

**ECONOMY OF THE MUGHAL *SUBA*
OF ALLAHABAD (1582-1707)**

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SNEHA



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CERTIFICATE

The dissertation entitled “ECONOMY OF THE MUGHAL *SUBA* OF ALLAHABAD (1582-1707)” is submitted by **Sneha** for the fulfilment of twelve credits out of a total requirements of twenty-six credits for the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil.)** of the University. This is her original work according to the best of my knowledge. It may be placed before the Examiners for their consideration.

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Dedicated

to

My Perfect Master

"M"

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A. N.</i>	<i>Akbarname</i>
<i>A'in</i>	<i>A'in-i Akbari</i>
<i>Agrarian system</i>	Irfan Habib, Agrian system of Mughal Empire
<i>An atlas...</i>	Irfan Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire.
<i>Babar</i>	<i>Babarnama translated by Beveirdge</i>
<i>Badauni</i>	<i>Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh</i>
<i>Early travels</i>	<i>The Early Travels in India</i>
<i>English factories</i>	<i>English Factories in India</i>
<i>Ieshr</i>	<i>Indian Economic and Social History Review</i>
<i>Ihr</i>	<i>Indian Historical Review</i>
<i>Jasb</i>	<i>Journal Of Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>Jesho</i>	<i>Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>Iras</i>	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>Khan</i>	Trade and Industries of India (1700-1750)
<i>Naqvi</i>	Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India
<i>Pihc</i>	Proceedings Indian History Congress
<i>Purchas</i>	<i>Purchas his Pilgrims</i>
<i>Tabaqat</i>	<i>Tabaqat-i Akbari</i>
<i>Tuzuk</i>	<i>Tuzuk-i Jabangiri</i>

GLOSSARY

<i>ain-i-dahsala</i>	the 'ten year assessment' related to crop rates.
<i>al</i>	a red dye yielding crop, colour of dye red.
<i>amil</i>	a revenue collector.
<i>arazi</i>	measured area.
<i>attar</i>	perfume
<i>banjaras</i>	land transporters using pack-animals.
<i>bigha</i>	a measure of land.
<i>bigha-i ilahi</i>	a measure of land introduced by akbar.
<i>biswa</i>	1/20 th part of a <i>bigha</i>
<i>charas</i>	waterlifting device using leather bucket
<i>charkhi</i>	indian cotton-gin
<i>chaudhuri</i>	a village headman
<i>dallal</i>	a broker.
<i>dam</i>	money of account for stating <i>jama</i>
<i>dastur/dastur al'amal</i>	revenue rates
<i>diwan</i>	head of revenue affairs.
<i>dhenkli</i>	water-lifting device, based on the lever principle.
<i>doab</i>	land between two rivers.
<i>do-aspa sib aspa</i>	two-horses three-horses; part of a cavalry rank entitling additional emoluments.
<i>faujdar</i>	in-charge of law and order in an administrative division
<i>firman</i>	document carrying an imperial order.
<i>garhi</i>	small forts.
<i>ghi/ghee</i>	butter
<i>gumashta</i>	an agent.
<i>gur</i>	unrefined sugar.
<i>haveli</i>	headquarters; mansion
<i>hundi</i>	bill of exchange.
<i>ijara</i>	revenue farming.
<i>iqta'/iqta'dar</i>	revenue assignment/assignee.
<i>in'am</i>	revenue-free land.
<i>jagir/jagirdar</i>	revenue assignment/assignee.
<i>jama'/jama'dami</i>	assessed revenue.
<i>karori</i>	a revenue collector.
<i>khalisa</i>	crown land.
<i>khud-kasht</i>	'personally cultivated land' an individual's holdings..
<i>khut</i>	village headman.
<i>kishta mazru'</i>	cultivated land.
<i>kuroh</i>	measure of distance
<i>madad-i ma'ash</i>	'aid of subsistence'. revenue-free grant.

<i>mahajan</i>	a money –lender.
<i>mahal</i>	lowest administrative unit; synonym of <i>pargana</i> .
<i>malik</i>	local potentate; synonym of <i>zamindar</i> .
<i>mal-i wajib</i>	land-revenue.
<i>man-i akbari</i>	measure of weight introduced by akbar; about 55.32 ib. avdp.
<i>milkiyat</i>	ownership of land; a form of <i>zaminari</i> .
<i>muqaddam</i>	a village headman.
<i>muqarrra raqba</i>	settled area of a unit' division
<i>nankar</i>	remuneration of a <i>zamindar</i> for his services.
<i>naqdi</i>	stated or paid in money
<i>nazim</i>	a governor
<i>pahi-kasht</i>	one who cultivated land in another <i>zamindari</i> jurisdiction.
<i>pa'ibaqi</i>	area due for revenue assignment.
<i>qafila</i>	a caravan.
<i>qanungo</i>	a middle level local revenue official
<i>qasba</i>	a town
<i>qila'dar</i>	a castellan.
<i>qilacha</i>	small fort
<i>raja</i>	<i>zamindar</i>
<i>raiyyati</i>	under peasant right
<i>sarai</i>	a rest house.
<i>sarkar</i>	a middle level administrative/fiscal unit.
<i>sarrafi</i>	a money changer.
<i>sawar</i>	a horseman; cavalry rank.
<i>suba</i>	a province.
<i>suyurghal</i>	a state grant for life-time or in
<i>taalluqa</i>	area of which revenue was relaised and paid by person who was <i>zamindar</i> of only a part of it.
<i>ta'alluqdar</i>	holder of a <i>ta'alluqa</i>
<i>teli</i>	oilmen
<i>taqavi</i>	loan for improvement of agriculture.
<i>tanda</i>	camp of land transporters (<i>banjaras</i>)
<i>watan jagir</i>	ancestral lands of erstwhile rulers.
<i>wazifa</i>	a pension, stipend.
<i>zabt</i>	standard crop rate per unit area.
<i>zamindar</i>	a local potentate.
<i>zamin-i paimuda</i>	measured land; settled area of a unit/division.
<i>zat</i>	personal rank in <i>mansab</i> system.
<i>zortalab (zamindar)</i>	a recalcitrant (potentate).

