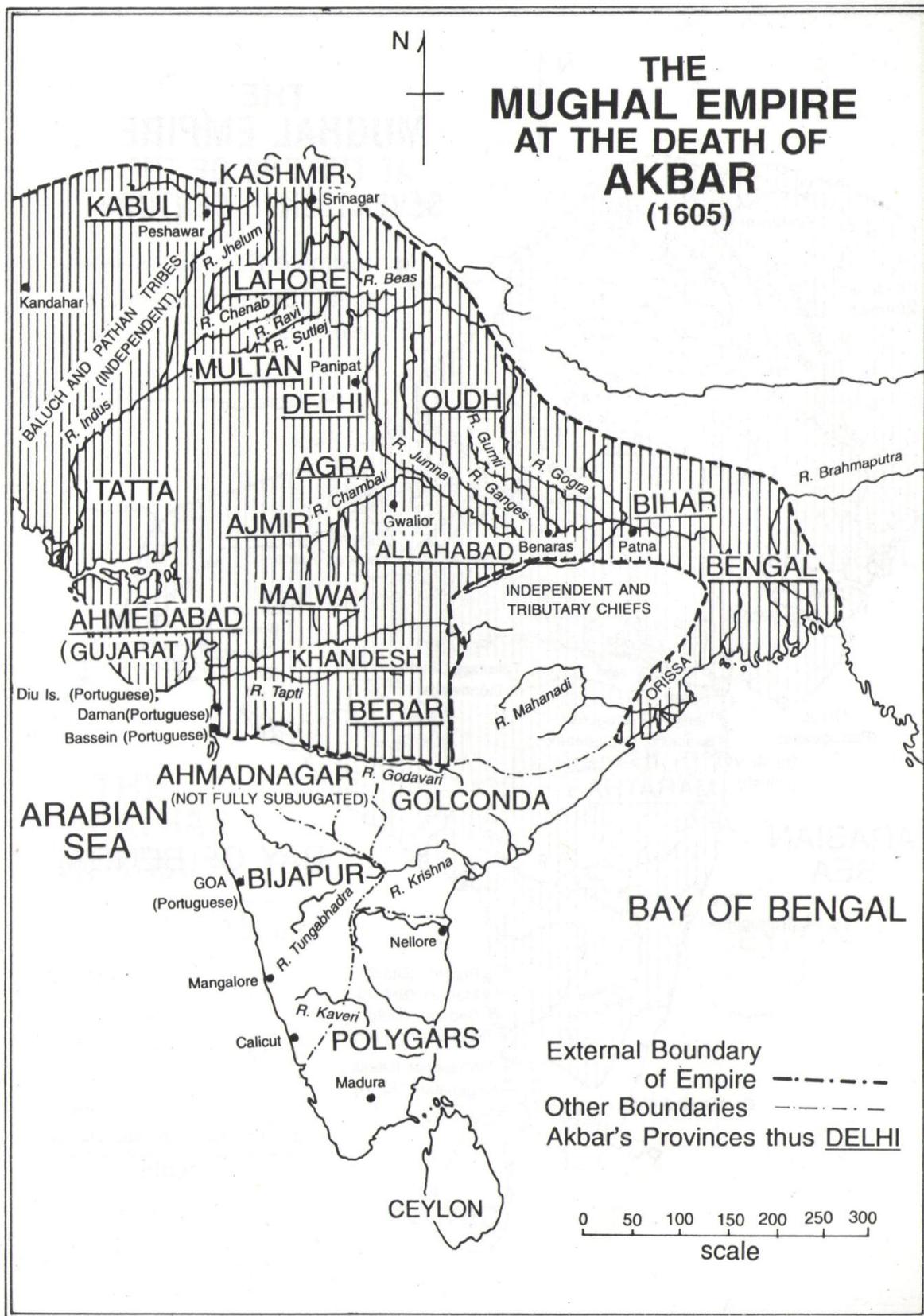
The Mughal ladies live in luxury and magnificence. They spent most of their time and money in toilet and beautifying themselves. Beauty of the face mainly in the eyes, the lips and the nose and these were given special attention. They changed their dresses several times a day, especially in summer when they put on such exceeding thin raiment that their skin shows through. They used different kinds of oil like narayana oil to massage their bodies and turmeric paste, sandalwood paste, paste of kusum flower, pulse flower powder, rice powder and many other things to wash their bodies. The Ladies were fashionable and paid special attention on it.

