



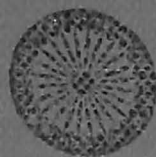
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AND URBAN
CENTRES
UNDER
THE GREAT
MUGHALS

H. K. NAQVI



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1972



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under the Great Mughals
1556-1707

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URBANISATION AND URBAN CENTRES
UNDER THE
GREAT MUGHALS
1556-1707

An Essay in Interpretation

Volume I

HAMEEDA KHATOON NAQVI



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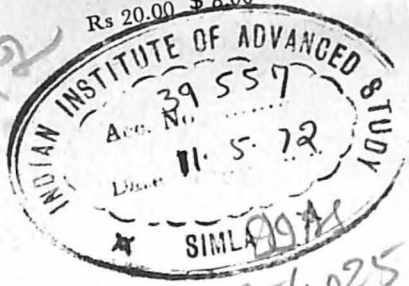
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To the memory of my
mother
BEGUM AMIR BANO SYED NIHALUDDIN



P R E F A C E

THE present monograph *Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals* is a part of my project undertaken at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla. The other part consisting mainly of Urban Industries and their various aspects during the Mughal ascendancy is to follow. In point of area this monograph, though dealing with the imperial dominion, excludes the Hindustani region, that is the area lying in between Lahore and Patna, as it has been covered in my earlier work *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India 1556-1803*, published by the Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968; London, 1969.

Urbanisation and urban growth in the subcontinent during the Muslim regime is an original theme for the modern historiographer to work upon. Indeed, the dynamism that the process of strict adherence to a positively urbanisational scheme is liable to introduce in an essentially rural or semi-rural environment (of the 10th-11th century subcontinent) has not as yet been studied. As a matter of fact the general tendency has so far been to portray that era as the urban versus the rural, the prosperity could be either urban or rural but never both. And since in that age greater emphasis was laid on the urban centres it would be, according to the traditional historians, a foregone conclusion that the rural economy would be neglected and also expropriated in order to feed the cherished towns of the Sultans and the Great Mughals.

Here in the following pages an attempt has, therefore, been made to interpret the era of the Great Mughals in relation to the various aspects of urbanisation such as the factors involved in enabling the Muslim rulers to adopt it, in the first instance, the obstructions experienced in the path of its progress, the means and methods they devised in order to overcome those obstructions, its impact on the general situation obtaining in the Empire and so on.

But the extreme scarcity of data at our disposal has, throughout the study, been a serious handicap in tracing the growth of

urbanisation or depicting the progress of individual towns in less vague terms. The extant non-political sources pertaining specially to commercial intercourse are generally scattered in non-Indian libraries and archives of Asia and Europe to which, unfortunately, I have had no access. Besides, the contemporary chronicles contained in the various libraries and archives of Upper India have understandably yielded meagre information relevant to our subject. Thus the present monograph is based on piecing together the scanty, fragmentary and widely dispersed material derived from the available sources in order to portray a tentative or at best an illustrative picture of the progress of urbanisation and urban centres in the non-Hindustani provinces of the Empire.

I am grateful to Professor Niharranjan Ray, our Director, and other authorities of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, who provided me with an opportunity and facility to pursue my work on *Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals*. I am also indebted to my colleagues, Dr. S. Saberwal, for his suggestions for stylistic changes in chapter I, and Dr. Mushirul Haq who helped me go through the proofs of this work.

30th May, 1970.
Indian Institute of Advanced Study,
Simla-5

Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A. A.* *Ā'in-i-Akbari* by 'Allami Abul Fazl.
A. N. *Akbarnāmah* by 'Allami Abul Fazl.
Dastur. *Dastur-ul-amal* by B. Anand Ram.
E. F. *The English Factories in India* ed. W. Foster.
J. B. O. R. S. *Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society.*
J. I. T. H. *Journal of Indian Textile History*, Ahmādabad.
J. E. S. H. O. *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*,
Leiden, Netherlands.

CHAPTER I

URBANISATION AND MUSLIM RULERS OF INDIA

ISLAM originating in the Arab towns of Mecca and Medina has had towns as the base of its political set up. Immediately after the death of the Prophet the Pious Caliphs had launched upon a campaign of conquest in which their spectacular success over a vast area within a few decades is still regarded as one of the wonders of history. In this conquest, the early Muslims were certainly aided by their religious zeal, superior strength and strict discipline; these attributes could of course enable them to humble the foe and win victories. But unlike the conquerors of later centuries such as Mongols, Muslims not stopping at that point, proceeded forthwith to establish their permanent rule over the subjected countries. Islam no doubt acted as a powerful force in cementing the relationship between the ruler and the subjects. But religious faith, no matter how strong it be, cannot account for perpetuation of domination, such as that of Muslims over the best part of their conquests for centuries to come. It therefore follows that Muslim rulers had offered to the countries they had conquered something more substantial than Islamic faith and fraternity alone: this study demonstrates that whatever other factors might have been incorporated in their programme of consolidation, urbanisation was one of the major items on the agenda. The vast territories could properly be governed through the deputies appointed by the Caliphs in a series of well dispersed towns located at strategically appropriate points. Thus the foundation of new towns or resuscitation of the older ones was undertaken primarily under the stress of political necessity. But by introducing this new element of multiplication of urban centres the Muslim conquerors had shifted the focal point from rural communities to urban agglomerations. As a result of this approach, the appearance of new towns became almost a routine matter in the Muslim Empire.

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The contemporary historical treatises are full of references on the foundation, growth, decline and other relevant aspects of urban centres.¹ These sources clearly bring out how skilfully Muslims had handled towns, possibly because of their urban background.

In Hindustan, for the immigrant Muslim rulers in an alien environment, an empire of the largest possible size was a necessity for political survival: given a strong empire the threats of internal revolt by the conquered peoples and of external attack from powerful neighbours would both recede. In these particular objectives Muslim Sultans had been eminently successful, the Hindu chieftains after sustaining defeat submitted and made no major move to overthrow the Sultanate.² Most of the Sultans' troubles came from either the quarters of fraternal Muslim immigrants, at times from converts, or else because of the apprehension of the Mongol inroads. Here again, as in the western countries, conquest and extension of empire was easily achieved, the crux of the problem was that of its consolidation. Borrowing once more from their past tradition the Sultans set up *thānas*, military posts, at appropriate points, placed them under their nominated incumbents with clearly stated areas and spheres of jurisdiction.³ These *thānas*, big or small, old or new, formed the nucleus of towns that were to be nurtured and raised in due course into large thriving populous urban centres.

Internally India had long since achieved its highest in the way of village and small-town expansion. Relatively large towns had appeared here from time to time: thus Pataliputra in the centuries immediately before and after the birth of Christ or Qanauj in the seventh century A. D., were prosperous towns just as in the ancient civilizations towns had flourished along the river banks of Nile, Tigris, Euphrates and Sind. But the appearance of occasional urban centres are much too far removed both in time and space to

1. To cite just one example see *Tarikh-i-Guzida* by Hamdullah Mustaufi.
2. See Appendix B; Incidents of rebellions during the Reign of Emperor Akbar. Out of a total of 144 incidents of revolts during his long reign of about fifty years, only 29 were by Hindus and these were by and large minor.
3. "... Imaduddin Muhammad Qasim, he appointed his own officers and agents in each town and city." *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 771.

exercise any perceptible impact on the existing conditions. Areas lying east of Lahore had not, till the end of 12th century, as yet come in any direct contact with the Muslims as rulers, hence they were still by and large unaware of the concept of higher level of urbanisation as also with its implications.

Briefly, urbanisation envisages a state of development where among other things, a compact conglomeration of inhabitants within a delimited area, a centralised governing organism, and industries as the materially productive unit, exist. This is in contradistinction to the rural society which implies a dispersed population over a relatively larger area, a rather loose administrative set up, and cultivation as the principal productive activity. But while the villages without any large urban centre in the vicinity can persist for centuries, the latter would perish in the absence of an agriculturally prosperous hinterland. That is to say flourishing agriculture is an essential complementary base for the rise of an urban structure. Further, if a town's industrial and economic activities are to grow an optimum utilisation of all the natural assets and resources, with which the area may be endowed, becomes an indispensable pre-requisite. The agricultural prosperity has, therefore, to be in regard to both foodgrains and valuable crops, specially the cotton crop, so that while the former sustains the urban population, the latter feeds the industries particularly the cotton textile industry. Because in the middle ages, cotton fabrics dominated the economy in much the same manner, as steel works do today. The volume and variety produced and the level of traffic achieved in cotton goods went a long way in determining the wealth of a town. It was through their manufactured products and commercial intercourse that the towns were able to acquire viability, indeed in some cases even accumulate wealth and greatly ramify the orbit of their business operations; Ahmadabad in c. 1600 is a case in point.¹ In the process of working towards the achievement of urban viability the Turko-Pathans and subsequently the Great Mughals penetrated wide and deep into their vast dominion. By virtue of the establishment of a sovereign state at the top and peace and

1. See *infra*, chap. IV.

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security within the imperial territory, they were able to mould the economic policies at will.

Though occasionally studies on individual urban centres during the Muslim regime have been undertaken, urbanisation and urban growth in the Indian environment is an original concept for the modern Indian historiographers and hardly any systematic work of substance on the subject has been produced before the present author took it up.¹ In fact the general tendency has so far been to portray that era in terms of urban versus rural, assuming that prosperity could be either urban or rural but never both.² And since in that age greater emphasis was laid on the urban centres it would, according to them, be a foregone conclusion that the rural economy would be neglected and also expropriated in order to feed the cherished towns of the Sultans and the Great Mughals. Historians writing in this vein do not however, realise that no circumstances can be over-powering enough to make the parasitical towns and the expropriated villages,³ to continue to grow and flourish side by side for over five centuries at a stretch. Actually the two units of human habitat are inter-dependent, working in mutual coordination, so that the prosperity or stagnation of one immediately produces corresponding response in the other.⁴

On surface the setting up of military posts, *thānas* with an imperial deputy appears to be a simple matter. Even where a new town for the purpose was to be founded the procedure was equally uncomplicated. Forty *namāzis*, a central mosque and a central bazar was all that according to Muslim legists was needed

1. See H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1968/London, 1969.
2. For instance, S. C. Misra remarks that "Muslim rule (in Gujarat) remained urban, superficial and distant". *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*, 1.
3. It is generally held that the oppressed peasantry in those distant days had no way of articulating their grievances. But this view is not exactly true. When Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 1330 enhanced the revenue assessment in the *doābah*, the *raiyyat* protested by either running away, rising in revolt or doing both. Barani, 473.
4. In years of famine and distress, in any particular area, the adjoining towns are equally affected. During the 1630-33 famine of Gujarat, Ahmadabad was almost ruined and could never recover its past glory.

to found a town. Given this nucleus for a town, it would entice villagers from its vicinity—people with or without skill—to move to town to provide its core inhabitants with water, housing, personal service, and sundry other goods and services. The town was left at this initial level for a while and the founders watched its general progress.¹

If the town showed promise of stability or, alternatively, if the state was particularly interested in developing it, its further growth required some additional investment. A *faujdār* or *kotwāl* with his contingent and staff would have to be stationed there in order to maintain peace and order in and around the town. A well protected fortress for their residence would be constructed. Apart from the residential houses for the laity, other construction works, for example, reservoirs, more of bazars, mosques, serais and other public utility works would have to be undertaken. The communication system both by road and if possible by river, would have to be improved, linking the town with other major urban centres of the region. Moreover, bearing in mind the general characteristics of the town, the state provided it with facility to raise the output of its manufactures and trading activity to a degree that it could eventually attain viability.

In the meantime, village craftsmen or craftsmen from other towns settling in this town, would produce commodities needed for general urban consumption. After a lapse of some time, if there still was a running supply of raw materials from the countryside and other facilities of work, the local output would grow discouraging their import, and as time passed, account for self sufficiency. Further on in point of time, provided other conditions remain the same, the urban artisan through constant practice and continual incentive to work, tended to acquire greater skill in his craft either in the volume or variety of his products. In either case, he would develop a market outside his home town.

The urban artisan's position in the town was as vital as that of the cultivator in his village. As a village without cultivators can be only a temporary habitation, a town bereft of the artisans would

1. For the three stages in the development of town also see *infra* chap. III.

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be a structure without pillars. The artisans served as the productive base of urban economic life; his products constituted one of the chief sources through which the towns could eventually acquire an independent economic status. As such the urban craftsmen in the Muslim countries of the west were given special recognition, where *mohallas* or wards were assigned to each craft and its practitioners formed themselves into corporate bodies, usually affiliated to some religious order.¹ The state respected the independence and traditional usages of the corporations which allowed equal status to all its members. The affiliation to religious orders of the corporate bodies might explain the "sense of honesty and sobriety which all observers agree in attributing to the Muslim artisan".² The available evidence is unclear as to whether the Indian urban artisan was similarly organised or whether the state, corporate bodies, and the religious orders played a significant part in promoting his occupational activities. Apart from two direct allusions in the *Ā'in-i-Akbari*³ and *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*,⁴ circumstantially also it would appear that some sort of adjustment broadly on the above lines had occurred in Hindustan as well. It may, for instance, be inferred from the general progress of the industries during the period, from the emergence of numerous industrial towns,⁵ the growing proficiency of the Hindustani artisans even in new crafts, such as paper-making, construction work, carpet-weaving, tinning and the armament industry,⁶ from the craftwise division of quarters in the Indian towns and so on. Large scale conversion of the Indian artisans to Islam may also be taken to indicate some assurance of advancement in their social status and safeguards regarding their professional interests. Finally, in so far as the Sultans had brought their flair for cities with them one may surmise a persistence of the traditional

1. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, 272.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *A. A.* II, 44.

4. Khafi Khan, I, 87.

5. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc. 137-43, 229, 235, 243-44, 255-56. Also see H. K. Naqvi, "Industrial Towns of Hindustan in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions*, vol. VII, Simla, 1969, pp. 236-47; *infra*, *Appendix A*,

6. *A. A.* I. 119.

concern of the Islamic countries in fostering the activities of the artisans.

Besides craftsmen, a considerable segment of the rural working force of the nearby areas, not directly engaged in agricultural production, would also get drawn to the town. With hundreds of vocational openings held out by the town the incoming villagers could be absorbed anywhere they preferred and be confident of a promising future as long as the town flourished and continued to grow. Settling down they prospered, built houses, multiplied and gradually forgetting their native villages they took roots in the town.

This option of trade and calling to the native Hindu villagers was a new phenomenon and had profound bearing on that caste-ridden society of c. 12th century, as is amply borne out by Al-Biruni's account in his *Kitāb-ul-Hind*. Though some of the traditionally better-placed ones still tried to conform to the older practice—such as a Rajput seeking a military position—the breach in the caste stringency had been effected. If the village cobbler or milkman equipped himself and took to dyeing, tinning, weaving or engaged himself in business, it was his choice. The state was not interested in the antecedents of individuals but was more keen on mobilising all the possible resources in order to strengthen and expand the productive aspects of the town. Therefore, the state would rather encourage social and occupational mobility or else it, for one thing, could not have found hands to work the newly introduced crafts mentioned above and also satisfactorily furnish the greatly augmented demand for consumer goods.

From what has been said above it may tentatively be suggested that the new villagers reaching towns found it more profitable to secure entry into some of the corporate bodies of craftsmen. But these being affiliated to some religious order of Muslims they could not be admitted unless they accepted Islam. Being under privileged as low caste Hindus they might well have found the promise of the new faith attractive. Perhaps this was the way in which the majority of urban craftsmen got converted to Islam.

In the growing town, apart from men engaged in business, the whole series of intermediaries acting between the producers and

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consumers finding much better chances of a prosperous trade, would be drawn towards this town. Amongst them, there would also be a segment of businessmen of higher level, such as big merchants, *sarāfs*, importer-exporters, who could now with the improved facilities of trade afforded by the town, ramify their business operations. They again in their train would attract larger number of lesser trading personnel to the town.

The growth of a town beyond the second level would require additional state action ; more security measures in the form of a city wall, repair of the fort, enlargement of *faujdār's* contingent or appointment of *Kotwāl* instead and so on. A considerable outlay would again have to be expended on other repairs, additional public utility buildings, tanks, wells, mosques, serais, bazars, hospitals, *madrassahs*, gardens, some residential houses and streets as well as on the improvement or even construction of highways linking the town with other major urban centres of the Empire. The embellishment work too would proceed accordingly.

In point of fact, the achievement of this third level in the development of town marks its progress from regional to national significance. The capital towns of Lahore, Agra, Delhi, the chief commercial centres such as Kabul, Lahore, Agra, Ahmadabad, Cambay, Surat and Burhanpur or the principal producing centres of Lahore, Agra and Ahmadabad enjoyed pre-eminence in the Empire. This leading status, they acquired through their administrative, commercial, industrial or a combination of these aspects. By virtue of their size, the kings had invested enormous outlay in these towns, but over a period of time each of them would not merely remain viable but also accumulate enough wealth of its own so as to finance major enterprises of the Empire, such as the sea borne trade, as is considered in chapters V and VI. Indeed the study reveals that by about the seventeenth century, the existence of innumerable towns of second level and several towns of first level had become a materially productive asset to the Empire ; they were not only earning their own keep but also acted as the source for acquiring and accumulating additional wealth which could be deployed in future major investments.

But all towns did not grow uniformly : the rate of progress in

each case varied, for instance Thatta (of ancient origin),¹ Ahamadabad² and Burhanpur³ did not register a comparable rate of growth. Several factors were responsible for this difference in the course of their development. Amongst others, topography was a cardinal factor in determining the rate of progress of a town, as will be examined presently. The hinterland of the urban centres had to be rich not only in the production of foodgrains but also had to have substantial resources in respect of valuable crops, metal and mineral wealth in order to support the urban industries. The towns had to be well-connected with the adjoining areas, with other towns of the region, and with the exit points of the Empire. The strategic importance of the town had to be borne in mind; Qandahar, a disputed point between Persia and Hindustan, could not be developed, but it would have been fatal not to secure and develop Kabul. The urban course of development was also affected by the extent to which the kings wished to invest in a particular town. The amount of outlay expended in a town determined its security and protective measures, the state of its communication, the condition of its public utility works, its administrative efficiency as well as its intellectual and theocratic level. Finally, a particular town's fortune was to a large extent dependent upon the level of urban growth achieved in the surrounding region: in balance it was easier to develop a new town in an urbanised region such as Gujarat than in a backward rural environment that of, say, Orissa. As a matter of fact, in the former where generally urban atmosphere prevailed several satellite towns, such as Mustafabad, Nausari, Bahadurpur and so on were apt to spring up, with or without the royal initiative, merely in the wake of eminent towns of Ahamadabad, Surat and Burhanpur.

Clearly, then, not all regions in the imperial territory were equally advanced in respect to urban growth: a sure index of an uneven economic development in the various parts of the Empire. The highest developed areas from the point of view of urbanisation

1. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 258.
2. Founded in 1410, see *infra* chap. III.
3. Founded in 1401, also see *infra* chap. III.

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were Hindustan—the region lying between Lahore and Benaras and roughly the Ahmadabad-Burhanpur-Surat sector. Urban growth in Hindustan was examined at length in *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803*; the latter sector has been discussed here in the fourth and fifth chapters. Areas moving away from these two zones manifest a sharp decline in urbanisation primarily because geographical conditions are not favourable. The desert or semi desert tracts are too arid to sustain large sized human conglomeration, some habitation could certainly thrive along the bank of river Sind or around the canal systems but that was about all. Bengal on the other hand was much too wet, the clouds heavily loaded with monsoon, the terrain marshy or inundated with inordinately large number of watery courses. This overflow of water inhibited the growth of towns to any considerable degree in more ways than one, for instance, no masonry or permanent houses could be built as much for want of material (e.g. lime) as for fear of being washed away along with the recurrent floods. The southern parts of Bengal, being slightly drier, was more promising, specially so, since the coastal area was good for sea ports. Since these ports served the Hindustani regions as well, the Mughal Emperors were particularly anxious to develop them to ensure maximum commercial utilisation. The hilly terrain and extreme cold of Kashmir and Kabul did not present great promise for urbanisation. The development of Kabul town was an urgent demand for commercial intercourse with the western countries but its potential was nevertheless limited.

The opening of the *maktabs* (primary schools), *madrasahs* and seminaries for higher learning and thereby introducing an academic atmosphere in the towns was one of the chief characteristics of Muslim urban milieu in the medieval ages. In contrast to Hindu reservation of education and learning to the Brahmans only, Muslims sought to make it available universally. The *maktabs* and *madrasahs* were usually attached to mosques and mausoleums¹ and were often founded simultaneously with the town. With the growth of town

1. Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 93; also see Khāfi Khan, I, 425.

their number increased,¹ and by the time the towns reached the second level more of *madrasahs* and seminaries appeared. The staff of these institutions were maintained by the state or by private donations which usually assigned them some rent free land in lieu of their salaries. These were known as *madad-i-māsh* and were granted out of the lands earmarked for *waqfs* or pious foundations.² *Maktabs* usually imparted the rudiments, knowledge of primary level. As was customary at that point of time, acquisition of religious knowledge held a popular fascination, Muslim *Madrasahs* and seminaries too had a theocratic bias and turned out *Ulama*, *Qazis* and *Muftis*. But secular disciplines were equally valued and ethics, accounting, agriculture, mensuration, engineering, politics, literature, astronomy; medicine, higher mathematics, history, and the physical and mechanical sciences were taught.³ Thus these *madrasahs* produced not only eminent scholars and sages in abstract sciences but also well qualified men for appropriate positions in imperial hierarchy of services. These institutions lent an intellectual atmosphere and soothing relief from the otherwise busy urban life full of artisans, merchants, traders, executives, the armed forces and enabled the town to acquire, in due course, a distinct intellectual identity of its own.

In lesser towns, the pace of embellishment was much slower and of course it varied greatly from place to place. For example, Thatta, though the capital of Sind, is hardly credited with any remarkable work in this direction, nor are the majority of the ordinary towns such as Nasirpur, Bhakkar, Broach, Sultanabad, Dholpur, Sironj, Jalesor, Sonargaon or Hugli. But wherever it was undertaken it was done so either at the expressed wish of the king or at the initiative of some powerful *amir*. The inhabitants of second level towns would not have the necessary funds to finance such major projects. Even here, however, orchards and gardens of fruits and fragrant flowers, a characteristic feature of any Muslim urban settlement, were to be found almost everywhere in

1. Yusuf Husain, *op. cit* Chap. III ; S. S. Nadvi, *Hayat-i-Shibli* p. I, q. by I. H. Qureshi, *op. cit*, 217.
2. I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 215.
3. *A. A. I.*, 288-89.

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and around the towns, though their quality would depend on the owner's circumstances.

Not all the towns founded by the Muslim rulers in India have endured. Indeed some of the towns, whether founded¹ or re-built during this period, made no headway at all.² Some failed inspite of repeated attempts by the rulers to place them on the path of progress.³ Others enjoyed a brief span of life then succumbed.⁴ Even amongst those that did endure there was a great variation as regards the size, skyline, special attributes and each had a distinctive history.

Though all towns embodied all the different aspects of an urban life: the administrative, industrial, commercial, religious-cum-intellectual and decorative, with the lapse of time, the towns tended to develop one or more aspects as predominant overshadowing the others; for example, the industrial and commercial aspects of Broach and Burhanpur, the commercial aspect of Surat and Hugli or the administrative aspect of Dacca appear to have been the more dominant features.

It may be pointed out here that our study of urban growth is greatly handicapped by paucity of material. The foregoing survey of the process of urban development is based on piecing together the widely dispersed, stray and fragmentary allusions occurring in the narratives of the period. Whether political or non-political, the contemporary literature does not go beyond describing the founder of a town,⁵ its chief characteristics, outstanding monument if any, religious significance and occasionally a word regarding its industry or commerce; when all these aspects appear in one place as in the *Ā'in-i-Akbari* or *Haft Iqlim*, it does not exceed a few lines. The *Khātima* of *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi* is exceptionally comprehensive in

1. For example, Jahangirpurah in Khandesh founded by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, *Ma'āthar-i-Rahimi*, II, 606-07.
2. For example, Shahpur in Berar founded by Sultan Murad, *A. A.* II, 207.
3. For example, Sultanabad in Gujarat, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III 203-04.
4. For example, Mustafabad in Gujarat, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 255; Mahmudabad in Gujarat, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II: 193; Bahadurpur in Khanadesh, *Ma'āthar-i-Rahimi*, II, 469-70; Khāfi Khan, I, 278.
5. For example, see *A. A.* II, 247, 249, 250 etc. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 191, 255, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 469; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 262; *Haft Iqlim*, I, 80, 81, 85.

its coverage, still it excludes all statistical details of population at various points of time, its breakdown in the *purahs*; list of prices of commodities obtaining, or particulars relative to industries and commerce of the town.¹ It is nevertheless, of great value in as much as this is the earliest available work on the town discussed at relatively greater length.

There are at our disposal, besides, some contemporary travelogues, as also some records of the trading activities of the Portuguese, the Dutch trading company, and the edited volumes of the Records of the English East India Company, which throw some light on the urban industrial and commercial activities of the period. But these travellers or companies wrote for their masters at home and were generally not interested in covering details unrelated to their immediate concern. Further, the Portuguese were most active in c. 1515-1580, and the Dutch in c. 1610-1640. The English, appearing in c. 1610, gradually expanded their business and by about the end of the century, had begun to concentrate more energetically on the eastern coast of the Empire. In every case, their interest was confined to particular commodities and to particular places with individual methods of operations. Consequently this source too is bound to be incomplete for our purpose. It may also be noted that the Persian sources till c. 1650 seldom mention these companies in connection with trade presumably because they were still in an inconsiderable position as traders; even the volume of their trade in the circumstances could not have been at a very high percentage of the aggregate trade. But unfortunately this is the only material available to us relative to commerce of the period. We therefore notwithstanding the hiatus in years and general inadequacy, tend to overdraw its importance.

But still poorer are the quantitative data so vital for an urban study. This important lacuna in the available sources make our study of urban development altogether inexact and vague. Nearly all our characterisations have to be tentative. Thus the sources yield no figures pertaining to the volume of manufactured goods,

1. It was compiled at a later date, 4th *Jamadi-us-Sani* 1176/1762; *Khātima*, 25+.

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the current prices, volume and frequency of internal traffic, intercourse with the outside world and so on. Indeed even the population figures are missing, an evidence so essential in determining the size of a town. In point of fact, a closer scrutiny of the Persian sources reveals that demography was not then developed in the current sense of the term. Instead of the modern method of census the oriental medieval authors confined themselves to what they called *Khāna shumāri*, that is recounting the number of households, and also occasionally the number of *mohallas* in any urban unit.¹ In fact the contemporaries judged the size of a town by counting its *mohallas*,² or else by the number of crafts as each profession generally occupied a separate *mohalla*.³

The above survey reflects a remarkable consistency in urban growth under the Muslim rulers of India ; the degree of success achieved may now appear modest but considering the age and the odds the record of sustained and steady growth remains dominant. The earlier Sultans did not live to see it blossom but the firm foothold they had secured, the ineffectiveness of the Hindu non-Rajput rajahs and *Zamindārs*, the thriving agriculture and the trend of economy transformed into growing urbanisation with its attendant benefits, must have convinced them of the appropriateness of their policy in the obtaining environment. Each successive Sultan whoever had the luck to grace any throne in India, regardless of his origin,⁴ antecedents and the region he came to govern, strictly and invariably adhered to urbanisation. In conformity with the pattern set by the preceding Sultans they undertook measures best calculated to promote urbanisation. Given a continuity in policy, for the common citizen of the town the name and dynasty wielding power at the Centre became unimportant : the ill effects to be expected from perpetual hostilities for supremacy amongst rival

1. *Khātima*, 13-8 ; *A. A.* II, 247 ; *A. A.* II, 207 for the number of stone houses at Chanderi.
2. *Khātima*, 12-8 ; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III. 191.
3. *Khātima*, 13, 14, 19.
4. Some of the provincial Sultans such as those of Gujarat and Sind were natives of India who had accepted Islam before their accession. See *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 294-500-01.

claimants to power were also thus reduced. Because no matter which party won, the basic policy of urbanisation in the area would suffer no deviation. Thus, the uninterrupted identification of Muslim sovereigns of India with urbanisation acted as a tenacious running theme in their momentous task of consolidation of the long stretch of occupied territories. Their performance in this particular respect was so eminently successful that no external force could, as long as they retained vigour, shake it. But once the Muslim rulers succumbed to their personal inner weaknesses, the unsuppressed predatory elements were let loose, the process was then reversed; de-urbanisation and de-consolidation had set in. The subsequent fragmentation of the vast firmly integrated Empire was the logical outcome.

CHAPTER II

NATURAL ENDOWMENTS OF THE EMPIRE

THE vast dominion of Emperor Akbar was composed of areas of several geographical varieties. There were the mountainous regions of Kashmir and Kabul, desert or semi-desert provinces of Sind, Multan and Ajmer, low levelled and water ridden *subah* of Bengal, the upper littoral in east and west of the peninsula and finally the low stretch of plain area of the Indus and Gangetic river systems. While all these geographical units contributed their peculiar set of natural potentialities to the general enrichment of the imperial resources, it was chiefly the plain area lying in between Lahore and Benares—then called Hindustan—that dominated over the Empire. It is possible that Hindustan had acquired this dominant position by virtue of its political security, healthy climate, fertility of land and easier life—factors which had enabled it to make steady advance in urban growth and also in urbanism.¹

The rivers flowing in the Empire provided alluvium deposits on their banks and also irrigational facilities covering wider range of area. Further, canals were opened, wells dug² and Persian wheels³ were commonly employed in order to supplement the natural rainfall so that less dry areas too were brought under cultivation.⁴ With the medieval means at their disposal, the Muslim rulers of India could not do much for either the almost perennially inundated Bengal or the vast dry desert of Rajputana but other provinces generally had adequate supply of water for their normal irrigational requirements; even in those parts of Sind, Multan, the Punjab⁵ or other

1. H. K. Naqvi, *Progress of Urbanisation in United Provinces, 1550-1800*, *J.E.S.H.O.* Vol X., Part I, 1967, 81-101.
2. *A. A. II*, 151.
3. *Tughlaqnāma*, Amir Khusru, 63 : Shams Siraj Afif, 129-30 ; *Tārikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, Eng. tr. 130, 131, 137 ; *Babarnāma*, II, 206.
4. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 225.
5. *A. A. II*, 151.

subahs where cultivation had recently been introduced. Thus with the exception of geographically unsuitable areas, on whatever spot other factors helped, human agglomeration could be formed without any fear of water shortage. In the alluvial soils of plains wells could be easily dug and they abounded in the Empire. Some of the wells were of masonry work with running staircase on all four sides leading down to almost the surface of water.¹ These were called *baolis*; they provided shade and shelter from the blazing sun to the needy, hence were quite often built on the highways with a view to reduce the tedium of the tired travellers. Numerous canals dug from time to time² provided additional water for irrigational and non-irrigational purposes. Here it may be pointed out that broadly speaking water in accordance with the Islamic law could be used from any source free from taxation.³ Even the rain water was stored in tanks and reservoirs of varying sizes built both by the kings or/and munificent *amirs* to fulfil human needs. Similarly, river water was allowed to all high and low; towns and villages situated on their banks being the chief beneficiaries. Furthermore, rivers also acted as a natural line of protection for the inhabitants populated on their banks, the degree of protection afforded would no doubt vary with the breadth, depth and the state of current at the particular site of river. Thus for instance the forts of Agra, Shahjahanabad, Lahore and Allahabad could dispense with the surrounding moat on the sides washed by the rivers Jamuna, Ravi and the Ganges. Later, in the eighteenth century when anarchy broke out all over Hindustan, river Jamuna but much more so the Ganges, could quite effectively ward off the inroads of the Sikhs, Marhattas and other predatory forces towards areas lying east of these rivers. The veritable net work of rivers flowing through the plains was also useful in somewhat reducing the heat of the tropical sun in the summer months. Finally, one of the principle purpose served by almost all the major rivers of the Empire was that

1. P. Mundy, II, 101, 264; *Khatima*, 23.
2. For the canals of Sultan Firoz Shah see *Tārīkh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, tr., 130, 131, 137; for some other canals see Badaoni, III, 274; *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 601-02; *Bahur-i-Sukhan*, 131a; *Shahjahan Nama*, III, 29.
3. *Hedaya*, 612.

of transportation of goods.¹ As such these were used even in the Hindu India, but with the advent of Muslims as rulers, their utility for the purpose grows manifold, because the latter had consistently fostered urban development which could be achieved only by providing suitably for the maximum facility of movement of men and merchandise. Contemporary means of communication being what they were, the vital role played by the riverine traffic particularly in regard to the movement of goods cannot be over estimated. Though taking much longer period, the riverine routes were safer, surer and could carry heavy bulk at cheaper cost. Evidently realising all these advantages of trade through riverine courses the Muslim canon laws had laid down that great rivers, canals or any other watery courses must be cleared and repaired at the expense of public treasury,² so that they are kept in order for navigational use. The Sultans and later the Mughals had therefore taken good care to see that the rivers did not get silted blocking the usual traffic route.³ Indeed the sources do not reveal any stage when movement of boats in any part of the Empire was held up for any length of time on this account as happened later on in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when organised and effective administration of the Great Mughals had been in abeyance for several decades. During his reign, Emperor Akbar too had adopted measures in order to ensure the proper regulation and smooth running of riverine traffic; his successors maintaining and may be even modifying the measure in accordance with the augmented volume and frequency of traffic consequent to a period of expanding industries and flourishing trade.

Points of exit—sea ports: The Empire also enjoyed the possession of several sea ports which were kept in good repair and maintained suitably to serve the purpose of medieval maritime commerce. It is true that in some cases the use of harbour had at times to be abandoned due either to change in the course of the river on whose mouth they were situated as Thattah or Sonargaon

1. Shams Siraj Afif, 310; Roe, 113.

2. *Hedaya*, 615.

3. *A. A. I.*, 291.

or by receding of the sea coast as was happening with Cambay by about seventeenth century. Notwithstanding these losses sustained through the fickleness of Nature, the Empire still had a long range of coastal indented area from which a new spot for developing an alternative sea port could easily be found. Thus while in the later half of sixteenth century, Lahiri Bunder, Cambay, Broach, Rander, Surat, Hugli and Sonargaon were the chief imperial ports, in the 17th century, Cambay declined yielding place to Surat in Gujarat and Sonargaon was replaced by Dacca in Bengal. Originally the Sultans had appointed an officer designated as *amir-i-bahr* for looking after the boats and performing police duties.¹ The Mughal parallel incumbent, called *mir-i-bahr*, had extensive duties to perform; though legislative powers or formulation of naval policies lay beyond his jurisdiction. His executive authority included supervision of loading and unloading of crew and cargo, checking of the import and export duties payable to the treasury, maintenance of the harbours in proper condition and working out of other details pertaining to efficient administration at the sea ports. He was also charged to look after the Haj traffic² which was closely interconnected with the trade in merchandise. The pilgrims often carried some goods for sale abroad as much in order to pay for the return journey as to earn profit by the transaction. Building of vessels was also included amongst the duties of *mir-i-bahr*. Vessels were commonly used and built in Kashmir, Bengal and Sind while Allahabad and Lahore came to be noted for building larger ships.³

The entire set up of the department of *mir-i-bahr* makes it abundantly clear that the objective in view here was merely to ensure well regulated smooth working of the commercial intercourse operating over the inland watery courses as well as over the high seas. In the achievement of this particular objective, the fact of the domination of *Firingis* over the Indian ocean was by and large not allowed to interfere with. On the western coast the Portugese

1. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 148.

2. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, 611-12.

3. *A. A. I.*, 290.

were permitted to carry on their own trade without any fortifications on the mainland, the Portugese (in part return?) granting license to the Asian traders for safe conduct over high seas or else acting as carriers of the Asian merchants. This sort of adjustment had evidently been arrived at some earlier date because the practice was being followed in Sind and Gujarat¹ at the time of their annexation to Akbar's Empire. In view of this more or less fixed arrangement between the Gujarati, Sindhi or Asiatic merchants and the Portugese carriers of goods, there was no call for the Emperor to disturb the arrangement specially when the former set of merchants never represented to him for any reversal, renewal or even modification of the *status quo*. Eastwards in Bengal the Portugese carrier-cum-traders were not so well established; they did not enjoy the possession of any important port on this side from where they could carry on their mercantile operations in peace and security. The Emperor, therefore, in order to use their services in the best interests of the Empire, granted them the port of Hugli to serve them as their eastern base. Here again he did not allow the Portugese traders to fortify Hugli as the maintenance of law and order in all parts of his dominion, he considered, to be a specifically imperial right and duty.² Professional traders-cum-carriers thus admitted inland, the Bengal economy, as may be surmised by the vague descriptive accounts of the period, obtained a fresh impetus for industrial progress and commercial activities.

Having made these on the whole satisfactory arrangements for unhampered traffic through the ports and also because he did not suffer from any ambition of acquiring land across the high seas, Emperor Akbar put a stop to his coastal administration. In point of fact, he in the circumstances was not required to pursue the project any further. And yet of late some medievalists have accused Emperor Akbar (and other Great Mughals) of not having had in c. 1580 a regular naval force which could have successfully resisted the British advance and actual occupation of India bet-

1. See *infra*, Chapter IV and V.

2. Pyard, I, 334.

ween c. 1750-1800.¹ Even when retrospectively viewed, the remark is too sweeping to bear the slightest scrutiny. Because, no alien power was able to gain anything approaching to an independent status in the imperial dominion till c. 1700, that is until the Emperors exercised vigorous control over their territory. The first major foreign blow on the tottering Empire was inflicted by Nadir Shah of Persia in 1739 and not by any naval power. When in 1757, the English gained ascendancy in Bengal and Bihar the Mughal authority had ceased to count in the best parts of the erstwhile imperial provinces for several decades by then. Indeed, it may be observed here that the English in 1757 had wrested power not from any central authority but they were building up merely on the ruins of the once Mughal Empire, with the help of the debris left after half a century of continuous pillage, plunder and depredations. It is therefore, highly doubtful if a naval force however strong in c. 1580 could have retained sufficient strength in c. 1750, when all the destructive forces seem to have been let loose all over the country, to successfully challenge the growing power of the English. On the other hand, the odds are, that had Emperor Akbar after the conquest of Gujarat in 1573, launched upon building up an armada from Agra to overpower the firmly established Portugese on the Indian ocean, he would certainly have lost his Empire, if not also his life, without gaining an inch of land or an iota of sea power, as had happened earlier in the century with the Gujarati Sultans.² It would therefore, seem that the Emperor had wisely desisted from involving himself and his hard won Empire in a futile ambitious scheme of ousting the powerful Portugese and had confined his activities to the sober and systematic employment of the ports almost entirely for the usual commercial purposes; a procedure through which the gain to the Empire was enormous with no risks involved.

Overland Routes : The existence of two chief overland trading points of Kabul and Bahraich in the imperial dominion were also of great importance, specially that of Kabul. Both of them were

1. Mark the dates here : Akbar ascended the throne in 1556 and the English had won, exactly two hundred years later, in 1757, the decisive battle of Plassey.
2. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc., p. 281 and n. 36.

permanently in the possession of the Great Mughals so that under normal circumstances no political rivalry or involvement was likely to jeopardise the slow and rather cumbersome but sure movement of traders in and out of the Empire. Though Qandhar came into the hands of the Great Mughals off and on, but its possession was for brief durations; generally its occupation remained a disputed point between them and the Shahs of Persia who were equally keen on retaining it.¹ Hence the Indian rulers could not implicitly rely upon its regular use as an additional transit depôt for traffic with the friendly Muslim states of the west. This commercial bond between the western Muslim states and the Mughal Empire, with Kabul serving as the exchange point, was greatly strengthened by virtue of the former being not only a consumer of Indian commodities but also a producer of some surplus goods badly needed in the Empire such as precious metals.² And since the Indian waters were dominated by the highly irascible or even positively hostile Portugese, this alternative route was a great boon to the commercially interdependent Muslim states lying on either side of Kabul. Therefore, the Hindustani Mughals were extremely anxious to use the town for commercial intercourse to the maximum, as is evident from their efforts to maintain perfect peace and order there as well as by the remission of its traffic dues.³ Earlier, Emperor Akbar had also effected some improvements on the Kabul-Lahore route so that movement between the two important trading centres had become considerably easier.⁴ The Bahraich trade was not of the same moment as that of Kabul and yet the Mughals continued to employ this ancient route for the exchange of goods with the northern hilly region. As a matter of fact, this trade reflects more in the way of maximum utilisation of all possible exchange points by the Mughal Emperors rather than emphasising the importance of this particular intercourse.

1. Raizul Islam, *Indo Persian Relations*, Iranian Culture Foundation, Tehran, 1970, 2, 3, 15-18, 24, 25, 35, 40-42 etc.
2. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries* etc., 41,45; also see *infra* Chap. IV and V.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, 47.
4. See *infra*, Chap III.

