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# UNIT 20 URBAN CENTRES IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

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## 20.1 INTRODUCTION

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Studies on urbanisation and urban centres during the medieval period have largely remained a neglected and relatively less explored field. We do have several studies done on specific towns, cities and *qasbas*. But these got limited to ‘eulogies’ and biographies. One can hardly put it in the category of ‘urban history’. Nonetheless, they simply cannot be brushed aside for they reflect, as S.C. Misra puts it, ‘what the town was in the minds of its citizens.’ Nonetheless, one must differentiate between an ‘urban history’ and an ‘urban biography’. The former relates and opens up enquiry into critical issues – subject of course to modification or rejection.

There is also hardly much work done to study the pattern of linkages between the towns, townships, and villages within the region as well as across regions.

Medieval cities are generally seen as ‘parasitic’ depending largely on countryside, extracting large surplus to its own advantage while hardly giving back anything in return. Yet vibrant commercial activities provided a town a distinct character.

In the course of our discussion certain issues are worth attending to: whether towns were mere extension of a village? If partly the manufacturing was done in the village why did the populace have to migrate to the cities? Which section of rural population was subject to migration? Whether such migrations were seasonal? And above all, what was the relationship between the urban and rural population? Whether they totally dissociated themselves or rural-urban continuum was there? If so then what was its nature? What role did the state play in the growth of urban centres? It is very difficult to provide answers to all these questions in certain terms. Nonetheless, all these issues are important to view the growth of urban centres and the process of urbanisation in medieval period.

In our course MHI-01 we have dealt in detail with the growth of urban centres in the context of medieval world. This Unit will be useful as a background to the present Unit.

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## 20.2 QASBA, CITIES, PORTS AND FORTS

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In modern times an urban centre is defined on the basis of density and size of population. 1951 census has defined a town possessing a density of 1000 persons per square miles and minimum size devised was 5000 persons. However, barring a few average estimates made by European travellers pertaining to big cities data available to us for medieval period could hardly subscribe to above criteria. Fray Sebastian Manrique (1629-43) for Patna and Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723) for Surat have estimated the population of both the cities at approximately 200,000. English factors' estimate for the town of Samana, *suba* Delhi was 11,000 persons. Henri Pirenne has defined a medieval town as possessing a population engaged in 'industry and commerce'; had legal constitution and institution and was an 'administrative' centre with a 'fort'. The Islamic towns are characterised with possessing a *Jama Masjid* and a 'permanent market'. Medieval Indian towns can also be defined in terms of market centres; centres where resided a sizable population making a living not off agriculture but off other modes of production.

Medieval Persian sources refer to *balda/shahr* (city) and *qasba* (small town, township) to differentiate between a large and a small town. Similarly, big ports were differentiated from the small ones by addressing them *bandar* and *bara* respectively. In south India also such hierarchy of towns is clearly evident. *Pattinam* were 'emporia' while *valarapuram* were prosperous coastal towns. In between existed *nagarams* which could loosely be equated with *qasbas* of the north and Deccan, nonetheless possessed district features.

### *Qasbas*

Nizamuddin Ahmad in his *Tabaqat i Akbari* has defined *qasba* as an administrative centre, a *pargana* headquarter. Nizamuddin Ahmad clearly differentiates between a *qasba* and a *shahr* (city). As per his estimates there existed 3200 *qasbas* and 120 towns (*shahr*) in Akbar's empire. If we take Nizamuddin's definition then by 1647 the number of *qasbas* rose to 4350 and later in early 18th century (c. 1720) their number increased to 4716. However, it was not necessary that a *pargana* should have only one *qasba*. In *pargana* Barsana (western Rajasthan) there existed twenty *qasbas* in early 18th century. In western Rajasthan *qasbas* generally surrounded by forts (*garhi*) or fortresses (*garh*) with town-walls.

*Qasbas* in the medieval context were largely an extension of a village. A large village with a market centre possessed all potentials to turn into a *qasba*. In Barsana (western Rajasthan) villages Harigarh, Kundi, and Kakurmi reported to be villages in the 17th century elevated to *qasbas* in the early 18th century records. Sometimes, villages got attached to a fort on account of the protection they received and developed into *qasbas*. But the first category of *qasbas* was more common. In western Rajasthan Daulatganj was established as a market village annexing lands from Rojhari in AD 1785. Such a market town when declined form part of the *qasba* as a village to which it originally belonged. Many *qasbas* also emerged out of market towns. *Qasbas* with suffix *ganj* were largely 'market' towns where weekly markets (*hats*) and fairs (*melas*) were also held. Such *qasbas*, however, emerged more prominently from mid 18th century onwards in western Rajasthan. B. L. Bhadani and Sato's studies on the growth of *qasbas* in western Rajasthan suggest that during the 18th century growth of market towns from villages, etc. continued unabated. But during the 19th century the pace slowed down.

The important point here is what makes a town 'exclusive' and 'distinct' from a *qasba*. Satish Chandra has analysed that the connotation of a *qasba* varied from period to period and differed from region to region. According to him during the Sultanate period a *qasba* was a village with a fort. By Mughal period it came to be referred to as a village with a market. These centres not only served as market for agricultural produce but were also 'centres' of craft production. However, Sunil Kumar has argued that during the 13th century they did not perform the role of 'market' centres. Instead they were 'fortified encampments' and not always 'associated' with a large town (*shahr*). But we do get references to commercial functions of a *qasba*, like Baran, etc. It were at these *qasbas* that agricultural products were disposed of.

Sometimes *qasbas* developed around a *sarai*. Traders and travellers used to travel during our period on horseback or carts. The maximum journey they could perform in a day was 10-12 miles. After that they required a resting place. This led to establishment of *sarais*. Some of these *sarais* (Mughal *sarai*, etc.) later emerged as *qasbas* or small towns.

Nobles also contributed their bit. We get numerous references to mandis and orchards established by them. In certain cases these mandis developed as *qasbas*. Jaisinghpura Jihanabad (Delhi) was initially a *mandi* (market-place) and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Rajasthani records its recorded as a *qasba*.

### ***Nagaram***

In south India *nagaram* were the market centres and could be equated with *qasbas* of the north and the Deccan. There was the presence of at least one *nagaram* (market centre) in a *nadu*. Coastal towns depended much for its supplies on hinter lands. *Nagarams* were able to link surrounding villages. Here itinerant merchants 'negotiated' the local produce for cash or commodities not produced locally. Here local merchants probably bought commodities in wholesale from itinerant merchants and then distributed it in retail at local level.