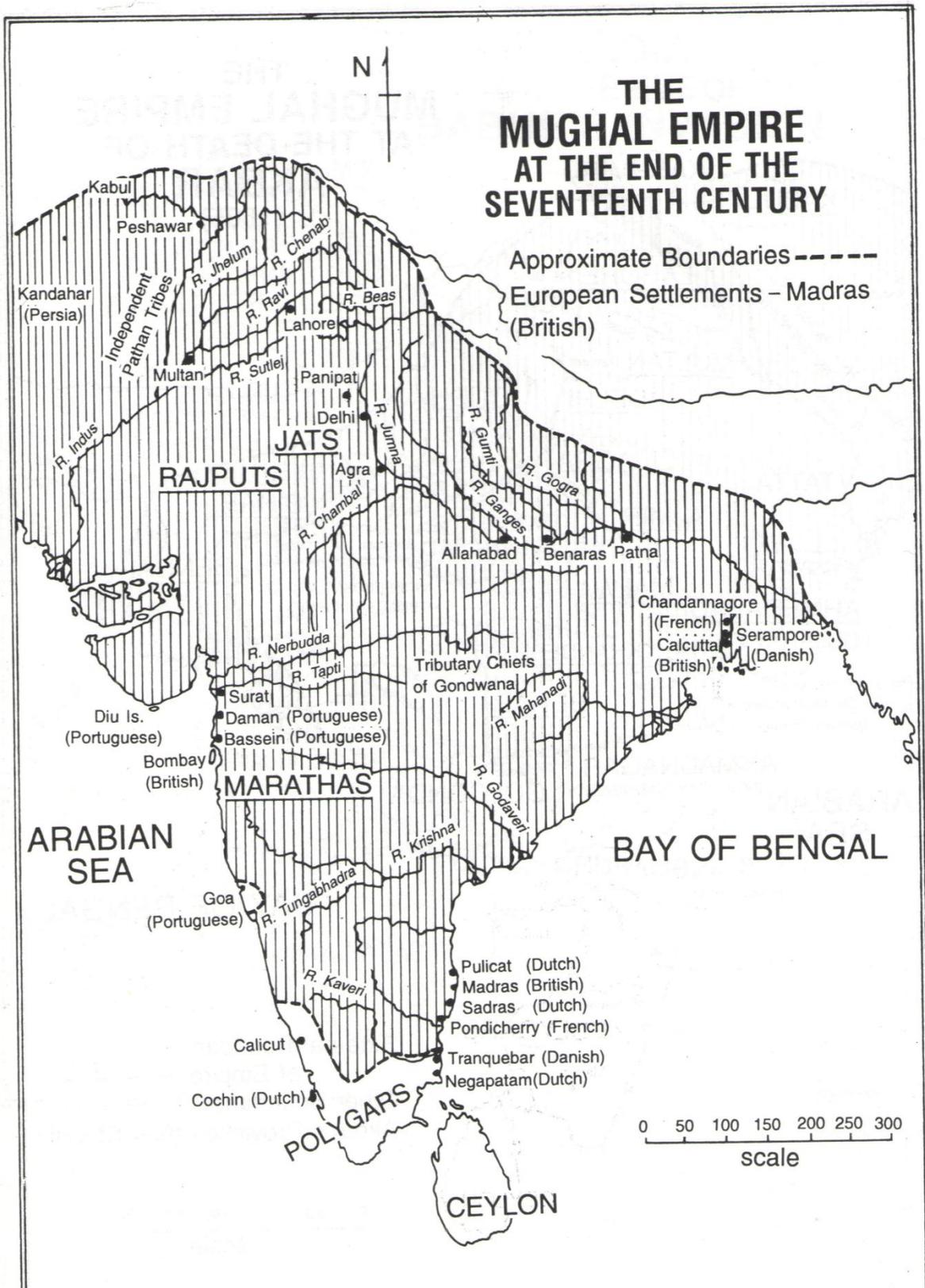
The Harem women were very intelligent, beautiful as well as creative. The policy of most of the Mughal rulers was to encourage and patronize creativity. It was because of the leisure lifestyle they got lots of time for experiment. Only motto was to please the king with something new and innovative, which gave rise to some very pleasant discoveries. For example, Asmat Banu Begam, mother of Nur Jahan, created a perfume by name, Itr-i-Jahangir. Although the only purpose of Harem women was to please the emperor, somehow the Harem life helped the Mughal women to develop their skill and creativity to enrich the culture of Mughal dynasty.

Modern dress has a great influence of this period in every form and kind. Today's wedding dress has the maximum impact. For example *sherwani* and *lehenga choli* introduced during this period are still the most sought-after attire. Silk is still the most in demand fabric which sings the tale of Mughal period and exhibits the grandeur of the Mughal magnificence.