Other indigenous potentialities of the Empire endowed by nature and worked by human devices for the benefit of mankind are first enumerated in a tabular form in the following pages. The location, special attributes or remarks if any are cited against each commodity as also the source from which the information has been derived.

Agriculture : Agricultural fertility of India through the ages has been well known and we are not required to make an elaborate study of this aspect during the Muslim epoch so as to be sure of abundant availability of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities. Besides other descriptive evidence, a glance through the pages of *A'in-i-Ākbari* is enough to show that all land capable of yielding harvest was being systematically brought under plough. No doubt the vast imperial dominion did not enjoy a uniform degree of fertility, in fact it varied greatly, for instance large areas of arid, dry and desert land were frequently stretched over the western and south central portions, the hilly regions yielded few and inadequate crops. But since the aggregate volume was satisfactory if not high, human devices had worked out ways and means to keep all regions well stocked with provisions and other essential agricultural requirements in normal years. This sufficient output of provisions and foodgrains in the Mughal territory was useful in enabling the recently added acres to be turned over to valuable crops such as cotton or opium which could feed the industries or/and be exported abroad to earn specie. Thus under proper care and judicious husbanding of the natural potentialities the agricultural fertility of the land also implied industrial prosperity and general enrichment of the country by acquiring markets abroad for essential goods such as cotton fabrics or light weighted but valuable commodities, for example, opium. In the medieval times the agricultural fertility thus acted as the base on which the superstructure of industrial prosperity could possibly be erected.

That the Muslim Sultans of India since their early days had well understood the benefits of extension of cultivation and the production of better quality crops is borne out by the measures they took in this direction. After some preliminary improvements in agriculture introduced by Sultans Balban and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq,

Natural Endowments of the Empire

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Foodgrains	all over the Empire	more than adequate for the internal requirement	see <i>A. A. II, Passim</i> . ¹
Vegetables	all over the Empire	enough for the internal need which must have been considerably greater in proportion to the population as a large segment of the native Hindus were purely vegetarians.	<i>A. A. II, Passim</i> .
Fruits	all over the Empire	Kashmir and Kabul produced fruits of colder climate while the rest of Empire was better endowed with fruits of warmer regions such as bananas, oranges, mangoes and guavas etc.	<i>A. A. II, 170</i> . also see <i>Haft Iqlim, II, 102</i> ; <i>Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri 172, 187 and 196</i> .
Oilseeds	Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Ajmer, Delhi, Lahore,		<i>A. A. II, 4, 8, 15 and 18; 24; 30 and 34; 44; 39</i> .

1. In this Table *A'in-i-Akbari, II*, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1893 (Persian), has been used.

	Multan and Malwa.		
Sugarcane	Lahore, Delhi, Ajmer, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Malwa, Multan, and Bihar		<i>J. A.</i> II, 41; 31; 35; 16, 19; 9; 45 and 67. For Malwa also see Faizi's <i>Maktubat</i> quoted in the <i>Darbar-i-Akbari</i> , 452.
	Gujarat		<i>Mirat-i-Sikandari</i> , tr. 68, 241.
	Kabul	Introduced by Babar	<i>Haft Iqlim</i> , II, 102.
	Bengal	Patches of sugarcane (around the city of Bangala)	Barbosa, II, 145; <i>Haft Iqlim</i> , I, 86; Pyrard, I, 328, and Manrique, I, 54, for sugarcanes in Bengal.
Poppy	Bihar		R. Fitch, Ryley, 110.
	Bengal	traded from Jalasore	Manrique, II, 99.
	Gwalior		Jourdain, 153.
	Ujjain	"At Canastia (Kanasia, 24 m.n.e. of Ujjain) is made much opium and best in the	Jourdain, 149.

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
		Indies and is worth three Mahmudi per seer which is 24 oz."	
	Malwa		<i>A. A.</i> II, 94; W. Finch, Foster, 142; Jourdain 149, 150; <i>Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri</i> , 180.
	Multan		Pelsaert, 31.
	Sehwan (in the <i>subah</i> of Thattah, Sind)		<i>E. F.</i> , 1634-36, 129.
Dyeing agents—Indigo	Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Ajmer, Delhi, Lahore, Malwa and Multan		<i>A. A.</i> II, 6; 10; 16; 20; 26; 32, 36; 41; 46.
	Biana	best quality; around 300 bales was the annual yield	Pelsaert, 13.
	Hinduan, Koil, Khurja, and Mewat		W. Finch, Foster, 179; Pelsaert, 15; De Lact, 46.

	Muizzabad (in the <i>subah</i> of Ajmer)	base indigo; four or five hundred maunds a year	P. Mundy, II, 240.
	Lahore	“priced at or under a rupee per pound”	<i>E. F.</i> , 1668-69, 194; also see <i>E. F.</i> , 1665-67, 5; and G. Watt, <i>Pamphlet on Indigo</i> , p. 10.
	Sehwan	better than that of Sarkhej	Roe 76; Withington, Foster, 218; <i>E. F.</i> , 1637-41, 274.
	Sarkhej (in Gujarat)	inferior to the Biana indigo	<i>A. A.</i> II, 115; W. Finch, Foster, 115; De Laet, 23. Also see Marco Polo for indigo in Gujarat, p. 961.
		400 ‘fardles’ collected in four days, six days later on additional consignment of 700 chorles was obtained	Downton, 110, 111.
<i>gul i ma'safar</i>	Ujjain	very fine	W. Finch, Foster, 151.
	Allahabad, Agra		<i>A. A.</i> II, 5; 16; 20.
	Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Ajmer, Delhi, Lahore, Malwa and Multan		<i>A. A.</i> II, 4, 8, 14; and 18; 24; 30 and 34 39; 44.

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Henna	Oudh, Agra, Ajmer, Delhi, Lahore, Malwa and Multan		<i>A. A.</i> II, 8, 17; 26; 32 and 36; 41; 46.
Turmeric	Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and Lahore		<i>A. A.</i> II, 6; 21; 37; 42.
Cotton	all over the Empire exclusive of Kabul, Kashmir and Bengal		<i>A. A.</i> II, 41; 46; 5; 10; 16; 20; 25; 35.
	Bengal		Barbosa, II, 145; Pyrard, I, 328.
	Gujarat	Immense quantity grown in Gujarat	Varthema, 46; also see Barbosa, I, 153.
	Surat— Burhanpur region	superior variety	Pelsaert, 9.
	Cutchha	exported to Thattah	<i>E. F.</i> , 1634-36, 130-131.

	Thattah	enormous quantity	Manrique, II, 239.
Silk	Kashmir	in large quantity	<i>Tārikh-i-Rashidi</i> , 425; <i>A. A. II</i> , 170; also see <i>Khulāsāt Tawārikh</i> , 121/55a.
	Bengal	inferior quality	<i>Haft Iqlim</i> , I, 87, 89; <i>A. A. II</i> , 50, 51; Pyrard, I, 328; Pelsaert, 7; Bernier, 202, 439, 441.
	Kumaon		<i>A. A. II</i> , 135.
	Orissa	'silk herb' of bright yellow colour, yielding silk like material	R. Fitch, Ryley, 114; Pyrard, I, 328-29.
Minerals : salt	Shamsabad (in Lahore)	rock salt; enormous quantity	<i>A. A. II</i> , 153; G. Md. Khan 29a; <i>Hadīqat</i> 149; <i>Ibratnāmah</i> , I, 47.
	Sambhar lake	sea salt	Badaoni, II, 46; Manucci, II, 425; <i>Dasturul 'amal</i> , 62a.
	Rann of Cutchha (in Gujarat)	sea salt	<i>A. A. II</i> , 115; 119.

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
	in the vicinity of Khambayat	sea salt	<i>Mirat-i-Ahmadi</i> , I, 15.
	Maqbulabad, in the sarkar of Broach		<i>A. A.</i> II, 122.
	Sind (in the <i>subah</i> of)	salt mine	<i>A. A.</i> II, 165.
	Bengal	grass salt ; unwholesome	<i>Haft Iqlim</i> , I, 88.
Iron	Bazuha (in Bengal)		<i>A. A.</i> II, 51.
	Kalinjir		<i>A. A.</i> II, 72.
	Gwalior		<i>A. A.</i> II, 85.
	Sonepat (near Delhi)	the mine was in the hills ; many manufacturers of weapon lived at Sonepat	<i>Commentary</i> , 95.
	Surat		<i>A. A.</i> II, 123 ; <i>Khātima</i> , 250.
	Kumaon		<i>A. A.</i> II, 135.

	Suket Mandi (in Lahore)		A. A. II, 154.
	Sind		A. A. II, 145; <i>Khulāsatut Tawārikh</i> , 65/37a.
	Kashmir		A. A. II, 171, 172, 187, 188.
	Berar	worked into steel	A. A. II, 110.
Copper	Kumaon		A. A. II, 135.
	Bairat in the sarkar of Alwar.	very rich; yielding 35 seers of metal out of a one maund ore	A. A. II, 85.
	Lahore <i>subah</i>		A. A. II, 152; <i>Hadiqat</i> , 110; <i>Ibratnāma</i> I, 47.
Silver	Kumaon	yield negligible	A. A. II, 135.
	Lahore		A. A. II, 152.
	Kabul		A. A. II, 193; <i>Haft Iqlim</i> , II, 103.
	Kumaon		A. A. II, 135.
	Ajmer		A. A. II, 125.
	Lahore		A. A. II, 152.

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Saltpetre	near Agra	about 5,000 to 6,000 maunds annual yield	Pelsaert, 46.
	in Bihar		Bowrey, 224, 225 ; Bernier, I, 144 ; Taver- nier, I, 12.
Sulphur	Multan		Pelsaert, 31.
	Delhi (in the town of Sahna)		Badaoni, III, 110, (Per).
Sal amoniac	Thaneshwar		Pelsaert, 46 ; Manri- que, II, 182.
	Sirihind	usual price is rupees seven and seven and half per maund	Pelsaert, 46.
Quarries of lime	Delhi		<i>Commentary</i> , 97.
Stones : white <i>Pathali</i>	near Idar in Gujarat	used for walls and roofs of splendid edifices	<i>Mirat-i-Ahmadi</i> , I, 15- 16.
Red sand stone	Fatehpur Sikri	its price was fixed at one <i>dām</i> 11¼ jital per <i>man</i>	A. A. I, 233.
White marble	in the Nagor Sarkar		A. A. II, 133.

Yellow stone	in the Thattah <i>subah</i>		<i>A. A.</i> II, 165.
	Kharija Khatoo, sarkar of Nagore, in the <i>subah</i> of Ajmer.		<i>A. A.</i> II, 133.
Sulaiman stone	Kashmir	used for making utensils	<i>A. A.</i> II, 173.
Like white marble	Rajgarh (in the <i>subah</i> of Bihar)	is used for making ornaments	<i>A. A.</i> II, 66.
Coloured stones	near Balapur in the <i>subah</i> of Berar	craftsmen cut it carefully	<i>A. A.</i> II, 109.
Limestone	<i>subah</i> of Ajmer		<i>P. Mundy</i> , II, 241.
Precious stones : Diamond	Gujarat		<i>Varthema</i> , 46; for pearls on Nawnagar coast, <i>Khātima</i> , 250.
	Bairagarh in the <i>subah</i> of Berar		<i>A. A.</i> II, 110.
	Khokhra		<i>Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri</i> , 154.
Agates	near Broach		<i>De Laet</i> , 24.

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Carnelians (<i>alaqiq</i>)	Limadora, near Ratanpur (in Gujarat) on the bank of Narbada	The rock yields white, milky or red stone. The craftsmen work it out in diverse forms making ornamental goods	Barbosa, I, 142-43-44; <i>Khātima</i> , 250.
Lapis lazuli	Kabul		<i>Babarnāma</i> , I, 234; <i>A. A.</i> II, 412.
Timber	from the forest around Kalinjar	black coloured, ebony	<i>A. A.</i> II, 72.
	in the sarkar of Bazuha (in Bengal)	used for building ships	<i>A. A.</i> II, 51.
	Gujarat forest		<i>A. A.</i> II, 116; 117.
	in the <i>subah</i> of Lahore	eminently suitable for use in buildings and also for boat building.	<i>Ibratnāma</i> , I, 43, 44.
Bamboo	Bengal	in several varieties: used for all kinds of purposes furniture, boats and also for building their lodgings	Pyrard, I, 329; also see Manrique, I, 57; II, 129 for bamboo houses see <i>A. A.</i> I, 134 (tr).
	Orissa		

Beasts of burden: Horses	in the <i>subah</i> of Lahore	bred here in large numbers, of good breed almost equalling those of Iraq	<i>A. A.</i> II, 152; <i>A. A.</i> I, 140; <i>Hadiqat</i> , 149; <i>Ibratnāma</i> , I, 17.
	Cutchha on the border of the <i>subah</i> of Thattah and also towards Sorath	almost as good as Arab horses	<i>A. A.</i> I, 140; Masumi, 177; <i>Badshahnama</i> I, 395. At Ahmadabad there existed a regular department of the provincial government for the sale of <i>kachhi</i> horses, <i>Khātima</i> , 184. For Sorath horses see <i>A. A.</i> II, 117.
	north of Bengal	good stout horses called <i>gut</i> and <i>tangan</i> . 1500 horses were brought every morning in the Lakhnauti <i>nakhās</i> , i. e. cattle market	<i>A. A.</i> I, 140; for <i>tangan</i> see <i>Tabaqāt Nasiri</i> , tr., 567-68.
	in the district of Agra		<i>A. A.</i> I, 140.
	Kashmir		<i>A. A.</i> I, 140.
	Kabul		<i>Babarnāma</i> , I, 221-22; Bayazid, 67, 126; <i>Tabaqāt-i-Akbari</i> , II, 111.

<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Mules	Pakhli, north of Rawalpindi in the <i>subah</i> of Lahore		<i>A. A. I</i> , 160.
	Sind	circumstantial evidence	Jauhar Aftabchi, 62,69.
Camels	Ajmer	excellent she camels called <i>Jamaza</i> noted for swiftness of speed	<i>A. A. I</i> , 151.
	Multan	best camels	Pelsaert, 31.
	Sind	bred in large numbers	<i>A. A. I</i> , 151; <i>A. A. II</i> , 165.
	Cutchha, towards Gujarat	best ones for carrying loads	<i>A. A. I</i> , 151.
Bullocks	all over the Empire; the best ones come from Gujarat		<i>A. A. I</i> , 157; for Gujarati bullocks also see Marco Polo, 691.
Livestock : cattle	Kabul		<i>Babarnāma</i> , I, 221-22; Bayazid, 67, 126;

Gujarat

Bengal

Berar

Thattah

Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, II,
111.

Barbosa, I, 124; *A. A.*
I, 157; *A. A.* II, 115.

Marco Polo, 452;

A. A. II, 109, 110.

Manrique, II, 239.

Muhammad bin Tughlaq had constituted a regular department called *Diwan-i-amir-i-Kohi* whose function was to bring new areas under cultivation and to improve existing crops.¹ Though his successor Sultan Firoz Shah seems to have discontinued the ministry but his interest in the improvement of agriculture is generally acknowledged, and large tracts of land for instance in the districts of Samana and Delhi, were brought under cultivation.² Indeed Sultan's deep concern in this regard may be gauged by the ingenious method they had worked out for continuously and more or less regularly adding on to the land under crop. The saints, divines, *Ulama*, and the learned who are usually considered as materially unproductive segment of society, were methodically used by the Hindustani sovereigns to bring about extension of the cultivated area. The practice was in all probability antedated, but we have on record that Emperor Akbar had regulated that all *suyurghāl* lands conferred on the *ulama*, learned scholars and divines as *madad-i-mā'ash* should consist of one half of tilled land, and one half of land capable of cultivation.³ "The land was granted out of a pool of land in every area which was earmarked for this purpose and was defined as *imah* land. The pool was enlarged by giving hitherto uncultivated area as a part of every grant."⁴ Thus over a period of time, the aggregate land under plough must have risen considerably. This fact would in turn lead to the cultivation of valuable crops since unduly large surplus of foodgrains is liable to glut the market and jeopardise the economic equilibrium. Hence the Emperors adopted measures and created conditions which would induce the cultivators to move over to the valuable crops in their own interest. Thus for instance, notwithstanding the relatively larger margin of profit accruing to the cultivator of valuable crops, he was allowed to

1. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of Delhi Sultanate*, 122. For Sultan Alauddin Khaliji's concern and effort to increase agricultural production, see I *Material of Historical Interest in P'jūz-i-Khusravi*, tr. by S. Hasan Akbari in *Medieval India, a miscellany*, Vol. I, Aligarh Muslim University, 1969, Asia Publishing House, pp. 6,10.
2. I. H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 123.
3. *A. A. I.*, 280.
4. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 157.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

retain two thirds of the produce similar to those who harvested food-grains. Several other concessions were made to the cultivator of valuable crops at the beginning of his career in order to make the change worth his while as well as to induce others to follow the pattern.¹

Out of all valuable crops cotton and relatively to a lesser degree silk occupied a singular position in the medieval economy. Because "...the textile industry was the dominant industry of the times (medieval) in much the same manner in which at present the metal working industries dominate in our economy."² Silk occurring in the imperial dominion was of inferior quality and in negligible quantity but the output of cotton had reached a magnitude which could more than compensate for the deficiency in silk. Consequently, the weaving of cotton fabrics became as universal as the cultivation of cotton. And it was mainly through this industry that the Mughal India was able to acquire an eminently advanced position in the market of the contemporary world.³ With an ample and running supply of raw cotton from the adjoining villages the urban weavers added, expanded and raised the urban output of cotton textiles. The towns were then the principal seats of this industry.⁴ By virtue of his life in town the urban weaver was able to avail of the facilities not known to the rural craftsman. The urban weaver could devote maximum working hours just to weaving, passing over other processes necessary to make the piece marketable to those who were engaged in those particular processes. The market was near at hand and the demand for his goods being almost inexhaustible he was not required to worry regarding the disposal of his wares. More particularly so, as the bulk of Indian

1. A. A. II, 47, 48; *Nigārnāmah-i-Munshi*, p. 174; also see H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc., pp. 147-48.
2. Von Grunebaum, G. E., *Islam*, London 1961, pp. 146-47.
3. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries* etc. 212-28. For similarly advanced position of Flanders gained by means of its woollen textiles in c. 11th to 14th centuries in Europe see H. Pirenne, 109, 110, 111; and that of western Asia through its silk industry see Grunebaum, 146-47.
4. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries* etc. 137-142; also see *infra*, Appendix A.

raw cotton was of inferior quality, its fabrics too were of medium or coarser varieties, a fact which in itself ensured a wider range of consumers whether within or outside the town of its manufacture. Thus stimulated, cotton textile industry made rapid progress which in turn exercised deep impact on the general pattern of economy.¹ Some allied industries had to make corresponding progress in order to fulfil the needs arising out of a developing textile industry for example the dyeing, printing and painting crafts.²

The towns manufacturing textile goods gained a stable source of income and the steadiness of this income largely contributed in making the towns viable. Merchants, big and small, associated with the trade in this commodity would derive enormous profit which would again, and perhaps to a higher degree, contribute to the well being of the town as it is usually the trader who stands to gain the largest share through a transaction, while the profit of the producer is generally somewhat marginal. The cultivation of cotton crops had thus come to occupy a vital position in the c. 14th to c. 18th century economy of India.

The cultivation of crops yielding dye-stuffs was greatly helpful in the progress of textile industry. Aside from the annual cultivation of indigo, *āl* and so on as shown in the Table, there were several other trees such as *lac*, *tūn*, *catechu*, *bél* and others, occurring in the various parts of the Empire from which colouring material for various shades were obtained.³ These dyeing agents enabled the Indian fabrics to acquire better finish, which enhanced their market value. Further, the multiplicity of these colouring agents offered a wide range of choice to the Indian dyers and traders so that the residue, usually the expensive indigo, could be exported abroad. Indigo, in fact, was since antiquity one of the most consistent commodity of export.⁴ We may also note the augmentation in its surplus pro-

1. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries* etc., chap. IV and V.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 158-75.

3. *Urban Centres and Industries* etc., 158-75, also see H. K. Naqvi, Dyeing of Cotton Goods in Hindustan, (1556-1803), in the *Journal of Indian Textile History*, Ahmadabad, no. VII, 1967, pp. 45-56.

4. Lassens History, tr. K. P. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. X, 1924, Part III, 263-64.

duction from around Agra-Biana and Sarkhej-Ahmadabad tracts in the 17th century to eastern Oudh by 18th and early 19th century as may be gathered from amongst others,¹ the Records of the East India Company preserved in the I.O.L., London.

Sugarcane,² poppy and oilseeds too were then grouped amongst the valuable crops, though we have no means at our disposal to check and compare the land under these crops at any two points of time during our period ; circumstantially it would appear that as the centuries rolled on, their cultivation had considerably increased. Cultivated as usual in the rural sides it were the urban processors attending to their finishing touches or else the urban merchants³ who derived higher profit by dealing in them. In all its various forms sugar was almost universally consumed internally and yet, as ever, it figured largely amongst the exportable goods of the Empire. Similarly, shiploads of opium converted from poppy used to depart annually from the Gujarat coast in the sixteenth century.⁴ By virtue of its being a rather expensive commodity it perhaps earned the highest percentage of profit in specie for the imperial dominion.

Horticulture : If the fertility of land could yield rich agricultural harvests there was no reason why about the same variety of land could not be made to yield fruits and flowers. Human labour involved in the production of fruits and flowers is certainly higher, requiring more sophisticated attention than the agricultural crops, but then the level of profit accruing from orchards and flower farms is equally high. Further, smaller plots of land available within or on the outskirts of the towns which are not conveniently situated for regular cultivation may, with advantage, be used for fruit and flower plantation. That is how perhaps most of the orchards and gardens came to be laid out away from the tilling rural areas but located either nearer or within the towns ; some-

1. Such as *Correspondence of Cornwallis*, ed. C. Ross, I, 227.
2. For a more detailed study of sugarcane see H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries* etc., pp. 243-54.
3. For oil manufacture and oil merchants of Delhi see Material of Historical Interest in *I'jaz-i-Khusravi* by S. Hasan Askari, *Medieval India—a miscellany*, Aligarh Muslim University 1969, p. 15.
4. C. Frederick, Haki, *Voy.*, vol. III, 206.

times large orchards were planted between towns and villages. Thus both the well off urban citizen and the rich peasant of the village could with little difficulty manage to plant orchards side by side and gain additional income. In this way almost no piece of land that could be used would, if other factors helped, be allowed to go unused. It is not known how the Muslim Sultans of the subcontinent had hit upon the plan, whether the motivating force was the maximum utilisation of cultivable land in order to obtain enhanced revenue or it was merely the continuation of the general Muslim practice of gardening in their erstwhile home towns as may be gathered from amongst other sources, the *Hedaya*.¹ In all probability the determining factors were both, to put to some productive use the land that was otherwise lying idle and enable the owners of the orchards and gardens to add considerably to their income.² Secondly, the Indian Muslim monarchs also shared the natural gift of the traditional Muslim interest in horticultural pursuits and were keenly desirous of promoting and popularising this particular branch of activity. As regards the revenue accruing to the state from this source, it could at best have been only meagre as Emperor Akbar besides granting other concessions had fixed it at a flat rate of Rs. two and three quarters per *bigha* irrespective of the fruit grown.³ As in the case of cultivators of valuable crops the grower of melons, musk melons, apples and grapes could expect higher returns than those who grew only cheaper fruits. Subsequently, Emperor Jahangir had waived aside even this nominal assessment.⁴ It would therefore, appear that Emperor Akbar's assessment was fixed more with the intention of defraying the initial expenses incurred by the state in this connection such as irrigational facility, the pay of the staff or similar other arrangement,⁵ than with any explicit objective of adding to the sources of his state revenue and filling up the treasury by the trifling yield, if any, from this department.

1. *Hedaya*, 584-87.

2. *A. A. I*, 280.

3. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 171, 174.

4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 252.

5. *Khātina*, 19, 20, 21, 184-85, 185-86.

In the respect of laying gardens Sultan Firoz Shah being the most enthusiastic from amongst the Sultans is credited with 1200 gardens around Delhi alone.¹ Babar's love of gardens is well known. Emperor Akbar had obtained Irani and Turani horticulturists and caused them to settle down in India. Several west Asian fruits were also introduced in the realm so that excellent melons, water melons, peaches, almonds, pomegranates began to be commonly grown in the Empire.² Even pineapple is noticed by Abul Fazl as amongst the fruits grown in Hindustan and was priced at four *dams* a piece.³ Grape vines of several varieties were subsequently introduced.⁴ The honeydew variety of the melons was first introduced by Muhammad Raza of Khurasan who was amply rewarded for it by Emperor Shah Jahan.⁵ Indeed in the course of time the volume of fruits produced in the country came to be so plentiful that at Ahmadabad and Thanesar fruit conservation assumed the character of a regular industry carried on for the purpose of export.⁶ Fruit bearing trees in addition to the yield of fruits were useful for providing either good strong timber or else ordinary wood suitable for fuel—an article in which the Empire is said to have been rather deficient.⁷ Fruit orchards also lent beauty to the towns, provided shades from the sun and a cool retreat for those seeking comfortable solitude.

Flower beds also occurred in some of these gardens primarily for their beauty and fragrance. For example, the gardens laid out by the aristocracy adjoining their mansions used to be so planned as

1. *The Cambridge History of India*, III, 174.
2. *A.A.* I, 68. For some of the gardens laid out by the Mughal Emperors or during their reign, see *Tuzuk*, 43, 283; *Badshahnama*, II, 214; *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 598, 605, 607 and 609. For those around Ahmadabad and elsewhere in Gujarat laid out either by the Sultans, the Great Mughals or by their *amirs*; see *Khātima Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 18-23.
3. *A.A.* I, 70.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 5-7.
5. Khāfi Khan, I, 154.
6. *Khātima Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 21, 185, for conserves of *Halila* (myrabolons); *E.F.*, 1637-41, 134; also see *E.F.*, 1622-23, 109.
7. Pelsaert observes that firewood was expensive at 60 lbs for 12 to 18 pice, see p. 48.

to consist of both 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 about the sixteenth century had become quite common. Odoriferous plants of both foreign and Indian origin were used for extracting scented oil¹ required generally for anointing the skin and hair² so that its industry gained considerable importance. Agra,³ Jaunpur,⁴ and Ghazipur⁵ were then noted centres for the manufacture of scented and sweet smelling oils. But the more sophisticated perfumes too were extracted from flowers having stronger or more refined scents such as that of roses, *gul-i-henna*, jasmine, saffron⁶ and so on. Out of thirty four varieties of perfumes enumerated by Abul Fazl, *Duwalak* was the cheapest, from three to four *dams* per seer which could not have been very difficult for the common man to acquire. The most expensive one was *'umbar-i-ashhab* whose price ranged from one to three *mohurs* per *tola* or eighty to two hundred and forty *mohurs* per seer.⁷ The use of perfume has a religious sanctity for Muslims therefore, as long as this segment of population enjoyed affluence or even purchasing power, perfume would notwithstanding its non-essential nature, continue to command a certain domestic market. Large tracts of land were brought under these odoriferous plants around Champaner,⁸ Ahmadabad,⁹ Surat¹⁰ and Sironj¹¹ and perfume making industry

1. Abul Fazl has listed a dozen varieties of perfumed oils, briefly describing the ingredients used and the method employed, see *A. A. I*, 79-80. Likewise *Majma-us-sanā'* on p. 25 also describes some perfumed oil making processes.
2. Barbosa, I. 112; *A. A. I*, 79; also see Yusuf Husain, *Medieval Indian Culture*, 133, 134.
3. *A. A. II*, 190; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 3; *Hadiqat*, 161.
4. W. Finch, Foster, 177; *Aftabnuma*, 244a.
5. *Hadiqat*, 125a.
6. *A. A. I*, 80-2. In *Bayāz-i-Khushbui'*, there is a chapter which tells us as to the method adopted for processing perfumes.
7. *A. A. I*, 80-1.
8. *A. A. II*, 122; here it was extracted from aloe wood, was called *mandali* the best variety of '*ud*'.
9. *Khātima*, 21.
10. *A. A. II*, 249.
11. De Lact, 38; P. Mundy, II, 56.

developed in these towns as also at Nausari.¹ The indigenous perfume was evidently not as yet comparable to the Persian perfumes, but the fact that during this period the art had been introduced and was making headway is the more significant aspect from our present point of view. At times, the flower plants also yielded dyeing content such as the henna or saffron as seen above. These dyeing agents were used for dyeing cloth, paper, utensils,² hands, feet and hair.³ Some flowers possessed medicinal values and as such were largely in demand by the chemists. Roses, saffron and henna may be cited as cases in point.

Forest: The incidence of several large tracts of forests was of great value in the progress of the general, but more so the urban economy of the Empire. The timber yield from these forests were employed in building ships, boats and carts for conveyance over land and sea routes. Aside from the porters and beasts of burden, these being the only means of transport of goods then, plentiful supply of timber hence of transport vehicles was a great asset in improving and raising the frequency of transportation of merchandise from place to place. While carts or carriages seem to have been built locally and everywhere, the ship and boat building industry was located in places which, on the one hand, were within easy reach of the forest tracts and on the other, had an easily accessible watery course in order to ensure the conveyance of turned out vessels to the place of requirement. Thus, as stated above, Kashmir, Lahore, the western coast, Allahabad and Bengal had developed as the principal centres of this industry. In Kashmir, Thattah and Bengal this was the chief mode of transport. In Bengal bamboos were largely employed to fit out smaller vessels for movement within the *subah*. As a matter of fact, numerous varieties of boats were produced here such as *ulak*, *bajra*—a pleasure boat, *purgoo*, *bhar*—a floaty light boat, *patella*, flat bottomed boat of exceeding strength and burden, are some as mentioned by Bowrey.⁴

1. A. A. II, 123.

2. see *Majma-us-sanā'* (Rampur), pp. 17, 21 etc. For the dyeing of paper also see *Bayāz-i-Khushbui*, 111a, 121b-123b.

3. *Majma-us-sanā'*, 39.

4. T. Bowrey, 227-29. For *Bajra* or pleasure boat also see P. Mundy, II, 157-58.

There were others such as *ghurrāb*¹ and *sabnak*.² The imperial *nawara* in Bengal was composed of one thousand *ghurrābs* which were the commonly employed boats of the Great Mughals. *Sabnak* was a small delicate boat used for accompanying large vessels.³ As a matter of fact India is said to have had the monopoly of ship building trade as far as the lands washed by the Indian Ocean were concerned; Indian built ships reached the ports of Europe.⁴ Though wooden palaces, except in Kashmir were no more thought of, the use of timber occurred on several occasions in the structures of the Muslims period in India. Roofing, doors and windows were commonly made of timber and wood. Abul Fazl has appended a list of the varieties of timber along with their prices in the *Ā'in-i-Akbari*,⁵ which were available in the Agra market. Similarly much later in c. 1825 Maulvi Khairuddin Lahori in the first volume of his *Ibratnāma* recounted the most suitable timbers for various purposes in the process of house building in the *subah* of Lahore. The construction work specially of the durable buildings had grown enormously as the growth in urbanisation gathered momentum, therefore, the consumption of timber in the buildings of the Empire could not have been inconsiderable.

Sericulture in the imperial territory was confined to Kashmir and Bengal, evidently the geographical conditions did not admit of its further expansion. In fact even out of these two the Bengal silk was not comparable to that of Persia or Syria.⁶ Similarly the Bihar and Orissa *tassar* producing trees yielded substance that could be processed into a texture somewhat resembling silk. The Kashmirians imported silk worm eggs from the neighbouring provinces of little Tibet and Gilgit⁷ and nurtured them on local mulberry trees.⁸ This import had, on the one hand, improved the

1. *Badshahnāma* I, 486; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, Elliot and Dowson, I, 277.
2. *Miratul Istilāh*, 322.
3. *Miratul Istilāh*, 322.
4. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 175.
5. *A. A. I*, 237-39; seventy two kinds of wood have been specified here.
6. Bernier, 439-40.
7. *A. A. II*, 353.
8. *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*, 425; *A. A. II*, 353

quality of Kashmiri silk, on the other, had stimulated the industry to such an extent that Mirza Haidar Dughlat regarded its enormous volume as one of the wonders of Kashmir.¹ Evidently it was on account of the superior quality and sizable quantity of this silk which had led Emperor Akbar to reserve it as an imperial monopoly.² This flourishing industry was spread all over the *subah*,³ and some of its stuffs were received by Lahore too.⁴

The Bengal mulberry trees were of small stature just about two to three feet in height.⁵ The silk worms reared on these small trees were of four varieties, *Nistari*, *desi*, *hara palu* and *China palu*.⁶ The hereditary silk worm rearing class looked after them and some members of this class may still be found mainly in Maldah, Rajshahi and Murshidabad districts.⁷ Ghoraghat⁸ and Maldah were reputed for both rearing of silk worms and production of silken stuffs.⁹ At Qasim Bazar the Dutch had employed seven or eight hundred workmen in their *kārkhāna* as was also done by the Englishmen and other merchants.¹⁰ The winding of silk yarn from the pod was generally done by women with such extreme delicacy that ordinary vision failed and only the exceedingly sensitive fingers could be of assistance in making out the difference in the various grades of its thickness (or fineness).¹¹ Thus by about seventeenth century, the silken stuffs fabricated in Bengal were of considerably fine texture and the embroidery too was exquisite, adroitly done both by men and women.¹² The quality of Bengal silk not being of a high order, its low range of prices¹³ had helped to popularise

1. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 425.
2. *A. N.* III, 725.
3. *A. A.* I, 140.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, 92.
5. Bernier, 422.
6. J. C. Ray, *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. III, Part 2, 1917, p. 212.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 89.
9. *Rayāz-us-salātin*, 50.
10. Bernier, 422.
11. Orme, 411-12.
12. Pyard, I, 329.
13. Bernier, 440.

the stuffs and its demand had consequently grown. The yarn for the Orissan material having a silken texture was obtained from a yellow grass called *yura*¹ that grew wild in the forests.² The fibre of this grass had great tenacity hence the cloth woven from this was durable³ and had great sheen.⁴ But it could neither be bleached white nor could it be dyed bright.⁵

Livestock: Livestock in pre-modern India was used primarily for ploughing the land, transportation and dairy products. That in the Hindu India their volume was inadequate may be surmised from the prohibition placed on meat eating specially that of cow by the Hindu theologians. But with the advent of Muslims in Hindustan the situation had changed. Because, besides the above mentioned three purposes, Muslims consumed meat which had in turn encouraged cattle breeding in order to satisfactorily meet the enhanced demand. No contemporary author complains of any shortage of cattle, its high prices or any deficiency in the availability of meat or dairy products. Abul Fazl's price list of Agra, the capital, bears out the cheapness of cattle and their products⁶ which would reflect their general abundance in the Empire. Travellers reaching the country during the period also attest to the plentiful supply of poultry (also game) and dairy products in the places of their visit.⁷

Oxen were also needed for irrigating large gardens, orchards and so on. Land was tilled with ploughs driven by oxen which rendered them to be an indispensable possession for the cultivator. But as poorer peasants could not afford to own a pair for the year round they could hire some for use. The Sultans had usually made it a point to help the peasants with their cattle and calves,⁸

1. R. Fitch, Ryley, 114.

2. C. Frederick, *Hakl Voy*; III, 236; R. Fitch, Ryley, 114.

3. J. C. Ray, *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. III, part III, 1917, p. 215.

4. Linschoten, q. by Pyard, I, 328n.

5. J. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, 215.

6. *A. A. I.* 66-7.

7. To quote just a few examples: Barbosa, I, 110, 123-24; Manrique, II, 233, 238; Pyard, I, 328.

8. S. Hasan Askari, *op. cit.*, 10.

while Emperor Akbar had altogether remitted the impost, known as *gāo-shumāri*, on each head of oxen¹. These measures must have gone a long way in encouraging cattle breeding.

Transportation of goods over land was usually done on oxen specially in the region lying between Bihar and river Sind. In the western part of this area camels also supplemented the required services but between Agra and Bihar it was almost exclusively carried on by bullocks. Even single travellers specially the villagers, frequently used bullocks to move about to and fro. Ox-driven carts too were employed. Fast running oxen of Gujarat were considered eminently suitable for driving carts at a relatively fast speed. The great caravans of moving traders called *banjāras*² were composed almost entirely of oxen.³

Leather: Once dead or killed the hide of the cattle was useful for making numerous articles. Its dried skins were used for water bags,⁴ water buckets,⁵ packing purposes,⁶ jars of all sizes to contain liquids such as oil, ghee,⁷ wine⁸ or perfumes. Shields made of buffalo hide were in common use⁹ while those of rhinoceros were the more prized ones. Dressed hide was even exported from Gujarat in large quantity.¹⁰ Properly tanned and treated leather was used for making shoes which were turned out in such a large quantity that after meeting domestic requirement satisfactorily sizable proportion was left over for export abroad.¹¹ Here we may note that though in the eastern regions the native population generally went about barefoot, the climatic conditions of the

1. *A. A.* II, 72.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, II, 233; P. Mundy, II, 95-6; Tavernier, I, 39-42.

3. See *infra*, Chap. III.

4. Water carriers used such bags and they may still be seen doing so in the interior of Hindustani villages and *gasbas*. For water carriers see Ahmad Yadgar, 154; Badaoni, III, 95, 338; Manrique, II, 241.

5. *Babarnāma*, II, 487.

6. *Commentary*, 149. Here the hide 'was daubed with a liquid pitch'.

7. Bernier, 440n.

8. *Babarnāma*, I, 253.

9. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 344.

10. Marco Polo, 691.

11. R. Fitch, *Hakl. Voy.* III, 286.

western and northern regions rendered the use of shoes as an absolute necessity. Further, Muslims whether immigrant or Indian converts considered shoes an integral part of their routine dress. Therefore, after the establishment of the Muslim rule the aggregate domestic requirement of shoes must have grown manifold as compared to the earlier period. Highly tanned, treated and dressed leather was also produced out of which ornamental articles such as counterpanes,¹ cushions,² prayer-mats and similar other goods³ were made. These had excellent finish with delicate patterns done in gold. The industry flourished in all the western parts of the Empire but Sind was specially famous for it and was called the home of leather industry.⁴ Thus, notwithstanding the persistent Hindu taboo for leather and leather work, the economic dynamism introduced by the Muslim rulers of Hindustan was of such a character that this industry had not only expanded, gained in popularity but also in due course came to attain a high level of proficiency.

Wool: Sheep, camels and goats also yielded hair which was worked into wool. The major part of Hindustan has tropical climate where woollens are but infrequently needed. But the northern and north western parts of the imperial dominion have severe cold for longer months which require really warm woollens. Thus sheep and hairy goat rearing was common in Kashmir; in Kabul large meadows called *aulangs*⁵ were set aside as grazing pastures for the sheep.⁶ Several varieties of different grades of woollens are mentioned in the sources which were being manufactured in Kashmir. From amongst these *parm narm*,⁷ *tarmah*,⁸ *darmah*,⁹

1. Marco Polo, 691; Manrique, II, 239.

2. Marco Polo, 691.

3. Linschoten, *Voyages to the East Indies*, i. p. 56. also see Barbosa, I, 120; Manrique II, 239.

4. Sorley, book I, 98.

5. *Babarnama*, I, 221-22.

6. *Babarnama*, I, 245; Bayazid, 103.

7. *A. A.* I, 96; *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri*, 153.

8. *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri*, 153.

9. *A. A.* II, 356; *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri*, 153.

pashmina,¹ *pattu*² and *saqarlāl*³ occur more frequently. Shawl weaving was in all likelihood common in Kashmir even before Emperor Akbar had annexed it. It however, seems to have acquired greater prominence since, he encouraged the industry directly. He tried to stimulate the growth of a market for these in Hindustan. To make their use more popular there,⁴ he sponsored changes in the traditional colours and an increase in the standard width production so that the material might be used more economically.⁵ It is not stated anywhere as to how far were his suggestions accepted but we are informed that around two thousand *kārkhānas* were engaged in turning out shawls and that the capital, Srinagar, was the chief centre of this industry.⁶ Kabul turned out several varieties of woollen goods; besides woollen coverlets,⁷ five of them were on sale in the Agra market, the lowest being coarse blankets, retailed at a minimum price of ten *dams* per piece.⁸

Further eastwards, Lahore is reported to have been manufacturing woollen goods, though its source of supply of wool is obscure. There were hundred *Kārkhānas* engaged in fabricating shawls;⁹ twenty varieties of woollen material of Lahore found its way to the Agra market,¹⁰ and its numerous carpet weavers quite frequently employed wool either by itself or with gold, silk or cotton admixture.¹¹ In Ajmer also sheep rearing was common hence the woollen industry was in a flourishing condition. Nagor was the chief town for this industry producing it in not less than twenty varieties.¹² The wool obtained from the hair of camels, goats and sheep in Sind were employed to produce rugs, floor-mats and white

1. *Iqbālnama-i-Jahāngiri*, 153.
2. *A. A. II*, 356.
3. *A. A. II*, 356; *Iqbālnama-i-Jahāngiri*, 154.
4. *A. A. I*, 98.
5. *A. A. I*, 97; also see *Iqbālnama-i-Jahāngiri*, 153.
6. *A. A. II*, 356.
7. *A. A. I*, 57.
8. *A. A. I*, 102.
9. *A. A. I*, 98.
10. *A. A. I*, 101-02.
11. *A. A. I*, 57.
12. *A. A. I*, 101-02; also see *Haft Iqlim*, I, 85.

and *loi* blankets.¹

The above lines show that as the breeding of cattle, sheep and camels² was fostered the supply of wool had grown, consequently the woollen industry made proportionate progress specially in the western parts of the Empire. The quality of Indian wool however continued to be inferior since the wool of the Indian sheep was not of good variety³. Thus handicapped, it was not comparable to that of Kashmir or foreign woollen goods. It nevertheless, adequately met the domestic requirement of coarser and medium grade material.