Interestingly, *nagarams* were at time developed by administrative order. In one of the instances *nadu* and *nagaram* met to convert a local village into a market town. It worked as collecting and redistribution centre and was the chief link between the local merchants/producers and the itinerant merchants.

### **Ports and Forts**

Port towns were the chief centres of vibrant urban life during the medieval period. W.H. Moreland has differentiated Indian seaports from the European ports of the India Ocean. Ports had a peculiar relationship with the hinterlands. They depended largely for their survival on hinterlands, they too in turn survived on the prosperity of their feeder town/s.

In Maharashtra on account of constant warfare and disturbed conditions forts occupied unique place as a) royal centres and posts for protection of urban centres and trade, and b) places of distribution of foodgrains in the markets. At Shivaji's capital fort Raigad there existed a *peth* of Pachad where traders and merchants converged and provided supplies to the fort.

These forts were generally situated either on the highway or trade routes or else near the towns and ensured protection to the nearby urban centres resulting in

expansion of trade and commerce in the region. Forts like Shivneri, Purandar, Raigad (Mahad), Panhala served as guarding posts, and offered protection to the town like Pune (Shivneri), Junnar (Purandar), and Kolhapur (Panhala). Even forts like Khanderi, Undari, Kulaba provided protection to the port towns. However, urban complexes on hill forts soon broke down once the Mughals occupied Raigad and focus shifted to the urban centres like Poona, Satara, etc.

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## 20.3 RURAL - URBAN CONTINUUM

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Pelsaert (c. 1626) mentions that Indian towns were merely an extension of a village. He elaborates that Agra was merely a village in the jurisdiction of Bayana and suddenly grew into a city. The reason he attributes to its rise was that emperor Akbar 'chose it for his residence in the year 1566'. Here my purpose is not to provide a critique of Pelsaert's statement for Agra already emerged as capital town under Sikandar Lodi. The important point, nonetheless, is his observation pertaining to the 'rural' base of medieval Indian towns. Being predominantly an agrarian economy, rural base of towns cannot simply be ignored. Even urban upper strata, on account of their land based income, had rural base. This rural-urban continuum remained one of the chief features in the growth of urban centres during the medieval period. It carried the same socio-economic 'unities and attitudes', what S.C. Misra calls 'peasant urbanites'. He argues that 'the presence of this rural-urban continuum retarded the growth and emergence of features/factors that could be designated as 'purely urban'.

It is generally argued that medieval Indian towns were 'parasitic'. Towns were largely depended upon countryside for food supply and raw material. However, in return Indian villages were hardly receiving much. Irfan Habib has argued, '...since the village had few claims upon anyone outside its limits, its own inhabitants' needs had to be met largely from within itself, and it had therefore to function as a self-sufficient unit.' However, Chetan Singh has emphasised the existence of a 'symbiotic' relation between the town and the country and 'town country sphere' was not an isolated self-sufficient entity. He argues that in Punjab towns were largely developed in the agriculturally developed zones. The decline in demand of raw material (which the village were the supplier to the urban centre) equally affected the cultivators.

Henri Pirenne has emphasised that while towns were production centres, villages were mere suppliers of raw materials and food stuffs. His model presents towns as mere 'exploiters.' However, medieval Indian villages were also manufacturing centres. Textiles and indigo were produced at villages. We have discussed in Unit 18 the presence of exclusive weavers' villages; various villages were exclusively involved in dyeing and beaching in Gujarat. K.N. Chaudhuri's study on textile industry in the 17th century shows that while textile production was town centric in northern and central India, south India and Bengal presented a contrast and it spread over throughout the region.

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## 20.4 GROWTH OF TOWNS

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The beginning of our period saw rapid growth of urban centres in north India. The process got accelerated later in the 16-17th centuries. It is interesting to find that the growth of urbanisation was much faster under the Mughals than in British India. Irfan Habib and Shireen Moosvi have calculated the population growth over 15 per cent in Mughal India as against 13 per cent growth rate in England around 1600.

Muhammad Habib in his introduction to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Vol. II has put forward the thesis that Turkish conquest led to 'urban revolution' in north India. He argues that prior to them the higher classes appropriated the cities and towns exclusively to themselves while the workers lived in unprotected villages and in settlements outside the city walls. With Turks such barriers were broken. 'When the Turks entered the cities, the Hindu low-caste workers entered along with them. And they came to stay... The cities under the new regime were developing into thriving centres of industry and commerce. Thus, according to Muhammad Habib this 'revolution' became possible: a) because the new ruling elite was urban/town based. b) The Turks succeeded in emancipating the working class. This way they brought a sea change in the overall growth and pattern of town life. However, Irfan Habib has expressed his doubts whether at all the city workers enjoyed greater degree of emancipation under the Turks.

On the basis of 'dominant growth factor' one can identify medieval cities as religious, economic and political. The growth of political cities largely depended upon the status of the political power from which it derived its strength. Religious and economic cities were comparatively more 'secure' and stable. V.D. Divekar calls religious cities 'eternal' for one rarely finds sudden rise or decline of such cities. Cities that derived their strength from trade and manufactures largely depended on their 'hinterlands' or 'trade routes', or 'ports'. Any change in their configuration definitely affected the growth of that particular city but, since they were largely self sustaining survived much longer on account of their inner strength.

The most fragile were the cities deriving their strength from political patronage. No sooner was such patronage withdrawn, the decline was 'inevitable'. Population of such political cities largely consisted of ruling elites, and administrators. These were 'consuming classes.' V.D. Divekar mentions that political cities were organised in an 'inverted pyramid' where manufacturing classes were at the bottom. He argues that, 'the political city always faced the danger of being reduced to a small town or village as a result of some untoward political upheaval... The death of a political city was much more sudden as compared to a very slow passing away of an industrial or commercial city.' The foundation of the city of Vijayanagara was laid on a desolate tract. It saw unprecedented growth and reached its zenith in the 16th century under the royal patronage. However, soon after the defeat of Vijayanagar ruler in the battle of Talikota (1565), it was all in ruins. Italian traveller Caesaro Federici, who visited the city immediately after (1567) refers to the desolate state of Vijayanagara with houses uninhabited by people and largely 'the city was the abode of beasts and tigers.' Similarly, Bijapur, the Adil Shahi capital, emerged on the debris of Vijayanagara, reduced to a small town soon after the rise of Maratha power in the region. Pune achieved the status of a vibrant city under the Marathas from a small village once the Marathas made it their chief centre of power. It was about to face the same fate had the British not made it their second capital of the Bombay presidency.