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Introduction

Suba Allahabad lies in the heart of the northern plains and its strategic importance was understood by Akbar and he demarcated the *subas* in 1580 twenty five years after his rule. In this period he tried to know the salient features of the Sultanate rule. Experience showed that the Delhi Sultans were not able to devise any policy which would have been long term. Few bold and innovative measures were taken up by Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. These were to have greater control over the empire, but they failed, as soon after their deaths their policies were abandoned.

The confrontation between the local potentates (*zamindars*) and the military commanders (*iqtadars*) was for the appropriation of the land revenue. The military commanders negotiated to the Sultans for their entitlements and appropriated a sizeable amount of it.

In the Sultanate period, Sultans were having all powers and this was then distributed among the military (*iqtadars*). In course of time they used to become very important and were capable of bringing the Sultan of their choice on the throne.

Similar tendency was seen during Akbar's reign. But Akbar quickly realised these tendencies and brought new measures to remove them. One such measure was demarcation of the *subas* in 1580. He did this after extensive survey's were carried out and the areas (to some extent) under cultivation were measured.

He then tried to introduce new *mansab* system in 1595-96. This was the novel idea adopted by Akbar where the *zat* was the rank and *sawar* was the number of contingents of the *mansabdar*. They got the land paying same amount of revenue which was required by him to maintain the required number of *sawars* and his personal pay.

For this proper division of the Empire was done, and this was called as *subas*, which in turn divided into *sarkars* and *parganas*. Akbar tried to decentralise the empire but the main authority remained with the state.

Studies in History of the Mughal empire have been done taking the whole empire as one unit.

The pioneering works in this field is of W.H. Moreland.¹ He has analysed the statistics of *Ain* extensively and most of his still unchallenged. Similar extensive work has been taken up by Irfan Habib.² He has given inferences after working on contemporary sources which are explaining that, the revenue potential in the seventeenth century was marvellous. The country was prosperous, crafts productions were on the threshold of industrial productions. He has refuted foreign writers who try to prove India to be agricultural state in seventeenth century.

¹ W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar: An Economic Study*, London, (1920), Delhi reprint (1962), *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study of Economic History*, London (1923) Delhi reprint (1972); *Agrarian system of Moslem India: A Historical essay with Appendices*, Cambridge (1929), Delhi reprint (1968), and various articles.

² Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556-1707*, Bombay 1963, reprinted Delhi 1999. Similar arguments are taken up in his various articles in *Essays in Indian History with a Marxist perception*, Delhi, 1995.

Shrieen Moosvi³ has further done data analysis to derive certain results. She has even included the urban aspects to it.

However, works have also been done on region like *suba* Agra,⁴ Awadh Bihar, Lahore, Gujarat, Rajasthan,⁵ *suba* Allahabad has been dealt by S.N. Sinha,⁶ who has written the political and administrative history of the *suba*. He has taken up the economic history of the *suba* but he has not explained why this *suba* was divided in such manner as it was?

I shall take up this in my dissertation and try to derive some conclusion after giving an interdisciplinary approach to my work. I shall try to see that was there any concrete reason behind redemarcating the *subas* by Akbar as it was done in 1580.

It can be understood if one try to find the geographical features of the *suba*. Its landforms, soil structure, drainage system, vegetation etc. remained very important for the high revenue potential of this region.

This high revenue yield had made local governors ambitious and they became a threat to the state, as seen in the past history.

Akbar would have divided the empire into *subas*, may be mainly to keep control over the region. He even tried to have the collect information about the proprietary holders which we see in *Ain's* statistics. He did into

³ Shrieen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c 1595: A Statistical Study*, Delhi, 1987.

⁴ K.K. Trivedi; *Agra: Profile of a Mughal Suba*, Pune 1998.

⁵ S. P. Gupta, *The Agrarian system of Eastern Rajasthan*, Delhi (1986); Dilbagh Singh, *The State, Landlords and Peasants in Rajasthan in the Eighteenth Century*, Delhi, (1990).

⁶ S.N., Sinha, *Subah of Allahbad under the Great Mughals (1580-1707)*, Delhi, 1974.

confront directly with the *zamindars* and tried to keep them happy as much as possible. All this was a part of Akbar's long term diplomatic policies.

The large revenue potential and the strategic location of the *suba* gave impetus to urbanisation to this *suba* in our period of study. Old urban centres⁷ started gaining importance, once again, they developed on the banks of rivers where the transaction of goods was highest.⁸ At these places many non-agricultural population came and set up their business.

Few of the foreign writers have tried to show that Indian trade got impetus with the coming of English Companies.

Thus, in this work, I shall try to bring about the logic behind the formation of *suba*. Was there any geographical and economic reason behind such division? It is to be seen that the growth of medieval cities in this *suba* increased during this period or decreased. If it increased then what type of growth was it? Was it different from European urban centres?

My first chapter would emphasise on the **Formation of the *Suba***. Here the logic shall be dealt. The second chapter would deal with the **Agrarian Sector** in the *suba*. What were the major produce from the *suba* and what was the revenue state derived from it? The third chapter, would I lay emphasis on the presence and distribution of ***Zamindars* in the *Suba***. This I have tried to derive from the *Ain's* statistics having details of *zamindar* and their contingents.

⁷ A.L. Basham, *The wonder that was India*, vol.I New Delhi, 1954.

⁸ Indu Banga (ed) *The City in Indian History*, Delhi, 1991.

I have also tried to point the forts provided in *Ain* and have tried to explain why the *zamindars* build the forts. What was the reason behind few forts being made of bricks or stone and even at times both. Also the contingents strength of *zamindars* are taken to be explain.

The fourth chapter, **Manufacturing Cities and Trade** deals with all the manufactures (agrarian as well as non-agrarian) taking place in the *suba* and the cities which flourished in this period. The trade routes which were followed by the traders and merchants, has been shown and discussed with the help of a map. It also discusses the reasons behind the growth of more cities in seventeenth century.