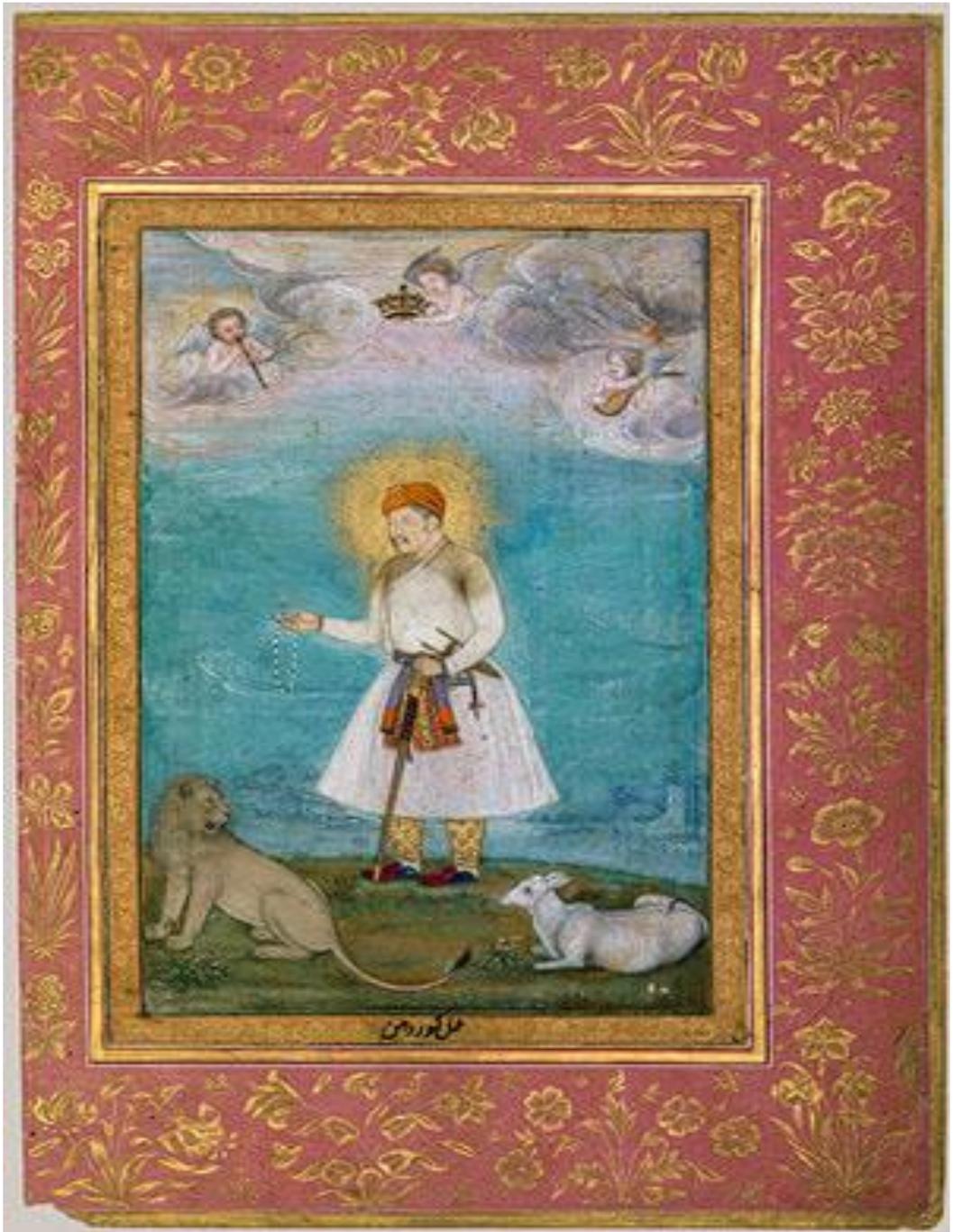


Plate No. 1

Akbar, Page from an album, 1605-10), Courtesy, (British Library)