K.N. Chaudhuri has divided the Mughal cities on the basis of their functional hierarchy – *primate cities* – these influenced the whole empire; region cities – nodal to a region; and provincial and district towns – their area of influence and operations being the respective provinces and districts (*parganas*). He puts all the capital towns – Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Patna, Burhanpur and Ahmedabad in the category of *primate cities*. For him the 'economic role of these categories may not necessarily differ.' He elaborates that, 'At the height of the Mughal imperial power the main function of these *primate cities* was political; their strategic or military significance was only secondary. But there was an additional string of garrison towns, such as Gwalior,



Allahabad, Chunar, Aurangabad, and Junnar which provided the military sinews of the empire...(these) satellite primate cities functioned as central places exchanging political information.'

Fortunes of the city of Sirhind depict the growth and decline of a strategic town. Sirhind rose to prominence with the decline of Pakpattan-Fazilka-Samana route. Once the Delhi-Lahore route gained prominence Sirhind occupied an important place and no sooner achieved the status of second largest town after Lahore in Punjab. In Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq's scheme of defence Sirhind occupied great strategic importance. Firuz Tughluq separated Sirhind from the shiq of Samana and got the fort strengthened and repaired. He also dug-up a canal and brought that upto Sirhind. Sirhind was also strategically placed for Muhammad Tughluq's northern campaigns. Its proximity to the hills also placed it strategically at key point for Chinese and Tibetan goods. However, soon after the decline of the Mughal power Sirhind also declined particularly with the rise of Sikh power in the region.

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## 20.5 URBANISATION: SOME VIEWS

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R. Redfield and M.B. Singer maintain that generally speaking Indian cities emerged out of political, administrative, and cultural concerns and their commercial and industrial functions were 'insignificant'.

Hamida Khatoon Naqvi has highlighted the importance of political stability in the growth of medieval Indian towns. She argues that, 'The highly centralized Indian states with base at Lahore, Delhi or Agra worked to foster viability and endurance in urban concentrations. The rise and fall of medieval Indian towns corresponded largely to the vigour or weakness of the central political power.' Lahore enjoyed important place as early as Ghaznavid period. It had a fort. Sultan used to conduct his durbar here. However, in Firuz Tughluq's scheme Lahore was practically out; as a result the city was in ruins. During his period Hissar Firuza, Samana, Ludhiana, Bahlolpur, Sultanpur and Sirhind flourished and patronised by him. But under the Mughals Lahore again revived its past glory. Lahore almost became the second capital of the Mughals. Hamida Khatoon Naqvi emphasises that on account of peace and tranquility that was achieved under the Mughals, Lahore and other towns of Punjab received unprecedented growth.

K.N. Chaudhuri has focused upon the 'complementarity of economic nodality and political attributes.' He defines commercial towns of Mughal period as a case of 'flag following the trade.' For him 'political skills were essential to preserve their economic interests.'

Satish Chandra, however, argues that the political integration resulting in unprecedented growth of towns is actually over emphasised. He questions, if that was so then why after the Tughluq period following the disintegration of the political power, did not result in the decline of towns? Satish Chandra, instead, links the growth of towns to agricultural expansion. He argues, taking the case of Firuz Shah Tughluq's reign when the Sultanate shrank to half its size, that the period is marked by emergence of many new towns. As a result of Muhammad Tughluq's network of canals and impacts of new technology (Persian wheel, etc.) and expansion of horticulture all this led to the growth of agrarian sector. He has emphasised that we cannot simply dismiss the Afghans as 'merely warriors'. Instead, unlike the Turks, Afghans settled in the countryside suggest that they must have had something more to do with agriculture. He applies the same argument to the 18th century as well. He

argues that evidence pertaining to the decline of cities during the 18th century comes largely from literary traditions (*shahr-i Ashob*). There is no doubt that Delhi faced a decline but only as a chief administrative centre. In 1772 Delhi is mentioned by Shah Nawaz Khan as a flourishing city filled with all sorts of crafts. Dargah Quli Khan in his *Muraqqa-i Delhi* speaks about the grandeur of markets of Shahjahanabad city. Chetan Singh has also emphasised the growth of urban centres, particularly manufacturing centres in well developed agricultural zones away from the main trade routes.

Irfan Habib however, relates 'urban decline' to 'agrarian crisis'. Mughal cities declined in the 18th century because the existence of towns and cities depended on agricultural surplus. K.N. Chaudhuri also accepts that the 'economic existence (of the cities) depended on the ability of the countryside to produce a surplus and the way in which the latter was distributed'.

Henri Pirenne has linked growth of medieval towns to long distance trade. In the Indian context R.S. Sharma in his well researched monograph *Indian Feudalism* also argues that the growth and decline of long distance trade resulted in the growth and decline of the towns during early medieval period (for details see Block 2, Unit 11), although other historians have expressed doubts about the thesis of urban decline.

I.P. Gupta while denying any significant role of administrative and military factors in the growth of urbanisation and urban growth argues that 'administrative and military influence in all the major cities and towns remained subdued to economic activities (in Gujarat).' His estimates reveal that roughly 80-90 per cent of the activities in the large urban centres in Gujarat were 'economic'. There is no instance where a 'fort' assumed the status of an 'urban centre.' Out of the 33 forts reported in Gujarat in the 17th century only 9 were located at the big and small towns. Even 'religious' and 'educational' centres were predominantly manufacturing centres. His study shows that Gujarat towns were largely performing the role of either manufacturing centres, or collection centres, and distribution centres, or else were port towns. Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach, Cambay performed such multifarious activities. *Qasbas* (townships) were largely the collecting centres and served as hinterland towns for onward transfer, and distribution. Mostly the towns were located at 'nodal' points of communication, or on important land routes. Hardly towns emerged on account of being administrative centre. Instead, it assumed the place of an administrative centre on account of its being important as 'commercial' centre. He points out that the rate of growth was faster at manufacturing centres and larger towns; smaller towns developed at much slow a pace. I.P. Gupta elaborates that the process of urbanisation in Gujarat was at a much faster pace than other parts of the country during the 17th century.