The sources I have included for this work would include the Persian contemporary sources translated in English. Much information on economy of the period, we have to rely on the English sources, the Travellers Accounts of those travellers who were in India in seventeenth century and have provided us vivid description of that period. *English Factory Records* in thirteen volumes are very useful to know about goods and their manufactures. Though these records provide information only those goods which were in demand in their countries.

There are few sources like *Ardhkathanak*, *Chahar Gulshan* which can be very useful for this work. They throw light on trade, medium of trade, means of transport, trade routes etc.

Chapter 1

Formation of *Suba*

The *suba* of Allahabad was situated in the heartland of the Mughal Empire. It came into existence in 1580, when Akbar brought the transformation in the existing provinces by redemarcating their boundaries.¹ The vast Mughal Empire was divided into twelve provinces, called *subas*. Each *suba* consisted of several *sarkars* which were further divided into *parganas*. As mentioned by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the extent of *suba* of Allahabad was from Ghatampur (26+, 80+) in the west to Chausa (25+, 83+) in the east and Singhaul (26+, 82+) in the Jaunpur *sarkar* to the Southern hills.² However the area of the *suba* could only be determined when all the *parganas* are plotted on a map. With this exercise the area has been determined as 89,648 square kilometers.³

On the east of the Allahabad *suba* existed the *suba* of Bihar, to its north was *suba* of Awadh, Bandogarh in Rewa state in the south and *suba* of Agra to the west.⁴ Some of the important centres covered by the demarcation included prayag, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Chunar, Kalinjar etc. with Allahabad as its headquarter⁵

For administrative convenience this territory was divided into 10 *sarkars* with further division into one hundred & seventy seven *parganas*⁶.

The primary cause which led Akbar to redemarcate the territorial units of the empire has not been discussed by any of the contemporary sources. We can still try

¹ Abul Fazal, *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1912, Vol. III, p. 412 & 413; Abdul Qadir, Badani, *Munkakhabut . Tawarikh*, Tr., , Ali Ahmad & W.N. Lees. Bib. Ind., Calcutta, vol. II, p. 290, 291.

² Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Tr., S.H. Jarrett, Ed. by J.N. Sarkar, Calcutta (1949), Vol. II, p. 169.

³ Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Political & Economic Maps*, Delhi (1982), p Vii-Viii.

⁴ *Ain.* II, p. 169

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 169-171

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 171-179.

to see if there was any logic behind this act before we call it an arbitrary decision. Was there one or more than one reason which guided the formation of the *suba* Allahabad in shape and size that is there for us to see in the Atlas.⁷

This *suba* comprised of fertile alluvial plains in northern part and forest areas as well as plateau region in the southern part of the *suba*.

It has to be enquired that why Akbar demarcated the *suba* in such a manner and not a homogeneous fertile plain. To find an answer to this query we have to infer from the sources available. They are not having any specific reason explicitly available but provide little information which gives us at least some clue to explore.

We find that Akbar in the first twenty five years of his rule (1556-1605) tried to get complete information about the past history of the region⁸ and the clearer picture of assessed revenue from this area. All this he started when he had proficiently taken the administration in his own hand.

It appears that in the early years of his reign Akbar had realized the excessive control of his nobles over the resources of the state. To, control the situation, first major administrative step taken by Akbar was the division of authority. Thus, in 1561 he once again made office of *Diwani* a separate and independent charge and interested the office to a career officer Muzaffar Khan Purbati⁹. From now on this office devised ways and means to reevaluate revenue potential of the localities and help in the distribution amongst the servants of the state. However, revenue officials appear to had confronted serious opposition from the assignees in getting clearer

⁷ Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheets 8!, 9A.

⁸ Gulbadan Begum's *Humayunama* and Abbas Khan Sherwani's *Tarikh-i Shershahi* written during this period.

⁹ Iqtadar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal assignment system during Akbar's early years 1556-1575', *Medieval India- I*, Aligarh / Delhi, 1992 pp. 49-61.

picture. Such a situation demanded extra ordinary measures. Akbar, in 1573-74, resumed all *jagirs*¹⁰ to avoid such interference.

Akbar tried to exercise control over the resources through introduction of innovative systems like land revenue assessments, *mansabs* and *jagirs* fresh allotment systems and then the demarcation of the *subas* in such designs which would keep the whole empire intact and no one had enough resource generated from his area that he could be ambitious to rebel and assert his authority in the region.

When Akbar ordered assessment of the revenue to be done of all the parts of northern empire, except Bihar from his 6th regnal year. The revenue officers found the *jagirdars* a great hindrance in order to do the correct assessment. Most of rates of crops were found inflated¹¹, and this was disadvantageous to the state. The nobles or the military commanders showed inadequate number of contingents and this was possible only when they showed wide difference in the *jama* (assessed revenue) and *hasil* (revenue realized).¹² This gradually resulted in state possessing weak army, which would have been dangerous in case of an external threat. At times the commanders purposely did not show the real number of contingents they had, and when they felt they were strong, they used to rebel against the state as was in case of Uzbek and Mirza rebellions.

The *jama* figures which persisted in the earlier administration were called a *jama-i-raqami*.¹³ Akbar decided to collect the correct information from the

¹⁰ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system* pp. 303-304, W.H. Moreland, *Agrarian system* p. 98.

¹¹ *Ain I*, p 347-8; see also Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System* p 303.

¹² K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of a Mughal suba*, p 15

¹³ *Ain*, p 347; Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*; p 303, he has pointed out that Abul Fazl calls the *jama* simply as *raqami* in the *ain* and *raqami-i-qalami* in the *Akbarnama*. In *ain* it is stated that "whatever reached to their heart they (the revenue officials) used to make an enhancement by the pen. (*baqalam afzuda*) and assigned it in pay (*tan namudand*)"

quamugos and “Knowledgeable men”¹⁴, and revise the *jama* in 1566-67. Since there was lot of inflation in the rates, and new *jama* was also far away from *hasil*¹⁵ because this was done when *jagirdars* were holding their *jagirs* and were not supporting any such assessment being done. So they produced inflated rates, the *bighas* were reduced to 15 *kathas* where the original ones had twenty *kathas* in each *bigha* and even suppressed people’s protests.¹⁶

The revenue officials appointed to do these surveys, must have found it difficult to carry out their work efficiently as there would have been interruption by *jagirdars*. But as Akbar was determined to have the actual assessment done for the Northern plains.