Minerals: As is obvious from the Table the mineral resources of the Empire were by no means adequate. Gold and silver, the principal medium of currency, were altogether lacking. This absence of precious metals vitally important for their exchange value, hence indispensable for any economy worth the name, had to be somehow filled in in order to enable the country to carry on its normal transactions.⁴ Copper coins too may be used as this metal also embodies certain intrinsic value. The existing copper mines were therefore, worked for the purpose but the yield still remained insufficient. More so perhaps because it came to be used not only to supplement the silver currency but was also, to a certain extent, employed as its substitute. This may be inferred from the fact that Akbar had elevated the copper *dam* (one fortieth of a rupee) as a standard coin along with the silver rupee.⁵ His effort to popularise and make the copper coins acceptable would indicate his predicament. On one hand, silver presumably being still scarce, the rupee could not be issued in sufficient quantity so as to circulate freely in the Empire; and on the other, was apparently poised the problem of raising the level of production which could make no further progress unless free and uninhibited exchange of goods could promptly be effected through greater circulation of the medium of exchange. He had therefore, legislated that the alternative copper

1. Chablani ; also see Khāfi Khan, I, 199, 200.

2. It were usually the Muslim Balochis who reared and dealt in camels. Withington, Foster, 1968 ed., 220.

3. Terry, Foster, 1968 ed., 297.

4. *A. A. I*, 16-7.

5. *A. A. I*, 33 ; also see Palsaert, 29.

dams were to be regarded as equally satisfactory medium of exchange as silver coins: a measure which could effectively ease the currency shortage providing a fresh spurt to all kinds of transactions and intercourse in the Empire.¹ This expediency had also enabled the Emperor to satisfactorily realise the state demand of revenue in cash² which had undoubtedly resulted in multiplying and expanding the urban and non-urban bazars hence much more frequent use of currency.

Subsequently, by about the mid-seventeenth century the copper mines ran out of their deposits. Thus the ratio of *dam*, in relation to the rupee, rose proportionately as also the volume of imported copper. We of course have no statistics available with which we could compare the volume of incoming copper at the two points of time, but the documentary evidence indicates so.³ For instance, it is recorded that the Portugese, English and the Dutch traders on the eastern ports had started bringing in larger quantity of copper from Japan.⁴

Iron was perhaps the only metal of significance in which the Empire was more than adequately endowed; after catering to all kinds of domestic requirements, it had some surplus left which was at times exported abroad.⁵

Similarly the supply of good salt was enough to meet all the requirements within the Empire, so much so that the unwholesome grass salt of Bengal was disregarded and good rock or sea salt was

1. Incidentally, we have already seen the Emperor's anxiety to ensure unrestrained movement of goods in the sphere of export trade. Considering thus that at the moment both the internal and external traffic badly needed outlet the inference stands to reason that production had by now outweighed the local requirements and if not allowed free flow inside and outside the Empire a glut in the production might ensue causing the entire economic structure to collapse. The Emperor however rose to the occasion and by doing the needful saved the situation.
2. *A. A.* II, *A'in*, 5.
3. Moreland in Pelsaert, 29. n. 2.
4. *E. F.*, 1624-29, 181; (for silver also see *op. cit.*, 4, 26, 44); Bernier, 203; Bolts, 70; Glamann, Chap. IX.
5. Barbosa, I, 40; Jourdain, 358.

carried there from the surplus areas¹ of Lahore and Sambhar lake. Kashmir too had had no salt of its own but it was kept well supplied by Lahore.²

Stones: The occurrence of diamonds, carnelians (*al-aqiq*) and agates certainly contributed to the general richness of the Empire but as their output was inconsiderable they remained of minor importance exercising no deep impact on the general economy of the imperial dominion. Far more useful were the quarries of red, yellow stones and white marble which were worked and extensively employed in the magnificent edifices of the Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Rajputana and Sind regions. No doubt the bulk and weight of stones rendered their transportation to any length of distance very expensive if not altogether impossible. Lesser variety of stones locally available were more commonly used in Kashmir,³ Gwalior,⁴ Chandéri,⁵ Ahmadabad,⁶ Agra,⁷ and in the desert and hilly regions of the central parts of the Empire.⁸ The only difference in these areas between the ordinary dwellings and palatial mansions was in the type of stone used; in the former were used crude and unembellished pieces while in the latter they had them hewn⁹ and polished with proper finish. At times, even the tiles were substituted by flagstones.¹⁰ The stone structures have the advantage of greater invulnerability and durability, needing perhaps less in the way of repairs, therefore as far as possible the builders of forts,¹¹ city walls,¹²

1. R. Fitch, Ryley, 100 ; *A. A.* II, 135 ; Jourdain, 162.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, II, 147 ; For a detailed study of copper, iron and salt see H.K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries*; etc., pp. 233-38, 220-22 and 238-43.
3. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, 426, 428 ; *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri*, 155.
4. *Commentary*, 23-4 ; De Laet, 34 ; Jourdain, 153.
5. *Babarnāma*, II, 326.
6. Barbosa, I, 125 ; Terry, Foster, 1968 ed. p. 300.
7. Ralph Fitch, Foster, 968 ed. p. 17 ; Jourdain, 163.
8. See *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 430.
9. *Babarnāma*, II, 326 ; *Commentary*, 23-4.
10. *Babarnāma*, II, 326.
11. *A. A.* II, 193, 194, 202, 204, 205, etc.
12. Terry, Foster, 1968 ed., 301.

madrashas, mosques, reservoirs¹, caravan-serais², and other buildings of public utility often decided upon this material for use. Stones were also frequently used for paving streets such as in Kashmir,³ or Ahmadabad.⁴ It is possible that royal highways too were paved with stones more particularly in the portions passing through the western areas of the Empire.

The limestone quarries were worked in order to obtain lime: the basic ingredient for making mortar without which neither stone slabs nor bricks could be effectively joined together in any construction project. Lime though bulky has little weight hence its transportation was less expensive and also less difficult than that of the stones. In fact, it was rather a cheap article costing only one *dam* per three maunds but the comparable cost of conveyance was high: from Babirah (to Agra? the distance too is not specified) it went as far up as one rupee per three maunds.⁵ It follows then that in the vicinity of quarries lime could be more commonly used while in the regions moving away from them it would be only sparingly employed.

The use of stones for building purposes has been an ancient practice. But then such constructions appeared in the form of places of worship or less commonly as forts or large palaces of some chieftains. The Hindu approach being that of small town and village economy the incidents of use of stones for modest but durable dwellings would be limited. In the Muslim epoch, when greater urbanisation became the pivot of the economic policies adopted the need for durable urban constructions would exercise a compelling pressure. The regular life of a town cannot possibly be lived normally if all the constructions are to be re-erected annually or even every five, ten or twenty years. Some repairs, renovations and additions are undoubtedly always needed in towns but not to the extent to which they would if the entire town was built up with mud and thatch. The main urban structures

1. Roe, 112.
2. Jourdain, 149.
3. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 425.
4. *Infra*, Chap. IV.
5. *A. A. I.*, 232.

as well as the humbler lodgings of the lesser people once built have to last long enough to enable the dwellers to engage themselves in some other profitable activity without worrying for a reasonably good shelter every year; only then can a town expect to have any permanence about it. Promotion of urbanisation had thus resulted in an extremely active construction work which, on the one hand, was a distinct departure from the earlier Hindu tradition of the rural mud-and-thatch work and on the other, in the course of its progress it had exploited all the natural material resources that the country could offer for the purpose. Not only stones but other building materials such as bricks, wood, ironware and so on too were largely employed in the Empire as is evident from the *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, some of the *Dastur 'amals*, the political chronicles and other literature of the period.

The foregoing survey of the indigenous resources of the realm and the manner in which first the Sultans and later the Mughal Emperors exploited them reflects a general trend of an optimum utilisation of all varieties of assets endowed by nature. The limitations set by the period were certainly their own limitations too and they could hardly be expected to step over the borderline, otherwise they consistently and systematically endeavoured to ramify their economic activities to the widest possible extent and to push it up to highest possible level.

The rivers were used for irrigational, navigational and protective purposes; exit points for commercial intercourse both over land route and over high seas, the currency shortage incident upon the absence of precious metals was got over by earning them through lucrative transactions abroad and by imposing prohibition on their export; the spurt given to cotton textiles—the premier industry of the age—was of such an order that in due course it became ubiquitous; livestock breeding and the breeding of animals for transport was encouraged, the resultant leather and wool industries prospered; copper yields were valued and prudently allocated for currency; ironware was commonly produced as iron was abundant; building material available in the Empire was for the

first time under the Muslim sovereigns came to be popularly used in construction works of all sizes and standards. In the process of intensive tapping of all the resources of the imperial territory land was made to bear the greatest burden as it still was the mainstay of the Empire.¹ The area under cultivation was extended; output of foodgrains was augmented but much more so the volume of valuable crops in order to adequately feed the growing population and the flourishing industries. Agricultural prosperity, industrial progress and easy flow of commerce were all interdependent and when properly handled, as was done by the Muslim monarchs of India, the dynamics of the combination could occasion an unsurpassed level of growth and general weal. As the Mughal towns had acquired viability by means of a happy co-ordination of the above three factors² the Empire too could, and did, by following a similar course, achieve the same on a much broader canvas.

1. I. H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 161.

2. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries, etc.*, 89-90.

CHAPTER III

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORT

TRANSPORT and means of communication occupy a singular position in the progress of urban development. In fact in the absence of quantitative details, an aspect with which our study chronically suffers—, the level of communication facilities could be a fair index as to the level of urban growth achieved. At the preliminary stage when the unpaved tracks, radiating from the town, end up in the adjacent villages, the towns may be interpreted to have a mere local significance, small in size and population, with a low scale of trade and industry involving only the local producers and consumers in its narrow range of small town activities. Here the means of transport are bound to be slow, movement infrequent and roads consequently hazardous and in a neglected plight. But when the roads connect the town with other towns, we may take it, that the second stage has been reached and the town has now attained a regional importance; its size, population, trade, industry and all other activities making a corresponding move upwards. The streets of the town as well as the outer highways will have to be kept in good repair along with suitable arrangements for transport mediums and also for minimising the discomforts of the travellers. Other factors being still favourable, these facilities would stimulate the town to make rapid progress in the sphere of its industrial output and traffic in goods, consequently swelling the population and widening the orbit of its general activities. This circumstance in its turn enabled the town to cross the regional limit and enter the final phase of acquiring closer and direct contact with other parts of the Empire. Long distance highways with proper arrangements for shelter, halting stations, security and freedom from undue cesses *en-route* had to be made. These highways, starting from the town, spread out in all directions covering all important urban centres lying on its way and eventually

terminating at the export points. This extension of communication to far-off urban centres entitled the town to acquire imperial or national importance.¹

By about the end of the 15th century, presumably as a result of the urbanisational policy consistently followed by the Sultans, Hindustan seems to have reached a stage where the developing towns were badly in need of a direct link with each other. Because, since the accession of the Lodi Sultans, road building, construction and maintenance of serais, digging of wells and plantation of shady trees on either sides of the highways became one of the chief concerns of the rulers. Contemporary accounts give ample evidence of the efforts made by the Sultans, indeed each succeeding Sultan seems to have been bent on outdoing his predecessors in this direction. It is certainly true that all these facilities of communication were required by the state for administrative purposes and it is possible that the rulers were being governed primarily with this motive. This motive force however, does not come in conflict with the progress of urbanisation as a result of better communication system. For one thing, administration is an integral part of urban set up. Secondly, economic prosperity in the way of higher volume of output of urban industries and heavier traffic in the exchange of goods between the towns and villages and amongst the towns, the basic requirements of urban growth would naturally follow the improved means of communication. That the rulers were specially anxious for fostering such use of their roads and serais etc. to the maximum is borne out by their constant efforts to protect the interest of the merchants, amongst other ways, by abolition of tolls and cesses *en-route*.

Sher Shah Suri occupied the throne of Agra in 1540. His administrative efficiency has been highly extolled in all quarters, his reforms though most of them left incomplete certainly reflect his keen insight and perfect understanding of the requirements of the period. These requirements, or circumstances leading to these requirements, have however been seldom studied. Not entering upon the details of these requirements at the moment, it would seem

1. Also see *supra*, chap. I.

that the undeviating adherence of the preceding Sultans to the progress of urbanization was now bearing fruit. It had crossed over the stage of regional significance and was mature enough to enter the third phase where distant villages, *qasbahs* and towns urgently needed each other's active cooperation in order to push forward their own individual growth. Considering that the aggregate of agricultural output had risen high accompanied by a proportionate augmentation in the volume of valuable crops—raw materials—the tendency of the urban craftsmen must have been to accordingly raise the volume of their own finished products. In the circumstances an unhampered flow of goods from place to place would be a compelling necessity. Evidently it was this realisation that had urged Sher Shah Suri to build roads, covering in all thousands of miles, and innumerable well organized serais for the comfort and security of the travellers. And all these projects the king completed notwithstanding his brief rule of five years crowded with perpetual actions and engagements, a fact which would further indicate the almost emergency situation in regard to the improvement of communication system.

The accompanying table thus shows the principal highroads and highways in the second half of sixteenth century along with some other particulars that may have been noticed in the sources pertaining to them.

Principal Highways in the Mughal Empire c. 1550-1650

| <i>Point of Origin and terminus</i> | <i>Approx. distance</i> | <i>Built by or in the reign of</i> | <i>Remarks</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. From Sonargaon to Attock | 1,500
<i>Karohs</i> | Sher Shah Suri | | <i>Tabaqāt-i-Akbari</i> , II, 174. |
| 2. From Hindustan to Kabul leading upto Jalalabad, Khaibar, Bangash, Naghaz and Farmul | | | river Sind had to be crossed at Chauparah ferry | <i>Babarnama</i> , I, 223; <i>A.A.</i> II, 406. |
| 3. 'The Khaibar route'— | | Emperor Akbar | it was a regular road fit for wheeled traffic | <i>A.A.</i> II. 406. |
| 4. From Lahore to Kashmir | | Emperor Akbar | was called the Imperial Road; was open for traffic for seven non-winter months | <i>A.N.</i> III, 572-73. |
| 5. From Multan to Delhi | | | | <i>Rehlah</i> , 15, 16-24. |
| 6. From Multan to Qandahar | | | .. | Pelsaert, 13; <i>Manrique</i> , II, 247-59. |

| <i>Point of Origin and terminus</i> | <i>Approx. distance</i> | <i>Built by or in the reign of</i> | <i>Remarks</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 7. From Thattah to Ahmadabad | .. | .. | was dangerous being infested with Baluchi marauders | Withington, Foster, 225. |
| 8. From Ahmadabad to Cambay | .. | .. | the route passed through Baroda | <i>Tabaqāt-i-Akbari</i> , II, 376 ; Withington, Foster, 206. |
| 9. From Ahmadabad to Surat | .. | .. | .. | <i>Tabaqāt-i-Akbari</i> , II, 376-92 ; Down-ton, 96-105 ; According to P. Mundy it passed through Broach ; P. Mundy, II, 29. |
| 10. From Ahmadabad to Burhanpur | .. | .. | .. | <i>E.F.</i> 1618-21, 90-92. |
| 11. From Burhanpur to Orissa | .. | .. | probably only an unfrequented track | <i>Baharistan-i-Ghaibi</i> , II, 687-88. |

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|---|
| 12. | From Orissa to Bengal | .. | .. | .. | <i>Baharistan-i-Ghaibi</i> , II, 688. |
| 13. | From Bengal to Bihar | .. | .. | through Garhi as the gate to Bengal; ¹ | <i>A.N.</i> III, 151, 230; <i>Ma'athir-i-Rahimi</i> , II, 12. |
| 14. | From Maldah in Bengal to Jaunpur | .. | .. | was only a track, it passed through Chhapra near Patna | J. N. Sarkar, <i>History of Bengal</i> , II, 201. |
| 15. | From Agra to Fatehpur Sikri | 12 <i>cos</i> | Emperor Akbar | was shady, populous and full of shops | R. Fitch, Ryley, 98. |
| 16. | From Agra to Delhi | .. | Sher Shah Suri | ran via Muthra and west of Jamuna | Nurul Haq in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, 417. |
| 17. | From Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor | .. | Sher Shah Suri | .. | Abbas Sherwani in Elliot and Dowson, IV, 417. |
| 18. | From Agra to Ajmer | .. | Emperor Akbar | well-cared route | Badaoni, II, 176; <i>A.N.</i> III, 156. |
| 19. | From Agra to Sirihind | .. | .. | .. | <i>A.N.</i> III, 761. |

1. A highroad is mentioned by Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, III, 151.

| <i>Point of Origin and terminus</i> | <i>Approx. distance</i> | <i>Built by or in the reign of</i> | <i>Remarks</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 20. From Agra to Lahore | 350 <i>cos</i> | .. | A <i>Khayābān</i> i. e. shaded avenue: Jahangir had put Karoh <i>minārs</i> to mark the distance; at every five <i>Karohs</i> he built a well. ¹ | T. Coryat, Foster 283-84; Terry, Foster, 293; De Laet, 55. |
| 21. From Agra to Mandu | | Sher Shah Suri | | <i>Tabaqāt-i-Akbari</i> , II, 175. |
| 22. From Agra to Burhanpur | .. | | extension of Agra Mandu highroad | A. Sherwani, <i>op. cit.</i> 417. |
| 23. From Agra to Surat | | | extension of Agra Mandu highroad | R. Fitch, Ryley, 96-7; W. Finch, Foster, 133. |
| 24. From Agra to Broach | .. | .. | it ran via Ajmer, Merta, Ahmada- | <i>A.N.</i> III, 62-73. |

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 227.

| | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----|----|--|--|
| | | | | bad and Baroda.
From Broach on it
got linked up with
Cambay and
Surat. | |
| 25. | From Agra to Attock | .. | .. | <i>Khayābān</i> i. e. a
shaded avenue | <i>Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri</i> ,
227. |
| 26. | From Agra to Bengal | .. | | <i>Khayābān</i> i. e. a
shaded avenue | <i>Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri</i> ,
227. |
| 27. | From Agra to Benaras | .. | | Lay through
Qanauj, Lucknow,
Akbarpur and
Jaunpur | N. Ufflet, Foster,
175-76. |
| 28. | From Agra to Allahabad | .. | .. | covered Koil, Ita-
madpur and
Manikpur <i>en-route</i> | W. Finch, Foster,
179. |
| 29. | From Agra to Etah | .. | .. | was a metalled
road | D. Sen, <i>Vaishnava
Literature</i> , 107. |
| 30. | From Ajmer to Allaha-
bad | .. | .. | .. | <i>Khātima</i> . |

The foregoing Table shows that the distant outposts of the Empire were all connected together describing a very rough circle. Regardless of the time element and hazards of the journey involved, a man starting from Sonargaon could by travelling along these roads reach Agra, Lahore, Kashmir, Kabul, Multan, Thattah, Ahmadabad, Cambay, Surat, Burhanpur, Orissa and back to Sonargaon. Again, from Agra, appropriately as the centre of the Empire, roads radiated in all directions, to Sirihind and Lahore in the west, Etah, Allahabad and Benaras in the east ; to Jodhpur in the south-west, Dholpur, Mandu and Broach in the farther south-west the last two being extended further down terminating at Surat. Fatehpur Sikri, almost an annexe town of Agra, and the neighbouring capital town of Delhi were naturally kept well connected with Agra by road. Thus through Agra all the important urban centres commanding the produce and markets of adjoining areas as well as that of their own, had all been got linked together by roads. Also, the towns relegated far into the interior with no outlet otherwise could, again through Agra, establish commercial contacts with the exit points of the Empire.

But in the medieval times merely building of roads was not enough. They had to be secured from the highwaymen, afford protection from climatic inclemencies, provide reasonably comfortable lodgings at every stage and make arrangement for water as frequently as possible all along the way. Accordingly measures were taken to get these routes secured by building serais at the fixed stages of journey,¹ which were run by the state² affording perfect safety to the itinerant travellers.³ These serais were furnished with lodgings, wells, mosques, *muazzins*, *imams*, separate boards for Muslims and Hindus⁴ and fodder for their animals. The charges at these serais were nominal.⁵ The building of serais was an old

1. Abbas Sherwani, Elliot and Dowson, IV, 417 ; Manrique. II, 99-100.

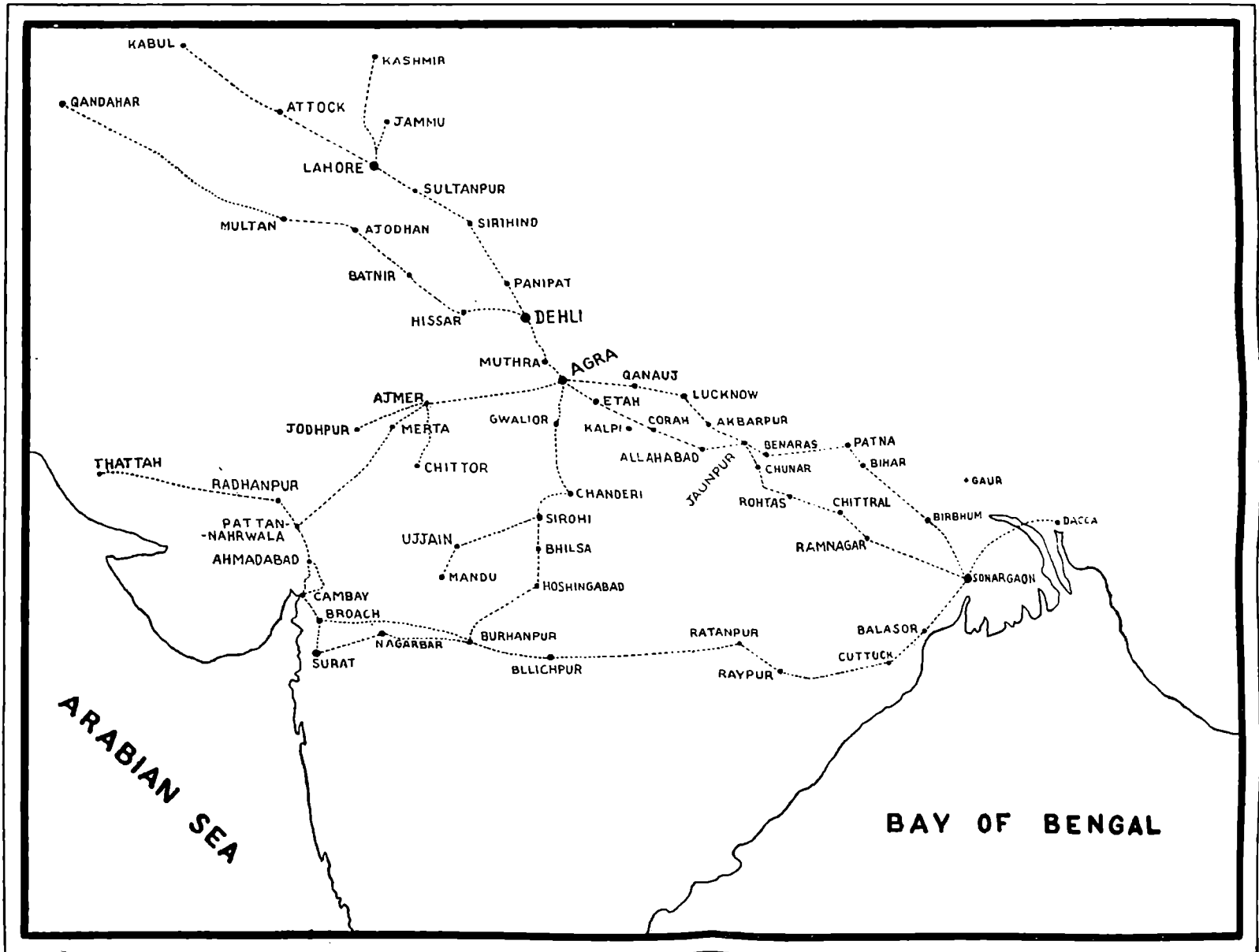
2. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 175.

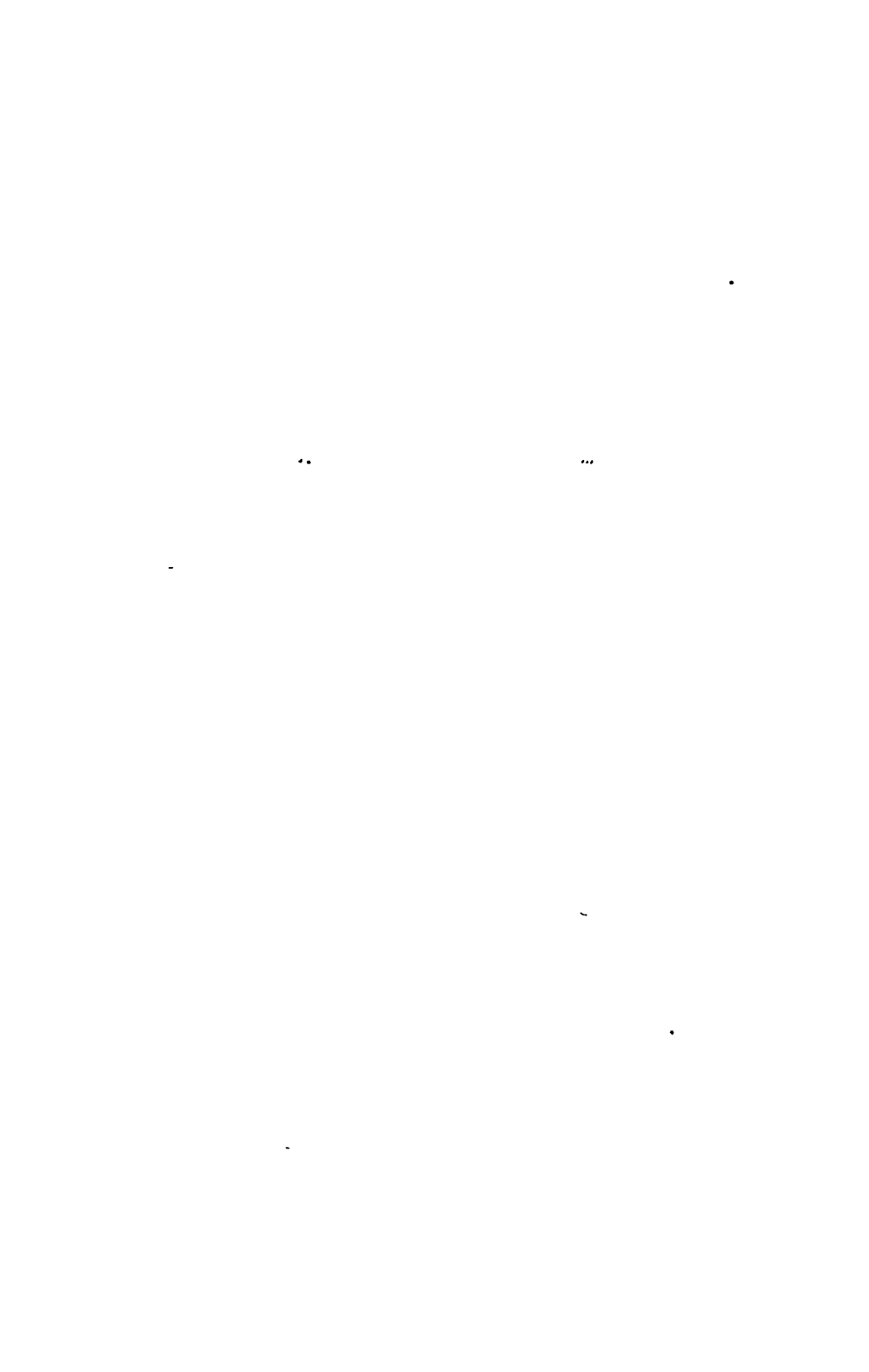
3. N. Withington, Foster, 225 ; Downton, 105, 318. Also see the accounts of other travellers of the period who almost invariably lodged in these serais in the course of their travels through the Empire.

4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 175 ; also see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 57.

5. S^o c T. Coryat, Foster, 1968 ed., 248.

PRINCIPAL HIGHWAYS IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: 1550-1650





institution of Muslim rulers all over the Islamic world.¹ Following the tradition but perhaps actuated more by the local demands, the Muslim monarchs of India were in no way any less enthusiastic in this respect of building caravan-serais for the comfort of travellers both within the towns and along the highways. Sultan Firoz Shah had instructed his governor Fathkhan to build serais in his province.² Indeed the Sultan himself had built as many as hundred and twenty *Khānqāhs*³ in Delhi in order to provide accommodation for those visiting Delhi; for three days the visitors lodging in the serais were to be regarded as royal guests so that in 120 *Khānqāhs* every day of the year visiting travellers were to be treated at the royal expense.⁴ The keeper and the other staff of the monasteries—serais—were paid salaries from the royal treasury.⁵ Other Sultans also repaired and built serais, indeed by the time Lodis assumed sovereignty their preoccupation with serais gets much more in evidence until we find Sher Shah Suri building and repairing as many as 1700 serais in all.⁶ Under Emperor Akbar the *Kotwāls* were enjoined to undertake the construction of serais.⁷ His successors also emphasised the construction and maintenance of serais as one of the chief duties of the provincial governors.⁸ Thus apart from the serais built within the towns, all the highways came to be dotted with these serais at regular intervals of every stage along the route. These serais were run by a staff which if not directly appointed by the state, was, nevertheless answerable to it.⁹

Further, the highways were sometimes lined with shady trees on

1. Manrique, II, 99-102.
2. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of Sultanate of Delhi*, 198-99.
3. The literal meaning of *Khānqāh* is monastery but here the term has evidently been used to signify a serai.
4. Afif—Urdu tr., 230.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 57.
7. *A. A.* II, 44; *A. A.* III, *A'in* 3, q. by I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 228.
8. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 8; Aurangzeb's Farman to Md. Hashim, tr. J. N. Sarkar, *J. A. S. B.*, June 1908, p. 231; Abbas Sherwani, Elliot and Dowson, IV, 417; P. Saran, 410.
9. Manucci, I, 71; also see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 57.

both the sides planted no doubt either directly by the state or else by some wealthy philanthropists. Such shady roads were known as *Khayābān* or avenues.¹ Thus the twelve miles long road running between Agra and Fatehpur Sikri was lined on both sides with shady trees and market of victuals and other things, indeed the whole area appeared so thriving and populous as though one were still in a town.² Similarly the 350 miles long Agra-Lahore road was a long avenue full of verdant trees³ so that while covering the route one felt more like a pleasant long walk⁴ rather than an arduous journey of the medieval times. Here also were serais erected at convenient intervals.⁵ The entire way was full of busy and well inhabited villages⁶ (at every few miles). Emperor Jahangir had likewise planted shady trees on the Agra-Bengal and Agra-Attock routes in order to provide some shelter to the tired traveller from the blazing sun.⁷

In view of the tropical heat water arrangement was made at shorter distances, again, either by the state or by the munificence of some wealthy *amirs* as is borne out by the itinerary of the contemporary travellers. Or, for example, on the Agra-Ajmer route wells were dug at every *cos*.⁸ While most of these were ordinary ones, some were the step wells, which provided both shelter and water to the weary traveller.

Occasionally rivers intercepted the straight, even progress of roads so that in some cases the kings got bridges built in order to facilitate movement. Thus during the reign of Emperor Akbar, Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan constructed a bridge over river Gomti at Jaunpur,⁹ the Emperor himself had ordered the cons-

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 175 ; Ahmad Yadgar, 228, T. Coryat, Foster, 1968, ed., 244 ; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 57.
2. R. Fitch, Ryley, 98.
3. T. Coryat, Foster, 283-84 ; P. Mundy II, 83-4.
4. Terry, Foster, 293.
5. De Laet, 55.
6. T. Coryat, Foster, 283-84.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 227 : P. Mundy, II, 84, attests to the avenue from Agra to Patna.
8. *A. N.* III, 156 ; Badaoni, II, 176.
9. *A. A.* I, 354.

truction of another bridge over river Sind at Attock.¹ These projects proved to be of great convenience to the overland travellers passing through these points.

It is obvious from the Table that all regions of the Empire were not uniformly developed in respect to means of communication. For example, the areas lying in between Gwalior and Kalinjir, Patna and Burhanpur, Ahmadabad and Thattah or again vast sparsely populated area between Thattah and Qandahar-Kabul appear to have been lagging far behind. In all these cases there certainly must have existed some age old primitive tracks between most of pairs of towns,² *qasbahs* and villages which seem to have still continued in the same state. Even the element of danger run by travellers (such as Humayun or Dara Shikoh) from the highwaymen and marauders infesting these areas was in no way to be under-estimated. The Burhanpur-Orissa route appears to have been a track seldom frequented in normal circumstances; when the rebellious Prince Shah Jahan undertook this route he was working under the stress of a desperate situation. Nor was the Orissa-Bengal route any better,³ though some good serais were located and were available to travellers at important points such as Jalasore⁴ and Naraingarh.⁵ As a matter of fact in the *subah* of Bengal roadways are rarely noticed except perhaps for the areas through which passes the Bengal portion of the Grand Trunk Road.

On the other hand, there were segments of the Empire where more than one road existed between some pairs of towns. For instance, the Benaras-Kabul belt, the Agra-Ahmadabad region and Agra-Burhanpur-Surat zones. These regions appear to have enjoyed the best communication facilities that the period could offer. These were also the areas where the urban growth was more marked than elsewhere in the Empire as touched upon

1. *A. N.* III, 523.
2. For good and evidently a frequented road track between Lahore and Multan, see Manrique, II, 221-22.
3. Manrique, II, 98-120.
4. Manrique, II, 99.
5. Manrique, II, 109.

in chapter I. Moreover, these very regions constituted the principal producing and consuming areas (whether internally or abroad) in the imperial dominion. It would therefore, follow that the level of development of communication corresponded with the level of urban growth, which in turn was determined by the level achieved by the production-consumption complex.

In order to ensure free and unhindered flow of traffic, Emperor Akbar had remitted all imposts on goods in transit over land routes, and carefully fixed those payable on use of watery courses and at the exit points of the Empire.¹ Emperor Jahangir had repeated the issue of the *farmān* with an additional clause of complete abolition of duties on the Kabul-Qundahar routes,² similarly Aurangzeb Alamgir too had issued a *farmān* forbidding the levy of cesses on traders and merchants in the course of their journey on land routes³. The repetition of the orders to the same effect by the successive sovereigns reflects that in spite of their sincere desire to free the merchants and traders of all burdensome and at times irksome impositions and inconveniences, the Emperors, even in their palmy days, were unable to root out the evil of the violation of their repeated pronouncements in this respect. Indeed, Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir went to the extent of appointing special officers to see that the forbidden cesses were not collected.⁴

The harassment and molestation of, and the unauthorised exactions from the traders and travellers was carried on particularly by the quasi independent Hindu *zamindars* and chieftains who were scattered all over the Empire.⁵ Though formally owing allegiance to the Emperors, their best efforts appear to have been directed towards weakening the imperial interest by hitting at its base of flourishing commerce. If fortune favoured them and some corruptible Mughal official got an appointment in the adjoining imperial territory they with his collusion and connivance could operate

1. A. A. I, 292.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, 47.

3. Khāfi Khan, II, 89-90.

4. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 151.

5. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries* etc., 204, 223, 272 and 280; I. H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 152.

with impudence and impunity. At all events, any sign of lapse in the imperial vigil either owing to the distance from the capital or some other preoccupation of the king and the Court was a valuable opportunity for them and should in no case go unavailed. Incidentally, we may note here that judging from what followed in the subsequent century, the performance of these Hindu *zamindars* and chieftains was as devoid of substance and constructive competence as that of other participants in the arena of eighteenth century politics. The degree of damage done by each set of competitors in that century surely differed from group to group and time to time, but none of the parties then engaged in the conflict were able to come forward and establish a peaceful permanent state, the crying need of the day. To challenge the existing authority is one thing but to carve out a settled, peaceful¹ and prosperous kingdom is an altogether different matter and is not given to all.

Means of Transport : Elephants, camels, horses, bullocks, bullock carts, mules and litters were the usual mode of transportation during our period. The use of elephants as a means of conveyance was reserved for the sovereign, or to those whom he granted permission to use them. Besides, the purchase and the maintenance of elephants was anyway far too expensive to be of popular use. Camels were much better suited for both personal conveyance and transportation of goods. There are several stray references in the contemporary literature where camels were employed for personal transport² specially when the travellers were pressed for time.³ Because *Jamāza*, the she-camels, excel in swiftness of speed.⁴ Camels used as a beast of burden could carry on an average ten maunds of weight.⁵ Often Agra goods were being sent down to Surat in huge camel caravans.⁶ Todd refers to *qatārs* of loaded

1. As was done later by the English.

2. Jauhar Aftabchi, Urdu tr., 68, 74 etc. ; *A. N.* III, 44, 62 ; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 595 ; Firishta, Urdu tr., II, 619.

3. *A. N.* III, 62 ; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 595.

4. *A. A.* I, 151.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 74, 90.

camels passing through Haiderabad (in Sind), Rori, Bhakkar, Shikarpur and Uch.¹ In fact in Sind, Multan and often in Gujarat overland transportation of goods was conducted on camels as these were exceptionally suited for the terrain.²

The incidence of use of horses in journeys undertaken by individuals appears to have been far more common. Their use by the nobility both within and without the towns are well known. But by about sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lesser people too seem to have come to make frequent use of horses in their journeys as may be assessed from the stray references in the contemporary literature.³ And their general availability too appears to have grown manifold as their minimum current price is quoted by Abul Fazl at rupees two per piece only.⁴ Here the imperial cavalry and troops are not taken into account as they formed a distinct class of riders by the very nature of their profession and the sheer number of horses thus engaged would be legion.⁵ On the other hand, the horses then employed for rendering postal service may be included here. The efficiency and promptitude of the postal department owed largely to the well organised relay of swift horses.⁶ Indeed some of these were so very swift as to have covered as many as fifty to a hundred *cos* a day.⁷ Horses were also at times harnessed in wheeled carriages called *ghur bahāl*⁸ but they were not much in vogue except in Gujarat.⁹

Mules and asses being less expensive than horses and relatively more suited for the conveyance of goods particularly through

1. Todd, 578 ; for strings of camels in Malwa, Bodaoni, II, 47.

2. Sorley, book I. p. 89.

3. *Futuhāt-i-Firoz Shahi*, (Per.), 9 ; Ahmad Yadgar, 24 ; Badaoni, III, 36 ; Ralph Fitch, Hakl. Voy, III, 288 ; *Tārīkh-i-Masumi*, 175 ; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Elliot and Dowson, IV, 476.

4. *A. A. I.*, 150.

5. *A. A. I.*, 241-45 ; I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of Mughal Empire*, Chap. VI, pp. 114-18.

6. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 175.

7. *A. A. I.*, 146.

8. *A. A. I.* 159 ; Ahmad Yadgar has used the term *tanoi*, p. 24.

9. In Cambay, Barbosa, says these horse carriages were common. Barbosa, I, 141.

uneven paths,¹ were well fitted for the use of lower segment of population for both purposes. In the north-western² and western regions they were therefore commonly employed as beasts of burden.³

Bullocks: Several factors contributed in making bullocks by far the most convenient and important means of transport in the sixteenth-seventeenth century India. Their prominent shoulders are eminently suited to carry heavy loads or drive wheeled carriages.⁴ By virtue of their adaptability to transversing long distances over paved, unpaved or uneven roads and also because of their abundance in the Empire, they may be graded higher to other animals as a beast of burden and means of transport in the Mughal India.