Chetan Singh has also emphasised the economic base of the urban centres. Though some towns derived their strength as important administrative centres their importance as thriving manufacturing centre as well as market and transit points cannot be ignored. He argues that though Lahore was an important administrative town, it derived its strength 'as a centre of considerable manufacturing and commercial activity'. It was situated on the major land route providing connectivity across India to Middle East and Iran. Its economy was 'not entirely dependent upon the Mughal ruling class or upon imperial patronage. He highlights the decentralising tendency of the urban centres in the Punjab region that, 'No single town was economically important enough to control the urban artisanal production of the region.' Such growth according to him, was instrumental in 'the incorporation of hitherto peripheral areas into the urban network.'

Though K.N. Chaudhuri has emphasised the main function of the 'primate' cities was political, to assume the status of 'primate' city the components he speaks of are largely economic – favourable geographical location; convergence of long distance trade routes, favourite markets, etc.

Nihar Ranjan Ray and Arun Das Gupta have linked the rise of Islam to urbanisation in Bengal. However, Aniruddha Ray argues that, 'the thesis of Islamisation and revival of Bengal's overseas trade is difficult to accept, for Bhakhtiyar Khalji's attack on Bengal occurred in early 13th century. But by 13th century already one finds the presence of many flourishing towns like Harikela, Nadia, Vikrampur, Bakla, Lakshmanavati. Aniruddha Ray attributes two major factors to the rise of urban centres during the 12-17th centuries in Bengal: a) Decline of central power during the 15th century saw the rise of many semi-autonomous principalities/kingdoms, that led to rise of a number of new urban centres. Champaner, Sonargaon, Pandua, Lakhnauti, Chittagong, etc. b) Changes in the riverine courses also resulted in growth and decline of towns. Growth of Pandua is attributed to change in the course of Mahananda that began to flow close by. Similarly, Lakhnauti declined because river Ganga moved much towards west, Gaur also faced the same fate once Bhagirathi moved further westwards.

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## 20.6 MORPHOLOGY OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN

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K.M. Ashraf has stressed upon the changing morphology of towns during the Turkish period. According to him the character of towns gradually started changing. To the old, pre-Turkish towns new features were added – mosques, tombs, domes, etc. K.N. Chaudhuri has also emphasised that 'the architectural expression of Islam in India were typically centred on the mosque adjoining markets, the great public square and the palace.' He argues that, Islamic character of the North Indian towns cannot be questioned. In the south and in parts of western India the Hindu influence and ideas were, of course, still strong.' European travellers frequently refer to lofty gates, walls, mosques, gardens and hammams as characteristics of a 'Moorish' town.

Another feature of town-building activities in our period was the emergence of planned and walled cities. Firuz Shah Tughluq was the first among the Delhi Sultans who undertook massive town-building projects. He laid the foundations of as many as 17 cities and forts. Though Delhi all through its history witnessed construction of many 'capitals' within its territorial limits, prior to Firuz, who laid the foundation of Firuz Shah Kotla, Siri (1303, Alauddin Khalji), Kilughari (1286-87, Kaiqubad, grandson of Balban) and Tughluqabad, (1322, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq) were built. The successive capitals laid down in and around Delhi in the Mughal period were – Dinpanah (Humayun), Purana Qila (Sher Shah) and finally the massive aggrandisement of Shahjahan – the Shahjahanabad. The common features of all these capital cities were: a) While choosing the site, efforts were made to ensure two major aspects – defence and water supply. Even as early as Firuz Shah's reign, while erecting his new hunting resort at Hissar Firuza, Firuz ensured water supply and brought the canal water down to Hissar Firuza from river Yamuna through his famous western Yamuna canal. One of the major reasons for abandoning Ghiyasuddin Tughluq's Tughluqabad to his (Firuz's) new abode (Firuz Shah Kotla) appears to be scarcity of water in that region. Shahjahan, while building Shahjahanabad, also ensured proper supply of water. Muhammad Salih Kambo in his *Amal-i Salih* records Shahjahan's main reason behind shifting his capital from Fatehpur Sikri/Agra to Delhi was the hot weather and the scarcity of water. Shahjahan not only re-excavated Firuz Shah's western Yamuna canal but also got it extended another 30



*kurohs* (75 miles) and laid out beautiful channels running through the middle of the Chandni Chowk leading inside the fort. b) All the officially commenced cities/capitals were planned and provision for their proper garrisoning were ensured. They possessed wide streets, *bazaars*/shopping centres, etc. within the fort complex.

Apart from imperial establishment inside the fort, a town consisted of houses of nobles, *bazaars*, *mandis*, merchant settlements, houses of artisans, labourers, mosques, temples, *sarais*, *dharamshalas*, crematoriums, gardens, tanks, wells, slaughter houses, etc. Generally, gardens, tanks, crematoriums, slaughter houses, etc. were not situated at the centre of the town.

#### Mughal Town Farrukhabad: AD 1714

In 1126 H. (Jan. 6<sup>th</sup> 1714-Dec. 27<sup>th</sup> 1714) the foundations were laid... All the buildings at Farrukhabad or Muhamdabad were built after the plans and under the care of Adam, mason... There were twelve gates to the city: 1, Kutb gate; 2, Paen gate (also called the Husaini gate); 3, Ganga gate; 4, Amethi gate; 5, Kadiri gate; 6, Lal gate; 7, Madar gate; 8, Dhalawal gate; 9, Khandiya gate; 10, Jasmai gate; 11, Taraen gate; 12, Mau gate... To seven of the gates, *sarais* were attached, so that from whatever direction a traveller arrived, he might find a convenient resting-place... At each gate were stationed five hundred armed men and two guns, one on each side. The Nawab's sons and slaves (Khanazads), who had troops in their pay, were allotted places of abode round the outer part of the city. It was intended that money-changers, merchants, and the working-classes generally should occupy the centre. The whole was surrounded by an earthen wall. For each of his twenty-two sons, Muhammad Khan built a brick fort and women's apartments. At each house he planted a private garden (Khana bagh) surrounded with a high wall Round the city wall was a ditch, with sloped and levelled sides, fifteen yards wide and thirty feet deep. So long as Muhammad Khan lived, this ditch was cleaned every day, and the gates were kept in good order.