He in 1574-75, took the boldest step of his career, and resumed all the lands. Under *Jagirs* except Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat into *Khalisa*.¹⁷ In the same year there lands were brought under new revenue officials called as *Karoris*¹⁸. The *Karoris* recorded the new *jama* after fixing permanent local cash rates of different crops.¹⁹ These rates were accurate to some extent as could be seen from the *Ain-i-nauzdahsala* tables (The Ain of nineteen years).²⁰ This table shows the highest and the lowest rates at the *dasturs* and Shireen Moosvi points out that the rates decreased

¹⁴ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*; p 304

¹⁵ *Ain*, I p. 347-8 also *ibid*.

¹⁶ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*; p 254

¹⁷ A.N. III P. 333. see also Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*; p. 304 & 254.

¹⁸ Nizamuddin Ahmed, *Tabaqat – i Akbari*, Tr. B.De,ed, Beni Prasad, Delhi (1936) reprinted 1992, p 456. *Akbaranama*, III pP 117-18. see also Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, PP 302-305.

¹⁹ *Ibid* pp 304

²⁰ *Ain*, I, pp 303 – 47

for the same crops in the years between 19th and 24th regnal years when this *Karori* survey was carried out.²¹

But the actual statistics which was taken up was from 15th to 24th regnal years to produce the *Ain-i Dahsala*²² (The ten years assessment) after taking the average of the above ten years assessment. However, this was done only for the *zabti* provinces²³.

The *Ain* provides the statistics for each *subas* in *dams*. But it uses the *Naqdi* (in money) while breaking the figures for each *sarkas* and *parganas* in details²⁴. These figures in the *Ain* included the grants in terms of money (*dams*) and they formed the part of the *jama/naqdi* figures.²⁵ The *suyurghal* figures needed to be deducted from the total *jama* in order to give us the net *jama* at which the *jagirs* were allotted.²⁶

After Akbar took up the bold step to bring all the *jagirs* under *khalisa* in 1574-75, the Mughal governing class were assigned fresh *jagirs* in 1579, after the assessment was over and the *jama*, figures were obtained. In 1595-96 the mansabdars were the *jagirdars* and held ranks (*Mansabs*) bestowed upon them by the Emperor. The ranks were usually dual i.e. the *zat* and the *sawar*. The former indicated the personal pay and the latter the size of the Contingents a *Mansab*-holder

²¹ Shireen Moosvi, *The economy of the Mughal Empire, c 1595; A statistical study*, Delhi 1987 p 96 & n

²² *Ain*, II p 171-79

²³ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System* p 304, The *Zabti* provinces were (Illahabad, Awadh, Agra, Ajmer, Delhi, Lahore, Multan)

²⁴ *ibid*, P 305

²⁵ Shireen Moosvi, p 153-5, 168-73, she finds *jama in dams & naqdi* same and says that Abul Fazl himself notes, while recording the *suba* totals, that the *suyurghal* figures were a part of the *jama*

²⁶ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system* p 305

had to maintain.²⁷ The pay scales were minutely laid down for both ranks.²⁸ He was thus brought under the direct control of state as he would have to produce the required number of contingents as and when required.

Though Akbar dared to take the bold step against the *jagirdars*, he did not dare to do the same with the *zamindars*. As he knew that the *zamindars* were the proprietors of the land and removing them from their region could lead to serious opposition. There is no description in the contemporary sources to explain why, Akbar was not the same with the *zamindars* as he was with the *jagirdars*, but it can be inferred that the emperor at first wanted to know the strength and power of the *zamindars*.²⁹

If we closely look at the division of the *subas* in the northern plain in 1580, we would be able to answer few of our queries, regarding the formation of the *suba* in the manner in which it was done i.e by including regions of varying physical feature into one unit (as one *suba*). This is clear from any physiographical map of *suba* Allahabad or *suba* Agra or even *suba* Awadh. We find similarity that all these *subas* have nearly half of its area as very fertile alluvial plain and the rest is either forest area on plateau region.

²⁷ Abdul Aziz, *Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, Moreland, "Rank (mansab) in the Mughal state service", *JRAS*, 1936, 641-65. & Moosvi, 'Education of Mansab-system under Akbar until 1596-7', *JRAS* 1981, I p 175-83; Irfan Habib 'Mansab system, 1595-1637, PIHC, 29th session, 1967. Patiala, I, p. 221-42 & M. Atthar Ali, *Mughal Nobility under Aurangazeb* (Bombay 1966), reprint 1970, pp 38-73. see also Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System* p2 99-300

²⁸ The pay scales of *Mansabadars* under Akbar in *Ain*, I p 178-85; Irfan Habib. *Agrarian System* p 299

²⁹ Statistics provided in the *Ain* I, pp 303- 595, in 'The Account of Twelve *subas*' has four to five columns dealing with the forces of *zamindars*, their castes, etc. This makes us understand that the Emperor was interested in knowing their strength in order to formulate further strategies. See also Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, pp 174-179.