These bullocks could carry, on an average, four great maunds of weight each.⁵ Riding on bullocks was common practice,⁶ and so was their employment as beast of burden by individuals, traders or merchants. Besides, the itinerant merchants moved in large caravans of thousands of loaded bullocks with their camps and belongings, transporting mainly grain and salt from surplus to deficit areas.⁷ These merchants were known as *banjārahs* and were to be met with from the eastern border of Bihar to Sindh in the west, and from Lahore and Agra in the north to Burhanpur in the south.⁸ Once they were summoned as far up west as Qaundahar in order to supply provision to the besieging army of Emperor Jahangir.⁹ Ox-driven carriages could be covered or uncovered¹⁰ for passenger conveyance or for transportation of goods. The passenger carts could normally accommodate two to

1. *A. A. I*, 160.
2. *Babarnama*, I, 251; Bayazid Baytat, 121.
3. Jauhar Aftabchi, 62, 69; *Belgārnama*, Elliot and Dowson, I, 295, 296.
4. *History of Technology*, 210.
5. P. Mundy, II, 95.
6. Jourdain, 127.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, II, 233; P. Mundy, II, 95-6.
8. Ahmad Yadgar, 195; Bayazid, 324, 325; Badaoni, II, 240; *A. N.*, II, 212; P. Mundy, II, 95-6.
9. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, II, 233.
10. *A. A. I*, 159.

three men and were generally available in Hindustan,¹ Ajmer,² Gujarat³ and Orissa.⁴ Some of these carts or chariots yoked bulls who could run with any horse.⁵ Ox-driven wagons were often employed for conveying goods.⁶ These were of various sizes; in the larger ones more than a pair of bullocks were harnessed, those with three pairs had a capacity of fortyfour maunds, but there were still larger varieties which could carry as many as eighty-one maunds of weight.⁷

Palanquins: Though occasionally used by men,⁸ old and infirm,⁹ these were in the main used by ladies.¹⁰ Palanquins being of the bigger size was carried by six or eight men at a time while of the smaller types known as *doli* or litter having seat for one occupant only, was carried by just two men.¹¹ The palanquin bearers belonged to a particular caste of Hindus called *Kahārs*. They carried their burden with such skill that the occupants inside were not troubled with any jolting.¹² When not engaged in their special profession the palanquin bearers used their free time in performing porters' jobs.¹³

Riverine traffic: River routes are watery courses designed by nature. Since antiquity these courses have been used for traffic which is relatively much cheaper and safer though entails much longer time. In the Mughal Empire a net work of navigable rivers existed covering the *subahs* of Sindh, Multan, Lahore, Kashmir, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Bihar and Bengal. The principal

1. R. Fitch, Ryley, 95-9; *Insha* of Abul Fazl, II, 138; P. Mundy, II, 189, 193.
2. *A. N.* III, 62; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, 409.
3. Barbosa, I, 141; *A. N.*, II, 246; *A. N.*, III, 63.
4. *A. A.* II, 140.
5. R. Fitch, Ryley, 95-9.
6. *A. A.* I, 157; Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 57-9; Firishta, II, 273; Todd, 254, 265.
7. Hughs, q. by R. K. Mukerji, 118.
8. Jourdain, 127.
9. Ahmad Yadgar, 215, 231; Badaoni, I, 41, 57; *Makhzan-i-Afghāna*, 132.
10. *Fatuhāt-i-Firoz Shahi*, 9; Ahmad Yadgar, 188; Badaoni, I, 87.
11. P. Mundy, II, 189; also see illustration on p. 192; Khāfi Khan, I, 392.
12. *A. A.* I, 264.
13. *A. A.* I, 264.

rivers along with their tributaries flowing through the above mentioned provinces afforded easy means of access to the distant parts of the Empire. Also, the ports flourishing at the delta of the Ganges, and Sind in a way invited commercial traffic over high seas on the one hand and inland traffic through these rivers on the other.

The river Sind along with its numerous streams at the delta being navigable¹ was linked with upland provinces of Multan, Lahore and Kashmir. Sailing down was easier and took lesser time than sailing up the river,² nevertheless the flow of traffic on the river was continuous; imported and exported goods were being constantly exchanged with the Upper provinces. As a matter of fact besides other circumstances, the utility of this river to the *subah* of Sindh was of such an order that the main conglomeration of its inhabitants was formed along its bank; moving farther west the frequency of habitation declines and all the characteristic features of a sparsely populated desert assume prominence. At Bhakkar the river Ravi joins Sindh and at Multan river Jhelum with very strong current merges itself in river Sind. Shallow draught vessels were largely employed here.³

Lahore *subah* has several rivers⁴ facilitating traffic at both ends. For example, timber, being scarce in the southern provinces of the river Sind, could easily be flowed down from the northern forests around Chamba,⁵ in order to feed the boat building industry of Sindh. The town of Lahore situated on the bank of river Ravi was linked with Kashmir in the north and Multan and farther down Thattah in the south. Ravi could carry a large trade in shallow draught vessels⁶ of sixty tons and upwards.⁷ It was through this river that Lahore was able to overcome its land locked position; in addition, it could now serve and help the adjoining provinces of

1. Roe, 113.

2. Roc, 440.

3. Pelsaert, 31.

4. *A. A.* II, 215-16.

5. *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawarikh*, tr., 106.

6. Pelsaert, 31.

7. De Lact 51; Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, 167.

Kashmir, and to some extent Delhi and Agra in order to secure access to foreign markets through the port of Lahiri Bunder.

Agra was served by rivers Jamuna and Chambal both of which effected their confluence at Kalpi.¹ Chambal was navigable² but the province gained much more by the navigability of Jamuna which linked it with its eastern areas. The river was navigable throughout the year to boats upto 100 tons burthen.³ It flows through Agra so that the town could carry on brisk traffic through this river as far east as Sonargaon and then on to Chittagong. At times Agra dispatched flotillas of as many as 180 boats,⁴ full of indescribable merchandise.⁵ The maintenance of this facility of transportation was highly profitable to both the provinces of Agra and Bengal: Agra and its neighbouring towns had thus gained easier access to markets whether internal or foreign for their surplus goods such as salt, lead, opium, iron,⁶ cotton⁷ or finished products such as carpets⁸ or other cotton fabrics. By availing of this watery course, Bengal in its turn, could pay for the goods received either by consigning its own surplus foodgrains to up country, by remitting specie obtained as proceeds from the sale of Hindustani goods abroad, or by doing both. Viewed in the light of this economic interdependence of Agra and Bengal it becomes plain why Emperor Akbar had insisted on either acceptance of his suzerainty by the Pathan rulers of Bengal as Taj Karrani had done or else its incorporation in the Empire, a task in which the Emperor eventually succeeded when Daud Karrani refused to submit. Political considerations apart, the economic interdependence of Agra and Bengal would thus by itself constitute a strong motive force for the rulers of Agra in suppressing any attempt at establishment of an independent parallel monarchy in Bengal.

1. *A. A.* II, 190.
2. P. Mundy, II, 13.
3. Forrest, C. S., *India Past and Present*, 162.
4. R. Fitch, Ryley, 100.
5. Pelsaert, 6.
6. R. Fitch, Ryley, 100.
7. Pelsaert, 9.
8. R. Fitch, Ryley, 100.

CHAPTER IV

CHIEF TRADING CENTRES OF THE EMPIRE I

Kabul: The *subah* of Kabul was formally incorporated in the Empire at the death of Mirza Hakim in 993/1585.¹ Its chief town Kabul being surrounded on all sides by ranges of high hills² was naturally protected against the cupidity of its western neighbours who at times became powerful. Unlike Qandhar, therefore, Kabul remained intact in the hands of the Great Mughals, though subsequently, its connection with the imperial capital was cut off by the Sikh insurgents rising in the adjacent Punjab.

Kabul is an ancient town³ and was so large as to require two citadels.⁴ The double protection works in a way reflected its dual role, strategic and commercial.⁵ In both respects the town had evidently gained enormously by the establishment of Babar's dynasty over Delhi, because it was no longer the seat of a petty, insolvent chieftain but it had become the western outpost of a much enlarged dominion where powerful kings like Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had ruled. By forging political integration with the rich and vast Empire of Delhi, Kabul was able to acquire a significance not known to it earlier.

From the accounts of Arab geographers it is obvious that some trade through Kabul had always been carried on between Hindustan and its western neighbours whose volume might have varied from time to time in accordance with the obtaining climatic and political conditions. But since the battle of Panipat in 1525, Kabul acquires a new dimension both commercially and from the strategic point of view. Moreover, its commercial importance was further emphasised because of the domination of Indian Ocean

1. *A. N.* III, 4, 5, 6 and 703.
2. *A. N.* II, 405; *Commentary*, 150; *Haft Iqlim*, II, 102.
3. *Haft Iqlim*, II, 102; *A. A.* II, 407-08.
4. *A. A.* II, 408; De Laet, 56.
5. *Babarnāma*, I, 219-20; *Commentary*, 50.

by the Portuguese, so that traders whether Indian or Central Asian who wished to avoid dealing with these inimical sea masters resorted to this route.

Several roads issuing from Kabul led to Badakhshan, Balkh and Kashghar,¹ while Persia was reached through Qandahar.² Though the Persia-China road passing through Kabul and Qandahar used to require six months for the completion of the long arduous journey,³ it was nevertheless so very frequently traversed by the merchants as to appear quite worn out by the constant trudging of their feet.⁴ Eastwards, the town had a good road upto Attock which was in turn linked with Lahore, Agra and through them as far east as Sonargaon in Bengal.⁵

All these roads converging towards Kabul brought in companies of merchants to the town in the non-winter season. Thus caravans of merchants from Farghana, Turkistan, Samarqand, Balkh, Bukhara, Badakhshan,⁶ Aleppo,⁷ and Kashghar⁸ used to arrive here once to three times a year all loaded with merchandise. The size and frequency of caravans naturally varied from case to case and time to time. The yearly caravans were for example, composed of seven, eight or ten thousand loaded horses, accompanied by ten, fifteen or thirty thousand persons,⁹ or the Aleppo caravan usually consisted of loaded camels reaching Kabul twice or thrice a year.¹⁰ Further details relative to these caravans not being known to us, all that we may, on the basis of the above evidence, suggest is that this trade was fairly frequent, and of considerable volume in which almost all Muslim countries of western Asia along with China participated. Or in other words, this illustrative evidence

1. *A. A.* II, 405; Finch, Foster, 1968 ed., 168. He also adds that it used to take two to three months' time to reach Kabul from Kashghar.
2. Manrique, II, 261-65, 340-42.
3. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voyages*, III, 233.
4. Father Xavier q. by Moreland in *India at the Death of Akbar*, 21⁹.
5. See *Supra*, chap. III.
6. *Babarnāma*, I, 29.
7. Von Linschoten, *Hakl. Voy.*, II, 316.
8. W. Finch, Foster, 1968 ed., 168-69.
9. *Babarnāma*, I, 29.
10. Von Linschoten, *op. cit.*, 316.

bears out the international significance of Kabul as an overland trading centre and also as a transit depôt for goods moving in opposite directions: eastern and western, north-eastern and south-western or western countries of Asia.

As regards the invoice of merchandise reaching Kabul from the western and north-eastern countries we have some mention occasionally along with their provenance. Thus fresh fruits were brought from Farghana, Bukhara and Badakhshan,¹ dates from Basra,² almonds again from Farghana,³ silks, red hides, slaves and horses from Bukhara and the surrounded parts in large numbers⁴ along with some carpets.⁵ The only important item in the list is that of high bred horses. Since over the high seas⁶ the Portugese had enjoyed a monopoly of the horse trade mainly aimed at the Deccan states, it is more than likely that a good segment of this trade got diverted overland route. About half a century later, Tavernier estimated the horse trade carried on through Kabul to have amounted to rupees 50,000 annually.⁷ According to our computation elsewhere if the incoming goods may be roughly valued at fifty per cent of the total volume of the traffic,⁸ then we get them worth rupees 61,50,000. Regardless of the time element, if we accept Tavernier's estimate of horse trade as correct and applicable for the first decade of 17th century as well, a balance of goods worth rupees 60,00,000 are still to be covered. The trivial imports noted above could hardly be expected to amount to the relatively high sum of rupees sixty lakh specially

1. *A. A. I*, 68-9 ; Qazwini, 55-6.

2. Qazwini, 46.

3. *Babarnāma*, I, 6 ; For the general consumption of these in Hindustan, Bernier, 203.

4. *Babarnāma*, I, 219 ; Jenkinson, *Hakl. Voy.*, I, 447 458 ; *A. A. I*, 140, also see Jawhar Aftabchi, 117 ; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbāri*, II, 109, 111.

5. *A. A. I*, 57.

6. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 205, 212 ; R. Fitch, *op. cit.* 284.

7. Tavernier, I. 92.

8. Assuming that the rate of duty levied here was fixed at the usual $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ and since Jahangir's revenue yield from Kabul had amounted to 1,23,00,000 *dams* or rupees 30,75,000, the total worth of goods passing through this point would be rupees 1,23,00,000. For a further discussion of this trade see H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries etc.*, p. 43.

when none of these commodities were indispensable for Hindustan. As a matter of fact the missing imported commodity has not only to account for the substantial figure of fifty or sixty lakh of rupees but also has to be of such a moment for the empire as to make the Emperor Jahangir immediately after his accession, scratch away all import-export dues at this point of traffic. Along with these circumstances was the internal economy of the Empire where the momentum for unprecedented growth of production had been built but was liable to be smothered if the currency situation was not eased. Emperor Akbar had certainly managed to tide things over but presumably in the meantime the demand for additional volume of currency had become urgent. Hence in view of these contingencies we may tentatively suggest that the above balance of fifty-sixty lakh of rupees were brought in the Empire through Kabul in the form of precious metals, gold, silver and copper¹ whose mines were worked at several places in the western Muslim countries.²

Amongst the Hindustani goods carried over by the outgoing caravans from Kabul were mainly slaves, sugar candy, refined and also common sugar, aromatic drugs, spices,³ white cotton cloth,⁴ printed cloth⁵ and indigo.⁶ The Central Asian merchants invested in these goods at Lahore,⁷ Delhi,⁸ Agra⁹ and sometimes reached as far east as Patna.¹⁰ Hindustani merchants too are attested as to have been visiting Central Asian countries (accompanying the returning caravans?) with their goods.¹¹ We have no more information regarding this aspect of Kabul trade in case it was conducted through this point.

1. For the import of these metals in the Empire without specifying the point of ingress see *A. A. I.*, 38, 39; Bernier, 202 and A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, 27, 53, 166, 284.
2. A. T. Wilson, 101-20, drawing from Idrisi, Istakhri and Maqdisi.
3. *Babarnāma*, I, 219; also Pelsaert, 31.
4. *Babarnāma*, I, 219, Jenkinson, *Hakl. Voy.*, V, 458.
5. Manrique, II, 180.
6. *Roc*, II, 476; also see p. 474.
7. *Roc*, II, 476; Pelsaert, 31.
8. *Khulāsat ut Tawārikh*, 2-3.
9. *E. F.* 1634-36, 38.
10. *E. F.* 1618-21, 195.
11. Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, 458.

The arrival and subsequent departure of caravans composed of 14,000 and upwards of merchants in Kabul with their service men, and loaded beasts again running into thousands, on an average twice a year is bound to have had some impact on the general commercial life of the town. There were of course many sarais built in order to provide accommodation to these itinerant merchants.¹ Considering that the Emperor Jahangir had remitted all custom dues and that the Treasury is not stated to have been subsidizing the expenses incurred by the town it is evident that at this stage Kabul was not unviable. And yet it had very little of its own products; fresh fruits,² some horses³ and some woollen goods⁴ were all that the town could furnish for outside markets. The earning from these would naturally be too meagre to enable the town to acquire an independent economic status. It may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the gain from the above traffic, the periodical visits and prolonged sojourns of the Asian merchants had provided Kabul with a means of regular and substantial income which would grow with the amplification of the trading activity following the remission of dues. Emperor Jahangir's measure would thus appear to have been judicious: immediate loss of revenue he sustained in order to square the circle of lack of precious metals in his own Empire (provided the assumption of import of precious metals is not wrong) and had in the process placed Kabul on the highroad of viability into the bargain.

Lahiri Bunder: Alberuni was the first Muslim historian to have referred to this port by this name.⁵ Later Ibn Hauqal and Masudi observed that commodities like oranges, ivory, valuable drugs, *bukhti*⁶ camels and even Cambay shoes were exported through this port.⁷ In 1333, Ibn Battuta had found it handsome; the big port

1. Finch, Foster, 1968 ed., 168; De Laet, 56.
2. *Babarnāma*, I, 238, 243; *A. A. I.* 68; *Haft Iqlim*, II, 102-103; *Insha-i-Chahār Chaman Barahman*, 123.
3. *A. A. I.*, 225.
4. *A. A. I.*, 102.
5. Elliot and Dowson, I, 377.
6. She camels; these were highly valued for very fast speed.
7. Ibn Hauqal quoted in *Renaissance of Islam*, 432.

located on the conjunction of the mouth of the river Sindh and the sea shore ;¹ traders from Yaman, Faras and other countries visited the port so that its prosperity had increased and the income from the port had risen enormously, to the extent of sixty lakh rupees.² In the present circumstances we have no means to check this figure, but whatever its position might have been in regard to the exact revenue yield of the port at the date, it appears certain that it had been making steady progress. This progress may well have followed the annexation of the province by the Muslim rulers ; their urban approach and oceanic supremacy during the period would certainly stimulate the commercial activities of the port.

Geographically Lahiri Bunder enjoyed an almost central position between Persia, Iraq and Arabia on the west and Sindh, Lahore and Hindustan in its north-east ; the eastern parts were accessible to it by sea while it was in direct communication by means of river Sindh with its northern region. This advantageous position could not, however, be fully utilised because of certain monsoon difficulties so that while it was visited occasionally by ships on the Ormuz route, most of its traffic appears to have been conducted by coasting boats plying between Persia, and the Gulf of Cambay.³

The port could accommodate vessels upto 200 to 300 tons burthen.⁴ All large vassels used to anchor at the creek between the port and the ocean. The boats transporting the cargo took eight to ten days to reach the port as the current in the region is very strong.⁵

The guard house on the shore kept watch over the movements of ships on its waters. The incoming vessel on reaching the creek would intimate its approach by firing a gun, to which the guard house responded. The people at the port thus learning of the arrival of the ship would, on the one hand, convey the message to the merchants of Thattah and on the other, repair to the guard house on boats. Enquiries then ensued regarding the nature of

1. *Rehlah*, 10 ; also see *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 348.
2. *Rehlah* 10.
3. Moreland, *op. cit.*, 20† ; Bal Krishna, 12.
4. Sorley, book I, 89.
5. Pelsaert, 32.

the vessel, traders, crew and cargo, after which all concerned proceeded to the creek where the vessel had anchored. The journey was performed on barks or *ghurrābs*. If it was a local ship it was allowed to move up and anchor under Lahiri Bunder, if not so then it had to stay on at the spot, but in either case the cargo on board was transferred to boats and forwarded to the city.¹

In the sixteenth century, Portugese were the supreme masters of Arabian sea. Thus no maritime commerce could be conducted from Lahiri Bunder without entering in some sort of alliance with these Portugese.² Gradually, it is believed, these *Firingis* had acquired a practical monopoly over the Sindh sea trade directed mainly to the Persian Gulf.³ Evidently it was in order to effectively prevent the Portugese from spreading over the mainland too that later on Emperor Akbar had turned Lahiri Bunder into crown property.⁴ In the last decades of sixteenth century, Pelsaert observed, that after the fall of Ormuz the Portugese power began to decline, consequently the Sindh trade too began to languish.⁵ In the mid-seventeenth century, when the English took over the Sindh trade they could effect only its partial restoration.⁶ It is possible that a good chunk of this trade was, by about the 17th century, diverted northwards, to be carried out through Kabul and Qandahar, for the markets of Persia, Khurasan and other west Asian countries.⁷ As a result of this traffic of goods from Sindh to Multan for exit through Qandhar, Bhakkar rose as a highway halting station.⁸ An imperial deputy with a custom house was installed at Bhakkar in order to take care of the levies due to the Imperial Treasury.⁹ Neverthe-

1. *Tārikh-i-Tahiri*, q. from Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, 277.
2. At any rate, Akbar had accused Mirza Jani Beg of enlisting Portugese support in his wars against him, see *A. N.* III. 972 ; also see Masumi, 351. For commercial alliances, between the rulers of Sindh and the Portugese traders, which must have been far more frequent, see Roe, 440.
3. Pelsaert, 32 ; Roe, 96, 245, 469.
4. *A. N.* III, 986.
5. Pelsaert, 32.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Manrique, II, 232.
8. Manrique, II, 232-33.
9. Manrique, II, 232.

less it is also possible that here Pelsaert's assessment of the relative importance of the Portugese traders as enjoying practical monopoly over its maritime commerce is not exactly correct. First, because he does not seem to have taken into account the maritime commerce still carried on by the Indian and Asian merchant-traders. The *banyas* even then used to ship their frigates to Ormuz¹ and Mukha.² Secondly, though the power of the Portugese had declined by the last decades of 16th century and the English had not yet stepped in, Thattah is attested to have had a large foreign population,³ numerous merchants and *banyas*⁴. In fact from Roe's narrative it is obvious that the Asian traders obtained licenses from the Portugese for some consideration⁵ and set out with their own fleet. Therefore whatever initial conflicts might have subsisted between the Asian traders and the newly established Portugese in the early sixteenth century, they seem to have been at least partially resolved within the following decades so that we do not read of any complaints regarding the blockade of this trading route in the Persian sources. But in view of the fact that in the subsequent reign Prince Aurangzeb as *subehdar* of Thattah had got the harbour repaired at considerable cost,⁶ it is likely that during the reign of Emperor Jahangir the harbour was not in perfect order occasioning some loss in the volume and frequency of the trade through the Bunder.⁷ If so then Pelsaert's interpretation of the reason for the decline of trade due merely to the weakening of Portugese's hold and absence of any other European trading company (as that of the Dutch or English) on the coast to act as carriers would again not be absolutely correct.

The existence of a nearby outlet of Lahiri Bunder for reaching foreign markets would naturally stimulate production of goods in the province. Thus from amongst the local merchandise the ships

1. Roe, 476.
2. Jourdain, 103, 206, 213. For Basrah see *E. F.*, 1634-36, 130-31.
3. Manrique, II, 238.
4. *Tārīkh-i-Tāhiri*, Elliot and Dowson, I, 277; Withington, Foster, 1968 ed., 218-20; Roe, 476.
5. Roe, 440.
6. See *Ruqa'at-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Maulana Najib Ashraf, Azamgarh.
7. Pelsaert compiled his *Jahāngir's India* in c. 1625, hence his comment.

were consigned with large quantities of cotton fabrics,¹ *bafta*,² white, striped and also painted cloth,³ quilts, mattresses,⁴ lawns,⁵ silken goods,⁶ fine leather goods and highly treated hides,⁷ coarse indigo,⁸ smoked fish,⁹ and ornamental wooden goods.¹⁰ Some of the surplus merchandise of Multan, Lahore and even Agra used to be included in the outgoing cargo from the Bunder. Thus it received sugar, both candy and powder from Multan and Lahore, Bengal cloth, painted cloth and white cotton fabrics from its northern provinces.¹¹

The incoming vessels were loaded with equally valuable cargo—that is the proceeds from the sale abroad of the earlier outgoing merchandise. The major portion of these proceeds were naturally in the form of coined or uncoined money or even foreign currency.¹² Lesser portion of the cargo reaching the Bunder consisted of some merchandise such as fawn (medium for dyeing red; Roe calls it cochineal),¹³ dry fruits¹⁴ and silk.¹⁵

It may be inferred that this traffic through Lahiri Bunder between the foreign markets and the local producers, producers of the vicinity and of farther off *subahs* of the Empire, had led to the emergence of categories amongst the merchants. Broadly speaking these would be of two, types. First, those who purchased surplus commodities from either the local, neighbouring or both the mar-

1. Manrique, II, 230, also see *E. F.* 1646-50, 277, 279, 305, 329.
2. Withington, Foster, 1968 ed. 218; Pelsaert, 32; *E. F.*, 1646-50, 188.
3. Pelsaert, 32.
4. Manrique, II, 239.
5. Withington, Foster, 1968 ed. 218.
6. *Ibid.*, Pelsaert, 32; Manrique, II, 239.
7. Manrique, II, 239.
8. Withington, Foster, 1969 ed., 218; also see *E. F.*, 1646-50 28, 73, 189, 276.
9. *A. A.*, II, 165.
10. Pelsaert, 32.
11. Pelsaert, 32.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Roe, 488; Pelsaert, 32; Roe states that it was retailed at Rs. 35 per great *seer*.
14. Pelsaert, 32.
15. *Ibid.* For its export from Persia, see Roe, 133, 354.

kets for sale abroad with the object of earning specie from its proceeds. Evidently the number of such merchants was larger as the evidence testifies to the fact that the returning vessels brought a good bulk of specie as seen above. There may have been grades amongst them in regard to the volume, frequency and extent of amplification of business, but their turn-over would essentially remain single. Secondly would be the multiple turn-over merchants who invested first say in the local leather goods, got them disposed of at Agra, invested again in Agra in cotton fabrics, exported them to say Basrah, where they again invested in say dry fruits, marketed them say at Lahore and so on, working almost in a circle but gaining profit at each turn of the wheel.

Thattah : By virtue of its location immediately on the sea shore Lahiri Bunder was much too exposed to external dangers, such as that of pirates who were always lurking all along the Arabian sea coast, to operate all the complex commercial ramifications single handed. For one thing goods in transit had to be housed and this could not, with any element of security, be done at the Bunder. Another inland centre had therefore to be deployed in order to suitably supplement the basic requirements of a sea port with widespread commercial interests. Hence the ancient town of Thattah situated on the western bank of river Indus¹ was developed evidently in order to act as the emporium of the Bunder. It lay eight *cos* away from the sea,² at three days' journey from the port³ and on the western bank of the river Sindh. Soon after its foundation or revival, in c. 1565, the town was sacked by the *Firingi* raiders who laid waste all along the way they passed.⁴ Mirza Isa Tarkhan, the ruler of the country, at the time being away, immediately on his return encircled his palace and the whole

1. Manrique II, 240.

2. Pelsaert, 31 ; *Insha-i-chahār Chaman Barahman* simply mentions that it was situated near the sea coast.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Tahiri*, Elliot & Dawson, I, 277. The author also says that it was so both by land and by water. Also see Withington, Foster, 1968 ed., 219 ; Manrique, II, 237, he maintains that it was at a distance of two days' journey.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Tahiri*, Elliot and Dawson, vol. I, 277-78, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 322-23.

city with fortifications.¹ We are not aware of the subsequent agreements that might have been entered into by the rulers of Sindh and the *firingis* but we are told that after the first incident, the Portugese were acting as carriers of the Sindhi cargo so that the trade of Lahiri Bunder flourished providing spurt to the business activities of Thattah. Later with the fall of Ormuz the naval supremacy of the Portugese weakened so that the trade of the Bunder suffered leaving in turn deep scars on the prosperity of Thattah.² By 1640-41 however, the situation seems to have been somewhat recovered,³ though this recovery was not necessarily owing to any recovery of Lahiri Bunder's traffic. It is rather more likely that Thattah had meanwhile developed its inter regional trade through Bhakkar instead, as noticed above, but the details are altogether obscure. Therefore, without delineating on the volume, frequency and other particulars of this trade, and by just considering the general trend of the period we may reasonably assume that it was fairly regular, at all events with Multan, Lahore and Agra. The overland route to Ahmadabad running via Radhanpur was infested with Baluchis and other unruly tribes⁴ which would obviously obstruct any intercourse on a regular basis. But as things were once the Thattah merchants reached Multan, Lahore or Agra markets they could be certain of an indirect access to the entire imperial dominion. The Thattah *qāfilas* of merchants conducting transactions in these markets would consist of two categories: export-import business-men and dealers on the regional level. The former we have already seen under Lahiri Bunder. As regards the regional traffic we are informed only about the leather goods to have been much in demand in Hindustan.⁵

Thattah was a rich town well stocked with all kinds of provisions received from the adjacent districts,⁶ had ample supply of nonbrackish

1. *Tārīkh-i-Tahiri*, E. & D., I, 278.
2. Pelsaert 32. Since no such reference occurs in the Persian sources, it is possible that Pelsaert here has not taken into account the maritime commerce still carried on by the west Asian traders.
3. Manrique, II, 240.
4. N. Withington, *op. cit.*, 209-18.
5. Linschoten, I, 56, q. by Manrique, II, 239n.
6. Manrique, II, 238.

water;¹ construction work was complete with fortifications mosques,² residential houses for high and low,³ saints⁴ learned 'alims,⁵ and prosperous merchants, all flourished in the town.⁶ Its industrial activities are covered in another chapter. In short, it possessed about all the necessary adjuncts of an important provincial capital and yet from Muhammad Tahir Nisyani's description one is left with a feeling that in spirit it was still backward and a non-urbanised town.⁷

II

In Gujarat by virtue of inadequate local supply of foodgrains, easy availability of raw materials from the neighbouring areas for feeding the manufactures, and proximity to the sea ports, the inhabitants were naturally induced to often engage themselves in non-agricultural pursuits. Further, the sea ports had enabled the *subah* to enter into close commercial relations with the remainder of the Indian littoral, foreign countries across the high seas as well as with the land locked imperial *subahs* lying northwards. In the circumstances the *subah*, judging from the medieval standards, had come to acquire a dominantly industrial and commercial significance. Evidently it was so notwithstanding the essentially non-urban orientation of the Hindu administrators. The industrial and commercial bias of the region could flourish only in towns where the raw materials for the manufactures could be procured from the adjacent areas and the market for the finished products existed locally. Thus even under the Hindu rajahs several towns of note are referred to. Amongst the inland towns were Pattan Anhilwara,⁸ the capital, Baroda,⁹ Champaner,¹⁰ Sirohi,¹¹ Sidhpur¹²

1. *Ibid.*; *Tārīkh-i-Tahiri*, E. & D., I, 273-74.

2-4. *Tārīkh-i-Tahiri*, *op. cit.*, 277 ; 278 ; 274, 278.

5. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 230.

6. N. Withington, *op. cit.*, 218.

7. *Tārīkh-i-Tahiri*, E. & D., I, 273-74.

8. *A. A.* II, 247 ; *Mi'rat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 27-8.

9. N. Downton, Hakl. Society, Second Series, No. LXXXII, 104, 137; also see *Tārīkh Mubarak Shahi*, 114-15.

10-12 *A. A.* II. 247; 257; 249

and so on; while Broach,¹ Somnath,² Dwarka,³ Cambay⁴ and Dip⁵ (Diu) may be recounted as some of the flourishing sea ports.

Sultan Alauddin Khalji was the first Muslim ruler to have annexed Gujarat in 1297 S. C. The political integrity thus forged with the Delhi Sultanat benefited both Delhi and Gujarat: whereas Delhi gained free access to the sea ports, and through them to the markets abroad, Gujarat now subject to rulers with a definite urban approach would have much more promising future for its underdeveloped urban potentialities to be more fully and systematically utilised. Presumably the prospect of this new trend had resulted in, at any rate, neutralising the general public so that whatever initial conflicts had to be encountered by the advancing Muslim forces were met exclusively on the political plane.

For about a century, Gujarat was governed by a series of incumbents appointed by the Sultans. To initial difficulties in adjustment in the new environment, constant friction amongst the *subehdars* and their staff and the absence of any settled authority at the Centre in the last decades of the century, may be attributed the reason for the rather unsatisfactory progress in urbanisation made during the period. Eventually, in 1407, Sultan Muzaffar Shah shook off the dependency of Delhi and assumed sovereign powers in Gujarat. For over a century the dynasty produced a series of competent rulers whose vigorous personalities coupled with the underlined policy of urbanisation enabled Gujarat to attain an unrivalled high level of economic growth in the contemporary India.

Ahmadabad: It was in this set up that Ahmadabad was founded in 813/1410 by Sultan Ahmad Shah on the bank of river Sabarmati as his new capital.⁶ Other towns have been founded

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 189; *Chalukyas*, 213.
2. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 83-5; also see *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 179, 181; *Chalukyas*, 213.
3. *Khātima*, 240.
4. *Rehlah*, 172-73 Varthema, 46; Barbosa I, 48; *Chalukyas*, 213.
5. *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, III, 181.
6. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 191; *Haft Iqlim*, I, 81; *A. A.* II, 247; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, 31-38; *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 133; *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, I, 46.

The town was named after four Ahmads, Sheikh Ahmad Kathu, Sultan Ahmad Shah, Sheikh Ahmad and finally Maulana Ahmad. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 136.

before and since, but as far as we are aware, in no case was the foundation undertaken on a scale on which that of Ahmadabad was done. As was usual on such occasions the foundation was laid of a fort, *jāmi'* mosque but the accompanying markets were many¹ instead of the usual number of one or two—a significant addition. Further on, “he built 360 *purahs* outside the fortifications each of which contained a mosque and a bazar and was surrounded by a wall.”² Whatever might have been contained inside by way of inhabitants, each *purah* by itself had all the adjuncts of a town³ at its foundation stage, the bazar, the mosque, the surrounding wall and also the water supply arrangements. Thus the size of Ahmadabad when considered from the contemporary standards would be more in the nature of a super or magnum rather than an ordinary town. Evidently all the *purahs* could not have been of the same level either in size, population or accomplishments. For instance, Haripurah,⁴ Wahabgunj,⁵ Barah Mainpuri⁶ and Rajpur⁷ are said to have been very large with correspondingly thicker population; or the mosques in some of the *purahs* were much bigger, built of burnt bricks,⁸ stone and lime,⁹ having ornamental domes¹⁰ or containing tombs¹¹ and even attached monasteries.¹² Again, some *purahs* were furnished with *bāolis*,¹³ large masonry reservoirs,¹⁴ gardens,¹⁵ and mansions.¹⁶ In short, as in towns, while the provision of basic requirements was common in all the *purahs*, the size,

1. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 81; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 191.
2. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, 101; *Haft Iqlim*, I, 81.
3. *A. A.* II, 247.
4. *Khātima Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, 13.
5. *Ibid.*, 14-5.
6. *Ibid.*, 15.
7. *Ibid.*, 14.
8. *Ibid.*, 13.
9. *Ibid.*, 14-5.
10. *Ibid.*, 13.
11. *Ibid.*, 13.
12. *Ibid.*, 13.
13. *Ibid.*, 13; also see P. Mundy, II 266, 267.
14. *Khātima*, 16; also see Barbosa, I, 125.
15. *Khātima*, 13; also see Barbosa, I, 125, for strong durable stone houses.
16. *Khātima*, 14, 15, 16; also see Barbosa, I, 125; Jourdain, 171.

general appearance and the level of development of each was determined by the kind of people inhabiting it and also by the nature of its principal activity or activities. Wahabgunj, for example, incorporated the *Katahrāh Pārchah* [enclosure for cotton (and silken?) goods] stored here for and from Bunder Surat so that it became a very busy *mohalla*.¹ At Barah Manikpur a small fort was built as the *Faujdār* resided here.² Rasulabad was founded by Hazrat Shah Alam so that along with his own progeny majority of its inhabitants came to be known as *Sādāt-i-shahiya*; with plenty of funds granted to them by the Sultans they had built splendid buildings and laid out large charming gardens³ within their quarter.

No source has mentioned the number of inhabitants in these *purahs*. According to the calculation of *Imperial Gazetteer* however, each *purah* contained 10,000 people,⁴ thus the aggregate population of the town when all the *purahs* were thriving would be 36,00,000. In addition there were the people living inside the fort as all these *purahs* lay outside its gates. Thus the aggregate population of Ahmadabad would be somewhere roughly between 36,00,000 and 40,00,000. But this estimate, if correct, could be true for the period when the Gujarati Sultans held power because later when 'Allami Abul Fazl compiled his *Ā'in-i-Akbari* only eighty four *purahs* were flourishing.⁵ The population then, therefore could have been somewhat under 9,00,000; that is 8,40,000, people of the *purahs* and 40, to 50,000 those within the precincts of the fort. Even so, it would be bigger than the inland imperial metropolitan towns at their highest.⁶

Evidently Ahmadabad had acquired this extraordinarily large population by means of its multi-dimensional activities, all working at the top level. First and foremost was its administrative aspect, the object with which it had been originally founded. Naturally therefore, its importance in this respect must have been much

1. *Khātima*, 14-5.

2. *Ibid.*, 15

3. *Ibid.*, 15-6.

4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1881 ed., 85.

5. *A. A.* II, 247.

6. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries etc.*, 81-2.

greater under the Sultans than subsequently when the Sultans grew weak and chaos had set in or still later when in 1572 it was occupied by Emperor Akbar, as then it acted merely as a provincial capital. The population figures of the *purahs* may not be accurate but their rise and fall in general certainly reflects the trend of its progress. Taken individually or collectively, their growth and prosperity or shrinkage and decline was to a large extent dependent upon the position Ahmadabad occupied in the urban heirarchy of the State. Patronage counts; from the principal town of a lesser State under the Sultans, Ahmadabad was now demoted to a lesser town of a vast Empire of the Great Mughals.

Ahmadabad however still maintained a court of the provincial level¹ and other adjuncts of an administrative centre of a large, prosperous and an important province. For instance, it is reported to have had three principal *faujdārs* who along with their contingents were stationed in three parts of the city, at *parah-i-Nain purah*,² Hajipurah and at Firozpurah.³ Each of them looked after a fixed number of *purahs* and adjoining districts, the first took care of seventeen *purahs*, eight districts and *pergana haveli*, the second of sixteen *purahs* and two districts, while the third was assigned ten *purahs* and eight districts. All these *faujdārs* had their fortresses to reside and they discharged their duties with the help of the allotted staff. Besides, the *faujdārs* were also directed to supervise the fifteen entry points leading to the town.⁴

The provincial *diwan*, *sadr*, *qazi*,⁵ *bakhshi*, *kotwāl*, treasurer⁶ and so on had much busier time in Ahmadabad than say at Thattah, hence they in their respective offices had a proportionately larger staff of subordinates to assist them in the performance of their duties.⁷ For instance, the mint of Ahmadabad apart from its normal routine work, also handled the foreign currency, specie and bullion intro-

1. A brief description of this court in 1615 appears in N. Downton, 152.
2. *Khātima*, 169.
3. *Ibid.*, 169-70.
4. *Ibid.*, 170.
5. *Ibid.*, 173-75.
6. *Ibid.*, 177-80.
7. *Ibid.*

duced in the country by the foreign traders.¹ Or its *dāk* arrangement was presumably far more elaborate than in any other provincial town.² But a more striking feature of the town was its security measures in regard to which it once again out-stripped even the metropolitan towns of the Empire. There was a city wall,³ two forts,⁴ several fortresses for the *faujdārs*, a wall encircling each *purah* with a gate which was closed at night,⁵ all the forces of the *mansabdars* to protect the town in the event of any emergency and the well guarded exit points. Moreover, its immediate vicinity was secured from highwaymen by spreading out thirty-two military posts at appropriate points, each post being composed of cavalry, infantry, musketeers and bowmen.⁶ These military posts were stationed in unassailable fortresses so as to inspire awe and fear amongst the lawless ones.⁷

Evidently, these protective measures had their roots in the extraordinary richness, both in cash and kind, its vast population and a continual chain of traffic in and out of the town. Undoubtedly it had acquired this extraordinary richness through its manufactures and commerce. Its industrial activities we shall consider elsewhere. As regards its commercial intercourse our study is seriously handicapped on account of the extreme lack of material relative whether to local, inter-regional or maritime commerce conducted through the sea ports. From stray references in the available sources it is abundantly clear that the State had appointed officials at almost all key points of business whose duty it was to record the daily transactions concluded at their respective spots of the town.⁸ Unfortunately none of these daily records are known to have survived or else these could have been of enormous value to us in reconstructing the picture of the everyday traffic of Ahmadabad.

1. Downton, 106

2. Downton, 106.

3. *Khātima*, 180.

4. *A. A.* II, 247; also see Barbosa, I, 125; *Khātima*, 180.

5. *Khātima*, 3.

6. *Khātima*, 170.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 153-54; *Khātima*, 180.