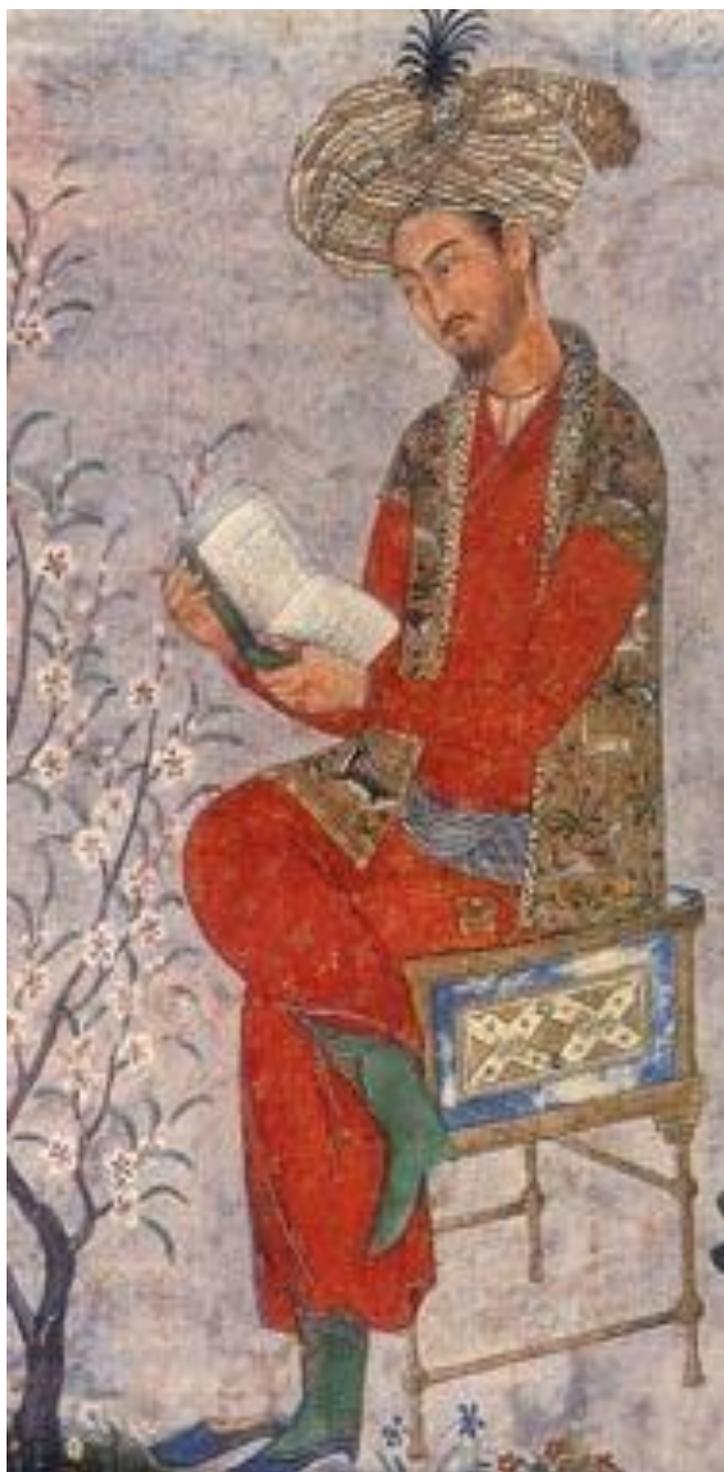


Plate No. 2

Babur, Leaf from Shah Jahan Album, (1596-1645), (British Museum), Courtesy, Rumer Godden, Gulbadan, Portrait of Rose Princess at the Mughal court.



Fig. 39

Plate No. 3

Different design of Patkas of the *Darbarii*, Courtesy, Indian Costumes II, Patka: A Costume Accessory by B.N Goswami with technical essay by Rahul Jain.



Plate No. 4

Portrait of Jahanara Begum, attributed painter Lalchand, from the Album of Dara Shikoh, (1641-42), Courtesy British Library.



Plate No. 5

Gul Safa, from Johnson Album, sweetheart of Dara Shikoh , Courtesy, British Library.



Plate No. 6

Nur Jahan Holding Portrait of Jahangir, 1627, attributed to Bishan Das, Courtesy, Image and meaning in Islamic art by Robert Hillenbrad.



Plate No. 7

Shah Jahan on his throne, A leaf from Padshah Nama, Courtesy, British Library.



Plate No. 8

Lady adorning herself before mirror (1625-30), Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin, Courtesy
(a page from Splendour of Mughal Painting by Ashok Das).



Plate No. 9

Portrait of Nur Jahan, Courtesy, National Library, New Delhi.