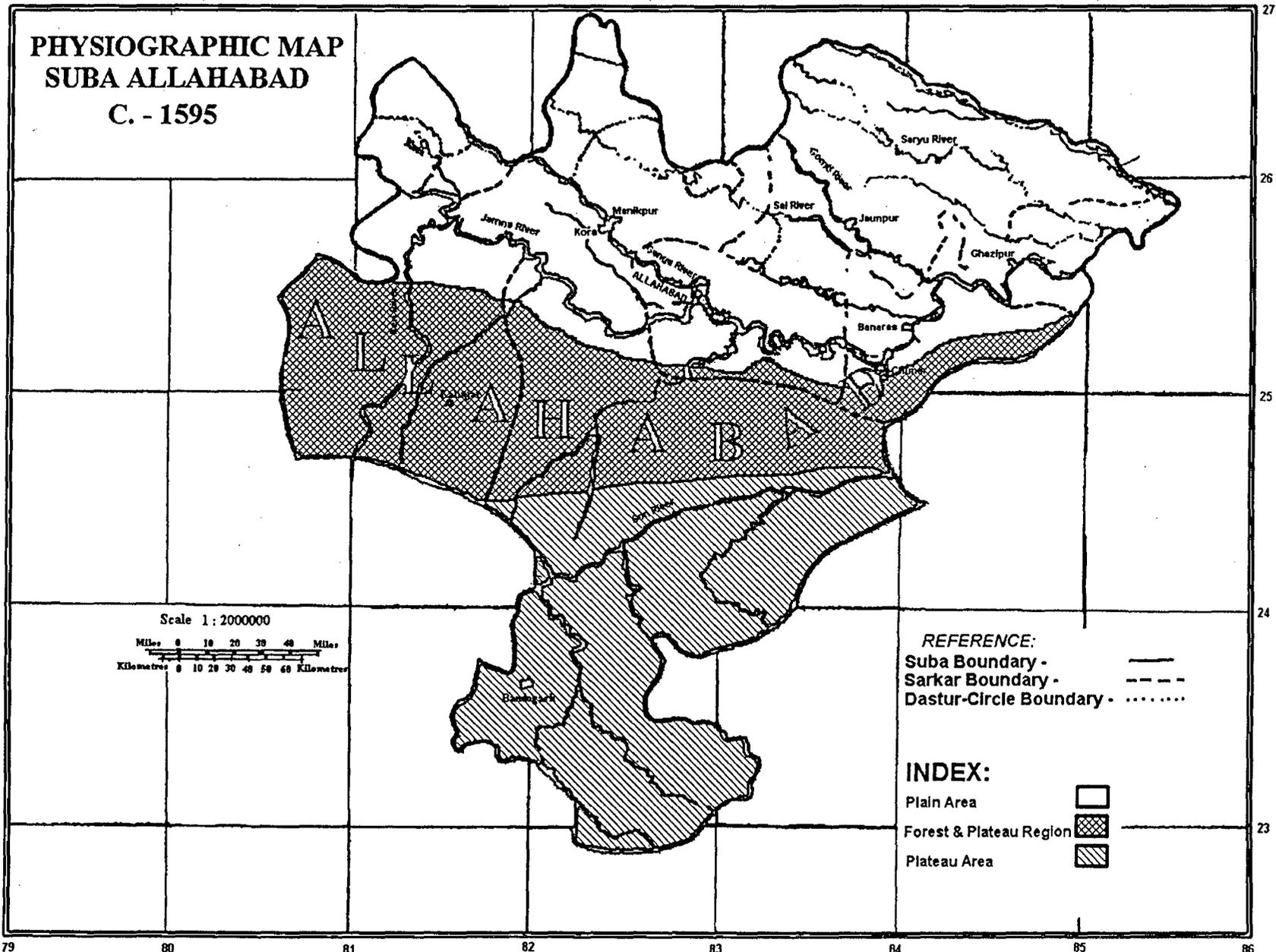
These divisions explain our logic to some extent that Akbar tried to mingle certain regions of different categories so that one region is not very rich in revenue resources. In the case of *suba* Allahabad the divisions suggest that the northern plains were fertile and the southern were plateau and forest area. And in order to have a close watch on the activities of Bihar *suba* and Bengal *suba* in addition to the southern part,³⁰ he chose the headquarter to be Allahabad, which was at the heart of the *suba*.

It can also be speculated that Akbar mingled these underdeveloped regions with those of developed ones, to have some development in these regions also. And he would have thought of the utilization of the resources of these regions by the growing population of the fertile plains. But with the demarcation in such manner we do not find much development-taking place in this area, as nobility did not prefer to settle in areas, which did not have rivers. They preferred staying on the banks of the rivers.³¹

Thus, it is to be seen further what were the reasons in the formation of this *suba* and how it was an important *suba* for the state? Was it the strategic location and the revenue potential of the *suba* the main reason behind the division of Northern-provinces into three *subas* namely *suba* Allahabad, Agra and Awadh.

³⁰ Southern part of the *suba* was Bandogarh *sarkar*, which was probably under the tribals, as proper *jama*; figure based on measurement is not provided for this *sarkar*. *Ain* II p 177

³¹ Pelseart 'Remonstrantie' c 1626, Tr. W.H. Morland and P. Geyl as *Jahangir's India Delhi*, reprint 1972, p 3-5, N. Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, 1656-1712, Tr. W. Irwine, London 1907-8, Vol. I p 132.



Source: Irfan Habib, The Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Sheets 8A, 9A

I

In the demarcation of the boundaries of the **geography**, topography appears to have been given due consideration. For greater clarity we can start with the physical geography of our *suba*.

The topography of the Allahabad region can be divided into two distinct parts. The northern portion, lay between river Ganga in the north and Yamuna river in the south. From Ballia in east to Ghatampur in the west is the fertile Indo-Gangetic plain. The southern part, lay between Yamuna in the North and Kaimur hills or Rewa plateau in the south. To understand it more clearly, we should look into the heliography of the *suba* properly.

The physiographic map of the *suba* (shown earlier) helps us to draw the inference that the *suba* can be compartmentalized into three broad physiographic divisions. Firstly the southern hilly area which is the extension of Vindhyan plateau.

³² This southern part of the Ganga Yamuna plain is a part of Gondwana land, the most ancient landmass. This part consists of limestone and sandstone rocks.³³ Since this area comes under tropical climate, the limestone and sandstone rocks are highly susceptible to erosion. Geomorphologically this region is highly ragged. In course of time this area is affected by many earth movements that is why most of the river basin rejuvenated and gave birth to the multi cyclic and polycyclic landforms.

³² O.H. K Spate, and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography* (1967), p 7; R.L. Singh, *India: A Regional Geography*, Varanasi (1989), p 193-194

³³ Spate, p 7

Above it has the region between hilly and plain area.³⁴ This is highly zig-zag³⁵ at places and the Kaimur hills protruded towards the Ganga-Yamuna plain.³⁶ Originally this plain was geosyncline (a long valley) also known as 'foredeep'. The initial formation is believed to be a 'foredeep' formed in the wake of the Himalayan uplift. A part of it was perhaps created as a result of the subsidence of the northern flank of plateau in its marginal process of mountain building. The foredeep was deposited from the materials of the plateau and peninsular India under the Himalayas by the rivers.