The trade of Ahmadabad was mainly of two categories, local trade and the trade occasioned by virtue of its being an entrepôt to the maritime commerce. But the widely dispersed, fragmentary and unsystematic nature of the data at our disposal does not admit of separate handling of the two. The town had twenty *mandavis* or grain markets which paid rent to the State¹ (i. e. Mughal Government). In all probability there were many more under the Sultans as the population then was much higher as seen earlier; in c. 1176/1762 when *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi* our primary source was compiled most of these were in a state of decay.² The bulk of foodgrains reaching the *mandavis* was collected from the neighbouring villages³. Malwa, Ajmer⁴ and the Deccan⁵ are attested to have been supplementing some grain and rice respectively. It would appear that the Hindu *banyas* or *baqqāls* largely found in Ahmadabad⁶ were generally the dealers in grain.⁷ Incidentally though in Ahmadabad, maund was the common medium of measurement its actual weight differed greatly from place to place and from article to article. Since Ali Muhammad Khan in c. 1176/1762 was able to specify the exact weightage contained in the maunds of different articles, it may be assumed that contemporarily the people concerned must have been well aware of these differences.⁸

These *mandavis* were furnished with a set of staff appointed either by the Centre if they happened to be located in the *khālsa sharifa*, or by the provincial governor if otherwise. The set of staff was

1. *Khātima*, 182. These were *mandavi* Burhanpur which also enclosed the *chabutra* of tobacco; Firozpur, Babipur, Sultanganj, Shadmanpur, Saidabad, Noorullahpur, Jahanabad, Baqarabad, Bibipur, Nurpur, Farrukhabad, Sahibabad, Qasimpur, Bahadurgunj, Rachpur, Afzalpur, Begampur, Sarkhej and *Ganj-i-nauābād*.
2. *Khātima*, 182.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *A. A.* II, 246.
5. *A. A.* II, 246.
6. *Khātima*, 138-39, 163.
7. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 62.
8. In all probability the chart listing the commodities along with their specified measures were kept with the *qanungos* of the *mandavis* since they were the official repositories of all the current regulations and past practices.

originally composed of an *amin*, a *mushrif* and a *tahwildār*.¹ The *amin* arbitrated in cases of dispute regarding the assessment, *mushrif* was the accountant and *tahwildār* was the treasurer.² Later on, as the trade grew in volume and the *amin* could not control it single handed a *dārogha*—superintendent—was appointed as the head of the organisation. The *amin* was made subordinate to him. A *muqim* assessor of prices, *qanungos*³ and a *waqā'inigār* were also incorporated⁴ in the organisation. These were all salaried officers paid monthly by the *diwan* either of the Centre or of the province. The *dāroghas*, *mushrif*s and the *tahwildār*s received rupees five hundred (as the former had to maintain some infantry in order to collect the dues from all the *mandavis*), hundred and thirty and twenty respectively.⁵ Earlier the *mushrif* is stated to have received only rupees sixty-five per month,⁶ but presumably later on when the traffic expanded and he could not cover all the *mandavis* all by himself he was authorised to engage some *gumāshtas*, brokers, his salary too was consequently doubled.⁷ The *qanungos* were allowed a small perquisite.⁸ The *waqā'inigār* was attached to the provincial government but having recorded all the news inclusive of the current prices, he sent the bulletin independently to the Court.⁹ Later on, the *waqā'inigār* too was allowed to engage his own agents and *harkāras*.¹⁰

These *mandavis* were distinct, and situated away, from the principal marketing centre of the town called *Bazār-i-kalān*.¹¹ The *nakhās* or the cattle market does not seem to have had any fixed place; for administrative purposes it used to be appended with any other dutiable unit¹² of market.

1. *Khātima*, 179.
2. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 150.
3. *Khātima*, 180.
4. *Khātima*, 182.
5. *Khātima*, 182.
6. *Khātima*, 180.
7. *Khātima*, 181.
8. *Khātima*, 182.
9. *Khātima*, 182.
10. *Khātima*, 180.
11. Commissariat, II, 336.
12. *Khātima*, 182.

Ahmadabad acted as the chief market for indigo¹ grown in and around Sarkhej lying at a distance of about three *karohs*.² In all probability this indigo was first brought to the Sarkhej *mandavi* of the town³ and thence distributed to the retailers. The aggregate annual yield of this indigo is said to have ranged between 16,000 to 20,000 maunds⁴ annually, and being inferior to that of Biana⁵ its price was much lower: fluctuating between rupees seven, eight, nine,⁶ to sixteen⁷ or even eighteen⁸ a maund. Whatever volume of internal consumption might have been it was keenly sought after by the foreign traders. We are again in the dark with regard to the operations of the Asian traders, though it may be surmised that until the dramatic appearance of the Portugese in the early sixteenth century, they were the masters of the field. Subsequently, first they had to share it with the Portugese; later in the seventeenth century the Dutch and English were their competitors. Thus in addition to the constant demand of the Asian merchants, such as Armenians, Persians⁹ and possibly the Gujarati Bohra traders,¹⁰ the European traders also exerted themselves to invest in this commodity. If the Portugese traders left any detailed account of their operations it is not available to us. Indeed even the meticulously entered and systematically handled extant records of the Dutch have not been used here primarily because of the linguistic difficulties. The originals preserved in the European archives are at the moment beyond our reach. Thus we have to depend by and large on the edited volumes of W. Foster relative to the English East India

1. Jourdain, 171-72; P. Mundy, II, 310.
2. *A. A.* II, 248.
3. *Khātima*, 182.
4. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 125; in the text 4, to 5,000 fardles are noted but here it has been converted into maunds; each fardle being equal to 4 maunds the total would be as above.
5. W. Finch, Foster, 115; De Laet, 23; *E. F.*, 1630-33, 5.
6. *E. F.*, 1622-23, 109.
7. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 61.
8. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 61.
9. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 125; Manrique, II, 285.
10. For the ramification of their commercial activities see *Khātima*, 129; also see *E. F.*, 1622-23, 68.

Company's activities. These fragmentary pieces of evidence can at best indicate a trend which unless supported by some other direct or indirect testimony may remain a moot point.

Basing ourselves on the material in hand we may safely assert that in the second and third decades of 17th century, prior to the great famine of 1630s, amongst other traders the Dutch and English companies invested largely in the Sarkhej indigo.¹ They operated through their agents despatched to Ahmadabad for the purpose.² The crowding of merchants for the purchase of the commodity although high, having nevertheless a limited volume to dispose of, occasionally led to keen competition amongst the buyers.³ Even the Portugese still continued their engagement of traffic in indigo,⁴ which further aggravated the situation. Its price therefore starting from rupees seven per maund rose as high up as rupees eighteen

1. For instance :—

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Volume</i> | <i>Purchasing agency</i> | <i>At the rate of</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|-------------|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 17.1.1615 | 300 chorles | Aldworth | .. | Downton, 100. |
| 26.1.1615 | 40 cart loads | Downton | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 115. |
| 20.9.1622 | 136 fardles | E. I. Co. factors | .. | <i>E.F.</i> , 1622-23
125. |
| 9.1.1623 | 8,000 maunds | E. I. Co. ,, | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 181. |
| 22.1.1623 | 4,784 maunds,
expected to make
8,000 maunds | E. I. Co. ,, | | <i>Ibid.</i> , 185. |
| 12.4.1630 | 500, fardles | The Portugese | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 20. |
| 11.10.1630 | 500 baskets | E. I. Co. factors | Rs. 16 | <i>Ibid.</i> , 61. |

2. For agents of the English Company see *E. F.*, *passim.*, for those of the Dutch, P. Mundy, II, 268.

3. *E. F.* 1630-33, 125; Roc, 474.

4. Downton, 110; *E. F.*, 1630-33, 20; also see Jourdain, 173.

per maund¹ as noticed above. During the famine of 1630s its output suffered along with that of other products and did not exceed 800 to 1,200 maunds² annually. In the following years it declined further so that the European traders moved away from Ahmadabad concentrating more frequently on the Agra-Biana tract.

Saltpetre produced around Budnagar³ was exported from Ahmadabad.⁴ The English traders quite often invested in this commodity,⁵ in November 1630 for instance they purchased 282 bales with orders for some additional quantity to follow.⁶

Fruit conserves of Ahmadabad frequently figured amongst the exportable consignments,⁷ particularly to Arabia and Iraq;⁸ in weight its maund was allowed forty and two and a half seers.⁹

Whatever their provenance, the non-agricultural merchandise reaching Ahmadabad were unloaded in one of the enclosures designed with a view to assess them for duty as well as to fix their prices. Areas set aside for the purpose had palisades running around them. These were known as *katehrah p̄archah*¹⁰ under the Mughals and *sarai 'adl* under the Sultans.¹¹ There were separate *katehras* for separate commodities¹² and most of them seem to have been situated close to the town barriers. Because when it was not so, Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur explains, it was due to lack

1. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 125.
2. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 125.
3. *Khātima*, 250.
4. P. Mundy, II, 310.
5. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 56.
6. *Ibid.*, 88.
7. *Supra*.
8. *Khātima*, 22.
9. *Khātima*, 167.
10. *Khātima*, 179; *p̄archah* literally has two meanings: a piece or segment and cotton or linen fabric; see Steingass. Here I am more inclined to accept the former interpretation as all the *katehras* being so named could not possibly have been intended for cotton goods only, also see *Khātima*, 178, 180 and 181.
11. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 149.
12. *Ibid.*, 150.

of space in the *katehrah pārchah* that some of the commodities were housed in other *katehrahs*.¹ For instance, the liquids arriving for or from Bunder Surat, the market for cotton yarn and leather *mandavi* were all housed in an enclosure built in the Wahabgunj *purah* located outside the city wall adjoining the Nainpur *purah*.² After the imperial *mutasaddi* has affixed his seal and issued permit the bales of goods could be opened.³ The *mutasaddis* operated through their agents appointed in the *katehrahs*.⁴ The town had twenty police barriers and at each barrier other goods were similarly treated. The superintendent of the barrier affixed and imprinted *mutasaddis'* seal on the goods on the latter's behalf in order to allow them to be moved on into their respective *katehrahs*.⁵ Each *katehrah* was here again, staffed with an *amin*, a *mushrif* and a *tahwildār*.⁶ An expert in the trade called *muqim* assessed the prices of the commodities and received, in lieu of salary, a commission of three quarter per cent. The *waqā'inigārs* and the *qānungos* here too performed the same functions and were allowed the same remuneration as at *mandavis*. A *chaudhri* was also introduced here who was enjoined to keep the traders happy with his considerate behaviour and sympathetic conduct.⁷

Ahmadabad must have manufactured numerous varieties of goods, but with a few exceptions here and there all the relevant data on the subject inclusive of traffic in those goods is obscure. Considering the existence of a *sūt māndavi* (market for cotton yarn), the weavers' ward at Haripura and above all the task of clothing of the towns population running into several lakhs could not but have made the cotton textile a major industry of Ahmadabad. This would entail constant movement of goods to and fro even if it was merely to obtain specialised services at various points in the process of its manufacture. For example, better bleaching was done at

1. *Khātima*, 180.

2. *Khātima*, 180-81.

3. *Khātima*, 180.

4. *Khātima*, 180.

5. *Khātima*, 181.

6. *Khātima*, 183; also see I. H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 150.

7. *Khātima*, 183; I. H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 150.

Broach where the English factors sent some of the calicoes bought at Ahmadabad.¹ Many such contingencies would, as can easily be visualised, arise in the course of weaving the fabrics and making them marketable but unfortunately conjecture is our limit and we at our present state of knowledge, have no means to get beyond it. In 1611 Jourdain remarked that there was much trade in the city of cotton goods² but he also failed to mention the nature, extent and other particulars of this trade.

Mainly from the non-Persian sources we learn that Gujarat from 15th century onwards used to export immense quantity of cotton goods to western countries through its celebrated port of Cambay.³ We, however, have no way of ascertaining Ahmadabad's share in those outgoing consignments. There certainly exist some bits of information relative to the export trade of early 17th century. For instance, in 1614 an Englishman invested in 8,500 pieces of coloured calico, chintzes, *baftas*, and finer varieties of shashes: turban cloth.⁴ Or in 1622, 40,000 pieces of *seriyas*, *dutties* and narrow *baftas* were purchased by the agents of the English East India Company for a sum of Rs. 53,500.⁵ Such illustrations may be multiplied but they scarcely reveal anything new pertaining to the traffic in these commodities at Ahmadabad except that the English Company used to acquire them for export to the foreign countries, an aspect which is considered elsewhere.

During the reign of the Great Mughals the silken stuffs of Ahmadabad were highly esteemed in and around the capital. The Royalty through the generations had patronised these stuffs and any out of the ordinary occasion was suitable for procuring them.⁶ Seven varieties of silken⁷ and a dozen varieties of stuffs worked with

1. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 63.

2. Jourdain, 171.

3. Garcia da Orta, tr. by Markham, 445; Varthema, 44, 45; C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voyages*, III, 206; Barbosa, I, 7-8, 22-23, 29, 31 etc.

4. Downton, 95.

5. *E. F.* 1622-23, 56.

6. Gulbadan Begam, 28 (Per.), *Bādshāhnāmā*, II, 77-8, 84, 421, 491.

7. *A. A.* I, 99.

gold were on regular sale in the Agra market.¹ These silken and gold and silver cloths were also exported abroad.² The silk yarn was obtained from Persia.³ As the yarn gets heavier when damp during monsoon, forty three seers were fixed to make a maund in that season, otherwise only forty two seers went to make a maund of silkyarn.⁴

Ahmadabad paper, produced in several varieties, was in great demand in other parts of the Empire, Arabia and Turkey,⁵ while its 'writing paper' was exported specially to Persia.⁶

The account of Ahmadabad trade at our disposal is too meagre to enable us to put forward any definite formulations. But it was observed that every twenty days two hundred carts loaded with merchandise of all description used to depart from this town to Cambay.⁷ The remittance of treasure, specie and bullion to Ahmadabad is frequently alluded to by the contemporaries,⁸ which would undoubtedly be the proceeds of the sales of goods despatched earlier. The town had thus accumulated such wealth that its bankers, at all events in the early seventeenth century, were in a happy position to charge lesser rate of interest on the bills of exchange issued by them in favour of residents of other towns.⁹ Indeed, even when compared with the capital town of Agra, or the most flourishing sea port of the time Surat, the rate of interest charged here was much lower.¹⁰ In fact when a direct transaction was concluded between Surat and Agra through bills of exchange it entailed a loss of two per cent as compared to a dealing conducted through Ahmadabad.¹¹ This lower rate of interest charged at Ahmadabad reflects, in addition to the general abundance of

1. *A. A. I*, 98-9.
2. Varthema, 46; also see *Khātima*, 7.
3. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 229.
4. *Khātima*, 167.
5. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 76 ; Pyrard, II, 175, 211, 245 ; *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, I, 14.
6. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 76, 142.
7. De Laet, 19-20 ; also see Downton, 113.
8. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 187, 205, 302.
9. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 96, 332, also see 209 , Roe, 525.
10. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 96.
11. *E. F.*, 1630-33, 96.

wealth, a quicker turn-over here which by itself would constitute a strong stimulating factor in further pushing on the frequency and volume of transactions. Thus Ahmadabad from the business and traffic point of view, would certainly appear in the first quarter of the 17th century as the most eminent town of the Empire.

Banking being a natural corollary to a prosperous trade numerous bankers flourished at Ahmadabad. The Bohra bankers,¹ are frequently mentioned in our sources. Principally a Muslim trading community with wide business ramifications² maintaining *vakils* (agents) at all important trading centres, it was convenient and profitable for them to engage in money transactions as well.³ Thus they in all probability came to assume the character and role of bankers. The professional bankers were of course the *sarāfs*, who at times occur in our 16th and 17th century sources.⁴ With treasure being continuously brought to town during the general boom in the city's traffic the *sarāfs* in their lucrative engagement, were kept busy. As their business expanded they had branched out in important trading centres operating there through their *vakils* or agents. This attracted more business and they grew immensely rich,⁵ presumably more than the *sarāfs* of Cambay or Surat discussed elsewhere. Lowest in the ladder of commercial organization at Ahmadabad were the *gumāshthas* or brokers. They enjoyed a semi-official position and were considered indispensable where more than one party was involved, as would obviously be in the transaction of any business deal.⁶ Therefore in an environment of extremely lively and flourishing business activities of Ahmadabad the brokers or *gumāshthas* acting as intermediaries had every opportunity to do some good for themselves. But in order to achieve their ambition they were however, required to cultivate a deep business sense along with faculties of alertness, vigilance, sharp ready wit and a fair degree of unscrupulousness, as is further

1. *E. F.*, 1622-23, 68.

2. *Khātina* 129; also see 14; *Hobson Jobson*, 105.

3. *Hobson Jobson*, 105.

4. *A. A.* I, 18; *E. F.* 1930-33, 309.

5. See H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc., 63.

6. See *infra*.

discussed under Cambay and Surat poets.

Notwithstanding its extraordinary size and population,¹ Ahmabad was well planned. Numerous exit points through its walls connected it with its vicinity, other towns in the region and other important urban centres of the Empire.² Inside the town was neat,³ had long streets⁴ which were so wide that ten carts could move abreast.⁵ These were well paved.⁶ There were several large bazars,⁷ *bazar-i-kalān* the principal market stood in the centre of the city. These bazars were well stocked with merchandise,⁸ in fact almost unique in the choice collection of goods from the world over.⁹ The shops were built of burnt bricks, mortared and plastered.¹⁰ These were well arranged and tastefully decorated.¹¹ The houses of the towns-people were fair, built of stone and mortar.¹² An infinite number of mosques were well diffused all over the city.¹³ Some of them, ranging between 450 to 500 in number, being splendid edifices, magnificently built with strong lint stone.¹⁴ Palaces, mansions,¹⁵ monasteries,¹⁶ mausoleums¹⁷, *madarshas*,¹⁸ hospitals,¹⁹ serais²⁰ and other public utility works were interspersed in the

1. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.* III, 205 ; *Haft Iqlim*, I, 80.
2. *Khātima*.
3. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 205 ; *Haft Iqlim*, I, 80.
4. P. Mundy, II, 266 ; C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 206.
5. *Firishta*, II, 273 ; also see De Laet, 19.
6. De Laet, 19.
7. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 81 ; P. Mundy, II, 266.
8. De Laet, 19-20.
9. *A. A.* II, 247.
10. *Firishta*, II, 273.
11. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 80.
12. Barbosa, I, 125 ; C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 205 ; De Laet, 19.
13. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 81 ; *Khātima*, 10.
14. *Khātima*, 10-11. There were 1,000 stone mosques in the city each having two minarets and rare inscriptions. *A. A.*, II, 247.
15. *Khātima*, 16.
16. *Commisariat*, II, 56.
17. *Khātima*, 24-64.
18. *Khātima*, 186.
19. *Khātima*, 186-87.
20. *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, I, 212 ; Downton, 105.

city.¹ A regular department of repair of works existed. If a minor matter of repair was proposed by the *darōgha* bearing his signature and the seal affixed, the *diwan* of the *subah* sanctioned the expenses. If it required the imperial sanction the *diwan* of the province forwarded the application to the Centre. The *mir-i-sāmān* of the Central Government with the concurrence of the *diwan-i-subah* appointed for this department also a *darogha*, an *amin*, a *mushrif*, a *tahwildār*, artisans and carpenters.²

The same department also supervised the gardens and orchards of the city³. While some of these adorned the interior of the town,⁴ the larger ones were laid outside, beginning at its periphery extending upto several miles away from the town.⁵ Odoriferous plants, fragrant flowers, sometimes capable of yielding perfumes, and fruit bearing trees of numerous varieties were planted in them. As a matter of fact the suburban area of Ahmadabad covered by these gardens⁶ appears to have been much larger than that of the imperial capitals, Agra, Delhi and Lahore.

Amongst the non-Hindustani towns of the Empire Ahmadabad was an exception in as much as its intellectual atmosphere was charged with activity. The Sultans had showed great veneration to the saints, divines and *'ulama*; had richly endowed them with rent free lands⁷ so that they ran monasteries, founded *madrāsahs* in or around the mosques and mausoleums, and imparted knowledge to those who wished to acquire it. Thus the *'ulama* and *mashāikh*, with emphasis on the theological aspects of learning, had come to dominate the academic world of Ahmadabad. Learning

1. *Khātima*, 185-86.

2. *Khātima*, 185-86.

3. *Ibid.*, 185.

4. *Ibid.*, 16,17.

5. *Ibid.*, 18-21.

6. *Khātima*, 18, 23 ; These were *bāgh-i-nagina*, *talāb-i-kankariya* or *hauz-i-Qutbi* garden, *shāhi bāri*, *bāgh-i-firdaus* (it is believed that nine lac fruit bearing trees were planted in this garden, *Khātima*, 20), *bāgh-i-darakhti-i-halila*, *Rustam bāgh*, *gulāb bāgh*, *bāgh-i-tūt*, *Bāgh-i-Shāhi*, *Farmān-i-bari*, *Fateh bāgh*, (for this also see *Ma'āthar-i-Rahimi* II, 607-09) ; and *jeet bāgh*. For five gardens around the town also see *A. A.* II, 248.

7. *Khātima*, 60-61.

in general was, however, encouraged and the town had produced several notable scholars in various temporal disciplines, and also ordinary educated men to fill in positions such as those of *mushrif*, *waqā'inigār* or clerks then called *muharrir*, 'and also the higher graded positions.

Under the Great Mughals the saints and divines lost some of their former privileged position, though the academic aspect was still held high in popular esteem. The court of provincial governors was still graced with galaxies of erudite scholars and experts in the various fields of knowledge. For instance, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan's court at Ahmadabad was crowded with celebrities : poets, '*ulama*, *hakims* and so on.¹

1. Cf. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, III.

CHAPTER V

CHIEF TRADING CENTRES OF THE EMPIRE II

Cambay : Amongst the Gujarati group of harbours¹ Cambay and Surat were the more celebrated sea ports. Cambay was an ancient port and has been referred to by early Arab travellers,² Marco Polo,³ and Ibn Battuta ; some of their observations are available to us. But by about 1625 Cambay port was not what it had been a century earlier.⁴ The process of its decline had however been slow and because of the existence of other ports specially Surat which in the meantime had grown, the Gujarat commerce did not suffer as seriously as it would have done otherwise. Even in its hey days large vessels could not come up to Cambay, the cargoes had to be transferred in smaller boats called *tauri* or *ghurrāb* at Goa and then had to be brought up to Cambay.⁵ The firth on which it is situated was estimated to be seven *cos* in breadth and forty *cos* in length,⁶ and the gulf towards Cambay was subject to very strong flow of ebb and tide reaching either way as far as four or five leagues. Sailing in that region is therefore very risky unless piloted by knowledgeable guides.⁷

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Cambay seems to have served as a halting port to the ships operating in the Indian Ocean ; about three hundred ships of various countries used to

1. *A. A. II*, 114-20 (Per. ed.)
2. Masudi (in 303 A. H.), Bashari (in 430 A. H.) and Ibn Syed (in 385 A. H.) ; see S. Sulaiman Nadvi, 65 and 283.
3. Marco Polo, 691-96.
4. Pelsaert, 19-20.
5. *A. A. II*, 115 (Per. ed.)
6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, 417.
7. Barbosa, I, 138-39 ; De Leat, 19.

arrive and depart from here. Every fortnight at high tide innumerable barks could be seen plying in the Gulf.¹ Barbosa on his way to India met many ships from Cambay on various ports such as Safolah,² Zimboache,³ Mombasa,⁴ Melinda,⁵ Zanzibar,⁶ and Magadoxo on the African coast; Mukha,⁷ Jaddah,⁸ Aden⁹ and Ormuz¹⁰ on the Asian coast.

In 1617-18, between November and February, no less than three hundred and eighty frigates were viewed as coming out of Cambay.¹¹ Indeed the number of vessels loaded merely with cotton and silken textiles and issuing from Cambay ran up to thirty to forty ships annually.¹² Cambay frigates were headed towards Goa which was their first port of call, so that twice or thrice every year the fleet of these frigates reached Goa to help load the Portuguese carracks.¹³ At Goa the Christians transferred their cargo on the Portuguese ships but the Muslims secured from the latter licences for safe conduct through the Indian Ocean in order to avoid the pirates lurking and operating in the area.¹⁴ From Goa some of these Portuguese and Asian fleets of frigates went on to Diu to join the caravan sailing out to Ormuz,¹⁵ Arabia,¹⁶ African ports and even to

1. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.* III, 206.
2. Barbosa, I, 78.
3. Barbosa, I, 8.
4. Barbosa, I, 20.
5. Barbosa, I, 20.
6. Barbosa, I, 29.
7. Jourdain, 350-51.
8. Barbosa, I, 46-7.
9. Barbosa, I, 55; also see Jourdain, 350-51.
10. Barbosa, I, 92-3, though Cambay ships are not specified at this port.
11. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 31.
12. Varthema, 46; also see Barbosa, I, 28; C. Frederick, *Hakluyts Voyages*, Vol. III, 206.
13. Jourdain, 173; Pelsaert, 19, he has three caravans every year.
14. C. Frederick, *Nations Voyages*, V, 374; R. Fitch, *Nations Voyages*, V, 469; Pelsaert, 20.
15. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, Vol. III, 208.
16. Varthema, 46.

Lisbon.¹ Other ships taking easterly course halting at Chaul and Goa sailed on towards Indies,² covering the Indian littoral and touching Bengal on the way, reached Bantam and Malacca.³ Here the ships delivered most of their cargo; drugs and silver remaining they proceeded to China which absorbed the best part of the Cambay drugs.⁴ In whichever direction the fleets sailed and at all ports of their call the Portugese transacted business, sold their goods for specie or exchanged them with fresh merchandise to be disposed of elsewhere.

Till c. 1500 this trade had been concentrated in the hands of the Central Asian traders, but after the advent of the Portugese who apparently at once took almost the entire trade by storm, the former were dislodged. Gradually some of the Asian merchants perhaps did manage to find some means to resume their mercantile activities but that could be done only by allying themselves with their rivals; unless they obtained licence for safe conduct their ships full of merchandise were sure to be made a prize of by the alert and roving coastal pirates. These pirates may well have been in league with the Portugese traders as their enemies could seldom expect to make an escape through the Indian waters. At any rate, this is the impression one gathers from the travellers' accounts and modern works based on their statements.⁵ And as long as no fresh material specially from the other end,⁶ is brought to light nothing can conclusively be said to alter or modify this view. There are however certain features that do not fit in the picture portraying first the Portugese then, a few decades later, other Europeans as

1. See report of the Portugese ships Santa Cruz and Madre de Dios carrying Indian goods and captured by Sir Walter Releigh in 1591-92. Hakl, *Voy.* V., 54, 55-67.
2. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 208.
3. Schrieke, Part I, 42.
4. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
5. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portugese Power in India*; Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*.
6. For example the records relative to the trade in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf, some of which are available in the India Office Library, London, but it may be also useful to uncover them from Arab and Persian archives.

the only traders of Indian goods who mattered. For instance, the contemporary evidence continues to include 'native',¹ 'Moors' or 'Muslims'² and Central Asian merchants, traders as partners in the traffic. Secondly, some outstanding names of Muslim traders and ship-owners are noticed in the sources, such as Ali Akbar bin Haji Kamal Isphahani whose ships operated between Cambay and Basra,³ or Nawabs Qalij Khan and Qutub Khan (both of Akbari reign) whose vessel operated upto Daman.⁴ If systematically searched for in the Indian, but perhaps more profitably, Central Asian archives, we may then find out many more such cases of aristocracy taking to commerce⁵ or of the operations of merchant princes as well as of lesser traders, with fuller accounts. Then these stray and isolated references will have merely indicative value. Finally, had the Central Asian traders really disappeared from the scene then in view of the fact that after 1580 the Portuguese power was declining, more rapidly on the western coast, but thirty and odd years had still to go when other Europeans could step in, then in these intervening decades, how was the Indian overseas trade kept going? The internal Indian sources for these lean years of the Portuguese or other European's trade do not reveal or refer to the cloying of merchandise in the markets, a phenomenon that was bound to follow any under-exportable year. In the absence of such complaints by the contemporaries it may be assumed that though much weaker in power in the sixteenth century than they were a hundred years ago, the Central Asian merchants were still active and operative on the Indian Ocean and also that they were in a position to make use of any opportunity presented by even temporarily reduced strength of the rival traders. The mercantile career of Mir Muhammad Saeed Mir Jumla (considered under Surat trade) may be cited as a case in point.

The cargo embarked at Cambay for destinations across high seas

1. Jourdain, 114, n.
2. C. Frederick, *Nations Voyages*, V, 375 ; Pelsaert, 39 ; Tavernier, I, 31.
3. *Bādshahnāma*, II, 607 ; also see *E. F.* 1646-50, 62, 63-5 and 105.
4. Bayazid, 354-55.
5. See *infra*, Surat trade.

was composed of three sets of goods ; local products,¹ goods collected from within the province,² and goods reaching here from Hindustan and other provinces.³ A collective invoice of the cargo leaving Cambay for abroad may be pieced together with a fair amount of certainty but with the present data before us we can not specify the provenance, quantity, quality or other particulars regarding individual items occurring in the list. Thirty-four ships loaded with cotton textiles as being exported annually from Cambay has been seen earlier. These piece goods were of all varieties : white, stamped and painted.⁴ Silken stuffs⁵ quilts and carpets too were exported from Cambay.⁶ Indigo,⁷ paper,⁸ leather goods, and dressed hide,⁹ opium,¹⁰ other drugs¹¹ and iron¹² along with large quantity of sugar, dried ginger, conserved myrabolans, raw cotton, assafoetida and precious stones,¹³ were enlisted amongst the cargo consigned from Cambay.

On the return voyage the vessels reaching Cambay from the East delivered silk from China, quicksilver, vermillion, large quantities of species,¹⁴ sandalwood,¹⁵ pearls from the extreme south of the peninsula,¹⁶ cordage, coconut in large quantity, oil, honey and tortoise shell were obtained from Maldivian island.¹⁷ As regards

1. Marco Polo, 695 ; Barbosa, I, 141.
2. Jourdain, 173-74.
3. Pelsaert, 19.
4. Barbosa, I, 141 ; C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 206.
5. Barbosa, I, 129.
6. Downton, 113.
7. Marco Polo, 695 ; C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, III, 206 ; Jourdain, 173-74 ; Downton, 113.
8. Pyrard, II, 245.
9. Marco Polo, 691.
10. C. Frederick, *Nations Voyages*, vol. V, 440-41.
11. Jourdain, 173.
12. Barbosa, I, 92.
13. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 206.
14. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 206. For silver from Iraq and Turkey see *A. A.* II, 247.
15. Pelsaert, 19.
16. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 206 ; R. Fitch, *op. cit.*, 312.
17. Pyrard, I, 241.

goods travelling from the west to Cambay may be mentioned silken stuffs,¹ silk yarn,² Damishqi rose water,³ quicksilver,⁴ coffee⁵ and gold from Mukha,⁶ horses of high breed,⁷ dry fruits,⁸ *panima* silk from Mecca,⁹ slaves from Zeila, the Ethiopian port,¹⁰ gold, silver¹¹ and copper.¹² The treasure that was brought back by the returning ships was usually in vast quantity.¹³ Its incoming was encouraged by prohibiting its export,¹⁴ and by reducing the duty on its import to two and half per cent (as against three and half on other goods).¹⁵ A recent estimate of the volume of trade at Cambay at the beginning of seventeenth century, places the aggregate at 10,00,000 tons per annum.¹⁶

The custom charges at Cambay is attested to have been three and half per cent on both incoming goods and the outgoing cargo.¹⁷ It is hard to say when, how and why this duty had been raised from two and half per cent as fixed by Emperor Akbar and recorded by Abul Fazl,¹⁸ particularly so since the succeeding Emperor Jahangir was more inclined towards remitting duties rather than raising them.¹⁹

1. *A. A.* I, 99 ; Barbosa, I, 47, 56.
2. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 229.
3. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 173 ; for rose water from the port of Aden, see Barbosa, I, 56.
4. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 55.
5. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 143.
6. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 190 ; Bernier, 202-03.
7. Barbosa, I, 64 ; 128 ; C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 205 ; *A. A.* I, 140 ; *Tuzuk*, 116, (Per. ed) ; *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 245-46.
8. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 206 ; Firishta, II, 334.
9. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 206.
10. Varthema, 37 ; *E. F.*, 1618-21, 57.
11. Bernier, 203.
12. Marco Polo, 695.
13. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 206 ; Barbosa, I, 22-3, 34, 47, 50, 101 etc. ; Manrique, II, 295 ; Pelsaert, 40.
14. De Lact, 84 ; Manrique, II, 295 ; Bernier, 203.
15. Pelsaert, 42.
16. Bal Krishna, 16.
17. Downton, 150.
18. *A. A.* I., 292.
19. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, (Per. ed.), 21-2; 52.

Surat: Relatively of recent foundation Surat began to loom large in the commercial world of the Empire since the last decades of the sixteenth century. The gradual decline of Cambay further contributed in speeding up the rise of Surat as a sea port of highest importance. Originally, in the first decades of the century the town had risen into prominence in the course of the struggle between the Sultans of Gujarat and the Portugese. When threatened by the latter, Khwaja Safar Khudawand Khan Rumi built an invulnerable fort here on behalf of the Sultan as a measure of defence against the Portugese menace.¹ In c. 1625 Pelsaert was sceptical regarding the impregnability of the Surat fort built of coral rock and also equipped with ordnance and other defences.² His doubt, however, seems misplaced as these measures were effective enough to have secured the town from the provocations and encroachments of the ever ready *Firingi* pirates and traders so firmly entrenched on the adjoining coast possessing the adjacent sea-ports of Mahim, Bassein, Tarapur and Daman.³ The fort stood within the town wall below which flowed the river.⁴ The wall encompassing the town had seven gates in all,⁵ out of which one led to a large common which had a draw bridge and a small gate on the river side, another to Burhanpur, the third to Nausari⁶ and the fourth was the Broach gate which passing through Broach, Ahmadabad reached upto Agra.⁷ The port was situated on the navigable⁸ Tapti,⁹ and the harbour was located three miles up the river.¹⁰ At spring-tide the water on the side of the city measured three fathoms so that vessels up to fifty tons could reach the spot where

1. Abu Turab Wali, 65; *Haft Iqlim*, 83; *Commentary*, 10; *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 213; Downton, 134.
2. Pelsaert, 38; *Commentary*, 10; for some of the details of its construction see *Haft Iqlim*, I, 83.
3. *A. A.* II, 116 (Per. ed.).
4. Downton, 134.
5. P. Mundy, II, 29.
6. W. Finch, Foster, 134-35; Jourdain 129.
7. P. Mundy, II, 29.
8. W. Finch, Foster, 134; Downton, 134.
9. *A. A.* II, 116, (Per. ed.).
10. W. Finch, Foster, 134; Pelsaert on p. 38 says it was seven *cos* up the river.

from the cargo could easily be embarked or disembarked.¹ Early in the seventeenth century, the English had secured a convenient anchorage at Swally, near a sandbank; though exposed at low water it gave shelter at high tide so that this also served as a suitable place for loading and unloading of goods.²

By contemporary evidence Surat thus came to be looked upon as one of the famous sea-ports³ of the world.⁴ One of its chief attractions to the Mughal Empire was the fact that the port handled the traffic of the *Haj* pilgrims.⁵ This pilgrimage was however, closely interconnected with commerce as the pilgrims usually carried merchandise for sale there and brought back either specie or foreign commodities.⁶ The pilgrim vessels were of huge size, rather carelessly built, though armed, could not defend themselves. Annually they proceeded from Surat to Mukha, could carry about 1700 men, mostly accompanied with their merchandise bringing back more frequently, treasure, gold and silver.⁷ Normally the voyage from Surat to Mukha and back could be covered in two months but if the weather got violent the time would get protracted.⁸ The Emperor had his own vessel for carrying *Haj* pilgrims.⁹ Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan's three ships *Rahimi*, *Karimi* and *Salari*, with well paid staff were available for both the *Haj* pilgrims and for commerce.¹⁰

The primary purpose of the port was however, regular commerce. As it grew ships began to arrive here from other Indian

1. Pelsaert, 38.
2. Pelsaert, 38.
3. *A. A.* II, 116.
4. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 611.
5. *A. N.* III, 205-06, 271-72, 306-83, 410-12, 569, 981.
6. *De Lact*, 84; also see, Terry, Foster, 300; *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 611.
7. *De Lact*, 84; also see, Terry, Foster, 302.
8. Terry, Foster, 301-02.
9. For Queen Mother's ship see Jourdain, 208.
10. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 574. Once on its way home *Rahimi* was ship wrecked and the traders lost their all. When they reached home and Khan-i-Khanan heard the tragic tale, he at once, out of his magnanimity ordered the Surat treasurer, (Surat was then his *Jagir*) to compensate them for the loss by reimbursing one lakh of Mahamudis. *Ibid.*

ports, Hormuz and Mecca.¹ Possibly with a view to foster trade through Surat the Emperor had launched several ships of his own, from four to five hundred last each.² Every year two of these ships made a trip to Achin, two to Ormuz and two to Bantain, Macasar (in Celebes) and those parts.³ These ships were available for anyone who wished his goods to be carried on freight.⁴ The ships bound for Mukha used to set out from Surat in February reaching there in April, would leave for Surat in August, regardless of the sale of the merchandise; if some still remained on hand until their departure, it was left behind to be disposed of at leisure.⁵ As at Cambay there were individual Muslim merchants engaged in the Surat trade. For instance, Jourdain viewed two great Surat ships at Babul Mandab, one was *Hasani* belonging to Abul Hasan and the other belonged to Khwaja Nizam, the governor of Surat.⁶ They were of 200 and 600 tons respectively and were loaded with indigo and other Indian cargo.⁷ Likewise the Queen Mother's ship of 1,000 tons or more starting from Goga was sighted at Babul Mandab which was loaded with indigo and other Indian commodities in abundance.⁸ In c. 1659 Afzal Khan is said to have possessed three junks of 450, 350 and 300 tons respectively,⁹ Mir Jumla, the veritable merchant prince of the age, traded with south India,¹⁰ Burma, East Indies, Bengal, Persia and Arabia¹¹ on his own account. Mir Jumla's junks also carried

1. Ralph Fitch, *Hakl. Voyages*, III, 286.
2. Pelsaert, 40.
3. Pelsaert, 40.
4. Pelsaert, 40.
5. Pelsaert, 40.
6. Jourdain, 208. I have preferred Abul Hasan to 'Abdelasan' on theological grounds.
7. Jourdain, 108.
8. Jourdain, 209.
9. J. N. Sarkar, "Shivaji and the English in Western India", *Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 488.
10. *Waqā'i Deccan*, ed. by Dr. Yusuf Husain, No. 2, 1st Muharram, 1702 [sic. 1102?] q. by Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, 155.
11. *Mir Jumla*, 44; *E. F.*, 1624-45, 55, 67, 69, 80, 81, 88, 234; *E. F.*, 1646-50, 88, 137, 139, 198n, 273; *E. F.*, 1661-64, 148-49; Bowrey, 108, 150n, 152n, 275n, 290.

freight and in some of these places such as Persia, Mukha and Gambroon, he was exempted from customs dues.¹ His mercantile marine consisted first of ten ships which were later added on, one of the junks being of 800 tons.² He employed Muslim *nākhudas*, English and the Dutch sailors to pilot his ships.³ In the mid 17th century Mir Jumla's commercial intercourse assumed such proportions that the European Companies—the Dutch and English—got apprehensive of his growing power and wealth as may be inferred from his account noticed in the *English Factories*. In fact, the commercial operations of Muslim traders were in quite a flourishing state till seventeenth century,⁴ but then onwards it began to decline rapidly owing to the sudden decay of the Arab and Persian ports which was caused either by ruinous wars or by other domestic contingencies.⁵

Not much is at present known about Surat trade during the sixteenth century or for the period of the Portugese ascendancy as the principal traders in the Indian Ocean. Early in the seventeenth century, when other European companies appeared they were allowed to settle down at Surat treating it as their headquarter. Thus within a few decades the English and the Dutch established at Surat, were busily engaged in business transactions. As these were company enterprises the individual ups and downs, as that of Mir Jumla, an almost necessary concomitant to a business career, did not break the continuity of the company's trading activities. Surat was now placed on firmer ground. Both these European companies operating from Surat stored the goods there which they had collected from all parts of the Empire, pending the departure of the scheduled ships. Or, in the other direction, they disembarked the cargo and deposited it at Surat to be

1. *E. F.* 1642-45, 55, 207; *Mir Jumla*, 46, 47. Gambroon was renamed Bunder Abbas.
2. *Mir Jumla*, 44-5.
3. *E. F.*, 1642-45, 69, 80, 81; *E. F.*, 1646-50, 273. For further reference to Mir Jumla's career, Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations*, 32n, 93n, 114n, 119-120, 122n, 169n, 175 and 251.
4. Pelsaert, 39; Tavernier, I, 31.
5. Pelsaert, 39.

distributed all over the Empire through their agents. As the imperial dominion was vast and the company's trading project more or less of a permanent character both the Dutch and the English had branched out in some of the important imperial urban centres such as Ahmadabad or Broach by setting up their own lesser factories (establishments) in them. In these factories also they appointed their agents with some lower native staff whose function was to procure goods for foreign markets and to distribute the commodities received from and as advised by Surat. These local lesser factories were also in charge of the transport arrangements to and from Surat. Surat factories on the other hand, maintained direct touch with their home companies abroad.¹

By virtue of its location Surat also acted as the principal port for the exchange of goods between the Empire and the south India.² The Hindustani consignments destined for south reached Surat by way of Burhanpur.³ Besides the foreign goods, the main articles of import by the north from the south were spices,⁴ silk and cotton fabrics.⁵ The Indian cargo leaving Surat port was usually made up of goods received from Hindustan, from neighbouring regions and some out of the local exportable commodities. An illustrative invoice would include an enormous quantity of cotton goods,⁶ carpets,⁷ indigo,⁸ opium,⁹ gumlac,¹⁰ iron,¹¹ spices,¹² sandal,¹³ sugar¹⁴ and so on. As at Cambay, here too it is not

1. *E. F.*, *passim*.
2. Balkrishna, 17; The Burhanpur Gate led to the Deccan, see P. Mundy, II, 29.
3. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 51; Roe, 200.
4. Pelsaert, 22.
5. *A. A. I.*, 101.
6. *E. F.* 1618-21, 73, 74; Pelsaert, 40, 41; Downton, 94, 95.
7. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 73.
8. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 28, 44, 69 etc.; also H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc. 59.
9. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 76.
10. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 46, 84.
11. Jourdain, 95; *E. F.* 1618-21, 76.
12. R. Fitch, *Hakl., Voy.*, III, 286.
13. R. Fitch, *op. cit.*, 286.
14. R. Fitch, *op. cit.*, 286.

possible to trace the origin of the contents of each bag; all goods being readjusted with a view to feasibility in transit.