Round the fort were the houses of the chelas who were on duty day and night. Many groves were planted, especially noteworthy were the Naulakha and Bihar Baghs beneath the fort, which did not contain any mango trees, but consisted entirely of guava, ber, custard-apple and orange trees. The Nawab's sons and chelas had orders to plant groves outside the city wherever they pleased. The soil is very favorable to the mango and it comes to great perfection; the water-melons are also very large and sweet and plentiful...

Two entire villages, Bhikampura and Deothan, were included within the walls, besides portions of other villages. It was intended that each trade should occupy a separate bazar, hence we have the quarters named after trades such as Kasarhatta (braziers), Pasarhatta (druggists), Sarafa (money-changers), Lohai (iron-mongers), Nunhai (salt-dealers), Khandhai (sugar-merchants) and so forth. Other quarters were set aside for particular castes, such as Khatrana (for the Khattris), Mochiana (for shoe-makers), Koliana (for Hindu weavers, Sadhwara (for Sadhs), Bamanpuri (for Brahmans), Julahpura (for Mussulman weavers), Rastogi muhalla, Agarwal muhalla, Kaghzi muhalla (for paper-makers), Mahajanpura, Bangashpura, Khatakupura, Sayuadpura, and soon.

S.M. Waliullah, *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad*, William Irvine, 'The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad – a Chronicle (1713-1857)', in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1878, pp.278-280.

A town was divided into a number of *kuchas* (streets) and *mohallas*. In each such *mohalla* people of different crafts, profession and caste used to reside. Such division never appear to be on the basis of religious affinity. Likewise, each street (*kucha*) was also famous for the sale of specific crafts/commodities. *Chawri bazaar* in Delhi (Shahjahanabad) still possesses shops of copper and brass utensils and *paiwalan* area near Jami mosque is famous for sale of fire works.

**Chandni Chowk, Shahjahanabad**

Chandni Chowk is the most beautiful and profusely decorated passage in the city. It is a centre of recreation for the pleasure seekers and a gallery of rareties for the interested buyers. Displayed in the shops and ready for sale are varieties of cloth and other goods. The nooks and corners are replete with unique objects procured from different parts of the world. The paths are broad as a wide forehead and bountiful like the blessings of God. The canal is full of good and clean water and seems as though it is flowing in paradise. Rubies and gems from *Badakhshan* adorn the shops and their counters abound with pearls and precious stones. The proprietors sit contentedly on one side of the passage while their subordinates carry out the daily trade. On the other side are cloth merchants becoming loudly in their sing-song voice to attract the attention of all the customers. All day long they carry on a one sided conversation irrespective of whether anyone is interested or not. The *Attars* selling varieties of perfumes and essence carry out a brisk trade with the help of their agents and smooth talk. Their perfumes send vapours to the minds of its lovers who come to buy them without any beckoning on the part of the shopkeepers. The heart is completely taken in by the swords, these arched and glistening objects, but one should take care lest the hand is allowed to slip on the sharp blade. On beholding these snake like daggers one wishes the enemy were close for attack and it is better to keep some distance from them. All the self control one imposes here on oneself melts away at the sight of the China crockery and a variety of colourful and gilded *huqqas* of glass. Bowls, jugs and exquisite wine cups are displayed in the shops which attract even the aged pious to savour a drink. Men can be found standing on the roads selling such a range of choicest clothing that the wares of the shopkeepers are dull by comparison. Perhaps even the houses of the nobility do not have such things. Besides, in the evening when the sun spreads its rosy hue, the vivid and the kaleidoscopic scene which meets the eye is not to be found even while strolling in the gardens.

Around the *chowk* are many *Qahwa khanas* where eloquent poets are to be found reciting their verses and eliciting praise from those present. The nobles, irrespective of their status are unable to suppress their desire of taking a stroll here. The assortment of rare and unique goods available in this market cannot be bought at one time even if the treasury of *Qarun* was (son of Moses) at one's disposal.

A son of a [deceased] nobleman wanted to stroll in this *chowk*. His mother, convincing him of her inability (to give more money) handed him an amount of a lakh of rupees from the wealth left behind by his father. [She said] that rare things cannot be purchased from this *chowk* for this small sum, but, however as he is inclined to go there, some essential items of his choice can be obtained.

Dargah Quli Khan, *Muraqqa-i Delhi*, (1739-40) (tr.) Chander Shekhar and Shama Mitra Chenoy, Delhi, 1989, pp. 23, 25.

These *kuchas* were either named after a prominent personality or a craft, i.e., *gandhi gali* (perfumers) or *kucha-i-Bulaqi Begum*, *kucha Batasha wala* (still known as *batashe wali gali* (all in Shahjahanabad, Delhi).

*Mohallas* also named after a prominent individual or a craft – *mohalla churigaran* (bangle sellers), *mohalla dhobiwala* (washer man). Some were even named after a prominent symbol of the area, e.g., *chah-i rahat* (well with a Persian wheel) (all in Shahjahanabad, Delhi).

Large markets were known as *chowk* (e.g., Chandni Chowk in Delhi); while smaller markets were known as *bazaar*, e.g., *jauhari bazaar* (jewellers' market), etc. Similarly, *bazaars* with retail and wholesale commodities were known as *ganj* (e.g., Daryaganj, Delhi). *Dakakin* was the word used for shops, e.g., *dakakin bisatiyan* (general merchants). Similarly, *mandi* used to denote wholesale market, e.g., *Sabzi-mandi* (vegetable market), *mandi gulfarosh* (flower market). *Katras* were

wholesale markets or place used for godowns/stocks. Cities also had *chhattas*. Literally, it means covered lane but it used to denote a place where artisans of specific crafts used to reside – *chhatta momgaran* (wax makers); *chhatta maimaran* (masons), etc. Generally, probably for security considerations each *mohalla*, *katra* or *bazaar* used to have one entrance only.

In south India each *nagaram* consisted of *angadi* (permanent shops) where transactions were conducted on regular basis while *kadai* was a place where people from outside the ‘community’ brought goods for sale. At these market centres periodic fairs (*tavalam*) were organised.

A sort of hierarchy appears to have prevailed in terms of house complexes. A *haveli* was a house complex with an entrance (*deorhi*), courtyard (*sahan*), living quarters (*mahal saras*), *bala* and *jilau khana* (upper stories), offices (*diwan khana*). Some *havelis* even had *burj* (towers). Houses of lower echelons were simply termed as *makan* (houses). *Kothis* used to denote factories of European companies and at times upper class residences. We hardly find prevalence of usage like *banglas* and *manazil* in our period. It got popularised during British period.