The drainage system of the *suba* in the northern part was dentritic due to the presence of three perennial³⁷ rivers (of Himalayan origin) and their numerous tributaries. This part is thus well irrigated and fertile plain where the water table is always high.³⁸ This becomes the main reason for supporting large population. Food was available as the production was high. Even the state tried to control this region as the land was flooded one in a year, which made it fertile. The north eastern part of the *suba* was more fertile as the fine silt was deposited here. More coarser debris of the river were in the north western part of the *suba* which were called as *bhangar*.³⁹ In the *suba* thus the upper part was source of good revenue and thus state had control over it. Most of the *sarkars* (nearly 7 of them) lies in this region and 3 *sarkars* namely Kalinjar, Gahora & Chunar lie in the southern part. The drainage

³⁴ Spate, p 80

³⁵ Ibid, pp 627-28

³⁶ ibid, pp 627-28

³⁷ R.L.Singh, p 193-194

³⁸ ibid, p 205-6

³⁹ R.L. Singh, p 205-206; *bhangar* – were coarse deposits of river coming from Himalaya which river drops before dropping the fine silt.

system in the plateau region is not very good. Still, it is in the west zone, where the rainfall is around 60-90 cms and so the area is covered with thick forest.⁴⁰

Plateau river system is to be categorized as river Son basin,⁴¹ River Ken basin, this is a tributary of Yamuna from plateau and flows in *sarkar* of Kalinjar. The area of Baghelkhand is drained by the tributary of River Son, which is not a perennial river and becomes '*nala*' in most of the part of the year. But this is in contrast to the rivers in the upper part where most of the *sarkars* are having perennial rivers flowing through them. Like Yamuna drains *sarkar* of Allahabad, Kara & Kora. Ganga river basin drains *sarkars* of Kora, Kara & Allahabad, Banaras & Chunar.⁴² River Ghaghra which was called '*Saryu*' in the period of our study drains *sarkars* of Ghazipur & Jaunpur.

The inclusion of areas south of river Yamuna cannot be considered important from the point of view of revenue income from that region. Yet it was part of the *suba*. It appears that this part was kept with *suba* Allahabad as it provided convenient access to the region of Rewa plateau. During the 1560's Mughal forces had made successful military expeditions through Allahabad as the centre of operation. These had culminated in the control over *Garh-Katanga* territories⁴³. In 1564, Asaf Khan, the governor of Kara, laid down an expedition against the

⁴⁰ Spate p 628 & 680; See also *ibid*.

⁴¹ *Ibid*. p 630

⁴² R.L. Singh, p 192-194

⁴³ *Ain*, I, p. 396. *Garh Katanga* or Gondwana was close to Jabalpur in Central India. *Katanga* is the name of two small places in due south of Jabalpur below, Latitude 22° and another apparently larger of the same name lies north west of and near to Jabalpur and Gardha about latitude 23° 30' as on the map of central India in map of Sir J. Malcom's Malwa, but both are called on the map *Katangi*. In the Mohammadan Histories, the country is generally *Gardh Katangah*. Abul Fazl says it had extent of 150 *Kos* by 80 *Kos*, and there were in ancient times 80,000 flourishing cities.

Gondwana state. These territories were surrounded by hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by earlier rulers. The boundaries of the state extended from Ratanpur in the east to Raisin in the west, and from Rewa in the north to the Deccan plateau.⁴⁴ During that period it was governed by a woman ruler, Rani Durgavati, the Chandel princess of Mahoba.⁴⁵

Hence we can say that the Mughal expedition to the Gondwana state was carried on basically to keep a control over the Rewa plateau and also to keep the territories beyond that region under the control of Mughal empire. Also to have an access to the areas which were never explored by the earlier Muslim rulers, to bring the growing powers of the Afghan rulers in the Bihar and Bengal region and to keep the region possessing good quality war elephants under Mughal empire.

Hence, we can say that the inclusion of these areas in the *subas* was done keeping in view the geo-political importance of the area.

As *suba* of Allahabad was in the heart of Indo-Gangetic Plain being a country having monsoonal rainfall. *suba* of Allahabad received abundant rainfall of about 105 cm.⁴⁶ This area comes under two different isohyets, east of Allahabad lies around 100cm and north-west of Allahabad lies around 60 cm isohyets.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Abul Fazl., *Akbarnama*, II, pp 323-324

⁴⁵ *Ain*, I, p. 396-397, The Mughal forces led by Asaf Khan comprised of 50,000 mobile cavalry while the Rani came forth to battle with nearly 1000 elephants and 20,000 horses. She fought bravely, but when she saw, that she might be taken prisoner, she killed herself, victorious Mughal army acquired immense booty including about thousand elephants as well. A.Q. Badaoni, II, p.66.

⁴⁶ Spate, 144 p 564, R.L.Singh, p 135, p 198

⁴⁷ Spate, p 564

As we proceed from west to east in the Indo-Gangetic plain, the amount of rainfall increases gradually,⁴⁸ which affects the cropping pattern, crop intensity, type of vegetation, mode of irrigation and agro-based industries.

Wheat cultivation in the north-west is replaced by paddy cultivation which means intensive farming is done in the north eastern part of the *suba*. This shall be taken up in detail in the next chapter.

According to the amount of rainfall and temperature received the whole area comes under tropical climatic conditions. Generally the forests are tropical deciduous forest but if a micro-study is done then southern hilly area comes under savanah and thorny forest,⁴⁹ due to soil erosion and poor quality of soil, the water table is low here. Though along the patches of Son and its tributaries. 'Sal' trees dominate.⁵⁰ In the north of Rewa plateau (kaimur hills), in the Ganga-Yamuna plains, the thick population in the course of time had removed 'Sal' tree with Mango, Jackfruit, Sesum etc. These trees were useful both for household and for commercial purposes.