The ships returning to Surat were filled with gold, silver and also copper,¹ the merchandise part being very little.² Musk was brought from China,³ high quality horses from Arabia and Persia,⁴ *rua* (for dyeing red) from Arabia,⁵ amber, slaves and ivory from Ethiopia.⁶

The chests of treasure, specie brought back by the incoming ships at Surat (and indeed at other ports as seen above), reflected really the surplus in favour of the Empire remitted by the countries which had recently concluded transactions with it. The outward going merchandise consisting mainly of manufactured goods was, therefore, the principal medium for earning the precious metals in which the Empire was otherwise hopelessly deficient. These metals were needed chiefly for coinage without an adequate supply of which the economy of the Empire could not have flourished; the economic equilibrium and progress so methodically and carefully fostered by the Emperors could not have yielded the desired results.⁷ The payment made by the foreign purchaser in money or bullion was further encouraged by a reduction in the import duty from three and half per cent on other goods to two per cent on specie at the Surat port⁸ as well.

The custom duty charged at Surat is variously stated; Abul Fazl had said two and half per cent as seen elsewhere, W. Finch says that it was two and half for goods, three for victuals, and two for money.⁹ Pelsaert observes that it was levied at three and half per

1. G. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 246; Pelsaert, 40.

2. Pelsaert, 40.

3. *Hakl. Voy.*, vol. IV, 215.

4. Bernier, 203; Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, 1962 ed., 204; for import of quality horses from central Asian countries in the Empire, see *A. A. I.*, 140.

5. Jourdain, 95.

6. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 246; Varthema, 37.

7. Also see H.K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries etc.*, 42, 270; *supra*, chap. II.

8. Pelsaert, 40; also see W. Finch, Foster, 1968 ed. p. 134, for two per cent duty on 'money'.

9. W. Finch, Foster, 1965 ed., 134.

cent.¹ At the present stage of our knowledge, as in the case of Cambay, we are not certain with regard to Surat either, as to when and how this rise in the dues had crept in.

From the traveller's account it is abundantly clear that great care was taken to check and charge the merchandise,² and also in the matter of observance of the general conventions of the *bundar*,³ features that were quite often irksome to, at any rate, the European traders-cum-travellers.⁴ A separate officer was appointed as the customs officer on whom had devolved the function of looking after traffic and customs.⁵ He was distinct from the *Kotwāl* of the town⁶ and was subject to the governor of Gujarat. The custom house or *alfandica* was built right at the entrance of the town and could be reached by boat.⁷ A pair of 'staires' were built for loading and unloading of goods.⁸ Inside the building were rooms for storing the merchandise pending its clearance by the customs authorities.⁹

The Business Community: This flourishing trade at Cambay and Surat had naturally attracted a long list of personnel in its orbit. At the helm were the merchants, both Muslims and Hindus. Muslim Bohras, principally a trading community,¹⁰ are reported to have been great traders both by land and sea.¹¹ They traded with Arabia, Persia, and Hindustan.¹² The commercial activities of the state dignitaries were quite frequent as noticed above. In fact, the Mughal nobles were quite commonly involved thus; "as they placed their money (surplus?) on vessels on speculation for Hurmuz, Bassora and Mocha, and even

1. Pelsaert, 43.

2. Jourdain, 137-38; Roe, 44.

3. Hawkins, Foster, 1965 ed. 72, 75; W. Finch, Foster, 1965 ed., 132; Downton, 98, 99; Jourdain, 360.

4. Roe, 44-52.

5. Hawkins, Foster, 1968 ed., p. 71.

6. Jourdain, 139.

7. Downton, 134.

8. W. Finch, Foster, 1968 ed., 134.

9. W. Finch, Foster, 1968 ed., 134.

10. Badaoni, III, 50; also see *Supra*, Chap. IV.

11. *Khātima*, 13.

12. *Khātima*, 108.

for Bantam, Achin and Philippenes."¹ Indeed, wealthy nobles with large amount of cash in specie in hand desired "to increase it still further by investing it in trade either by engaging in trade directly or by making capital advances to merchants. A big source of capital needed for sea-borne trade came from the Mughal aristocrats."²

Parsis³ and other immigrant merchants had settled down in the above towns and continued to prosper by carrying on the lucrative trade.⁴ The hetrogenous community of merchants both permanent and transient who operated from these towns, were in such large number as to form one of the chief segments of the urban population.⁵ The Hindu *baqqāl* or *banya* were so numerous in Gujarat that at Ahmadabad alone they were to be found in as many as eighty four sub-castes.⁶ These *banyas* too were great merchants and traders.⁷ The affluent *banyas* and opulent Muslim *saudāgars* residing at Surat,⁸ had such wide business ramifications as to require the engagement of agents for areas located far away from their home town, for instance, in the Arab countries.⁹ The *banyas* were also spread out in the South East Asian islands,¹⁰ Maldive islands,¹¹ Hurmuz,¹² Senam,¹³ and Mukha.¹⁴ It would be interesting to find out the exact capacity in which they worked in these foreign towns specially in relation if any with their associates at home. Even in these foreign places chosen primarily for the sake of higher rate of profit in their business,

1. Tavernier, I, 31.
2. Athar Ali, *op. cit.*, 151.
3. P. Mundy, II, 33, 305.
4. Barbosa, I, 141 ; For foreign born Muslims e. g. Mamluks, Turks, Arabs, Persians, Turkmani and Khurasani Muslims settled in Gujarat, see Barbosa, I, 119-20.
5. P. Mundy, II, 33.
6. *Khātima*, 116, 117-18.
7. Barbosa, I, 110, 141 ; P. Mundy, II, 33, for *banyas* at Surat.
8. W. Finch, Foster, 1968 ed., 133 ; *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 245 ; Pelsaert, 39.
9. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 245-46 ; *Mir Junla*, 45, 46.
10. Vlekke, 86.
11. Pyrard, I, 326.
12. Edward Burton, *Hakluyts Voyages*, IV, 15.
13. Jourdain, 95.
14. Jourdain, 103-04.

they exercised considerable power locally. At Malacca, Mulaccas and other South East Asian islands for instance, their long establishment and considerable goodwill among the natives was a source of good deal of embarrassment to the expanding Portugese power at its initial stages in the area.¹ Or as at Mukha, one *banya* acted at the Consul of the merchants so that none could either buy or sell or show any of his commodities² without his order. In point of fact the Gujarati traders appointed their factors to control their business from the other end, the countries or ports with which they traded. Thus they had their factors at Aden, Mukha, and Jaddah; one *banya* (perhaps the most powerful one) would be selected as their chief in each place who conducted all business (or took decision?) for them.³ This evidence may be a clue to the formation of corporate bodies or joint companies at home or abroad for specific business purposes by the Gujarati *banyas* of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Both at Cambay⁴ and Surat⁵ the Gujarati *banyas* are attested to have been living well. Though they abstained from meat, they ate nourishing and good diet, wore their hair long, dressing it properly in their own style, used unguents and perfumes, attired themselves in long cotton or silken shirts, were shod with long pointed shoes of richly wrought cordwain. Some of them wore short coats of silk and brocades and since their king defended them they made no use of weapons.⁶

Sarāfs were the functionaries of the mint and official money changers. With the greater monetisation of the economy the profession acquired proportionately greater importance in regard to both incidents of demand for them and the amount of work to be disposed of by individual *sarāf*. Consequently, they prospered and were soon in a position to lend and deal in money. In trading centres business transactions being brisk the volume of *sarāf's* engagements grew much more crowded with both the official and private demands.

1. Vlekke, 88.

2. Jourdain, 103-04.

3. Jourdain, 95.

4. Barbosa, I, 112, 113 and also 114.

5. Downton, 132, 134, 143, 146; Jourdain, 132.

6. Barbosa, I, 112-13.

Again, at sea ports where there was an almost continuous stream of specie, bullion and foreign currencies flowing in, the *sarāfs* were still more in demand. Because apart from the state orders the *sarāfs* could also mint money for private individuals who brought in the precious metals and paid them for their labour, provided the coins issued conformed exactly to the standard, size, weight and value of the imperial coins. Minting money all their lives, and with large and small sums quickly changing hands in active commercial centres, it did not take long for the *sarāfs* to attract sums for their personal profits and eventually emerge as the principal bankers of the Empire. They advanced loans, charged interest, expanded business, appointed agents in other important trading centres obviating the need for transportation of treasure from place to place which was even at the best of times risky and expensive proposition. They issued and cashed bills and cheques of various kinds¹ though it is not certain whether the rate of interest charged was uniform or varied in accordance with the type of bills and cheques in question. In any case the rate of interest greatly and constantly fluctuated from time to time and place to place as mentioned some where else.

Thus the *sarāfs*, over a period of time, had accumulated enough wealth to help finance directly or indirectly the commercial enterprises involving large sums of money; at times their wealth enabled many an impecunious trader, merchant or individual to tide things over. Similarly, as stated above, the Mughal nobles, the *bohra* traders and sundry other merchants invested largely in the sea-borne commerce, earning enormous profit for themselves and their associates and eventually for the Empire.

The role of brokers has been mentioned earlier. C. Frederick, however, gives a graphic description of their *modus operandi*. He seems to have come across only Hindu brokers² attending the transient merchants. These brokers, along with their fifteen to twenty serving hands attached themselves to any big merchant, who occasioned to land on the port with the fortnightly arrivals of the fleet of

1. For some such illustrative documents see *Dasturul 'amal*, 173a-174b, 175a-b.
2. At least one Muslim broker, Haji, is mentioned by the English Factors of Surat in 1619. *E.F.*, 1618-21, 87.

small ships. The merchant, entrusting all his business to his broker, would depart to the city where one of the vacant houses furnished with beds, chairs, tables and pitchers had already been engaged for him by his broker. The broker's servants carted the baggage and furniture to his lodging, while the merchant reaching there would repose and relax. In the meantime, the broker stayed on at the port, paid the necessary customs and dues and then despatched the goods to the merchant's lodging. In case the merchant wished to dispose of his merchandise right away, in the bazar, at the current prices, the broker complied with his instructions, cleared all his customs dues and charges within a fortnight, even if the worth of the goods ran up as high as 20,000 gold ducats. The balance would be handed over to the merchant. In the event of his inclination to further invest the money in some fresh purchases, the broker would inform him of the prevailing market conditions. Generally, sales after the departure of the ships from Cambay brought in greater profit, therefore, if the merchant considering the current prices low, wished to wait a while longer he was free to choose, except that under no circumstance could he change his original broker.¹

These brokers seem to have been reliable men of integrity and discretion enjoying the confidence of both the State and their own associates.² Their services were so well regulated and prompt that elsewhere Pelsaert complained that the Dutch Factories could not compete with the Agra merchants on this account.³

General Structure : These two pre-eminent Gujarati sea ports had presumably achieved their status by virtue of the magnitude of their maritime commerce. Several factors might have been helpful in enabling Cambay and Surat in acquiring their leading positions amongst the sea ports in their respective periods of ascendancy, but similar to Ahmadabad, in the main, a combination of the following factors seems to have been the determining ones : a hinterland particularly rich in the yield of raw materials for the manufacture of

1. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 206-08.

2. *Insha*, bk. I., 43; *E. F.*, 1618 21, 75, 87 and 98, etc.

3. Pelsaert, 22.

finished goods as is shown in Table no I and discussed in the second chapter ; a period of under two centuries of independent rule of Muslim Sultans over Gujarat who were keen promoters of urbanisational growth, by fostering industrial and commercial progress and working for agricultural prosperity. Further, the eminently suitable location of the ports was a great asset in stimulating their maritime commerce : a convenient egress for the finished products of the more prosperous and industrially advanced western parts of the Empire. Finally, Gujarat's periodical affinity but constant close commercial relations with the chief consumer countries in the Middle East greatly pushed up its industrial and commercial activities. Once the foundation of such a multiple but well co-ordinated and suitably tied-up trend had been laid it was easy for the Mughal successors to push up the tradition and make further advance in the direction more particularly so when, as discussed earlier, the basic approach of the Gujarati Sultans and Mughal Emperors did not differ in the economic sphere of the country's progress.

Cambay had acquired proficiency in the out-turn of some of the manufactured commodities in regard to both their quality and volume ;¹ but perhaps this aspect of the town was to a large degree dependent on its commercial activity so that when the latter declined the industries too were, according to Pelsaert ruined, indeed the whole town all but sank along with its trade.² Though Pelsaert here sounds too vehement in his pronouncement, it is however, reasonable to infer that with the removal or narrowing down of the immediate market the progress of the Cambay manufactures would be seriously hurt. Surat, on the other hand, had no industry to boast of, but because of its being the extreme south-west outpost of the Empire, it had embodied the adjuncts of an administrative centre as well.

The sea ports being more exposed to any aggressive naval power both the Gujarati Sultans and the Great Mughals had taken good care to secure the defences of these sea ports to the maximum so that for over a century absolute peace and security obtained in

1. A. A. II, 247. These are however to be fully covered in my next monograph *Urban Industries under the Great Mughals*, currently in hand.
2. Pelsaert, 20.

them. Unlike the Hindustani towns¹ here therefore, protective measures were more elaborate. Cambay was already surrounded by double brick walls when Emperor Akbar got a third one raised.² The Surat wall ran close to the river, on the dry side of the wall ditches were dug while this wall itself had seven gates, four of which opened in the common leading out in different directions as touched upon earlier. The coral stone-hewn fort though well equipped with guns and ordnance it was further strengthened by an inner wall erected around the fort covered with beams and planks where they had placed thirty additional guns.³ Evidently this measure was of a later date when the town had acquired greater importance as the premier trading centre of the Empire.

Cambay was a large town,⁴ about twice as big as Surat,⁵ was fairly built,⁶ neat⁷ and populous.⁸ Being situated in a rich district it was kept well furnished with supplies and provisions.⁹ Within the town the houses were lofty and magnificent,¹⁰ streets were straight and well paved, each of them being closed by a separate gate at night,¹¹ no doubt as an additional security measure. Some great buildings were built of stone and mortar,¹² while in the centre of the city were three extensive market places¹³ (built of masonry?). Substantial Muslim merchants and rich Hindu *banyas* were very well represented in the town.¹⁴ White coloured

1. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries etc.* 87, 133.
2. Jourdain, 174; De Laet, 19.
3. Downton, 134; Pelsaert, 29.
4. *A. A.* II, 115 (Per ed.); Barbosa, I, 139.
5. De Laet, 19.
6. Barbosa, I, 139; R. Fitch, *Nations Voyages*, V, 469; *Haft Iqlim*, I, 83; Downton, 150.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, 416-17; Downton, 150.
8. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 83; R. Fitch, *op. cit.*, 469.
9. Barbosa, I, 141.
10. Barbosa I, 140; De Laet, 19.
11. Jourdain, 174; De Laet, 19.
12. Barbosa, I, 141.
13. De Laet, 19.
14. Barbosa, I, 141; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, 416-17; De Laet, 19; *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, I, 136.

foreigners visited and sojourned,¹ some of them had even settled down in the town.² Craftsmen and skilled artificers producing a variety of utility goods and decorative art-ware formed one of the chief segments of the urban population.³ Taking the town as a whole it would appear that when at its highest it was a neat, orderly, systematically developed, well protected and a very flourishing business town. But not being an administrative centre of equal level it lacked the embellishments and delicate charming touches of the capital towns of the Great Mughals, or even of Ahmadabad. In fact, this is the only town of the Mughal Empire which could perhaps be characterised as basically a merchant's town rather than a king's town.

Surat continued to thrive as a relatively small town whose market though good enough for daily requirements was too small for wholesale business investments excepting the periods when the ships arrived.⁴ The streets of the town were long, reasonably straight⁵ and swarming with multitude of people.⁶ No special industries had taken root here but being the south western frontier outpost of the Empire, the imperial executives, *mansabdārs* and *amirs*, with their retinues added a significant and at times dominant feature to the general urban milieu. Their role was perhaps more emphasised because they not infrequently speculated on the outgoing vessels, a feature that would enable them to exercise certain influence on the city's business life as well.

II

Burhanpur : Naming it after Burhanuddin *darvesh*, Nasir Khan Farooqi the ruler of Khandesh in c. 1401 founded Burhanpur⁷ as

1. Barbosa, I, 141.
2. Barbosa, I, 119-20 ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 416.
3. Barbosa, I, 141-42 ; see my next monograph for a fuller treatment of the *Urban Industries under the Great Mughals*.
4. Pelsaert, 41-2.
5. P. Mundy, II, 29.
6. Downton, 134.
7. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 437.

his capital town.¹ It is situated on bank of river Tapti,² about 212 miles north-east of Surat³ or then at a distance of about fifteen day's journey from there.⁴ From Agra it lay around 339 miles southwards.⁵ Unfortunately the material at our disposal pertaining to the town is too scarce and fragmentary to enable us to trace its growth as one would wish to. It is however, clear that in the course of first century and a half of its foundation, its progress was nowhere near that of its near-contemporary town Ahmadabad. Apart from the fact that Khandesh was relatively a much smaller state in area, its rather slow growth may in the main, be ascribed to geographical reasons. With no effective natural line of defence it was inevitably exposed to the cupidity of its aggressive neighbours almost on all sides. Consequently, even the more competent rulers of the dynasty could not settle down at home for any length of time and devote themselves to peace-time developments as they were kept constantly engaged in thwarting or repelling attacks. Again, situated on the bank of a river, the spot not recorded as navigable, with about 250 miles away from the sea, Burhanpur was essentially an inland town and the advantages enjoyed by Ahmedabad as located closer to the sea port was denied to the former. Finally, as long as Cambay continued to be the premier sea port on the western coast the chances of Burhanpur acting as an entrepôt for the Hindustani consignments would be slight as it was more convenient to reach Cambay through Ahmadabad rather than travelling through Burhanpur. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the importance of Burhanpur got emphasised with the decline of Cambay and rise of Surat.

Again, by virtue of its position it was also eminently suited to act as the gateway to the Deccan from Hindustan both for political and commercial purposes. Thus all the imperial campaigns against the Deccani rulers were conducted from Burhanpur, the town was

1. *Ma'ūthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 437.
2. *Ma'ūthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 441 ; P. Mundy, II, 50. It was three *cos* from the river, *A. A.* II, 232.
3. P. Mundy, II, 66.
4. Jourdan, 134.
5. P. Mundy, II, 66.

nevertheless free for commercial traffic with the Deccan.¹ This freedom in the circumstances stimulated business, for instance, during Khan-i-Khanan's tenure of service as the commander of the Deccan operations the off-take of goods here is reported to have been incredible.² The presence of the imperial lashkar with a strength ranging from 30,000 to 200,000,³ in the town would naturally attract merchants from far and near. Deccani goods such as pepper, ginger or copper⁴ intended for Agra market from Surat were also available here.⁵ In fact the merchants (or their companies) operating at both ends Agra and the Deccan regarded this midway station as their point of control through their agents.⁶

Burhanpur and Ahmadabad too had on occasions direct dealings with each other, particularly in the matter of money exchange. The Bohra money changers of Gujarat had their agents at Burhanpur too so that it was convenient as well as advisable to settle monetary accounts by means of bills of exchange. The local English factories usually remitted money through such bills. In 1622 from Burhanpur the rate of exchange charged on Ahmadabad was six and quarter per cent.⁷ But as is normal with exchange rates they are subject to fluctuations, a month later it rose to six and three quarter per cent which though high was not considered exorbitant.⁸ This rate also varied in the cases of lending and delivery, in the former the interest charged was eight and half per cent while for latter it was only seven and a quarter per cent.⁹

Burhanpur maintained closer contact with Surat: a glance through the records of the English factors for the first half of seventeenth century would confirm the view. All the traffic moving between Agra and Surat passed through this town. As it was an important

1. Jourdain, 146.
2. Pelsaert, 37.
3. Jourdain, 145.
4. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 114, 127.
5. *E. F.*, 1630-34, 214.
6. Pelsaert, 37.
7. *E. F.*, 1621-23, 24.
8. *Ibid.*, 40.
9. *Ibid.*, 68.,

halting station the caravans in transit would readjust their loads, adding some subtracting others. Among the local goods added here with a view to export abroad were mainly chintzes,¹ quilts,² some *bairamis* and *sirisāfs* dyed red here.³ To Agra Burhanpur supplied raw cotton and red *sālu*.⁴ Lack of material prevents us from any further discussion of Burhanpur commercial intercourse. These stray bits of evidence would however, reflect that its traffic in the 17th century had become much more busy and the rise of Surat had thus benefitted Burhanpur considerably.

Thus taken as a whole the Burhanpur market must have been a big and busy bazar, so that a proportionately spacious marketing centre contiguous to the castle was built.⁵ The castle stood on one side of the town on the top of a hill⁶ adjoining the bank of river Tapti.⁷ Adjacent to the fort of Asir built by the Hindus another fort of Malekar was added.⁸ These works along with the surrounding wall⁹ were intended to secure the town and they had succeeded in their object till the end of seventeenth century.

Burhanpur was great,¹⁰ rich¹¹ and full of people.¹² A canal four *karohs* in length cut by Khan-i-Khanan running half way through the town,¹³ provided water to the inhabitants. The town was well-stocked with foodgrains and other essential commodities from the rich and fertile countryside.¹⁴ Large caravans of *banjāras* sometimes as many as "at least 1½ miles" in length poured in supplies, keeping the town

1. *E. F.*, 1646-50, 79, 137; *E. F.*, 1618-21, 100.
2. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 79.
3. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 94, 269.
4. Palsaert, 9.
5. Jourdain, 146; P. Mundy, II, 50.
6. P. Mundy, II, 50.
7. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 447.
8. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 447.
9. P. Mundy, II, 50.
10. R. Fitch, Ryley, 95; *A. A.* II, 232; Roe, 91; P. Mundy, II, 107.
11. *A. A.* II, 232.
12. R. Fitch, Ryley, 95. For people reaching here from other countries see *A. A.* II, 232.
13. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 601-02.
14. P. Mundy, II, 53, 56; Also see R. Fitch, Foster, 68 ed., 16.

well furnished with provisions,¹ so much so that when the imperial army running into a force of hundreds and thousands was stationed it did not experience any shortage of provisions.²

Though the town had some palaces, mansions, mosques,³ serais,⁴ hamams, gardens, one of them being the *Lal Bāgh*,⁵ it generally made a very poor impression as the best part of the town was still mud and thatch work.⁶

Anjeli and Jalesar : Moving eastwards from Burhanpur along the track leading into the coastal province of Orissa,⁷ there was a visible and marked fall in the level of urbanisation. The region up to Cuttack—the chief town of Orissa—was thinly populated with tribals. In the north, the *subah* was cut off from the developed areas of the Empire by hilly ranges and forest tracts. It was only through the eastern *subah* of Bengal⁸ and the southern Bay that Orissa could maintain some contact with the outside world.

First Anjeli⁹ and latter Jalesar¹⁰ are cited by the contemporaries as amongst the principal ports. Jalesar was a relatively populous trading centre and had a State-owned moderate-sized serai, containing thirty three rooms.¹¹ Annually, ships from East-Indies, Bengal and the peninsular coast used to converge on Anjeli (later Jalesar?) carrying back rice, other provisions,¹² herb cloth,¹³ and cotton cloth.¹⁴ From Hindustan, Orissa received salt, opium, red

1. P. Mundy, II, 56, 53 ;
2. P. Mundy, II, 50.
3. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 441, 603.
4. Roe, 90, 91.
5. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, II, 605-06 ; for its gardens see *A. A.* II, 232.
6. R. Fitch, Foster, 68 ed., 16 ; Roe, 91.
7. *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, II, 688
8. Bayazid, 341.
9. Ralph Fitch, Ryley, 114. It is not traceable in the maps.
10. Manrique, II, 99.
11. *Ibid.*
12. C. Frederick, Hakl. voy. III, 235-36; R. Fitch, Ryley, 114 ; Pelsaert, 9.
13. R. Fitch, Ryley, 114; Pyrard, I, 32.
14. R. Fitch, Ryley, 114; Pelsarat, 8; Manrique, II, 99.

salu of Burhanpur, chintz, horses and raw cotton.¹ No further details pertaining either to trade or these ports are available to us.

Bengal: Taj Karrani and his brother and successor Sulaiman Karrani (died in 1572), the Afghan rulers of Bihar and Bengal, had accepted Akbar's vassalage, paid tribute and had the *Khutba* read in his name. They were followed by Daud Karrani, who however refused to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty and assumed independence. From Akbar's point of view a parallel sovereign monarchy in Bengal and Bihar constituted a grave danger to the Empire which was further aggravated by the fact that he was an Afghan; a formidable nation which had all along been a thorn in the Mughal flesh. Moreover with no geographically effective barrier existing between Jaunpur and Bihar borders, the eastern portions of the Empire would be extremely vulnerable, constantly exposed to a threat of invasion from the farther eastern state. In addition to this political insecurity, the possession of sea ports and an assurance of free flow of goods through Bengal and onwards was evidently an urgent economic necessity for the well being of the Empire. Here we may also note that the Emperor never made any move to annex the northern Bengal; even in the subsequent reign it was done so merely on the realisation that as long as the pockets of Pathan principalities continued to exist, law and order in the occupied areas could not be established. The accommodation of the Portuguese traders-cum-carriers on the Bengal coast within a few years of its incorporation in the Empire would certainly emphasise the Emperor's keen desire to utilise the ports freely for commercial intercourse. The Armenians and the Asian traders were, as ever, allowed not only to operate freely but were also accorded facilities to settle down here if and when they so desired.

Geographically, the eastern imperial coast line is less indented than that of Gujarat. Further, the gulf approaching the coast gets full of "the banks and shallows" which render navigation in the area perilous and at times the vessels are delayed in finding the

1. Pelsaert, 9.

harbour.¹ Finally, the too frequent changes in the courses of the Bengal rivers prevented its towns from taking roots and gaining any stability of existence. Owing to the low level of land the principal means of communication in Bengal being rivers, its towns could by and large flourish merely on their banks or on their terminal points and mouths. Therefore, the constant changes in the river courses would naturally make the towns of ephemeral character. Moreover, within the towns permanent buildings of stone, brick and mortar were not feasible proposition, partly because stone and lime did not occur in the region and partly owing to the lesser durability of the mud and brick structures caused by the steady monsoon for over six months of the year. The dwellings here therefore, were generally bamboo, thatch and mud affairs; in a way fully reflecting the temporary nature of the towns themselves. Indeed, even forts, ramparts, mansions, monasteries, serais, *madrasahs* and other durable public utility structures do not appear to have been as common here as in the western zone of the Empire. Amongst others, these factors too had proved almost insurmountable deterrents in the progress of urbanisation in the medieval Bengal, even in its western and southern parts which are relatively drier.

Northwards and eastwards the prospects of urbanisation were still less. The land surface was here even more depressed, the fluctuations in the appearance and disappearance of watery ways was greater so that no permanent habitation on any considerable scale could be fixed. Moreover, the ostensibly fertile alluvium was also a discouraging factor in pushing forward the urban growth. The soil though extraordinarily well suited to paddy harvests yielded no valuable crops, then possessed no metal or mineral deposits. Scarcity of raw material for manufactures on the local level further stultified the base and also the spirit of forming urban conglomerations at relatively large scale.

In view of this array of unfavourable circumstances in respect to urban growth Bengal could adopt the only alternative of trade in order to emerge out of its retarded progress. The northern regions of the province could hardly be expected to share the enterprise but

1. C. Frederick, *Nations Voyages*, Vol. V, 410; Manrique, II, 91; Pyrard, I, 324.

the southern coastal area could certainly push up its trading activities if the requisite material conditions were provided. The Indian Ocean being dominated by the *Firingi* traders, the Bengal coast was infested by many more *Firingi* pirates. The native traders, who in any case never seem to have been greatly inclined to engage in maritime commerce, had in the present circumstances lesser chance to prosper through embarking upon such a project. They could however, through the common navigable river Ganges, act as the intermediaries between the Hindustani producers and the foreign traders who carried the goods across the high seas. Also, Bengal after its political integration with Hindustan could more freely exchange its rural products with the urban goods of the upcountry. It is, however very unlikely that the Emperor would have considered Bengal's gains when he resolved to incorporate the province. His governing motive in this project would undoubtedly be to ensure the political security of his dominion and the possession of the sea ports for the benefit of Hindustani manufacturers and products. It was a lucky coincidence that the process of finding convenient outlet for Hindustani products had resulted in enormous material gain to Bengal as well.

The instability of the towns of Bengal is best reflected in the periodical transfer of its capitals. At the advent of Bakhtiyar Khalji in 1202, Nadiya was the seat of the Hindu rulers. Muslim Sultans had moved over to Lakhnauti or Gaur¹ which had originally been founded in the mid-12th century by the Hindus.² Gaur under the Sultans had been developed on much the same lines as other towns elsewhere in the Sultanat. A high earthen rampart³ and a large standing army protected the city.⁴ It had twenty two bazars in all, *Mahajan tuli*, *Lal bazar*, *Habsh Khana* and *Chandni Chowk* being the most important ones amongst them.⁵ As the coastal indented lines penetrated deep into the town the vessels could come up to a point located within, embankments and bridges were built to cover some of the inconvenient streams and rivulets, thus facilitating

1. *Haft Iqlim*, 1, 88 ; *A. A.* II, 135 ; *Cambridge History of India*, III, 46.
2. *Memoir*, 15.
3. *Memoir*, 48 ; For its fort see *Haft Iqlim*, I, 88.
4. *Memoir*, 46.
5. *Memoir*, 40.

the transportation of goods to and fro.¹ This feature of the town of being a sea port as well, must have added greatly to its general importance and presumably it was owing to this fact that the Muslim Sultans kept on reverting to it time and again. Mosques, monasteries, *madrassahs*, mausoleums and other monuments were also constructed as usual² and traces of some of them are still extant.

In 1340 Haji Ilyas transferred the capital to Pandua renaming it Firozabad,³ which was abandoned by Sultan Mahmud I before 1459 in favour of Gaur.⁴ The climate of Gaur appears to have deteriorated in the meantime, aggravating the generally insalubrious character of the *subah*. Its water, brackish in taste had pestilential effect.⁵ Besides, the town in the first instance had been built with difficulty as nearby was a lake around which dams and *bunds* had to be erected in order to protect it from getting submerged under water.⁶ Sulaiman Karrani (1564-72), therefore again moved away from Gaur fixing Tanda Khwaspur located four miles west of Gaur as his capital.⁷ Very soon Tanda had completely replaced Gaur,⁸ though there were two brief interregnums of reversions to Gaur : once on Humayun's entry in Bengal in c. 1537-39 when he took residence there renaming it Jannatabad and the second occasion was when Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan in 1575 insisted on making it his capital. Shortly afterwards Munim Khan and his army were carried away in an epidemic so that Gaur was finally given up and Tanda rose instead.

Tanda lay at a distance of one league from the river Ganges which is apt to inundate the area during monsoon.⁹ As the river bifurcated here, one branch leading into Orissa, the other flowing down to Chittagong, passing through Mahmudabad, Fatehabad and

1. *Memoir*, 42.
2. *Memoir*, 45-93 ; *Cambridge History of India*, II, 46.
3. *Memoir*, 17.
4. *Memoir*, 18.
5. *A. A.* II, 135.
6. *A. A.* II, 135 ; *Memoir*, 41.
7. *Memoir*, 166.
8. *A. A.* II, 135 ; R. Fitch, Ryley, 111.
9. R. Fitch, *Nations Voyages*, Vol. V, 481.

Sonargaon,¹ it afforded a relatively greater measure of trading facility. But all the details of its traffic are lost in obscurity except that it carried on a brisk trade in cotton and cloth of cotton.² Around the last decades of the sixteenth century, the Ganges was again changing its course moving away from Tanda. In addition, the incursions of the Magh and Portugese had also jeopardised³ its security, therefore, in c. 1596, the *subedar* of Bengal decided to transfer the seat of his government to a town variously named as Akmahal, Rajmahal or Akbarnagar. After its foundation it was helped to grow into a 'choice city'.⁴ But even this city could command no stability. Early in the following century, the new incumbent Islam Khan decided to appoint Jahangirnagar (Dacca) as the seat of his government as he considered it better situated for his operations against the independent minded eastern petty Pathan chieftains of Bengal.

Thus in the course of about four hundred years from c. 1200 onwards Bengal had experienced the transfer of capitals seven times; by 1606 the turn of a new site Jahangirnagar (Dacca) had been settled for the eighth time. Or, on an average each of these enjoyed the status of a capital town for not more than sixty years. This period of half a century is much too brief to enable a town to take root, develop and perpetuate its urban activities. Urbanisation of the region too would therefore get stifled at its nascent stage, within this short period of six decades it could not expand, take effect, penetrate and permeate the society. Consequently, notwithstanding the occasional appearance of ostensibly large towns the basic rural or small town trend in Bengal persisted. Indeed even the Muslim sovereigns inspite of their best efforts and singular success elsewhere in this direction, hopelessly failed to bring about the desired change of creating an urban atmosphere in this province. Perhaps their only somewhat lasting contribution here was that through this process of continual population and depopulation of towns the erst-while urban craftsman got dispersed into small towns and villages.

1. *A. N.* III, 153.

2. R. Fitch, Foster, 1968 ed., 24 ; also see De Lact, 72.

3. *A. N.* III, 1042.

4. *A. N.* III, 1043 ; also see Abdul Latif in Asaf Khan's train in 1608, in *Travels in Bihar*, tr. J. N. Sarkar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, Part IV, p. 599-602.

And since there was no pressure of immediate demand for agricultural produce in order to feed a large town and also because of the fact that in the alluvial soil the cultivation was relatively easier, the ex-urban craftsman could devote his leisure to practise his acquired crafts as a sideline in his village or small town. Evidently that is how Bengal during the rule of the Great Mughals came to produce a considerable quantity of manufactured goods and yet remain primarily a rural, small town province.

In the sixteenth century Satgaon, Sonargaon, Hugli and Chittagong were the principal sea ports through which passed most of the goods in and out of the province.

Satgaon :. It was situated on the right bank of river Hugli¹ on the spot where it branches out as river Sarsuti.² Till the sixteenth century, it could accommodate large vessels which sailed up to this port with merchandise.³ But this convenience did not last longer than the century. As the gulf few miles below grew shallow the ships had to be anchored at Betor and the cargo was transported by boats back and forth up to Satgaon.⁴

If Satgaon is identifiable with the Bangala port mentioned by Barbosa⁵ then it had extremely brisk traffic which was then dominated by Armenian, Persian and Arab merchants, some of them having settled down there.⁶ The Chinese merchants also visited the port in their large vessels loaded with rich merchandise.⁷ Numerous vessels, fifty⁸ and thirty five ships are variously stated to have been visiting the port of Satgaon annually.⁹ Consequently, during the busy season there used to be a vast congregation of merchants of all nations gathered at the port in order to transact

1. Manrique, II, 32n.

2. Manrique, II, 32.

3. Canpos, 21-2.

4. C. Frederick, *Nations Voyages*, V, 410.

5. Barbosa, I, 135, n. 4.

6. Also see Varthema, 79, for foreign merchants sailing down at Satgaon.

7. Barbosa, II, 145.

8. Varthema, 79.

9. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 236-37.

business.¹ Chief articles of trade from Satgaon were enormous quantity of cotton and silken fabrics, sometimes as many as fifty ship loads,² varieties of long pepper, rice, large quantity of sugar, oil, dried and conserved myrabolans,³ ginger, oranges and lemons⁴. Obviously all the outgoing cargo was not composed of goods from Bengal alone but also included those received from Hindustan, transported to Satgaon through their own merchants.⁵ The custom dues levied at Satgaon yielded a sum of Rupees 30,000, annually to the Treasury.⁶ In view of this figure and by fixing the custom dues at the rate at two and half per cent, the value of goods passing through this port annually would amount to Rupees 12,00,000/-. Goods collected at Satgaon were stored in thatched bamboo huts at Betor pending their departure abroad or distribution internally.⁷ But these temporary straw structures were set up merely for the duration of stay of the ships in the harbour and as soon as the ships departed the entire village along with its bazars was burnt down leaving no trace of its recent activities.⁸ Evidently Betor for some very obvious reason then but obscure now, was not expected to serve Satgaon harbour as its entrepôt for any considerable length of time so that no effort was made to either develop or stabilise it as a town with a more solid base. For the moment it however served its purpose of acting as an emporium for the goods moving back and forth between the landward Satgaon and the vessels anchored on the sea.

Satgaon was a famous port.⁹ Also as a town it was populous,¹⁰ with a considerably large segment of rich resident merchants, both of foreign and Hindustani origin, lending an air of affluence and well

1. Varthema, 79 ; C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 237.
2. Varthema, 79 ; also see Barbosa, II, 146.
3. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 236 ; for sugar also see Barbosa, II, 146-49.
4. Barbosa, II, 147.
5. Campos, 114.
6. A. A. II, 154.
7. Campos, 114.
8. C. Frederick, *Nations Voyages*, V, 411.
9. *Haft Iqlim*, I, 88.
10. C. Frederick, *Hakl. Voy.*, III, 237 ; also see Varthema, 79 ; *Royāz-us Salātin*, 32.

being to the town.¹ It had numerous bazars² and all the movement in the town was effected by barks plying on the watery courses.³

But Satgaon's was fading glory. After about 1535 the river Sarsuti began to silt causing the trade to be diverted to Hugli instead.⁴

Hugli : This port too was situated on the bank of river Ganges,⁵ at a distance of sixty leagues inland from the sea,⁶ and only half a *cos* from Satgaon.⁷ Originally the Portugese traders operated their business from this port ; they erected the usual thatch and bamboo structures to house their merchandise and also similar but smaller dwellings to spend the commercially inactive monsoon season.⁸ It was a highly lucrative trade and in 1579—80 they also had gained official security here as it was granted to them by the Emperor in order to enable them to carry on their business engagements in peace.⁹ As they were not allowed any executive authority over the port¹⁰ they could not encroach on the mainland. But since their writ ran over the Bay and indeed practically over the entire Indian Ocean, their maritime commerce was regular and uninhibited so that constant flow of traffic of imperial dominion through these traders was ensured. Also, by accommodating these Portugese on the mainland for the peaceful occupation of trade it was possible for the Asian traders to enter into some kind of agreement with them for the purpose of ensuring the egress and ingress of their own merchandise as had happened on the western coast.

The Portugese, at the beginning of dry season sailed out in both the eastern and western directions ; in the east they covered upto Malacca or went right up to China ; west wards, some of them terminated their voyage at the eastern littoral, others making a

1. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 237.

2. *Ibid.*

3. C. Frederick, *op. cit.*, 237.

4. *Royāz-us-Salātin*, 33.

5. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 214.

6. Manrique, II, 27.

7. *A. A.* II, 134 ; R. Fitch, Ryley, 113.

8. Manrique, II, 27-8.

9. Pyrard, I, 334 ; Manrique, I, 36-7.

10. Pyrard, I, 334.

detour through the peninsula landed at Goa.¹ Here their cargo intended for the west was readjusted with other goods on board the west bound ships; sometimes they travelled on as far as Mukha.² The invoice of goods collected at Hugli consisted of coarse carpets of Jaunpur, *amertees*, *khāsa*³ and some silk besides other goods. Among the more important textiles carried out by the Portugese were rich, back stitched quilts, bed hangings and *shāmiānas*,⁴ i.e. tent material. Once in 1638 they had got Rupees 2,00,000 invested in sundry articles through a certain merchant in their absence such as gingham, silks of various shades, sugar, *ghi*, rice, indigo, long pepper, salt, lac and so on.⁵

In addition to precious metals and copper the import invoice consisted of brocades, velvets, damasks, satins, taffetas, *traffacirias*, porcelain, gilded ornamental pieces of furniture, pearls and jewels, all from China;⁶ sandalwood from Timor, cloves, nutmeg and mace from Malacca and Banda, camphor from Borneo⁷ and also tin.⁸ These were some of the goods imported by the Portugese at the Hugli port. The bulk of the merchandise used to be sold to the *saudāgars* (from Hindustan) who took them to the Agra Court to be retailed.⁹ The remainder of the far eastern goods were forwarded to south India in addition to cotton fabrics, sugar¹⁰ and the indigenous silken goods.¹¹

As the port stood on the bank of the Ganges, its swift current transported the frigates of the Portugese with such dexterity that it usually took them only five or six days to reach the ports of their destination whereas in repairing thence they took much longer.¹²

1. Manrique, II, 33.
2. Varthema, 79.
3. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 195.
4. Manrique, II, 34.
5. Manrique, II, 33-4.
6. Manrique, II, 29 ; also see *E. F.*, 1618-21, 195 and 214.
7. Manrique, II, 31.
8. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 195.
9. Manrique, II, 32-3.
10. Barbosa, II, 29.
11. Linschoten, I, 96.
12. *E. F.*, 1618-21, 214.