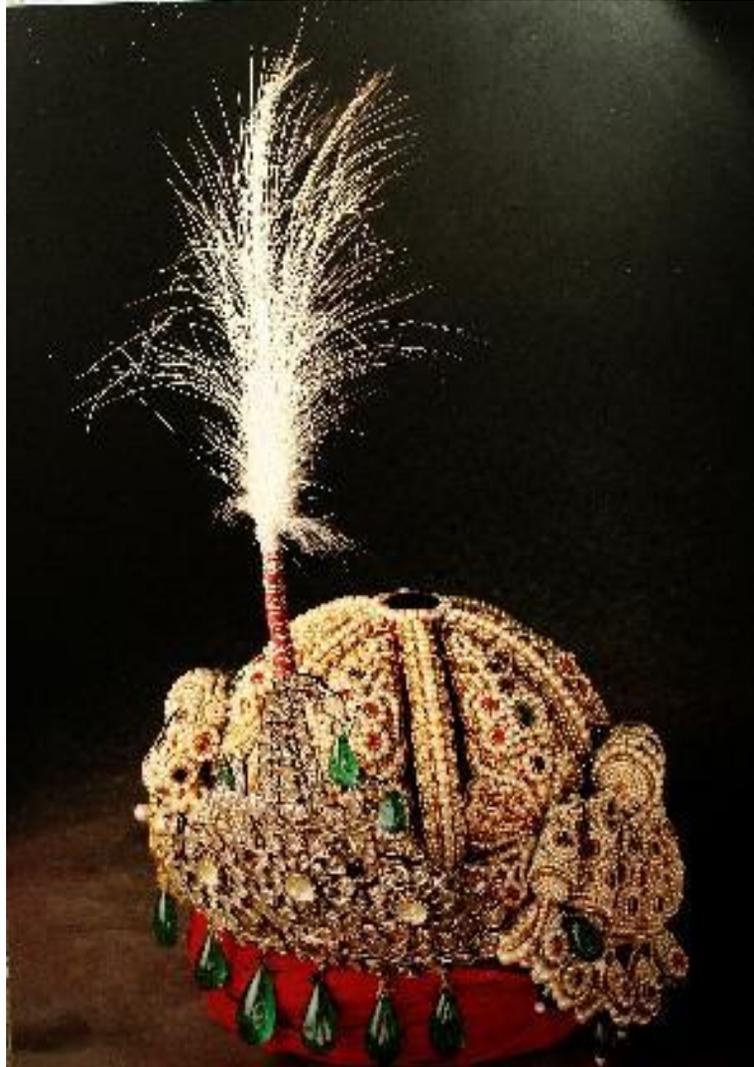


Plate No. 10

Mughal Turban, Courtesy, Katherine Prior and John Adamson's, "Maharaja's Jewels"

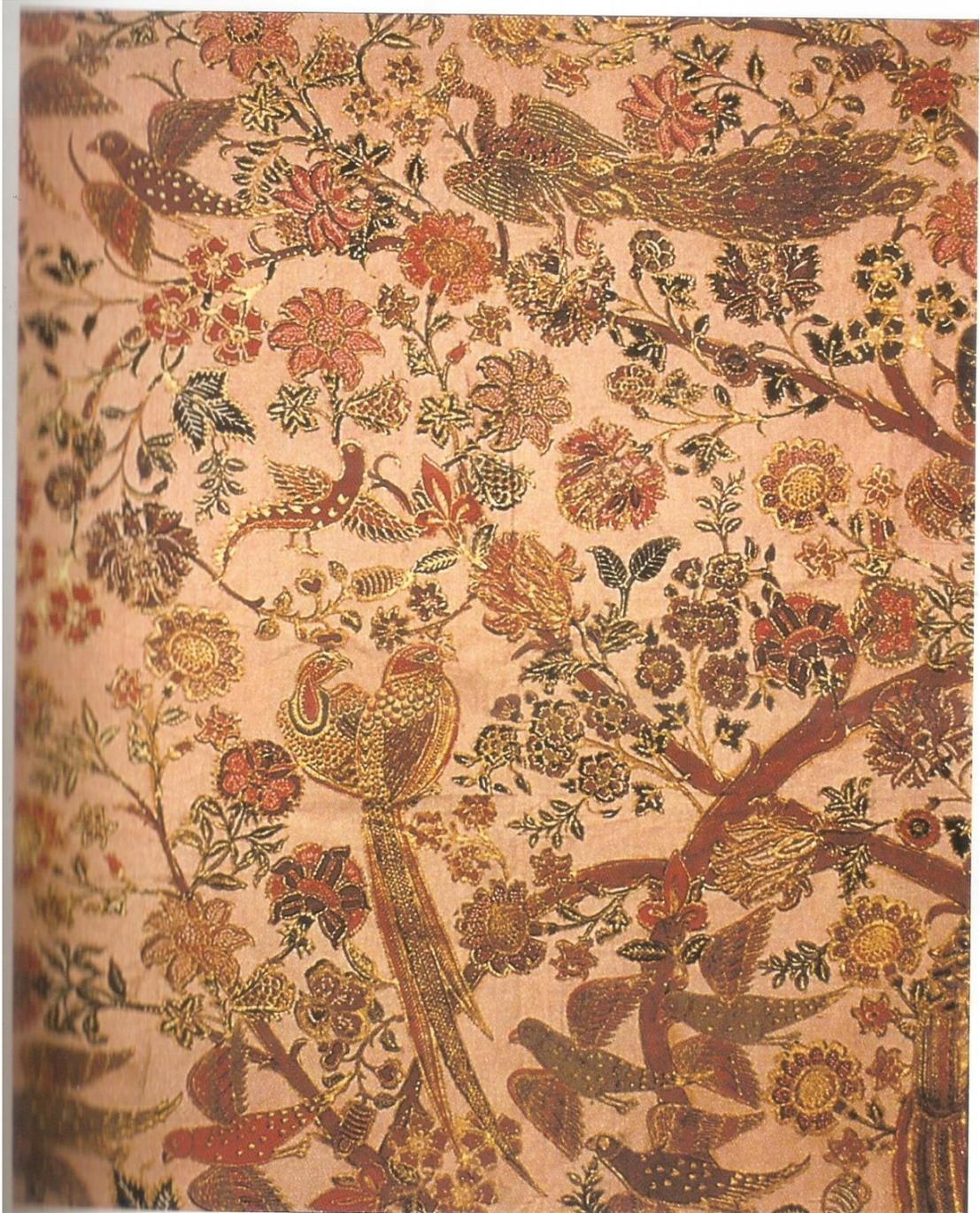


Plate No. 11

An Art of Kalamkari Courtesy, Woven Wonder; The Tradition of Indian Textiles by Asha Rani Mathur.



Plate No. 12

Jahangir with the painter Manohar, Courtesy, Indian Museum, New Delhi.