The vegetation and crop pattern depends largely on the type of soil. Soil type is derived from the parent rocks, climate, relief features and vegetation. Quality of the soil depends upon the soil formation affected by the above things. The soil of the *suba* of Allahabad can be divided into two parts. Firstly, the alluvial soil⁵¹ which is in the north of Rewa plateau along Ganga and its major tributaries.⁵² These are

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Spate, p 82

⁵⁰ Spate, p 77

⁵¹ R.L. Singh, p 42, 203, 204.

⁵² Ibid, p 203, 204

called '*bhurs*'. But the soil in Yamuna *doabs* is very fertile as it is of *khadar* category.⁵³ *Khadar* soils regain its fertility every year, due to flood.

Geologically the southern part is made up of Vindhyan rocks which consist of limestone and sandstone from which red soil is derived. This soil is suitable for small grains like Kodon,⁵⁴ jawar, bajra, etc. but along the Narmada river valley, alluvial soil is also found which is on the western margin of the southern part of the *suba*.

Thus we can draw the inference from the physiographic description, that why in a Mughal *suba*, like Allahabad which was in the heart of the empire, such areas were included which were very thinly populated. This can be seen in the light of the relief features where we find northern part was rich fertile plain and southern part is the plateau region, which had limestone and sandstone and thick forest.

Since the northern region has such alluvial plain mostly and it is flooded every year and thus, there is yearly, silt deposition, its yield is high which can support large density of population.⁵⁵ This can be seen that many *parganas* were in northern part of the *suba*. The soil of this area was *Khadar* type and suitable for growing two crops in a year. On the western part mostly wheat was grown as the area had an average rainfall of 60 cm. further east the rainfall is between 75-110 cm, which is suitable for rice cultivation.

Sarkars of the *suba* which lie in this region are Ghazipur, Chunar, Jaunpur, Allahabad and Banaras. These *sarkars* have good water supply through out the year

⁵³ Spate, p 564 p 42, *Khadar* is the fine alluvium which is very fertile.

⁵⁴ R.L. Singh, p 203, 204, Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system*, p. 41n.

⁵⁵ R.L. Singh, p 208

due to perennial rivers and its tributaries. Minute distinction of *sarkars* lying in which plain can be seen as follows: Chunar in Ganga – Son divide, Banaras in Ganga-Ghaghra *doab*.⁵⁶ Ghazipur and Jaunpur in Saryupar plain where *Saryu* (Ghaghra) following through it is a perennial river.⁵⁷ Allahabad lies at the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna i.e. Ganga-Yamuna *doab*.⁵⁸

On the North-Western part of the *suba* the *sarkars* of Manikpur, Kara and Kora lie in the Ganga Yamuna *doab* and thus, are very fertile. Here, irrigation is very easy as the water table is high due to the presence of perennial rivers.

The *sarkar* of Kalinjar on the extreme North-Western part of the *suba* which has river Ken following through it is seen to have less settlement areas or less *parganas* as compared to other *sarkars*. Even lesser number of *parganas* could be seen in the *sarkars* of Gahora and Bhatta.⁵⁹

These three *sarkars* are big and they occupy nearly 50% of the area of the *suba* but have very scanty population. If we clearly see the map, we find that Kalinjar is still having at least eight to nine *parganas*. These settlements might have been due to the river Ken and other tributaries of Yamuna. But as these rivers are not perennial they have very less water for 7-8 months of the year. They have water only in the monsoon months. So, the water table in this region is very low.

Similar is the case with Battha where we see river Son and its tributaries like river Tohilla. Still, we find that the population is very less and the settlements are negligible.

⁵⁶ R.L. Singh, pp 192

⁵⁷ *ibid*

⁵⁸ *Ain*, II, p 169, 194

⁵⁹ Irfan Habib; *The Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheet 8A, 9A

In case of Gahora also there are only two to three *parganas* and there is no perennial river following through it, but only few tributaries of Yamuna are there. These three *sarkars* lie in the peninsular part of India, which has Vindhya plateau on the south west and the Kaimur or Reva plateau on middle part i.e. mostly Gahora *sarkar* and parts of Battha. The rest part of Battha lies in Baghelkhand region. The natural factors of this part of the *suba* is its plateau region and it lying in tropical monsoon type of climate. This type of climatic condition leads to thick forest.⁶⁰ It can be inferred in this contest that it would have been one of the major reason for population not moving towards south. Since it was forested rocky land, the soil type was also red soil⁶¹ which is not very fertile.

As it was the plateau region the population never bothered in that period to go southwards and do cultivation. Iron furrow would have been required in order to dig more as the land was rocky and water table was low.⁶² In the northern plains they could use wooden plough and cultivate two to three crops in a year easily.

If we closely see the physiographic maps of the northern plain *subas*, we find that Akbar divided the *subas* in such a manner that each *suba*, which had rich fertile plain, had a part of the plateau region also. Hence, we can assume that the demarcation of the boundaries of the *subas* were done from revenue point of view and so the geography of the region was also considered, and also strategic importance of the place was considered. Also, we can say that to exploit the natural resources present in these plateau areas were considered while creating this *subas*.

⁶⁰ Spate 40 & 42; R.L. Singh, p 133

⁶¹ Spate, pp 628

⁶² Harbans Mukhia, *Perspectives on Medieval History*, Delhi, 1993,

Elephants were in abundance during the Mughal period. And it can be easily traced in the region of Bathghora⁶³.

II

The influence of the role played by **geo-political** factors, if any, in the demarcation of the *suba* will become visible when we examine the developments during the preceding centuries as well as in the near past.

During the Sultanate period the first important political force emerged under the leadership of Alauddin Khalji, who was based in the Indo-Gangetic plains. From the territory of Kara-Manikpur, Alauddin Khalji became as political force who later successfully claimed the Delhi throne. He was appointed the governor of Kara,⁶⁴ one of the *sarkars* of Allahabad *suba* by the Delhi Sultan.