There hardly existed the concept of private gardens, though gardens as pleasure resorts were built by the royalty and the elites. In Delhi itself we have several gardens (like Roshanara Bagh built by Aurangzeb’s sister) built by the aristocracy.

Largely the houses of the common populace at Patna, Delhi, Burhanpur described by foreign travellers consisted of thatch or bamboo. Dacca was filled with unassuming houses of carpenters and boat builders. However, Benaras was praised for its large and well built houses of bricks and stones.

#### Thevenot on the Houses of Surat

The Houses of this Town on which the Inhabitants have been willing to lay out Money, are flat as in Persia, and pretty well built; but they cost dear, because there is no Stone in the Countrey; seeing they are forc’d to make use of Brick and Lime, a great deal of Timber is employed, which must be brought from Daman by Sea, the Wood of the Countrey which is brought a great way off, being much dearer because of the Land-Carriage. Brick and Lime are very dear also; and one cannot build an ordinary House at less charge than five or six hundred Livers (= 400 mughal rupees) for Brick, and twice as much for Lime. The Houses are covered with Tiles made half round, and half an Inch thick; so that they look white when they are used, and do not last; and it is for that reason that the Bricklayers lay them double, and make them to keep whole. Canes which they call Bambous serve for Laths to fasten the Tiles to; and the Carpenters work which supports all this, is only made of pieces of round Timber. Such Houses as these are made for the Rich; but those the meaner sort of People live in, are made of Canes, and covered with the branches of Palm-trees.

Now, it is better building in the Indies in the time of Rain, then in the fair weather, because the heat is so great, and the force of the Sun so violent, when the Heavens are clear, that every thing dries before it be consolidated, and cracks and chinks in a trice; whereas Rain tempers that heat, and hindering the Operation of the Sun, the Mason-work has time to dry. When it rains the work-man have not more to do but to cover their work with Wax-cloth, but in dry weather there is no remedy; all that can be done is to lay wet Tiles upon the Work as fast as they have made an end of it; but they dry so soon, that they give but little help.

*The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp 22-23.

towns. As big towns as Surat possessed large floating population. Surat was filled with innumerable people at certain periods particularly at the time of ships ready to depart (January- March). Babur has also highlighted this very nature of Indian towns:

In Hindustan hamlets and villages ... are depopulated and set-up in a moment! If the people of a large town, one inhabited for years even, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day or a day and a half. On the other hand, if they fix their eyes on a place in which to settle ... they need not build houses or set-up walls. Khas grass abounds, wood is unlimited, huts are made and straight away there is a village or a town.

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Baburnama*, trs. A.S. Beveridge, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 487-88.

An important aspect related to the morphology of town is the distribution pattern of urban dwellers. Largely a town consisted of ruling class/administrators, manufacturers and artisans, traders, educationists, etc. At the urban centres middle classes constituted considerable in size and practically formed the backbone of the city life. Hamida Khatoon Naqvi argues that, "as long as the urban middle class pursued its various engagements and callings in peace and security, the towns flourished. But bereft of power and authority, this urban middle class sought refuge in the safer rural precincts if the signs of deterioration in law and order situation surfaced in the towns." (for their contribution in cultural fields see our Course MHI-06). G.D. Sharma's study suggests that for western Rajasthan apart from ruling elite largely Rajputs and Muslims, *Mahajans*, *Banias*, and *Kayasthas* also formed important section of urban morphology. However, artisans hardly enjoyed higher status and largely clubbed in the category of lower castes. Among these artisans *julahas* (Muslim) and *bunkars* (Hindus) weavers constituted a sizable chunk. Next in strength were shoe makers. Besides them, there were *sunars* (goldsmiths), *lohars* (ironsmiths), *telis* (oil pressers), etc. This pattern suggests the growing concentration of textile production in the urban centres. Interestingly, G.D. Sharma's study shows that outsiders, even the *sodagars* and *Multanis*, who were important merchant groups were not given higher place in the urban morphology.

Bernier has described Mughal cities as 'camp cities', a 'military encampment'. Following Bernier Stephen P. Blake has also characterised Shahjahanabad (Delhi) as a 'great camp' whose population fluctuated. When the king and his nobles were in residence the population suddenly swelled. When the camp was not in town it gave a desolate look. Thevenot also pointed out that during the emperor's stay there was 'an extraordinary crowd in the streets' otherwise it looks 'to be a desert'. To consider Delhi, or similar other capital towns mere military camps is perhaps an exaggeration. No doubt Delhi assumed importance after becoming the imperial capital after the construction of the Shahjahanabad fort. However, even prior to it Delhi possessed sizeable merchant class. Bernier himself has given a vivid description of the merchants and of their dwelling houses. Rich merchants lived mixed with the *mansabdars*, petty *omrahs* (*umara*), offices of justice, etc. in the streets. The ordinary merchants had their dwellings over their warehouse, at the back of the arcades.

Commenting on the morphology of Mughal capital town Shahjahanabad, Stephen P. Blake has analysed it in terms of 'patrimonial-bureaucratic' state/capital. For him, 'the sovereign city was an enormously extended patriarchal household'; the emperor ritually dominated the society. Blake has compared it as a regional variant of 'early modern patrimonial-bureaucratic capitals'.

The governance pattern of medieval towns can be studied at two levels. One, governed through self-administering institutions; it largely determined and regulated by traditions and social ethos; while the other one was city administered by state-determined rules and state-appointed officials. It had at the back of it 'state' power to support them.

Max Weber differentiates between the 'Occidental' (European) and 'Oriental' (Asian) cities on the basis that 'civic' community was present only in the 'Occident'. In 'Oriental' cities artisans lacked 'corporate' status and largely relied on state patronage. Thus they possessed no separate 'identity' bereft of state power. It is true that medieval Indian towns hardly possessed municipal institutions wielding legal/political power. Nonetheless, there operated some system of local governance established by tradition that was equally honoured by the state.