Plate No. 13

Jahangir, Courtesy, Indian Costumes II, Patka: A Costume Accessory by B.N Goswamy, with technical essay by Rahul Jain. .



Plate No. 14

Portrait of Hindu lady, Indian Miniature Painting Courtesy, Fragment of Aurangabad Ragamala, ca. 1650.



Plate No. 15

A Design in Cotton Clothes, Courtesy, Indian Costumes Ii, Patka: A Costume Accessory by B.N Goswamy with technical essay by Rahul Jain.



Plate No. 16

A work of Zari, Courtesy, Indian Costumes II, Patka: A costume Accessory by B.N Goswamy with technical essay by Rahul Jain..



Plate No. 17

Hindu festival of Holi which had become court routine from Akbar's time and barring a part of Aurangzeb's reign, continued throughout, The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
Courtesy, The Mughals of India by Harbans Mukhia.



Plate No. 18

Page from an Album, 1600, Courtesy, Chester Beatty Library.

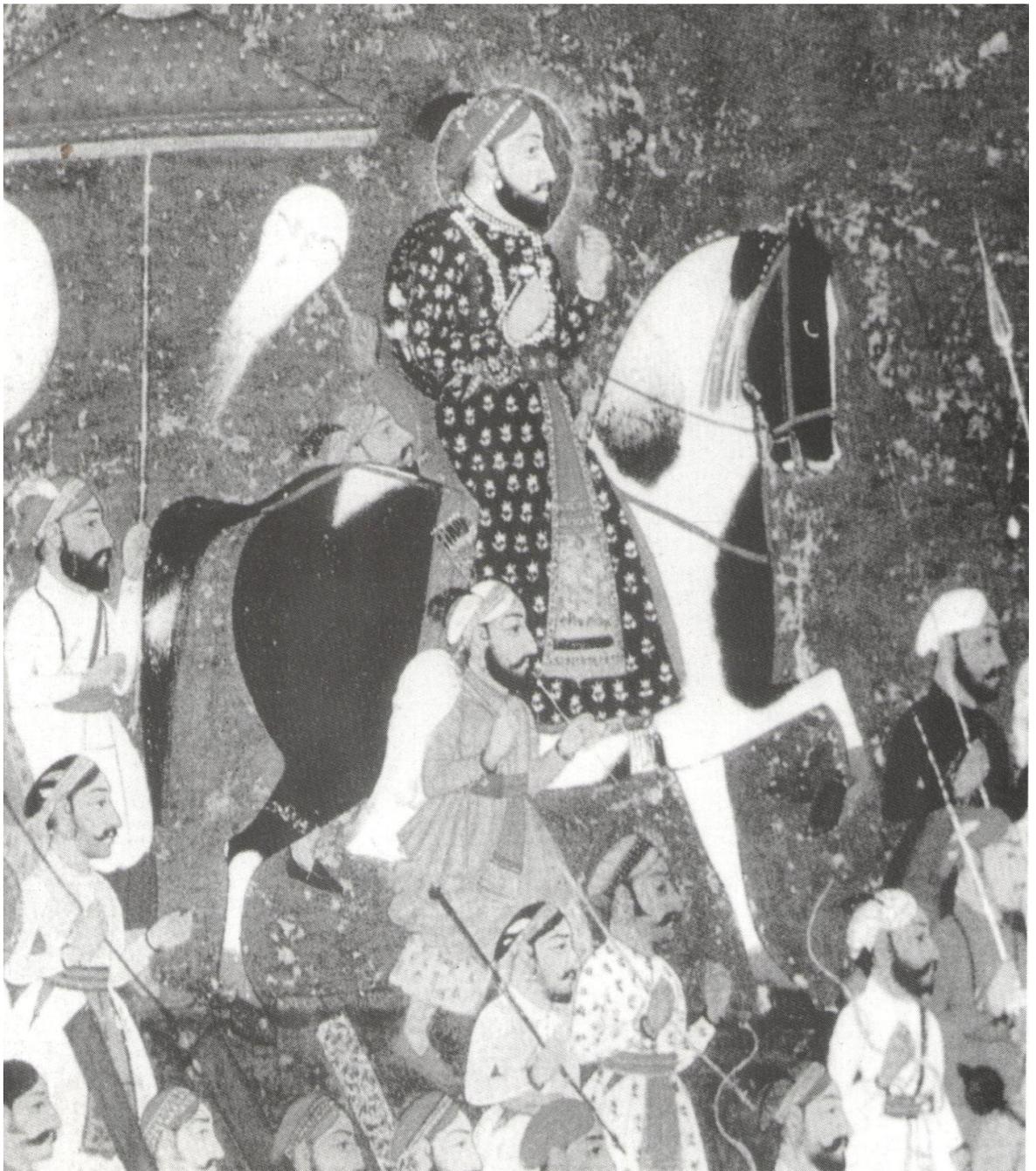
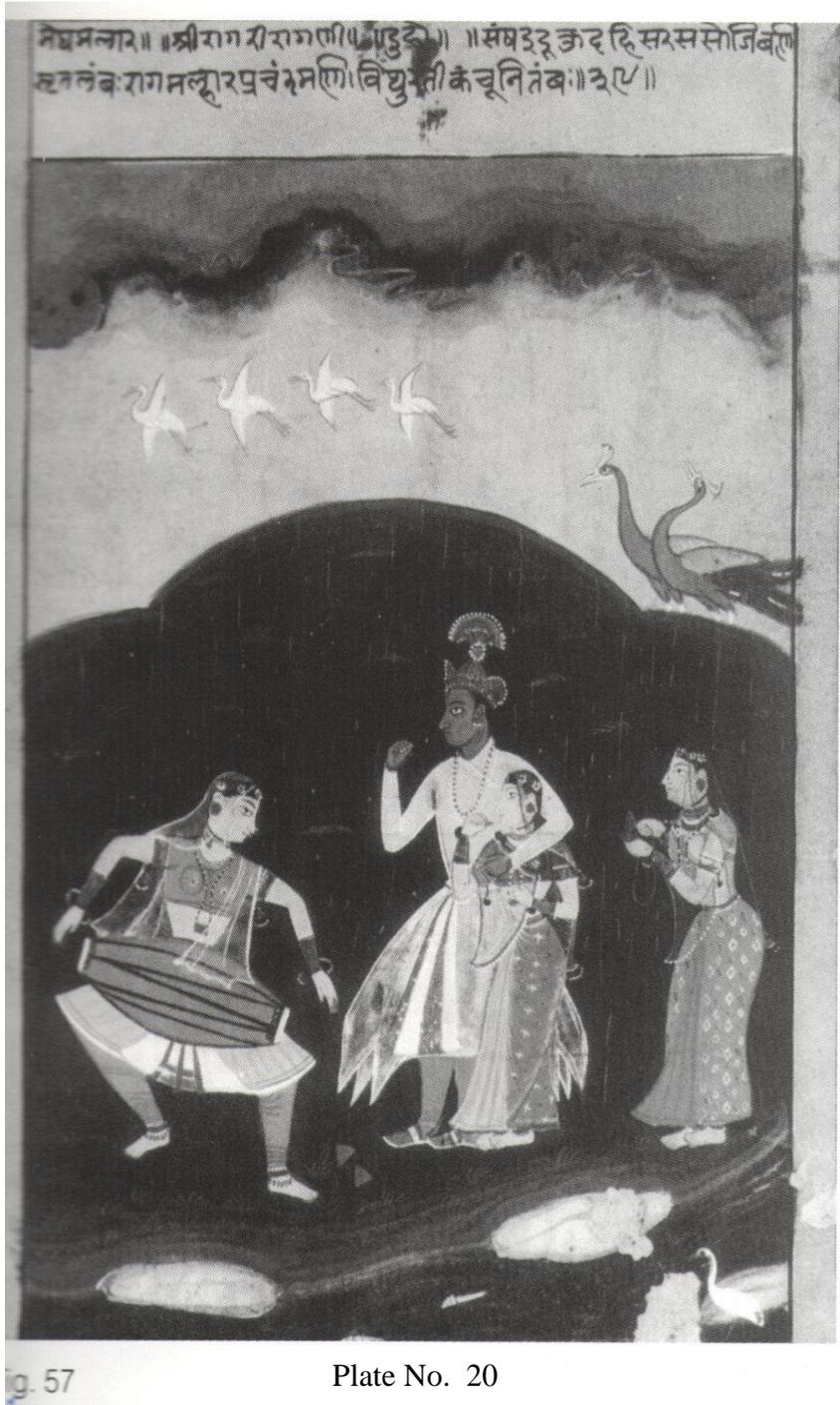