CHAPTER VI

URBAN PRODUCTION OF COTTON GOODS IN UNITED PROVINCES 1550-1800

THE Mughal provinces of Agra, Oudh and Allahabad are protected by the Himalayan mountains in the north while semi-desert land fringed by hilly ranges further down occur in their south. Eastwards the *subahs* of Bengal and Bihar remove them from any immediate external danger appearing from the Bay of Bengal. It was still harder for the western foreign invader to force his way upto the trans-Jumna region, as the intervening provinces of Kabul, Lahore and Delhi presented an effective check before he could actually cross the river.

The relative invulnerability of the *subahs* had ensured peace and order for centuries, indeed till c. 1735 there took place only some minor and strictly local engagements which did not disrupt the general tranquility obtaining in the area. A few decades after the death of the last Great Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb the situation however underwent a change. His successors were weak and incompetent. Consequently the entire Mughal structure was shattered throughout the Empire; anarchy and chaos became the order of the day, Shāhjahānabad (the imperial capital since 1638) fell victim to a long series of internal conflicts and external incursions. As elsewhere in our provinces of Agra, Oudh and Allahabad too the *umara*, the Ruhillas and other Afghan adventurers and the Hindu *zamindārs* began to carve out principalities of their own, though always owing formal allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. (In some of these cases one of the governing motives may well have been the desire to secure a peaceful retreat for themselves and their dependents). All the centrifugal states of Aonla, Bareilly, Najibabad, Farrukhabad, Benaras, Faizabad and Lucknow had a short span of life with varying durations. The rulers of these states strove for peace and prosperity within their respective dominions, while seeking to take advantage of troubles in the neighbouring states.

Further confusion was added by the Sikh and Marhatta depredations on the western and even southern borders and somewhat later by the inroads of the English from the east. In 1764 Oudh (Lucknow and Faizabad), the most promising of all the states succumbed to the English; by 1775 almost the entire region from Bareilly to Benaras had virtually passed into their hands.¹

As regards the agricultural fertility of the *subahs*, the sources bear out their general richness;² the cultivation of several kinds of valuable crops³ was by no means the least important aspect. Herbaceous cotton was a common crop all over India,⁴ and was equally widespread in the provinces under consideration.⁵ In view of the constant stress laid by the Great Mughals for the extension of cash crops as noticed earlier, its unfailing supply to the ever expanding industry of cotton goods till c. 1750 and the absence of any evidence of its import from other parts of the country would establish the gradual extension of land under cotton crop.

Other requirements of the textile industry included the apparatus for cleaning, spinning and weaving. These were as yet of simple structure, crudely built, entailing little cost but yielding profitable results. The material for the implements were locally procurable. Satisfactory bleaching of the woven goods could be effected with the aid of local ingredients. The region was exceptionally rich with regard to dyeing agents. Indigo,⁶ *dhāk* (*butea frondosa*),⁷ *tūn* (*cedrela tuna*),⁸ *hār singhār* (*nyctanthes arborists*),⁹ henna (*lawsonia*

1. For a fuller treatment of this aspect see *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc. 273-79.
2. H. K. Naqvi, *Progress of Urbanisation in United Provinces, 1550-1800*, *J.E.S.H.O.*, vol. X, Part I, 1967, 81-2; n. 4.
3. *Supra*, chap. II.
4. J. C. Roy, *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. III, 1917, 22.
5. *A. A.* II, 77, 80, 83.
6. *A. A.* II, 78, 81, 83; W. Finch, Foster, 179; Pelsaert, 15; De Laet, 46; P. Mundy, 76; Tavernier, 8-9.
7. Hoey, 39; Sleeman, II, 62, 64.
8. Liotard, 82; Sleeman, II, 62-3; W. Jones, vol. V, 122.
9. Liotard, 58; Hoey, 166.

inermis),¹ *shahāb* or safflower (*carthamus tintorius*),² turmeric,³ lac,⁴ *majetha* (madder),⁵ terminalia,⁶ and so on, were abundantly produced within the provinces. Though alum did not occur in the region it was easily available in the bazars as may be adjudged from its very frequent use by the Hindustani dyers.⁷ Besides, other mordanting agents such as lemon or dried mangoes were grown widely in the region.

These material conditions coupled with the tropical climate had indeed laid a firm basis for the establishment of a flourishing cotton textile industry in our area. Thus since antiquity we find places such as Benaras and Allahabad (*Vatsa Desa*) mentioned as centres producing fine cotton fabrics.⁸ Unfortunately we have no statistical details relative to this industry which could enable us to trace its growth in the subsequent period. Even the documentary evidence is rare and fragmentary. But circumstantially it is obvious that as centuries rolled by and the population multiplied its production responded satisfactorily to the growing demand because no scarcity or large scale import of this commodity is ever referred to in the sources. At any rate, the rather low prices of essential cloths fixed by Sultan Ala'uddin Khalji would certainly reflect a reasonable output as compared to the aggregate requirement. Here, again, the sources fail to throw any light on the location, mode of production or other details regarding the craft.

Emperor Akbar's reign in the later half of sixteenth century is however a little less vague. Some authorities frequently refer to the particulars of the cotton textile industry in their treatises, for example, Amin Ahmad Razi in his geographical compendium *Haft Iqlim*,⁹ but more relevant to our provinces is the account of

1. *A. A.* II, 78, 81, 84.

2. *A. A.* II, 76, 79, 82.

3. *A. A.* II, 78, 81, 84.

4. Liotard, 32.

5. Liotard, 50-1.

6. Liotard, 17.

7. *Nuskha khulāsatul Mujarrebāt*, 116b, 117a, 118a, 119b, 119a-b, 122a.

8. J. C. Ray, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Part III, vol. III, 1917, 181-86 206 and 207.

9. Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, I, I. O. L., Ethe 725, 146a. Razi is speaking here about Lahore.

R. Fitch, the English traveller in 1583.¹ But Abul Fazl has provided us with a more systematic survey of the centres of production of cotton fabrics² and some aspects relative to their consumption.³ Thus whatever the position of the non-urban production of cotton goods might have been around 1600, the list of towns given on pages 143-44 are attested as the principal urban centres of cotton manufacture.

These six towns big and small could not possibly turn out an adequate quantity of cotton goods to meet the aggregate requirement of the region. Hence we may reasonably infer that these places had by our time come to acquire some special significance in respect to this industry either for the volume or excellence of their product or for both. The rise of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in this connection is particularly noteworthy since these were founded not earlier than 1506⁴ and 1571⁵ respectively. Thus weaving industry in these towns seem to have progressed rapidly. Though Fatehpur Sikri had a brief life as capital, it is more than likely that by virtue of their metropolitan character and the consequent rise in population Agra and Fatehpur Sikri provided an effective stimulus in the form of a ready and expanding market which accelerated the pace of this essential industry there. Abul Fazl's price list for the Agra market amply bears out the broad character of the industry in this town. The manufacture of the recently introduced carpets⁶ on such a scale as to attract the attention of our authorities reflects both the quick receptivity of the Agra and Fatehpur Sikri weavers and the unorthodox approach of the consumers. The growth of the craft was also leading to its gradual diversification which came to be marked about two decades later.⁷

After Agra Benaras seems next in importance amongst the above six towns. It was the most ancient centre of this industry. The

1. See the Table below 143, 144.

2. See the Table below 143, 144.

3. *A. A.* I, 93-6, 100-01.

4. Nimatullah, *Makhzan-i-Afghāna*, 83-4; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Per. ed.), 2.

5. *A. N.* II, (Per. ed.), 344, 365.

6. *A. A.* I, 57.

7. Pelsaert, 40.

TABLE I
Urban Centres of Cotton Textiles in U. P. in c. 1600

| <i>Towns</i> | <i>Variety produced</i> | <i>Price</i> | <i>Remarks</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|--------------|-----------------------------|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Agra | Cotton cloth | | large quantities | R. Fitch, Ryley, 99. |
| | Cotton carpets ¹ | .. | .. | A. A. I, 55. |
| Saharanpur | <i>Chautār</i> | Rs. 2 to 9 M. ²
per piece | excellent quality | A. A. II, 297. |
| | <i>Khāsa</i> | Rs. 3 to 15 M.
per piece | | A. A. II, 297. |
| Mau | <i>Jhona</i> | Rs. 1 to 1 M. a
piece | beautifully
woven | A. A. II 169. |
| | <i>Mihirkul</i> | | .. | A. A. II, 169. |
| Jalalabad | <i>Jhona and Mihirkul</i> | | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> |

1. In vernacular these were and are still known as *dari* or *shatranji*.

2. i. *¢. mohur*, whose value varied between 400 to 350 *dams* (or Rs. 10 to 8/12/0) depending on the state of coins, see A. A. I, 33.

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|----------------|--|-----|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Benaras | <i>Jhona and Mihirkul</i> | | beautifully woven | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | 'Shashes for the Moor', and other cotton goods | | vast quantity | R. Fitch, Ryley, 103. |
| Fatehpur Sikri | Fine stuffs and carpets | | .. | <i>A. A.</i> II, 191. |

paucity of source material prevents us from tracing the growth of the industry through the centuries in this town, but Kautilya's¹ and later Alberuni's brief description of the status of weavers in the Hindu hierarchy² would certainly suggest its continuance here, may be with some occasional steep rise or decline. Evidently the uninterrupted peace within and around the town,³ the existence of a sizable population and the commercial advantages by virtue of its location were some of the factors enabling it to steadily develop its textile industry.

As for Saharanpur, we know very little about it except that in Abul Fazl's days textile was a flourishing industry here. It would have been very interesting, had the data permitted, to determine the special factors that had led to the production of superfine fabrics here, whereas the surrounding centres usually produced only medium quality goods. Mau and Jalalabad appear as small towns whose only claim to significance was their textile industry.

But the real boom in the industry occurs in the following century as may be gathered from the table II appearing on pages 146-51.

This table shows that in the course of 17th century while the earlier towns of Jalalabad, Mau, Saharanpur⁵ and Fatehpur Sikri do not figure as noticeable centres of cotton goods production, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Oudh, Shahzadpur, Khairabad, Daryabad, Nawagaon are added to the list. Besides, Agra and Benaras had considerably increased the number of varieties turned out. Thus it would seem that the aggregate urban output of cotton goods had enormously risen in volume. The assumption is further supported by the fact that the increased demand occasioned by the rise of population was evidently catered for locally, as no large scale import of these goods is referred to by our authorities. Nor does there appear any sharp rise in the available prices that could have accounted for scarcity of fabrics in our provinces. Here we have not taken the

1. Quoted by J. C. Ray, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917, Vol. III, Part II, 207.
2. Alberuni, (Arabic), 77.
3. Until c. 1750 Benaras seems never to have been the scene of any major battle.
4. H. K. Naqvi, *Transactions*, VII, 237-49.
5. Saharanpur seems to have somewhat retrieved its position in the next century. See the table below.

TABLE II
Urban Centres of Cotton Textiles in U. P. from c. 1600 to 1700

| <i>Towns</i> | <i>Variety produced</i> | <i>Price</i> | <i>Remarks</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|--------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|--|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Agra | Cotton fabrics | .. | | <i>The English Factories in India, 1618-69, ed. by W. Foster, Oxford 1909-27, 1618-21, 61, 76, 83.</i> |
| | <i>Chautār</i> | R. 10/- a piece | .. | <i>E. F., 1618-21, 93.</i> |
| | <i>Sahan</i> | 431 <i>mahmudi</i> for 50 pieces | .. | <i>E. F., 1618-21, 16, also see pp. 85 and 178.</i> |
| | Chhint | .. | for export | <i>E. F., 1618-21, 76.</i> |

| | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|---|---|
| <i>Chokaree</i> (?) | | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1618-21,
93. |
| Cotton goods | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1624-29,
93. |
| Cotton goods and tents | | their sale in the everyday <i>nakhās</i> is noticed | Pelsaert, 4. |
| Cotton fabrics | .. | best variety | <i>Dutch Records at the Hugue</i> , First series, collected by C. Danvers, I. O. L., 6.1., 1629-34, IX. p. CCCXVIII, 3. |
| <i>Bafta</i> | Rs. 2 to 12 a piece | for export | <i>E. F.</i> , 1637-41,
278. |
| <i>Gazi</i> | .. | 10½ or 11½ | <i>E. F.</i> , 1624-45,
298. |
| <i>Gazi bafta</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1646-51,
296. |
| <i>Bairamis</i> | .. | for export | <i>E. F.</i> , 1646-51,
189. |

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|---|---|
| | White fabrics | | .. | Manucci, II, 424. |
| | <i>Bafta</i> | | for export | Tavernier, II, pp. 5-6. |
| | <i>Daryabādi</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1665-67, 171. |
| Jaunpur | Carpets | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1618-21, 195; Pelsaert, 7. |
| | Turban, girdles, white plain calicoes | .. | .. | W. Finch, Foster, 177; Pelsaert, 7. |
| Oudh | Coarse cotton stuffs | .. | .. | Pelsaert, 7. |
| Shahzadpur | Chintz | .. | .. | P. Mundy, II, 98. |
| Khairabad | <i>Gazi</i> | Rs. 25 per corge | 18 to 18½ × ¾
Agra coveds;
white and coloured | <i>E. F.</i> , 1642-45, 299. |

| | | | | |
|-----------|--|----------------------|------------|--|
| | <i>Khairabādi</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1646-51, 254. |
| | <i>Mercools</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1646-51, 78. |
| Daryabad | <i>Mercools</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1646-51, 78. |
| | <i>Daryabādi</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1646-51, 2, 78; <i>E. F.</i> , 1651-54, 52 ;
<i>E. F.</i> , 1655-60, 70. |
| Nawgaon | <i>Mercools</i> | Rs. 28, 29 per corge | for export | <i>E. F.</i> , 1651-54, 9. |
| Allahabad | <i>Jhona, Mihirkul, Gazi</i> | .. | .. | <i>Khulāsatut—Tawārikkh</i> , 30. |
| Lucknow | ‘Linen’ | .. | .. | W. Finch, Foster, 176. |
| | ‘ <i>Mercools</i> ’ and <i>Daryabādi</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1637-41, 378. |
| | <i>Akbari</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1624-45, 30. |

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (6) |
|---------|--|-----|--------------------------------|--|
| | <i>Gazis</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1646-51, 299. |
| | Cotton stuffs | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1651-54, 52. |
| | <i>Mercools</i> and <i>Daryabādi</i> | .. | .. | <i>E. F.</i> , 1655-60, 270. |
| Benaras | <i>Mindil</i> ¹ | .. | for export | <i>E. F.</i> , 1618-21, 206. |
| | <i>Gangajal</i> , girdles, turbans and <i>sari</i> | .. | .. | Pelsaert, 7. |
| | Cotton goods | .. | principal source of its wealth | ' <i>Ajaib-i-duniya</i> , I. O. L. Ethe, 720, 185 b. |
| | White cotton goods | | enormous quantity | Tavernier, I, 118. |

1. For import of *Mindil* from the Daccan see *A. A. I.*, 101. *Mindil* is defined as a handkerchief, turban, or turban cloth woven with silk and gold thread see F. Steingass *Persian English Dictionary*. Emperor Akbar once bestowed gifts of *mindil* on some of his *Ahdis*, but the source of this *mindil* is not mentioned. *A. N.* III, 831.

White fabrics,
fine cotton goods

vast quantity,
excellent variety,
continuously
woven on 7000
looms in the
town; exported
to Turkey and
Persia

Manrique, II,
146.

exportable goods into consideration as these could have constituted a very small proportion of the total output, and the data at our disposal is too meagre to enable us to work out its position in relation to the production.¹

This remarkable growth in the urban output of cotton goods must have had some direct bearing on the economic structure of the period. While the earlier towns of Agra and Benaras, with other multifarious activities, had more firmly ensured their viability by greatly augmenting their production, Oudh, Shahzadpur, Khairabad, Daryabad and Nawagaon owed their importance primarily to this industry. Of course some of them had other interests as well, such as Oudh which was a centre of Hindu pilgrimage,² or Shahzadpur which manufactured paper.³ However, their emergence as centres of cotton goods is the main reason of their attracting notice in this century. Being merely producing centres as far as we know they could not acquire wealth as trading centres do, nor could they amplify their activities to any very considerable extent, yet depending upon their useful craft they could expect longer endurance and larger permanent population. Lucknow and Jaunpur were chiefly administrative centres where the industry had assumed noticeable significance since the beginning of this century. Thus we may conclude that whatever the size and position of a town they all took to or expanded their weaving craft which led to both greater urbanisation of the region and highly increased volume of cotton manufactures. Indeed Emperor Akbar's policy⁴ was bearing fruit. This unprecedented expansion of the industry in the towns had resulted in greater division of labour,⁵ spinners, weavers,

1. So far we have only some export details of the Dutch and English factors in India (see *Urban Centres and Industries* etc. pp. 218-21), but the traffic of these two nations was perhaps not the most important one; we still have to unearth the activities of indigenous and Asian traders whose volume was no doubt considerable, see *ibid.*, pp. 7, 281-82, n. 41. Also see *supra*, chap. IV and V.
2. C. C. Barhaman, I. O. L., 68b; *Haqiqat*, 42b; also see H. K. Naqvi, *J.E.S.H.O.*, Vol. X, Part I, 1967, 88.
3. P. Mundy, II, 98.
4. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries*, etc., 279-80.
5. Pelsaert, 40.

bleachers, dyers or printers each had his own particular piece of work to perform. In fact the available sources seldom indicate any overlapping of jobs, though the dyers and printers were not too sharply demarcated as may be gathered from the *Nuskha Khulāsatul-Mujarrebāt*.¹ We find Hindu *koris*² who did the unbleached and coarse material and Muslim *julāhas* who usually undertook fine and coloured fabrics.³

New entrants in any of the various processes of the industry would always be welcome. This would undoubtedly lead to a good deal of occupational mobility in the towns, spinners or people from entirely different professions could profitably take to weaving, dyeing or printing. Muslims could of course change their crafts at will, but even amongst Hindus we do not find any evidence pertaining to caste barriers hampering their occupational movement in the region during our period. And since the Hindu caste system was originally based on functional division of the society, the availability of employment would go a long way in determining the degree of its rigidity or flexibility. The new entrants could have been drawn either from other industries or from the rural parts; in either case they would register an occupational change.

The progress of industry necessitated a correspondingly higher volume of raw cotton. That it was being adequately furnished internally may be inferred from the absence of voluminous import from other parts of the country. We, again, have no means of ascertaining the earlier and later acreage under this crop but it no doubt had been extended so as to supply the increased requirements. The extension could be effected both by bringing uncultivated land under this crop or by shifting over to cotton from foodgrains. That the former alternative was more frequently adopted may be surmised by the absence of any scarcity of foodgrains in normal years in our provinces. From the point of view of the villages this extension of cotton cultivation would yield large proceeds from its sale to the urban buyers, a factor, substantially contributing to

1. *Nuskha*, Chap. 20, ff, 115a-135a.

2. Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Hind*, I. O. O. U., 26, B. 46, ff. 23b-24a.

3. Hoey, 123-24.

the general prosperity of villages.

Finally, all the progress in the textile industry during this century occurs in the production of medium or coarser varieties of goods. The weaving of superfine *Khāsa* and *Chautārs* of Saharanpur recedes into background. It would thus indicate that the principal consumers in the region were the middle and lower classes and the producers turned out goods with this fact in view. The rich could easily satisfy their needs by finer imported varieties. Even the seven exportable items in the Table are not of such high grades as to lie beyond the means of ordinary consumers. In contradistinction to the stable and usually growing middle class the fate of the aristocracy (hence of the superfine stuffs) could never be certain. The production of goods of medium grade thus helped the industry to retain its position and clientele amidst the general decline of the nobility in the following century.

Table no. III appearing on pages 155-58 testifying to the existence of as many as sixteen urban centres of cotton goods in our region at the turn of the century when other parts of the Empire were passing through the most trying phase of insecurity, violence and general confusion, is very significant. The phenomenon reflects the solid base and even the timeliness of the Hindustani textile industry. In fact, as the anarchy elsewhere grew in intensity and frequency, emigrees crowded the relatively peaceful *subahs* of Agra, Oudh and Allahabad. The newcomers were specially helpful in pushing the industry up, as amongst them there were weavers, printers and dyers¹ too. Further, the influx of emigrants had evidently raised the number of consumers so that the market for piece goods had not only stabilised but broadened. Finally, the establishment of small but virtually independent states under benevolent rulers, though brief in life, had enabled the industry to acquire some additional span of life. The progress or decline of all these towns except Agra corresponded with the rise and fall of their states.

After 1764, the supremacy of the English was established over the provinces. They were not interested in promoting local industries,

1. As at Farrukhabad some dyers had originally come from Shahjahanabad (Delhi).

TABLE III
Urban Centres of Cotton Textiles in U. P. from c. 1700 to 1775

| <i>Town</i> | <i>Variety produced</i> | <i>Price</i> | <i>Remarks</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Agra | White cotton goods | .. | .. | <i>Hadiqatul Iqlim</i> , Lucknow 1879, 161; <i>Haqiqat hā'-i-Hindustan</i> , I. O. L., Ethe, 426, 42a. |
| Saharanpur | <i>Khāsa</i> | .. | (Indirect evidence) | B. Anand Ram, <i>Dastur ul'amal</i> , Ethe 2125, 61a. |
| Benaras | Cotton goods | .. | active weavers busy in town | Mrs. Kinderseley, 105, also see G. M. Khan, 53a. |
| | <i>Malmal</i> | Rs. 20 per score | .. | <i>Papers Relating to India</i> , London, 1787, I, 306. |

Urban Production of Cotton Goods in U. P. 155

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|-----|---|--|-----|--|
| | <i>Doria</i> | Rs. 50 per score | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Chintz | Rs. 22, 20, 27,
and 16 per score | | <i>Ibid.</i> , I, 305. |
| | <i>Gazi</i> (sultahatty)
(Silhati ?) | Rs. 7, 6 to 4,
and 5/8 annas
per 100 yards | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | <i>Gārah</i> | Rs. 40, 35, 30
and 27 per score | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | <i>Kharwarah</i> | Rs. 17, 20 and
25 per score | | <i>Ibid</i> ; also see
W. Irvine, <i>The
Army of the Indian
Mughals, its
Organisation and
Administration</i> ,
Calcutta, 1922,
198. |
| | <i>Tanzeb-i-
Jahāngiri</i> | Rs. 225 per
score | | <i>Papers</i> , I, 306. |
| | ' <i>Rezohee</i> ' (?) | Rs. 13, 15, 20,
25 and 30 per
score | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 305. |

| | | | | |
|--------------|--|--|---|--|
| | ' <i>Cheet Sharand-perry</i> ' (?) | Rs. 12, 15, 20, 25 and 30 per score | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 306. |
| | ' <i>Cafafyd</i> ¹ <i>cheet</i> ' | Rs. 22, 20, 17 and 16 per score | | <i>Ibid.</i> , 305., |
| | <i>Shabnam</i> | Rs. 50/- per piece | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 306. |
| | <i>Dastar</i> | Rs. 1 to 7 | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | <i>Shahangee sooti</i> | Rs. 1/12 yard | .. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| Faizabad | .. | | excellent varieties (indirect evidence) | Ghulam Ali Khan, <i>Shah 'Alamnāma</i> , Calcutta, 1914, 65. |
| Jaunpur | <i>Jhona</i> | .. | .. | <i>Haqiqat</i> , 44b, and 61a. |
| Shahzadpur | <i>Gazi</i> and chintz | .. | .. | <i>Haqiqat</i> , 126a. |
| Allahabad | White <i>silhati</i> | Rs. 55 for 1500 yards of <i>silhati</i> and some other variety | (circumstantial evidence) | <i>Dastur</i> , 170b. |
| Khairabad | <i>Gazi</i> | .. | | <i>Haqiqat</i> , 154. |
| Shahjahanpur | Superior variety | | .. | G. Md. Khan, 65b. |

1. The word may have been derived from the Arabic *ghaff* meaning closely woven. See F. Steingass.

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|------------------------|----------------|-----|---|--|
| Mirzapur | White material | .. | | <i>Haqiqat</i> , 668. |
| Lucknow | Cotton goods | .. | .. | <i>Calendar of Persian correspondence</i> , Imperial Records Department, Calcutta, 1916, II, 245. |
| | <i>Sallam</i> | .. | suitable for solidery | Hoey, 28. |
| Furrukhabad | Cotton stuffs | .. | deduced from weavers quarters in the town | W. Irvine, <i>The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad</i> , <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , IV, Calcutta 1879, 280. |
| Najibabad and Bareilly | Cotton goods | .. | .. | A. L. Srivastava, <i>Shujauddaula</i> , Vol. II, Lahore, 1965, 269. |
| Akbarpur and Jalalpur | Cotton goods | .. | | <i>Shujauddaula</i> , II, 369, 370. |

only concerned themselves with the commercial and political aspects of the newly acquired territory. Consequently the craft suffered from lack of patronage and loss of consumers as the figures of unemployed or impoverished ones mounted up and the usual facilities enjoyed by the craftsmen disappeared. In the circumstances only some of the Oudh towns and Benaras continued in their crafts but the western centres faded out ; perhaps here the craftsmen had sought out the security of rural parts so that while the reduction in output is apparent, no trace of scarcity is yet to be met with. As the new rulers had not envisaged any alteration in respect to the local crafts, the manufacture of cotton goods continued seemingly unabated at Benaras at any rate till c. 1775.

APPENDIX A

INCIDENTS OF REBELLIONS DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR AKBAR

963/1556-1014/1605

Emperor Akbar had an easier time in securing his ever extending territory from external invaders—whether of foreign or Indian origin. But the establishment of absolute peace within the conquered dominion was a very different proposition. Throughout his long reign the Emperor was perpetually harassed by uprisings staged by the disaffected elements. Indeed a systematic survey of these revolts as related by his court historian Allami Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnāma*¹ shows that there were no less than hundred and forty five such incidents. That is, almost every fourth month on an average, the Emperor in the course of all his fifty years of rule, was required to despatch forces or make some alternative adjustment in order to restore peace in the affected area. The suppression of revolts, therefore, must have been one of the chief items on the imperial agenda of the annual schedule. The effectiveness of the Emperor's measures in this direction may be assessed by the nature and incidents of disturbances in the following reigns. These incidents of rebellions may broadly be classified as those by the *umara*, by the leaders of the recently annexed provinces, by the Hindu *zamindārs* and by miscellaneous parties. Presented in a tabular form these would be as shown on pages 175 to 186.

Out of the above 144 revolts thirty were raised by the Princes or high graded *umara* of the realm, eighty by the leaders of the distant provinces beginning immediately after their annexation, twenty eight by the Hindu *zamindārs* and six were by miscellaneous groups of minor significance. This survey is based entirely upon *Akbarnāma*,

1. Allami Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, tr., Vol. II, Calcutta, 1879; Vol. III, Calcutta, 1886.

which naturally presents them from the point of view of the Emperor and State only. This fact prevents us from making the study more complete as we cannot under the conditions of our present knowledge draw upon sources dealing with these incidents from the point of view of rebels. Amongst other places the gap is felt most sharply when we want to find out the reason why so and so became 'refractory', 'contumacious', 'presumptuous', or 'stirred up strife', 'spread disorder' and so on. Or in other words what were the factors involved in these seditious uprisings. Some of them certainly may have been the rebellious type, but this out of ordinary nature could not account for the best part of the 145 revolts. A study of the other contemporary chronicles as that of Badayuni's *Muntakhabātū Tawārikh* or Nizamuddin Ahmed Bakshi's *Taqabāt-i-Akbari* and similar other treatises do not yield much information regarding this particular angle of rebellions we seek. Because like Abul Fazl they too were interested primarily in recording the events as they transpired and not in analysing the rebellions, though if they had this analytical approach it could evidently, have been of great value to the subsequent rulers in formulating their policies.

Though most of the rebellions were conducted individually by one leader, there are occasions when confederacies were formed for simple purpose of combining forces against the Emperor. In fact, aside from the local alliances, there is at least one instance when extra provincial confederation was concluded, that of Mir Muizzul-Mulk and Maulana Muhammad Yazdi, the Qazi of Jaunpur, (in Jaunpur in 988/1581) with Mirza Muhammad Hakim in Kabul.¹ Nizamuddin Ahmad however refers to the letters of Āsi Kabuli and Masoom Khan Farankhudi which they had written to the Mirza persuading him to come (and conquer) Hindustan.² The rebels did not always content themselves with one revolt only. Shah Abul Ma'ali, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the Gujarati Mirzas, Muzaffar Gujarati, the Afghans of Bengal, Yaqoob and other Kashmiris, Yusufzais, Tarikis and other tribes of Afghanistan do not seem to

1. W. Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, 1957, ed. pp. 125-27.

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, tr., B. Dey, Calcutta, 1936, p. 544.

have had any other occupation in life except to raise disturbance here, there, everywhere. Frequent repetition of these occurrences by the same individual or party was perhaps occasioned by the rather soft treatment meted out by the Emperor after they had been discomfited in battles. As far as possible the Emperor pardoned the offenders, at any rate except under extreme circumstances he usually avoided capital punishment.

I. Rebellions of the Nobles: At the beginning of the reign *umara*, the actual pillars of the State were mostly of non Hindustani extraction. Broadly speaking they were good generals, competent and influential men sometimes with over-riding ambition. Shah Abul Ma'ali, Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan, Adham Khan, Khan Zaman Ali Quli Khan and brothers, Asaf Khan and Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan are some such names in point. In all they rebelled twenty five times if we exclude those of the Royal Princes, which are shown in the same Table. None of the nobles aspired for the throne of Delhi and Agra. But it would seem that they could not imagine why they too could not assume independence in a principality of their own, especially so since they were in no way inferior in resources and effectiveness to the young Akbar. The challenge thus thrown by the rival claimants to the extension of their dominion provided the shrewd and precocious young Emperor with a valuable lesson. He could not depend exclusively on these immigrant nobles. In order to counteract their power and prestige he should create a new set of native nobles. Of course he did not entertain the idea of getting rid of the foreign ones as he was evidently quite conscious of their talents which, if handled properly, could be used for the benefit of the Empire. And, on the other hand, depending entirely on Hindustani high graded executives would be to fall from frying pan into the fire. In the circumstances the most judicious way out was to retain and humour the older set of *umara* with perhaps some curtailed power and also enrol a Hindustani set with, on the whole, lesser ranks and wider powers.¹ Thus since early days of assumption of rule the Emperor began enlisting Indian *mansabdars*; Raja Bhar Mal of Amber headed the list, many other Hindus such

1. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, 95-100.

as Todar Mal, Birbal, Ray Rayan Singh, Jagannath and so on followed. Hindustani Muslim *amirs* such as Sayyids of Barha, Kambohs of Mar-i-hira, Sayyid Bukharis from Gujarat, 'Allami Abul Fazl and Faizi of Nagor and numerous others were also entrusted with important positions. At times they wielded considerable influence at the Court and also in the eventual formulations and implementation of legislative measures, as for example, in the revenue administration or in the imperial religious policy. *The 'Ain-i-Akbari* bears out that around the close of Akbar's reign 155 out of an aggregate of 406 *mansabs* (exclusive of the top four which were reserved for the Royal Princes) were conferred on Indian born *amirs*.¹ It may be argued with reason that quite a good proportion of these 155 were composed of the progeny of the recently deceased eminent *mansabdārs* of foreign birth, who had been enlisted later in the reign as the new generation came up. But, the process had in fact, been set in motion since the early years of the reign and the Emperor went on adding to the list as he came in contact with them.

In this new set up of an ever widening circle of Hindustani rivals at Court the foreign born *umara* with no other local support except their *mansabs* had to be constantly vigilant and on their guard, frequently rendering fresh proofs of their loyalty to their sovereign, failing which they might jeopardise their positions at the Court. The Emperor though extraordinarily mild and considerate towards his *amirs*² could nevertheless be influenced by the evil tongues of the interested parties.³ This atmosphere at the Court would naturally tend to make the foreign *amirs* more submissive, less turbulent and careful in their expressions of loyalty or even in regard to any act of insubordination. Furthermore, as the time passed and the work of consolidation of the Empire advanced, contumacy could not be regarded as rewarding as in the opening years of the reign. Besides, enjoying suitable *mansabs* and high prestige in the realm their longing for a doubtful independent principality would subside. Finally,

1. Allami Abul Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. I, Munshi Newal Kishore Press, 1869 ed., 279-90.
2. See column 'Outcome' in Table I for Akbar's frequent forgiveness to the offenders.
3. For example, see the case of Khwajah Shah Mansur, *A.N.* III. 344.

the system of checks and balances and division of functions so minutely worked out and introduced by Akbar in both the Central and Provincial administration had greatly narrowed down the opportunity of revolts by the officers even in the distant frontier provinces of the Empire. In fact the spirit of rebelliousness amongst the *umara* so widespread around the first decade of the reign was handled with such adroitness that it was reduced to a minimum after that period. Indeed, even in the three subsequent reigns they seldom raised the head of sedition.

As regards the revolts of Royal Princes, Akbar himself was at the outset rather fortunate in having no effective rival claimant to his throne. Mirza Hakim his only surviving brother was too young in 1556 to contest his accession. Later in 1566 the supporters of Mirza enacted a minor outbreak. The 1581 rebellion was however, relatively more serious as the disaffected elements of Jaunpur were using him against the Emperor. But the Prince was too weak to offer any real resistance and submitted at the first opportunity. The kind Emperor decided to overlook his lapse of insubordination and reinstated him at Kabul. Sultan Salim's hostile behaviour around the close of the reign caused the Emperor greater distress than any real political apprehension or anxiety for the welfare of the Empire. The repeated acts of insubordination by the heir-apparent had nevertheless clouded the last years of an otherwise long and glorious reign of Emperor Akbar.

II. Rebellions in the recently annexed provinces: The disaffected leaders of the frontier provinces appearing immediately after their annexation were harder nut to crack. Evidently they were encouraged in their subversive activities by the remoteness from the capital. In Gujarat, Bengal, Afghanistan and Kashmir the frequency of their uprisings is unprecedented as is evident from the Table no. II. If we leave out the first revolt of sons of Sultan Mirza in 1567 as it occurred five years earlier than between the years 1572-1604, there are no less than 79 incidents of their uprisings. It was good that by about 1570s the Emperor had so successfully tackled the problem presented earlier by the *umaras* that now with the bursting up of these rebellions he was able to confidently entrust their suppression to his *mansabdars*, without whose aid and support

the debacle of his Empire would have been as catastrophic as that of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq more than two centuries earlier.

In Gujarat chief opposition was presented by the Mirzas, grandsons of Mirza Kamran. Since the *subah* had been an independent state under the Sultans prior to Akbar's conquest the Mirzas cherished the dream of harassing the Emperor to the extent of driving him out of the province and establishing their own monarchy. The descendants of the Gujarati Sultans were by now, for all practical purposes, extinct. This factor provided the Mirzas with a better opportunity for the occupation of Gujarat. In all they rose at least nine times between the years 1567-1577, or almost annually for ten years running. The pattern of their operation seems to have been to appoint a safe place as their temporary base, raise a force as best as they could, confront the imperialists after spreading disturbance in the area, fly and disperse if worsted. Usually the brothers worked together but occasionally they divided their forces to cover more than one place at a time for their contumacious activities as shown in Table No. II. There are also instances when they combined with others such as Sher Khan Fauladi, (in nos. 5, 8), Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk (in no. 8) or other malcontents as in no. 15.

After an interval of about five years I'temad Khan, one of the *amirs* of Gujarat, attempted to raise a pretender, Muzaffar Gujarati, as a scion of the Sultans and rightful claimant to the throne of the *subah*. From 1583 to 1592 he rebelled eight times, out of which five times he revolted in collusion with I'temad Khan, Hindu *zamindārs*, Fateh Khan, Jamu and other discontented elements, respectively. Evidently he desperately endeavoured to make good his bid for power and with this purpose in view he entered into alliances with whomsoever was willing to make a common cause with him. Later, in 1597 his son Bahadur followed in the footsteps of his father and raised the standard of revolt in conjunction with a Hindu *zamindār*. But his attempt proved to be as abortive as that of his father. Afterwards Gujarat ceased to give any serious trouble to the Emperor.

The fact that the non-Gujarati Mirzas and Muzaffar Gujarati of doubtful origin were able to collect enough forces for about twenty-

four long years and also frequently secure the aid of local *amirs*, or Hindu *zamindars* reflects the unpopularity of the imperial rule at the early stages of the *subah's* incorporation in the Empire. In all the incidents of these revolts the motive was sedition against Emperor Akbar, an attempt to overthrow his rule and set up their own state. No other grudge or grievance of the people is ever alluded to in this connection in the sources available to us. Therefore it would follow that these revolts were primarily politically motivated uprisings.¹ Evidently a considerable segment of the Gujarati chiefs or men who mattered did not welcome their subjugation by the Mughal *Badshah* of Hindustan so that for two decades they persisted in their struggle to regain their sovereign status as under the Sultans. But as the revolts were not properly organised or systematically conducted they usually sustained defeat on the battlefield and failed in their ultimate objective. As the imperial hold over the *subah* grew firm, reasonably good administration was introduced in an atmosphere of general peace and tranquility, the recalcitrants reconciled themselves to the inevitable and submitted to the Emperor.

Similar but more vigorous attempt at seizing the Bengal throne was made by the Afghans in Bengal. From 1575 to 1601 thirty uprisings took place in the eastern provinces of Bengal and Bihar, as may be gathered from the Table II. These eastern rebels had greater natural advantages than the Gujaratis. The rather long voyage up and down the Gangetic course between Agra and Sonargaon was of no great use when on matters of urgency immediate actions were needed. The only practicable land route to and from Bengal lay through the narrow pass in the Jaharkhand hilly forest, a situation which rendered any communication with the capital quite difficult. The insalubrious climate of that eastern province also went in favour of the rebels. The Hindustani forces unused to this climate suffered in health and morale sometimes ruining their chances of making any progress. The innumerable watery courses of this low-land *subah*, so embarrassing to the imperialists, had

1. It would be useful if we could be absolutely certain that no other considerations were involved in these apparently political uprisings. Because it is barely possible that the Agra legislations in some way or other did not suit the Gujaratis or some sections of Gujaratis : for example, the Gujarati traders.

contributed in an inverse proportion to the strengthening of the defence of the Afghan rebels. Finally, the Afghans being more militant by nature and skilled strategists by practice, could offer much more stiff resistance to the imperialists than say the Gujarati rebels.

Consequently, Emperor Akbar was not so successful in Bengal as he was in Gujarat. The struggle here was long, casualties were high, the control over the *subah* remained partial and not so effective. At his death the *subah* was still regarded as a land of pestilence, full of mud and mire and concealing numerous Afghan recalcitrants in its almost inaccessible interior. Sulaiman Karrani,¹ Emperor Akbar's tributary died in c. 1572; his eventual successor Daud Karrani refused to accept his vassalage. The hostilities thus starting continued intermittently till 1601, when the Afghans though greatly weakened were by no means crushed. Taj Karrani's house was not the only opponent of the imperial rule but several other *jagirdārs*, petty chiefs, adventurers and Hindu *zamindārs* taking advantage of the disturbed situation obtaining in the province joined the league at will, rising now singly now collectively. Occasionally their disturbances spread out as far west as Bihar such as in the cases of nos. 24 and 25. Or conversely even the Bihar trouble makers were at times aided and supported by their associates in Bengal as in nos. 12 and 13. Though at times they actively sided with the Afghans, the Hindu *zamindārs* were by and large mere onlookers of the contest for power raging between the two parties, both of whom were at the moment too busy to interfere with them.

It would seem that the Afghans of Bengal were more reluctant than the Gujaratis to accept the imperial vassalage. Aside from the reasons enumerated above, they were presumably goaded on in their struggle in order to retain their identity. Away from their

1. He was one of the nobles of Sher Shah Suri. On the death of his successor Islam Shah Taj Khan Karrani was appointed regent of the young Prince Firoze who was now raised to the throne. Later, finding his position untenable at the Suri Court Taj Khan Karrani moved out of it and reached Bengal and Bihar which being vacant at the moment he occupied in 1564. Taj Khan Karrani and his brother and successor Sulaiman Karrani had both owed allegiance to Emperor Akbar.

homeland they could survive and flourish only as rulers of the area, devoid of all civilian professions they would sink into absolute obscurity once they gave in to the imperial supremacy. Here we may also bear in mind that Akbar did not enlist Afghans largely amongst his *mansabdārs*¹ undoubtedly because of the bitter experiences in the past few decades that his House had to suffer at their hands. The practical bar from this prosperous avenue of imperial service to which the Afghans were otherwise well qualified might have further aggravated their resentment against the Emperor thereby making them more desperate in their struggle for power in the only province they still held, that of Bengal.