There did exist some autonomous urban institutions. Town consisted of several *mohallas* (in Gujarat it were known as *pols*). As we have seen, these *mohallas* or *pols* generally formed the residence of a particular 'caste' or profession. These *mohallas* or *pols* served as 'self-governing' bodies. *Mirat-i Ahmadi* refers to superintendents of each *mohallas* (*mir-i mohalla*). These references clearly point to the presence of some sort of local units. State administration was to mediate and work in coordination with these local bodies. We have seen, while discussing the morphology of a medieval town, how each *mohalla* was provided with just one entrance to shield against aggression. Close watch was kept on any outsider entering in. Besides, these *pol/mohalla* organisations, there also existed parallel organisations of various crafts and artisans. Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i kotwal* refers to guilds (*juki*) and guild masters (*sar-i giroh*). Similarly, there was presence of *mahajans* in each urban centre. These *mahajans* were concerned with 'occupational' regulations. It was a body of a group of elders of the community headed by a *sheth/seth*. S.C. Misra points out that, 'He (*Sheth*) maintained the traditional craft ethos within the group, regulated trade relations, laid down the price line, in sum secured internal harmony, outlawed unfair internal competition, and generally made a fair distribution of work'. The *seth* was the 'real' mediator and spokesperson of the community. Even the 'state' machinery made use of them when the need arose. These craft specific *mahajans/seths* confederated into a larger body headed by *nagarseth/nagarsheth*. He was the 'titular' head of all the crafts and artisanal groups in the town. He used to negotiate on their behalf in times of need. In one such instance the *Nagarsheth* of Ahmedabad saved the town from Maratha attack by paying 'ransom'. In return the *mahajans* of the towns agreed to give a part of town duties in perpetuity. It also suggests that his position was probably hereditary. Though *mahajans* were free as far as their internal matters were concerned, in case of disputes among *mahajans*, *nagarseth/nagarsheth* mediated. This mediation, as S.C. Misra puts, 'necessarily introduced a significant element of indirectness in administration.' Even the state valued their power and position. In 1723, when merchants of Surat submitted their petition to the *mutasaddi* (incharge of port-town) of Surat, Momin Khan acknowledged the authority and importance of the *mahajans* and merchant bodies:

'In future all matters relating to commerce be settled with the assistance of the merchants, and all cases concerning the *mahajans* (bankers) in consultation with the *mahajans*. Let imprisonment and execution not take place.'

The *Mutasaddi* Momin Khan replied, "In future such shall be the practice."  
M.P. Singh (1985) p. 269.



*Kotwal* was the overall incharge of town administration in north India. He was appointed by the emperor at the recommendation of *mir-i atish*. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and safety of the town population. To prevent theft, murder, etc. was the responsibility of the *kotwal*. He also supervised and controlled the markets. His office in the city was known as *chabutara-i kotwali*. At each city gate guards were posted, headed by a *darogha*, who shut the city gates after sunset and no one was allowed to leave or enter the city without the written permission of these guards. *Daroghas* (superintendents) were also appointed to look after and supervise public works, purchases, stores, *bazaars*, etc. There was a separate *darogha* of *dak* (post).

Aurangzeb, in 1659, created the office of *muhtasib* who was incharge of public morals. He was to enforce standard weights and measures, etc. All through the empire, and so also in the cities intelligence officers – *waqai navis*, *sawanih nigar*, *khufia navis* and *harkaras* were posted. They were to send secret reports of the working of the area under their jurisdiction directly to the emperor. *Qazi* was the incharge of overall judicial matters. Fiscal administration of a town (*sair mahal*) was looked after by *amin*, *karori* (revenue collectors), *qanungo* (keeper of accounts), *chaudhuri* (head of traders), *mushrif* (treasurer), *tahvildar* (cashier), etc. Separate *mutasaddis* were appointed for market administration. *Nigahban* (watchman) and *piyadah* (foot soldiers) were also appointed at each market.

Port administration differed from other towns of the empire. Ports were placed under a *mutasaddi* (he was otherwise a small revenue official in normal towns). Momin Khan, *mutasaddi* of Surat's statement in 1723 addressed to the merchants of Surat throws light on *kotwal*'s position vis-à-vis the *mutasaddi* of the port. Merchants complained to the *mutasaddi* of Surat that 'Under the former governors the *kotwal* was appointed by the *mutasaddi*. At present Bundhi (Shondhe) Khan has been appointed by the court (*sarkar*). He injures people. It is prayed that he should not have any authority in judicial matters (*muqaddamat-i qazaya*).'

The *mutasaddi* wrote (to the merchants): "The *kotwal* is *kotwal* of his own house only. What business has he with the city? If he injures anyone, he shall be reprimanded." In general officers of a normal Mughal town continued to be the same at ports performing similar functions. However, in port towns there also existed certain departments that did not figure in other cities: a) *Faiza*: It looked after the seaborne trade. His duty was to check goods coming in and collect customs. The custom-house was known as *khushk-i mandi*, etc. b) *Khushk-i langar jahajat*: It was counterpart of *faiza* on land. It dealt with inland trade. c) *Jihat Godi* (*Goda*) or *Marammat-i sair*: It dealt with ship repairing and ship-building. d) *Mahal Jahazat*: It looked after the movement of outgoing and incoming ships, anchor (*langar*), collected *haq-i langar* (anchor fees) and looked after insurance (*bima*) of goods.

Port town in Maharashtra was known as *mire*. *Ghat* areas (*Sahyadri* belt) in Maratha territories were placed under *ghatpandey* who was incharge of the maintenance and upkeep of the area. He provided regular patrol for which he appointed guards called *gujaras*. *Ghatpandey* was helped in the octroi collection by *patki* (incharge of chauki), *dangi*, *pansare* (weighman), *modvi* (peon) and *metkari*. *Ghatpandey*'s position was hereditary. In medieval Maharashtra, the person incharge of the development and maintenance of *peth* was called *sete*. In lieu of his services he received revenue free grants. *Sete* was to collect the custom dues and assess impositions on the shopkeepers. He also served as *kotwal* of the market. In that

capacity he exercised his police powers as well. He assisted *ghatpandey* in the collection of octroi.

In south India the representatives of *nagaram* assembly were known as *nagarankalilar*. It consisted of local merchants. Their job was to administer the local market. They provided police protection and were responsible for the cleaning of streets, garbage collection, etc. For these services a fee was collected by *nagaram* from merchants. *Angadikuli*, *angadipattam*, *taragu* (brokerage fee) were fees charged from the shops and *karai-irai*, *kadaipattam* was the fees charged from *bazaars*. It had fulfilled machinery of sweepers, policemen, market officials, accountants, etc. *Nagaram* possessed the right to authorise a wholesale dealer for a specified commodity.