Plate No. 19

Maharaja Sangram Singh of Rajasthan, Goenka Collection, Bombay, Courtesy,
Indian Costumes II, Patka: A Costume Accessory by B.N Goswamy with technical
essay by Rahul Jain.



Ragini Megha Malhara, From Ragamala Series, Rajasthan, Mewar 1628: , In Motichand Khanjanchi Collection, Rajasthan, Courtesy, Indian Costumes II, Patka: A Costume Accessory, B.N Goswamy with Technical essay by Rahul Jain.



FIG. 64

Plate No. 21

Rao Bhoj Rathor, Rajasthan, 1606, Ialgarh Palace Bikaner, Courtesy, Indian Costume s II, Patka: A Costume Accessory by B.N Goswamy, With technical essay by Rahul Jain..



Plate No. 22

18th Century Paintings of Jaipur ruler Sawai Pratap Singh by the artist Jivan, Courtesy, Indian Costumes II, patka: A Costume Accessory by B.N Goswamy with technical essay by Rahul Jain.



Plate No. 23

Reception of Jahangir and Shah Jahan by Nur Jahan, 1617, Gallery of Art, Washington D.C,
Courtesy, Splendour of Mughal Painting by Ashok Das.

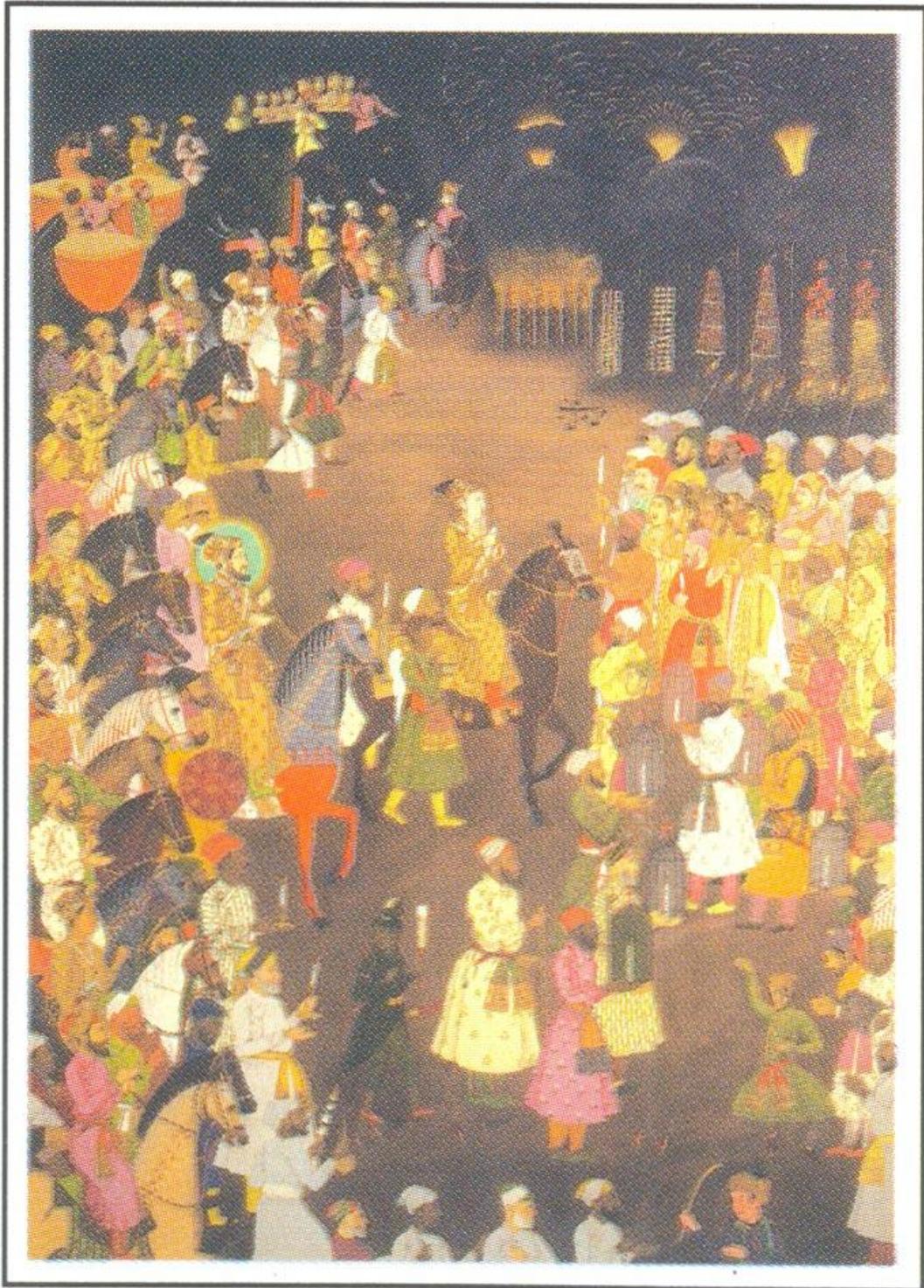


Plate No. 24

Marriage Procession of Prince Dara Shikoh, artist Haji Madani, 1740-50, Courtesy National Museum, New Delhi.



Plate No. 25

Shah Jahan, a leaf from Padshah Nama, Courtesy, British Library, and from the book , The Mughals of India by Harbans Mukhia



Fig. 41



Fig. 43



Plate No. 26

- 1) Shah Jahan on a terrace, 1627-28, Metropolitan Museum
- 2) Shah Jahan receiving Dara Shikoh, 1650, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles
- 3) Portrait of Shah Jahan in his fortieth year, 1632, Victoria Albert Museum, London
- 4) Portrait of Mirza Mukarram Khan, Mughal 1645, Foundation Custodia, Paris, Courtesy, Indian Costumes II, Patkha: a costume accessory, B. N. Goswamy with Technical essay by Rahul Jain



Plate No. 27

Courtesy, Lakme Fashion week, May 2014



Plate No. 28

Courtesy, Rohit Bal Indian Bridal Fashion Week 2013



Plate No. 29

Unmatched elegance- a well crafted piece of art, designed by Maliram Jewellers

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