The standard of revolts raised in Afghanistan during Emperor Akbar's reign are distinctly divisible into two categories. First series consisted of those which took place before the death of Mirza Hakim in 993/1585. These uprisings were largely caused by either the members of the ruling House or their *umara*² and have been considered earlier. The second series dates onward from 1585 when that Prince died and Kabul was formally incorporated in the Empire. These rebellions were generally led by the Afghan tribes or tribal leaders. Unlike the first series, these revolts involved much larger number of Afghans, the rebellious spirit spreading almost all over the province. From 1585 to 1602 they rebelled at least eleven times.³ On almost each of these occasions they were well organised and drawn from all the important tribes of the area. By virtue of their natural bravery and hardihood as well as advantages accruing to them from the high mountainous terrain and extreme cold, the Afghans were able to offer such stubborn resistance that the imperialists sustained defeats, inconclusive engagements with occasional victories. By 1602 it had become apparent that the imperialists could not successfully encounter them in open engagements, other devices will have to be adopted in order to win over the militant nation of Afghans.

Afghans are certainly brave and daring soldiers but are not

1. Afghan *mansabdārs* do not figure very frequently in the imperial list of officers in the *A'in-i-Akbari*, see Vol. I. 279-90.
2. Table I, nos. 2, 7, 11, 17 and 23.
3. Table II, nos. 38, 40, 43, 46, 49, 50, 57, 60, 62, 66 and 79.

necessarily rebellious by nature. Babar had occupied Kabul in c. 1504, then it was passed on to Mirza Kamran, who ruled from Lahore. Humayun conquered it in 1548; in 1556 after recovering the throne of Delhi and Agra he appointed his younger son Prince Mirza Hakim as the ruler of Kabul with Munim Khan as his *atāliq* (regent). Throughout this period from 1504 to 1585, the Afghans were fairly quiet and submissive though there were several incidents of armed conflicts amongst the Princes and *umara*. Therefore, it would seem that the Afghans apprehended Akbar's rule to fall short in some way or other of their expectations or usual requirements so that they almost in a body rose in revolt as soon as their patron, the Prince Mirza Hakim, passed away.

Abul Fazl relates that Mirza Hakim's soldiers on his death intended leaving for Turan¹ without even waiting to find out Emperor's wishes regarding Kabul. This would reflect mistrust of the imperial rule by the Afghan soldiers, an attitude in which they were perhaps also governed by the exclusion of the Afghans from imperial service. Though the Emperor had graciously appointed Kalu, one of their leaders to a *mansab* but not caring for the honour, Kalu had left the Court. It is possible that the Afghans were anxious for a change in the imperial policy rather than in the acceptance of isolated positions. On the other hand, the Emperor could hardly be expected to fulfil such a wish in view of the troubles caused by them to him and his father. At all events, in the circumstances it would have gone against all political statesmanship to get too close to them or to confer high and important positions on them. This lack of sympathy on the part of the Emperor may have thrown the Afghans in a defensive position protesting for which they rose up in arms. For a more satisfactory explanation of the situation a study of the Afghan sources would be useful in as much as they may throw fresh light on the factors which were responsible for making the Afghans launch such a bitter and prolonged campaign against their sovereign.

Unlike the Afghans Kashmiri revolts do not seem to be so complicated. Kashmir was conquered in 944/1586. Initially the impe-

1. *A.N.* III, 466.

rial rule was not firmly established so the members of the ruling dynasty (Yaqoob Khan) or influential tribal *amirs* as the Chaks revolted, either singly or jointly. In all the Kashmiris rose eight times in the course of eighteen years, from 1586 to 1604.¹ The imperial forces were handicapped by the unfamiliar hilly tract, high mountainous region, severe cold and long and difficult route to and from the capital. As a result the engagements were doubly difficult and strenuous for them and they were not always successful in repelling the insurgents. The additional odd confronting the imperial forces went in favour of the rebels, but they on their part suffered from lack of unity of purpose or cohesion leading to dissension in their ranks. Thus though the battle was long and hard, the eventual success of the imperialists was however more or less assured.

III. Rebellions of the Hindu Zamindars : The Hindu *zamindārs* (landlords) rose twenty nine times in the course of Akbar's rule of fifty years.² Compared to other revolts these are much fewer in number and less formidable if we consider them individually. Furthermore, these were too widely dispersed in time and space to make it possible for these rebels to effect a strong and durable confederation amongst themselves. Although there are some instances of such collaboration but they are of minor importance.³ Finally, since they had small areas as their *zamindāris* (land) they did not possess the necessary resources to take the field against the mighty imperial forces with any hope of success. Therefore they expressed their defiance either by taking advantage of any opportune moment when the attention of the local incumbents was otherwise focussed⁴ or by joining hands with any other neighbouring recalcitrants.⁵

This lack of spirit and vigour in their uprisings had lulled the imperial authority into a false sense of their harmlessness. As usual the Emperor was more than willing to pardon and let off the off-

1. Table II, nos. 42, 44, 53, 54, 59, 65, 68 and 80.

2. See Table no. III.

3. Nos. 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28.

4. No. 24 in Table III ; *A. N.* III, 593.

5. Nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28 of Table III.

enders at the merest suggestion of their supplication. In fact the Emperor was anxious to suppress disorderliness and maintain peace but had no wish to extirpate them, no doubt because he did not consider them powerful enough to seriously challenge his authority. Thus the contumacious *zamindārs* too could always hope to be forgiven in case things went wrong on the battlefield.¹ The *zamindārs* had however deep roots in the soil and unlike the Afghans of Bengal or Mirzas of Gujarat were permanently fixed in their areas. Always watchful of any lapse, diversion in the attention of the *subedārs* or slightest indication of relaxation in the imperial control, they would jump at the chance to extend their territory, (may be, also instigate and abet others with a view to hurt the imperial interest) and possibly shake off their vassalage. In this particular respect they were more dangerous than other rebels, specially so when we realise the frequency of these *zamindāri* pockets all over the imperial map. But evidently Emperor Akbar and his counsellors had overlooked this aspect or else they did not imagine such a loss of vigour in the Empire as not to be able to crush these petty *zamindārs* if and when they became too presumptuous.

IV. Revolts by Miscellaneous Parties : Fourth Table shows six uprisings of miscellaneous character. Out of these first and third were raised by the generality inhabiting the district of Agra. Their propensity for turbulence has been a byword in history.² In point of fact in 1505 the site of Agra was deliberately decided upon by Sultan Sikandar Lodi specifically with a view to keep these Jats and Mewatis overawed and in check.³ Lacking resources and proper organisation to engage in a concerted action for any length of time the rebels stood no chance against the vigorous onslaughts of the imperial forces. Therefore, though their insurrections were not infrequent they did not constitute any major threat to the stability of the Empire.

Second uprising around Allahabad and Benaras in the early

1. See Nos. 2, 7, 12, 16, 18, 23 and 26 of Table III.

2. Khafi Khan, I, 316, 394-95; H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India*, 272, n. 9.

3. Nimatullah's *History of the Afghans*, tr. N. Ray, Shantiniketan, p. 83. Agra was founded by Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 911/1505

years of the reign, was presumably a mere passing phase where the *jagirdars* were simply trying to use the absence of a strong central government. Rana Partap was a fugitive and a sworn enemy of Emperor Akbar, so his attempt at spreading disorder in the imperial dominion is not surprising. The significant fact however, is that he was unable to find support from his own countrymen whose loyalty to the throne he could not shake and was therefore, unable to collect enough forces to carry on his war with the Emperor. The fourth rebellion appears to have had some religious colour as Maulana Muhammad Yazdi was the Qazi of Jaunpur, then an important university town. The Maulana was openly in league with Mir Muizz-ul-mulk but may secretly have collaborated with Masoom Khan Farankhudi as well, the arch rebel of the area in 1581. As regards the Bir trouble, it was precipitated as the officers did not agree with the decision of their commander 'Allami Abul Fazl. In the heat of anger they deserted to the enemy and attacked Abul Fazl and his depleted forces from the other side. Thus actually it was a mutiny of the imperial army placed under Abul Fazl. Evidently, the eminent sage, scholar and historian was not equally well versed in generalship.

To sum up, Emperor Akbar's reign opens with a series of rebellions of *umara* and within the first decade there were as many as seventeen such incidents. Nobles, if not suitably humoured and yet kept in proper place are apt to become a painful thorn in the flesh of the monarch. Akbar, notwithstanding his youth, had so skillfully handled them that soon after the end of that period they had begun to identify themselves completely with the State. It would seem that it was only after ensuring their full support that the Emperor had launched upon a programme of conquest of large sized farther off provinces (that is after 1572). But conquest was easier task than establishing perfect tranquility in these annexed *subahs*. This hard end too could be achieved only with the unflinching loyalty of his *mansabdars* who now vied with each other in rendering sacrifice, in suffering ordeals, in exposing and even giving up their lives for their sovereign. Emperor's meanest wish appears to have held some Divine sanctity for them which had to be fulfilled at all costs. Thus though the period from 1572 onwards is again crowded

with revolts Akbar's nerves are unruffled and he keeps himself engaged in diverse activities of the state while the *subedārs*, commanders and even lesser military staff take care of the turbulent provinces.

The sequence of these events—nobles uprisings, conquests and consolidation—is such that one wonders if they were purely accidental: just moving from step by step they happened to have assumed this shape. If so, it is indeed one of the most remarkable series of coincidences. If on the other hand, Akbar had planned them beforehand why does Abul Fazl not mention it? Besides, even for a prodigy and genius of Akbar's calibre it is hard to believe that he, in the opening years of his rule, could have foreseen his future troubles and also worked out a scheme for surmounting those troubles. It is however, possible that the Emperor as a young Prince might have had some clear vision of the odds entailed in kingship and as he grew up he moved with utmost caution and circumspection, always careful not to lose a gained point or asset, consolidating and ensuring peace and order in the region under control and then deploying his surplus or disengaged forces on to a new project which would, aside from the material gain also act as a unifying factor amongst the imperialists. Quelling disturbances in their provinces will keep the *subedārs* with their contingents busy and active while many local mischief makers would be discouraged by their vigilance.

Notwithstanding the Emperor's best efforts all the rebellions in all the provinces were not crushed. Even after the turn of the century, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Bengal still harboured numerous recalcitrants striving to regain their lost kingdoms. In regard to Hindu *zamindārs*, he does not seem to have ever realised the significance of their vascillations, given time and opportunity how exceedingly dangerous they could prove to be.

And yet what Emperor Akbar had accomplished in the course of fifty years of his reign was a remarkable feat. Apart from his conquests and consolidation, the mere fact that he encountered rebellious forces lined up against him on as many as hundred and forty four occasions shows the tremendous and overwhelming odds against which he was working. Complete success in a vast Empire of

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Akbar's size can seldom be achieved specially when one is working under the medieval conditions of 16th century Hindustan. But the extent to which Emperor Akbar did succeed is equally rare and remarkable.

Incidents of Rebellions or Insubordination during the Reign of Emperor Akbar, 1556-1605¹

| The rebels | Year | Place | Cause/form | Suppressed by | Outcome | Reference |
|--|----------|-------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. Rebellions of the Nobles | | | | | | |
| 1. Shah Abul Ma'ali | 963/1556 | — | arrogance and contumacy | — | arrested but escaped | <i>A. N.</i> II, 15-17. |
| 2. Mirza Sulaiman | 963/1556 | Kabul | laid claims to sovereignty | the imperial army | sustained defeat and left for Badakhshan | <i>A. N.</i> II, 22-26. |
| 3. Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan | 967/1560 | — | became self willed and high handed | Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan and other <i>amirs</i> | was defeated and eventually assassinated in Gujarat | <i>A. N.</i> II, 91-99, 100-01, 104, 112-13, 130-31. |
| 4. Adham Khan | 968/1561 | Malwa | began assuming independence | the Emperor | submitted | <i>A. N.</i> II, 140-43. |
| 5. Khan Zaman Ali Quli Khan | 968/1561 | Jaunpur | arrogance and presumptuousness | the Emperor | submitted | <i>A. N.</i> II, 146-48. |
| 6. Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan | 969/1562 | Left Agra for Kabul | out of fear for having been a party to Adham Khan's intrigue | Mir Mahmood's <i>munshi</i> intercepted him | brought back and was reinstated | <i>A. N.</i> II, 179-80. |
| 7. Fazil Beg and Ghani Beg | 970/1563 | Kabul | 'disobedience and wickedness' | Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan | imperialists suffered setback | <i>A. N.</i> II, 184-89. |
| 8. Sultan Adam and his son Lashkar | 970/1563 | Ghakkar | 'disobedience' insubordination | imperial force | were crushed | <i>A. N.</i> II, 189-91. |
| 9. Mir Sharafuddin Husain | 970/1563 | Nagor, Ajmer and Mirtha | unauthorised departure from the Court | Husain Qara Beg | fled from the imperial territory | <i>A. N.</i> II, 195-96. |
| 10. Shah Abul Ma'ali (acting in concert with M. Sharafuddin) | 971/1564 | Jalaur | creating disturbance | Ahmad Beg and Sikander Beg | fled to Kabul | <i>A. N.</i> II, 198-200. |
| 11. Shah Abul Ma'ali | 971/1564 | Kabul | spreading disorder | M. Sulaiman of Badakhshan | was captured and strangled | <i>A. N.</i> II, 204-07. |

1. Here Persian text of *A. N.* vols. II and III has been used.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|----------|-----------------------|--|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| 12. Abdullah Khan | 971/1564 | Malwa | misconduct, fear of punishment made him rebel | Mir Muizzul Mulk, Muqim Khan, Muhammad Wasim Khan Nishapuri and others | fled to Gujarat | <i>A. N.</i> II, 225-26. |
| 13. Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman with brothers and Iskandar Khan Uzbek | 973/1565 | Jaunpur | sedition | the Emperor | were suppressed | <i>A. N.</i> II, 248-54, 257-63. |
| 14. Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan | 973/1565 | — | attempted to assume independence | imperial forces | fled to Garaha | <i>A. N.</i> II, 255-56. |
| 15. Sher Muhammad Diwana | 973/1565 | Samana | raising disturbance, killed the <i>faujdar</i> s, <i>nāib</i> & revolted | Mulla Nuruddin Tarkhan the <i>faujdar</i> | was slain | <i>A. N.</i> II, 263-64. |
| 16. Mirza Muhammad Hakim | 973/1565 | Lahore | revolted | The Emperor | fled to Kabul at the Emperor's arrival | <i>A. N.</i> II, 273-77. |
| 17. Yusuf Muhammad Khan | 980/1573 | Gorakhpur | was preparing for strife | Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan | truce was signed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 21, 22, 23. |
| 18. Masum Khan Kabuli | 988/1580 | Hajipur and Jaunpur | attempted independence | — | siezed Hajipur | <i>A. N.</i> III, 321. |
| 19. Shahbaz Khan | 988/1580 | Patna | became presumptuous | Khan Azam and Raja Todar Mal | — | <i>A. N.</i> III, 324-25. |
| 20. Niyabat Khan | 988/1580 | Karah | sedition | Ismail Quli Khan, Abdul Mutallib and Syed Jamal | sustained defeat, property plundered | <i>A. N.</i> III, 327-28. |
| 21. Masoom Khan Farankhudi and Shahbaz Khan | 989/1580 | Jaunpur | sedition | Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Rajah Birbal | Masoom Khan fled, his family and effects seized | <i>A. N.</i> III, 330-33, 338-41. |
| 22. Masoom Khan Farankhudi | 989/1581 | Sambhal and Bareilly | sedition | imperial army | was defeated and dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 348-49. |
| 23. Mirza Hakim | 989/1581 | Kabul | insubordination | the Emperor | defeated and pardoned | <i>A. N.</i> III, 361-70. |
| 24. Masoom Khan Farankhudi | 990/1582 | Bahraich and Fatehpur | — | — | defeated and pardoned | <i>A. N.</i> III, 383. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|-----------|-------------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 25. Muhammad Yar (daughter's son of Gulbadan Begam) | 1002/1594 | Left Agra | became rebellious | Khairullah <i>kotwāl</i> and others | was made prisoner | <i>A. N.</i> III, 651. |
| 26. Muzaffar Husain Mirza (Gulrukh Begam's son and Akbar's son-in-law) | 1008/1600 | Leaving Agra made for Gujarat | became refractory | Khwaja Waisi | captured and imprisoned | <i>A. N.</i> III, 770-71. |
| 27. Prince Royal Sultan Salim | 1008/1600 | Ajmer, Udaipur and Allahabad | became self willed | Emperor's warnings through a <i>Firman</i> | submitted | <i>A. N.</i> III, 773. |
| 28. Prince Royal Sultan Salim | 1008/1602 | Allahabad | formed evil designs | imperial <i>Firman</i> | did not comply with the orders | <i>A. N.</i> III, 773. |
| 29. Mirza Hasan (the son of Mirza Shahrukh, in collusion with the Hazara tribes) | 1011/1603 | north of Qandahar | raised disturbance | Shah Beg Khan | was chastised and fled | <i>A. N.</i> III, 821. |
| 30. Prince Royal Sultan Salim | 1013/1604 | Allahabad | rebelliousness | the Emperor | captured, imprisoned then pardoned | <i>A. N.</i> III, 827-30. |

II. Rebellions in the recently annexed provinces

| | | | | | | |
|---|----------|-------------|------------------------|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Sons of Sultan Mirza | 975/1567 | Malwa | stirred up strife | Shahabuddin Khan, Qalij Khan and Budagh Khan | repulsed and dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> II, 330-31. |
| 2. Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk, I'temad Khan and others | 980/1572 | Cambay | sedition | Shahbaz Khan | duly chastised | <i>A. N.</i> III, 10. |
| 3. Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Muhammad Husain Mirza | 980/1572 | Baroda | sedition | the Emperor, Shahbaz Khan, Qasim Khan and Shah Quli Khan Mahram | fled on being repulsed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 10,15. |
| 4. Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza | 980/1573 | near Pattan | were causing commotion | Syed Mahmud Khan Barha, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Khan Azam with other imperial generals | rebels took to flight and order was restored | <i>A. N.</i> III, 19. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
|-----|---|----------|--------------------------|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| 5. | Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, Shah Mirza and the Fauladians | 980/1573 | Pattan | confederates invaded Pattan | Khan Azam with other imperial generals | were frightened and fled without engagement | <i>A. N.</i> III, 23-26. |
| 6. | Ibrahim Husain Mirza with brother Masood Mirza | 980/1573 | Jalor, Jodhpur and Nagor | raised disturbance | imperial officers | moved on to the Punjab | <i>A. N.</i> III, 34-36. |
| 7. | Muhammad Husain Mirza | 981/1573 | Surat | sedition | Qalij Khan, Qutubuddin Khan | were repulsed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 42. |
| 8. | Muhammad Husain Mirza, Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk with his sons, and Sher Khan Fauladi | 981/1573 | Cambay | raised disturbance | the Emperor | Muhamad Husain Mirza executed, Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk fled, Ibrahim Hussin Mirza died in custody | <i>A. N.</i> III, 59-88. |
| 9. | Junaid | 982/1575 | near Jaharkhand | raising tumult | Todar Mal | was defeated and took refuge in Jaharkhand | <i>A. N.</i> III, 119. |
| 10. | Muhammad Khan, Mahmood Khan and others | 982/1575 | Salimpur (in Bengal) | sedition | Todar Mal | were crushed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 20. |
| 11. | Yar Muhammad Arghun, Qarawal, Junaid and others | 982/1575 | near Jaharkhand | collected imperial property | Todar Mal | Yar Muhammad Arghun decapitated, others submitted | <i>A. N.</i> III, 120-27. |
| 12. | Haji, Ghazi brothers, Junaid and other Afghans | 982/1575 | near Jaharkhand | raised disturbance | Muzaffar Khan | defeated and routed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 134-35. |
| 13. | Afghans (of Bihar and Bengal) | 983/1576 | Nadia Gandak | became presumptuous | Muzaffar Khan | defeated and dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 137-38. |
| 14. | Taj Khan Jalori and Rai of Sirohi | 984/1576 | Jalor and Sirohi | became contumacious | Tarson Khan, Rai Singh, Syed Hashim Barha | were brought to obedience, the Rai fled | <i>A. N.</i> III, 189-90. 196-97. |
| 15. | Muzaffar Husain Mirza | 985/1577 | Gujarat | instigated by other disaffected ones he revolted | Todar Mal | Mihr Ali the ring leader was slain, others fled | <i>A. N.</i> III, 206-09. 214-16. |
| 16. | Muzaffar Husain Mirza | 985/1577 | Berar, Khandesh | again rose in rebellion | Maqsood Damba | taken captive and sent to the Court | <i>A. N.</i> III, 233. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|----------|-------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------------|
| 17. Leaders of the Baluchi tribes | 986/1578 | Baluchistan | contumacy | Md. Yusuf Khan, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Syed Hamid and others | were frightened and sought forgiveness | <i>A. N.</i> III, 235-36. |
| 18. Ibrahim Narnol, Isa Khan and Shah Bardi and others | 986/1578 | Bengal | became rebellious | Shah Bardi (coming over to the king) and Muhammad Quli | accepted obedience | <i>A. N.</i> III, 259-60. |
| 19. Baba Khan Jahbari, Wazir Jamil and many others | 987/1579 | Bengal | raised the dust of disension | Mir Jamaluddin Husain, Razivi Khan, Timur Khan, Rai Patar Das and others. | were crushed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 290-95. |
| 20. Mirza Beg Qaqshal and Hamzaban | 987/1579 | Tanda | stirred up strife | Khawaja Shamsuddhin, Mir Rafiuddin Nishapuri and Wasim Ali Siastani | submitted after engagement | <i>A. N.</i> III, 299-305, 307-08. |
| 21. Arab Bahadur | 988/1580 | Hajipur | raised disturbance | Khan Azam and Shahbaz Khan | suffered defeat, family captured | <i>A. N.</i> III, 322-23, 323-25. |
| 22. Khalisa | 990/1582 | Patna | became turbulent | Sadiq Khan | slain in battle | <i>A. N.</i> III, 388-89. |
| 23. Noor Muhammad | 991/1583 | eastern provinces | caused disorder | Khan Azam's men | was executed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 395-400. |
| 24. Masoom Khan Kabuli | 991/1583 | eastern provinces | became rebellious | Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Sadiq Khan and Sheikh Farid Bukhari | defeated and dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 398-400. |
| 25. Qatlu Lohani | 991/1583 | eastern provinces | stirred up strife | Shah Quli Khan Mahram and others | rebels were routed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 405-07. |
| 26. Arab Bahadur | 991/1583 | Bihar | became turbulent | Khan Azam Koka | fled to the hill country | <i>A. N.</i> III, 408. |
| 27. I'temad Khan and Muzaffar Gujarati (as Sultan) | 991/1583 | Gujarat | attempts to assume sovereignty of Gujarat | Syed Qasim and Syed Hashim | undecided | <i>A. N.</i> III, 409-413. |
| 28. Masoom Khan Kabuli | 991/1583 | Tanda | became rebellious | Wazir Khan, Sheikh Ibrahim and Sheikh Farid Bakhshi and others | sustaining defeat they dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 416-18. |
| 29. Sher Khan Fauladi | 991/1583 | Gujarat | stirred up strife and raised a force to meet the imperialists | Shahabuddin Khan, I'temad Khan, Nizamuddin Bakhshi | imperialists victorious, rebels dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 618-19 |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|----------|-----------------------|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| 30. Muzaffar Gujarati | 992/1584 | Gujarat | caused an uprising | Mirza Khan | rebels fled | <i>A. N.</i> III, 428-30. |
| 31. Masoom Khan Kabuli, Qatlu Karrani and others | 992/1584 | Bengal | sedition | Shahbaz Khan and Wazir Khan | submitted after sustaining defeat | <i>A. N.</i> III, 432-34, 435-36. |
| 32. Saiyad Daulat | 992/1584 | Cambay | prevailed over the town | Mota Raja, Medni Rai, Mukat Man, Ram Sah and many others | rebels dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 436-37. |
| 33. Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati | 992/1584 | Pattan (Gujarat) | appearing from hills he set out towards Pattan | Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan's army | rebels dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 437. |
| 34. Isa Khan, Masoom Khan Kabuli, and Dastan Qaqshal | 992/1584 | Bengal | attempted to reconquer the imperial areas | Shahbaz Khan, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Ramdas and Khwajgi Fatchullah Khan | were overwhelmed and dispersed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 448-49. |
| 35. Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati | 993/1585 | Gujarat | sedition | Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan | was overpowered | <i>A. N.</i> III, 425-53, 55. |
| 36. Masoom Khan Kabuli | 993/1585 | Bengal | tried to take advantage of dissension in the imperial forces | Shahbaz Khan | defeated and pushed out of the imperial territory | <i>A. N.</i> III, 459-60. |
| 37. Isa Khan | 993/1585 | Bengal | caused disturbance | Shahbaz Khan, Wazir Khan | imperialists quelled the disturbance | <i>A. N.</i> III, 461-62. |
| 38. Kabul soldiers | 993/1585 | Kabul | at Mirza Hakim's death they defied the imperialists | Raja Man Singh | submitted out of fear | <i>A. N.</i> III, 466. |
| 39. Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati | 993/1585 | Gujarat | sedition aimed at plunder of Ahmadabad as Khan-i-Khanan had left for Court | Khan-i-Khanan's army | was pursued and his refuge was plundered | <i>A. N.</i> III, 471-72. |
| 40. Kabulis | 994/1585 | Kabul | spread disturbance | Zain Khan Kokaltash and Hasan Khan Patani | were suppressed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 475-76. |
| 41. Afghan rebels | 994/1586 | Bengal | were bestirring themselves to rebellion | Shahbaz Khan | were curbed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 479. |
| 42. Yaqoob (of Kashmir) | 994/1586 | Kashmir | became refractory | Qasim Khan | was repulsed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 502-06, 508-09. |
| 43. Pathan tribes (Tarikis) | 994/1586 | Tirah, north of Kabul | increased their turbulence | Raja Man Singh | were punished | <i>A. N.</i> III, 512-14. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|----------|----------------------------------|---|--|---|---------------------------|
| 44. Yaqoob | — | Kishtwar
(Kashmir) | stirred up commotion | Qasin Khan | was repulsed | <i>A. N. III, 515-16.</i> |
| 45. Muzaffar Gujarati,
brother of Raja of
Kachh and other
<i>zamindārs</i> | 995/1587 | Gujarat | strife mongers | Syed Wasim and Niza-
muddin Ahmad Bakhshi | were defeated there-
upon they took to flight | <i>A. N. III, 524.</i> |
| 46. Yusuf Zais and
Tarikis | 995/1587 | Kabul | took to robbery and
wickedness | Zain Khan Koka, Khw-
aja Shamsuddin and
brother, Nizamuddin
Ahmad Bakhshi | were not subdued | <i>A. N. III, 225-26.</i> |
| 47. Muzaffar Arghun
in concert with
Hindu <i>zamindārs</i> | 996/1588 | Gujarat | became turbulent | Nizamuddin Ahmad
Bakhshi | escaped capture | <i>A. N. III, 530.</i> |
| 48. Fateh Khan (Ibn
Amin Khan Ghorī)
and Muzaffar
Gujarati | 996/1588 | Gujarat | stirred up strife | Nauang Khan and
Nizamuddin Ahmad
Bakhshi | were suppressed | <i>A. N. III, 531.</i> |
| 49. Kalu Khan | 996/1588 | went to
Afghanistan | absconded from Court
after receiving favours | Zain Khan Kokaltash | their power was weak-
ened | <i>A. N. III, 532-33.</i> |
| 50. Yusuf Zais | 997/1588 | Afghanistan | became refractory | Zair Khan Kokaltash | were kept in check
while some of them were
killed in the battle | <i>A. N. III, 533.</i> |
| 51. Salih and other
Afghans | 997/1589 | Fatehpur
(Hanswa) | caused disturbance | Mir Murad and the
imperial army | surrendered | <i>A. N. III, 534-35.</i> |
| 52. Quli Qalmaq and
Kackena | 998/1590 | Purnea,
Tajpur
(in Bengal) | stirred up strife and
went about plundering | Jagat Singh | felt weak and fled | <i>A. N. III, 576-77.</i> |
| 53. Hindal | 998/1590 | Pakli
(Kashmir) | assumed sovereignty | Badakhshani Aimaqs of
the imperial army | was punished | <i>A. N. III, 577.</i> |
| 54. Husain, Muham-
mad, Abu Zaid
Ghazi and Lohan
Chak | 998/1590 | Kashmir | left the Court and rose
in revolt | imperial army | were punished | <i>A. N. III, 593.</i> |
| 55. Jam, Muzaffar
Gujarati and
others | 999/1591 | Gujarat | rebelled | Khat Azam Kokaltash | were repulsed and dis-
persed | <i>A. N. III, 593.</i> |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|-----------|--------------------------|--|--|--|---------------------------|
| 56. Nazar Be and others | 999/1591 | Gujarat and Malwa border | sedition | Khan Azam Kokaltash and Qalij Khan | his army dispersed, some generals slain and he was pardoned and sent to Bengal | <i>A. N.</i> III, 600. |
| 57. Jalala, Afridis and Yurak Zais | 1000/1592 | Tirah (Afghanistan) | stirring up strife | Qasim Khan | were having recourse to supplication | <i>A. N.</i> III, 607. |
| 58. Afghans | 1000/1592 | Bengal | rebelled | Man Singh | the rebels submitted | <i>A. N.</i> III, 615-16. |
| 59. Yaqoob, Darvesh Ali, and Adil Beg | 1000/1592 | Kashmir | stirring up strife | Husain Beg and Qazi Ali | imperialists unsuccessful | <i>A. N.</i> III, 617-18. |
| 60. Afghans | 1000/1592 | Afghanistan | rose in rebellion simultaneously | Zain Khan Kokaltash | were overpowered | <i>A. N.</i> III, 625. |
| 61. Muzaffar Gujarati and others | 1000/1592 | Gujarat | stirred up strife | Naurang Khan and Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi | muzaffar committed suicide on being captured | <i>A. N.</i> III, 628-30. |
| 62. Muhammad Zaman and Hazaras, jointly | 1002/1594 | Afghanistan | rebelled | Muhammad Hashim Khan | were suppressed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 625-30. |
| 63. Isa Khan and Masoom Khan Kabuli | 1004/1596 | Bengal | caused commotion | Himmat Singh deputed by Man Singh | were routed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 714. |
| 64. Bahadur (bin Muzafar Gujarati) and a Hindu zamindār | 1005/1597 | Gujarat | sedition | Raja Suraj Singh | were put to flight | <i>A. N.</i> III, 725. |
| 65. 'Some turbulent fellows . . .' | 1008/1600 | Kashmir | sedition | Ali Quli, Kalb Ali and other imperial officers | surrendered | <i>A. N.</i> III, 776. |
| 66. Jalala and Tarikis | 1008/1600 | Ghazni | raised disturbance (appropriating merchant's property) | Shadman Hazara and others | Jalala killed, peace restored | <i>A. N.</i> III, 776. |
| 67. Rebels | 1009/1600 | Asirgarh | defiance of imperial authority | 'Allami Abul Fazl | retreated and fled in confusion | <i>A. N.</i> III, 777-78. |
| 68. Shams Chak | 1009/1601 | Kashmir | sedition | imperial army | killed by a fall from the top of a hill | <i>A. N.</i> III, 784. |
| 69. Ali Khan (Ibn Wali Khan) | 1009/1601 | Bidar | raised disturbance | imperialists | submission not acceptable so they fled | <i>A. N.</i> III, 787. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|-----------|---------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 70. Shuja (son of Masoom Khan Kabuli), Sa'id and others | 1009/1601 | Bengal | rose in revolt | Raja Man Singh | surrendered | A. N. III, 787. |
| 71. Sarwar Habashi, Muhammad Khan Zangi, zamindār of Handia and others | 1009/1601 | Telingana | high prices of provision caused discontentment among the imperial soldiers, the evil doers gathered and raised disturbance | 'Allami Abul Fazl | crushed | A. N. III, 792. |
| 72. Son of Shah Ali | 1009/1601 | — | The Telingana commotion, desertion of the imperial soldiers, capture of Ali Mardan Bahadur and the marching off of Akbar enabled him to rise in revolt | 'Allami Abul Fazl | was curbed | A. N. III, 793-94. |
| 73. Waknu | 1009/1601 | near Ahmadnagar | became rebellious | Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan | submitted | A. N. III, 794-95. |
| 74. Son* of Shah Ali with some malcontents | 1010/1601 | Telingana | rose in revolt | imperialists | had to agree to sign a peace treaty | A. N. III, 800. |
| 75. Sons of Shah Ali and Malik Barid | 1010/1602 | Ahamadnagar | sedition | 'Allami Abul Fazl | crushed | A. N. III, 805. |
| 76. Khudawand Khan the Abyssinian | 1010/1602 | — | stirred up strife | Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan | crushed | A. N. III, 806. |
| 77. Jalal of Kahakra | 1010/1602 | Bengal | spread disorder | Khwaja Baqar Ansari and Maha Singh | surrendered to Man Singh | A. N. III, 808-09. |
| 78. Raju | 1011/1602 | Ahmadnagar | contumacy | Khan-i-Khanan's general Hasan Qalij | submitted after defeat and left the country | A. N. III, 810. |
| 79. Ahad Dad, with the tribes of Afridis, Panni, Suri and Urak Zai | 1011/1602 | Tirah (Afghanistan) | stirred up strife | Hasan Qalij | defeated and left the country | A. N. III, 814-15. |
| 80. Chak tribesmen | 1013/1604 | Kashmir | sedition | Muhammed Quli | sustained defeat then submitted | A. N. III, 835-36. |

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| III. Rebellions of the Hindu zamindārs | | | | | | |
| 1. Bahaduriya (a Rajput tribe of rebellious nature) | 966/1585 | Hatkant (near Agra) | revolted | Adham Khan | were chastised | <i>A. N.</i> II, 78. |
| 2. Raja Ganesh <i>Zamindār</i> | 969/1562 | in the hills lying between Beas and Sutlej (in the Punjab) | wished to extend his territory | Khan Kalan and Qutubuddin Muhammad Khan | sent to the Court, was pardoned | <i>A. N.</i> II, 169. |
| 3. <i>Zamindār</i> of Dungarpur | 981/1573 | Dungarpur (in Gujarat) | became presumptuous | Man Singh | crushed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 40. |
| 4. Rai Narain <i>Zamindār</i> (with Ikhtiar-ul-mulk) | 981/1573 | Idar (in Gujarat) | sedition | Khan Azam | suppressed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 41. |
| 5. Madhukar Bundela | 981/1573 | Urchha | sedition | Saiyads of Barha | was overpowered, defeated | <i>A. N.</i> III, 77-78. |
| 6. Chander Sen | 981/1574 | Siwanah (in Ajmer) | became presumptuous | Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Rai Singh and others | crushed, Chander Sen submitted | <i>A. N.</i> III, 80-81. |
| 7. Chander Sen and others | 981/1574 | Jodhpur | — | Tayyib Khan, Saiyad Beg Toqbai, Subhan Quli Turk, Khurram, Azmat Khan and Siwa Das | submitted | <i>A. N.</i> III, 110-11, 158-59, 167-68. |
| 8. Gajpati <i>Zamindār</i> with Junaid | 984/1576 | Arrah (in Bihar) | spread disorder | Shahbaz Khan | Junaid slain, Gajpati disappeared, treaty signed | <i>A. N.</i> III, 168-69, 130, 185-86. |
| 9. Taj Khan Jalari and Deora Rai of Sirohi | 984/1576 | Jalor and Sirohi | contumacy | — | suppressed, the Rai fled | <i>A. N.</i> III, 189-90, 196-97. |
| 10. Rai Narain Das | 984/1576 | Idar (in Gujarat) | refractoriness | Qutubuddin Khan, Raja Bhagwandas and Man Singh | was chastised and the area cleared of the rebels | <i>A. N.</i> III, 191. |
| 11. Dauda the <i>Zamindār</i> | 985/1577 | Bundi | raised disturbance | Zain Khan Kokaltash | sustained defeat, the fort of Bundi was captured | <i>A. N.</i> III, 201-08. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
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| 12. Raja Madhukar | 985/1577 | Urchha | turbulence and disobedience | Sadiq Khan | submitted, was sent to the Court | A. N. III, 228-33, 261. |
| 13. Bhupat Chauhan | 987/1579 | Etawah | spread disorder | Azam Khan Kokaltash | was slain | A. N. III, 278-79. |
| 14. Dilpat Ujjainiya | 988/1580 | Jagdishpur (in Bihar) | became presumptuous | Azam Khan Kokaltash | was overpowered, Jagdishpur plundered | A. N. III, 323. |
| 15. Son of Raja Bihari Mal | 988/1580 | Luni (in the Punjab) | became presumptuous | Dastan Khan | crushed | A. N. III, 326-27. |
| 16. Madhu Singh <i>Zamindār</i> | 994/1586 | Orissa | refractoriness | imperial army | submitted | A. N. III, 479. |
| 17. Hamir Jeet <i>Zamindār</i> | 994/1586 | Malwa | presumptuousness | Azam Khan Kokaltash | was slain | A. N. III, 490-91. |
| 18. Raja Basu | 994/1586 | the Punjab | refractoriness | Husain Beg, Sheikh Umri and others | frightened, so submitted | A. N. III, 510. |
| 19. Kala Sisudia | 994/1586 | Fatehpur Sikri | absconded from the capital | Salahuddin and Ram Chand | killed in battle | A. N. III, 511-12. |
| 20. Madhukar | 995/1587 | Urchha | became presumptuous | Shahabuddin Khan | fled from the battle-field | A. N. III, 526-27. |
| 21. A Hindu <i>zamindār</i> in concert with Muzaffar Arghun | 996/1588 | Gujarat | became turbulent | Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakshi | escaped capture, their country plundered | A. N. III, 530. |
| 22. Puranmal Gidhar | 998/1590 | Bihar | became self willed and presumptuous | Raja Man Singh | surrendered | A. N. III, 576. |
| 23. Shaikawati Rajputs | 998/1590 | Mirtha and Koil | spreading disorder | Shah Quli | submitted and was forgiven | A. N. III, 577. |
| 24. Jam (Satr Sal), Muzaffar Gujarati and others | 999/1591 | Gujarat | sedition and insubordination | Khan Azam | repulsed and fled | A. N. III, 593. |
| 25. Raja of Jammu and others | 1001/1592 | northern mountains | became refractory | Qalij Khan's son and Zain Khan Koka | suppressed | A. N. III, 631. |
| 26. Raja Basu and other <i>zamindārs</i> | 1005/1597 | Mau | sedition | Mirza Rustam | strongholds occupied and area plundered | A. N. III, 726. |
| 27. Dilpat Ujjainiya | 1007/1599 | Hajipur | presumptuousness | — | submitted | A. N. III, 750. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
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| 28. Rulers of Mau and Jammu | 1010/1602 | Kashmir and the Punjab | spread disorder | Hasan Qalij and Jamil Beg | Jamil Beg with fifty others was slain in battle | A. N. III, 803, 804-05. |
| 29. <i>Zamindārs</i> : Kadar and Magh | 1012/1603 | Bengal | contumacy | Raja Man Singh | sustained defeat | A. N. III, 824. |
| Revolts by Miscellaneous Parties | | | | | | |
| 1. Villagers of Athagarh | 969/1562 | Sakit near Agra | their turbulence and refractoriness | the Emperor | crushed | A. N. II, 163-65. |
| 2. Sundary malcontents | 974/1567 | Allahabad and Benaras | stirred up strife | the Emperor | crushed | A. N. II, 296-97. |
| 3. General public | 985/1577 | Agra district | spread disorder | Qasim Khan | submitted | A. N. III, 231. |
| 4. Mir Muizz-ul-Mulk and Maulana Muhammad Yazdi | 988/1581 | Jaunpur | raised tumult ; sedition | Azad Khan Turkman | sent to court in chains | A. N. III, 309. |
| 5. Rana Partap | 992/1584 | Chittor | spreading disturbance | Jagannath | not decisive | A. N. III, 759-61. |
| 6. Some officials and village leaders of Bir | 1007/1599 | Berar | rose in rebellion | 'Allami Abul Fazl and Sher Khwaja | were routed | A. N. III, 759-61. |

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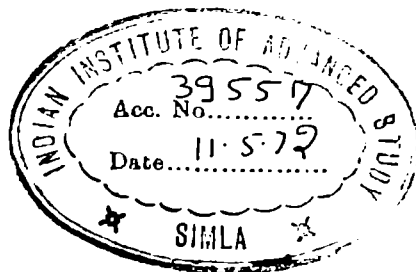
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