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## 20.8 SUMMARY

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The beginning of our period saw unprecedented growth of towns. The process continued, even got accelerated upto the close of our period. Medieval towns were centres of manufacture and commercial activities. There appears to have existed hierarchy among the towns. There were *qasbas* and *balda/shahr*; *baras* and *bandars*. Certain cities were ‘primate’ cities largely depending upon state patronage for their power and position. Nonetheless they were vibrant centres of commercial and manufacturing activities. This hierarchy was also markedly present within the town itself. There were palaces, *havelis*, on the one side, while at the lowest level people lived in hutments. Medieval towns were marked by ‘rurban’ characteristics what S.C. Misra calls ‘peasant urbanites’. Between town and country there existed a ‘symbiotic’ relationship.

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## 20.9 EXERCISES

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- 1) Define the distinguishing features of *qasbas*, towns and ports.
- 2) Critically examine various approaches to study the medieval Indian towns.
- 3) Discuss the pattern of governance of a medieval town.
- 4) Analyse the chief features of a medieval town.
- 5) Distinguish between port and town administration with special reference to the powers enjoyed by the *mutasaddi* and the *kotwal*.

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## CHRONOLOGY OF RULERS: 1200-1750

### NORTHINDIA

#### Delhi Sultans : 1206-1526

##### **Ilbaris**

Qutbuddin Aibak	: 1206-1210
Aram Shah	: 1210-1211
Iltutmish	: 1211-1236
Raziya	: 1236-1240
Bahram Shah	: 1240-1242
Masud Shah	: 1242-1246
Nasiruddin Mahumd Shah I	: 1246-1266
Ghiyasuddin Balban	: 1266-1287
Kaiqubad	: 1287-1290

##### **Khiljis**

Jalaluddin Khalji	: 1290-1296
Alauddin Khaliji	: 1296-1316
Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah I	: 1316-1320

##### **Tughluqs**

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq	: 1320-1325
Muhammad Tughluq	: 1325-1351
Firuz Tughluq	: 1351-1388
Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah-II	: 1388-1390
Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah	: 1390-1394
Mahmud Shah Tughluq	: 1394-1412

##### **Sayyids**

Khizr Khan	: 1414-1421
Mubarak Shah	: 1421-1434
Muhammad Shah	: 1434-1443
Alauddin Alam Shah	: 1443-1451

##### **Lodis**

Bahlol Lodi	: 1451-1489
Sikandar Lodi	: 1489-1517
Ibrahim Lodi	: 1517-1526

#### MUGHALS : 1526-1750

##### **Mughals**

Babur	: 1526-1530
Humayun	: 1530-1540

##### **Sur Interregnum**

Sher Shah	: 1540-1545
Islam Shah	: 1545-1553
Others	: 1553-1555

##### **Mughals (Continued)**

Humayun	: 1555-1556 (Restored)
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Akbar	: 1556-1605
Jahangir	: 1605-1627
Shahjahan	: 1627-1658
Aurangzeb	: 1658-1707
Bahadur Shah I	: 1707-1713
Zulfiqar Khan & Jahandar Shah	: 1712-1713
Farrukh Siyar	: 1713-1718
Rafi-ud Darajat & Rafi-ud Daulah	: 1719
Muhammed Shah	: 1719-1748

### DECCAN AND SOUTH INDIA

##### **Yadavas**

Somesvara IV	: 1187
Simhana	: 1210-46
Krishna	: 1246-60
Ram Chandra	: 1271-1311-12

##### **Kakatiyas**

Kakati Rudradeva	: 1162 A.D.
(Pratapa Rundra I) Ganapati	: 1199-1262
Rudrambe	: 1262-96
Pratapa Rudra Deva II	: 1295-96-1326

##### **Hoyasalas**

Ballala II	: 1173-1220
Narasimha II	: 1234-63
Narasimha III	: 1263-91
Ballala III	: 1291-1342

##### **Pandya**

Maravaraman Sundara Pandya I	: 1216-1238
Maravaraman Sundara Pandya II	: 1238-1251
Maravaraman Kulsekhara Pandya	: 1268-1310

##### **Bahamani**

Alauddin Mujahid	: 1375-1378
Shamsuddin Dawud II	: 1397-1422
Ahmad I	: 1422-1436
Ahmad I	: 1436-1458
Humayun Shah	: 1458-1461
Ahmad III	: 1461-1465
Muhammad III	: 1463-1482
Shihabuddin Mahmud	: 1482-1518

**Vijayanagara**

Krishnadeva Raya	: 1509-1529
Achyut Raya	: 1529-1542
Sadasiva Raya	: 1542-1567

**Ahmednagar**

Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri	: 1496-1510
Burhan Nizam Shah I	: 1510-1553
Husain Nizam Shah I	: 1553-1565
Murtaza Nizam Shah II	: 1565-1588
Husain Nizam Shah II	: 1588-1589
Ismail Nizam Shah I	: 1589-1591
Burhan Nizam Shah II	: 1591-1595
Ibrahim Nizam Shah I	: 1595
Ahmad Nizam Shah II	: 1595
Bahadur Nizam Shah I	: 1595-1600
Murtaza Nizam Shah II	: 1600-1610
Burhan Nizam Shah III	: 1610-1631
Husain Nizam Shah III	: 1631-1633
Murtaza Nizam Shah III	: 1633-1636

**Bijapur**

Yusuf Adil Khan	: 1489/90-1510
Ismail Adil Khan	: 1510-1534
Mallu Adil Khan	: 1534-1535
Ibrahim Adil Shah I	: 1535-1558
Ali Adil Shah I	: 1558-1580
Ibrahim Adil Shah II	: 1580-1627
Muhammed Adil Shah	: 1627-1656
Ali Adil Shah II	: 1565-1672
Sikandar Adil Shah	: 1672-1686

**Golconda**

Sultan Quli Qutbul Mulk	: d.1543
Yar Quli Jamshed	: 1543-1550
Subhan	: 1550
Ibrahim Qutb shah	: 1550-1580
Muhammad Quli Shah	: 1580-1611
Muhammad Qutb Shah	: 1611-1626
Abdullah Qutb Shah	: 1626-1672
Abul Hasan Qutb Shah	: 1672-1687