However, to acquire greater financial strength, sufficient to move towards Delhi, Alauddin considered it sensible to confine wealth from the adjoining territories, and at the same time camouflage these as extension of Sultanate authority. Thus, in 1293 A.D. he moved against Bhilsa⁶⁵ For this success he received the praise from the Sultan. However, Alauddin proceeded, with no prior permission of the ruler to Deogir⁶⁶ where from he obtained immense wealth. Under various pretexts he kept all money with him till he met the Sultan personally. After Sultan remitted the revenue of Kara and Awadh and had granted him the permission to raise a new army to invade Chanderi. However, all his move were towards the capture of throne of Delhi and he succeeded in doing so.⁶⁷ This could be considered

⁶³ Ain, I p. 396-97, Badaoni, II, p. 66.

⁶⁴ Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol I, p 137

⁶⁵ K.S. Lal, *History of Khaljis*, AD 1290-1320, New Delhi, 1980 p 36

⁶⁶ K.S. Lal, p 37. At Bhilsa, he had heard of the fabulous wealth of Deogiri. He became ambitious and decided to invade the kingdom secretly.

⁶⁷ Ibid p 48-63

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as the first instance where resources of this region provided sufficient support in acquiring greater political authority.

Next, we could take account of the Sharqi Sultans who had established themselves finally at Jaunpur.⁶⁸ Geographically, Jaunpur was an excellent place, as it could serve as strategically important place for the rulers of Delhi to carry out military operations in Bengal and Orissa.

Firoz Shah's (1351-88) policy of hereditary offices and *iqtas* to his nobles gradually made them autonomous in respective regions.⁶⁹ Under his weak successors some of these, like Jaunpur, Kalpi, emerged as independent Sultanates.⁷⁰ Apparently the resources in control of the Jaunpur Sultanate (they were assigned territories lying between Kannauj and eastern Bihar)⁷¹ fuelled their ambitions. During the fifteenth century the Sharqi Sultans not only consolidated their hold over the Indo-Gangetic plains they made several engagements with the Kalpi. Sultan who could hold them only with the active material support of the Malwa rulers.⁷² The Sharqis also made unsuccessful bid for the Delhi throne. The Lodhi Sultan Bahlol ultimately routed them.

We can consider the Sharqi growth of power as a result of their capacity to control resources of the Indo-Gangetic plains.

⁶⁸ K.K. Trivedi "*The Emergence of Agra as a Capital and a City*" A note on its special and Historical Background JESHO, 24.4 1987 p 154

⁶⁹ K.K. Trivedi, p 151-152

⁷⁰ Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* ed S.M. Hidayal Hussain, Asiatic Society of Bengal (Cal 1931) pp 167-169

⁷¹ Ibid pp 156-157, 169, Nizamuddin Ahmed.

⁷² Babur, *Baburnama*, Tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, (1970) p 590-592

Broadly speaking, Sher Shah too gained in strength by extending his authority of the Ganga basin, though more in the east than the earlier two discussed above.⁷³

Perhaps the attitude of the *Uzbek* officers, who had acquired revenue assignments extending from Lucknow towards the east into parts of Bihar, towards the Mughal central authority had caused serious concern to Akbar.⁷⁴ *Uzbeks* were most turbulent and untrust worthy officers, who were looking for an opportunity to extend their power. Khan Zaman, appointed as Governor of Jaunpur, tried to misappropriate the huge booty acquired in 1560, from the Afghan insurgents from Bengal. However, Akbar took prompt actions against him by marching upon Jaunpur in person and subduing view.

In 1565, Abdullah Khan *Uzbek*, the rebellious governor of Malwa along with Khan Zaman hatch a conspiracy with other *Uzbek* and Afghan nobles against Akbar. The Mirzas of Sambhal also made a common cause and joined them. Mohammed Hakim who had been driven out of Kabul by Sulaiman Mirza also rebelled in Punjab after hearing the news of the rebellion in Gangetic valley. It was difficult for Akbar to fight enemies on two fronts, however, with the help of trusted officers, Akbar was able to tactfully suppress the rebellions at both the fronts.⁷⁵

Eastern part of the *suba* of Allahabad i.e. the *sarkars* of Jaunpur and Ghazipur being known for its fertility, surplus revenue and natural resources, was a breeding ground for the conspiracy. Still, *Uzbeks* could not acquire enough power to actually become a threat to Mughals.

⁷³ Nizammuddin Ahmed, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol II p 152-153

⁷⁴ T.A., II, p 156

⁷⁵ T.A. Vol II pp 335-336

Asaf Khan who was posted in the region of Allahabad had also added to this problem time and again.⁷⁶

Though the challenge posed by *Uzbeks* or nobles could not assume uncontrollable properties as they had limited themselves to the support within their family. Yet it was serious enough that Emperor had to check them personally with the help of senior nobles.⁷⁷

Our survey shows that this region lying in the east of Ganga river had in recent past produced several groups with great political ambitions. The regions attracted serious attention of Delhi authority if it wanted to keep it away from the control of a single person or a group with close family ties.

The newly demarcated *suba* of Allahabad included the *sarkars* of Kara-Mainkpur, Kora, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Chaunar, Benaras, Allahabad in the northern plain. In the map drawn from the Atlas by Irfan Habib,⁷⁸ it can be clearly seen that most of the *parganas* were lying in the northern part of the *suba*.

The demarcation of the *dastur*-circles⁷⁹ on lines similar to other *subas*, was confined to the northern part which comprised of most of the *parganas* of the *suba* southern region did not have many *dastur*-circles absence of *dastur*-circle in the southern part supports our geographical speculation that this region did not have fertile soil, high water table, as no perennial river flows in this region. Thus, not much cultivation would have been done. Even if cultivation was done, it would have

⁷⁶ T.A., Vol II, pp.398-99.

⁷⁷ T.A., Vol. II pp 335-336

⁷⁸ Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheets 8A and 9A

⁷⁹ Ain II, pp 96-97

been of the coarse grain for subsistence. Even food grains, which could sustain large population, were not grown.

This was also because the *suba* does not possess homogenous landforms or relief features. The prime factor to determine this are rainfall which varies between 60 cm – 110 cm, water resource, soil structure, vegetation, different cropping patterns, concentration and distribution of population. This *suba* had merging of diverse region due to human interaction and historical factors. Such merging also helps in development of those areas, which are naturally not so fit. However, this was true to very less extent in the case of Mughal *subas*. We find that under developed areas were not given much emphasis and only required resources were obtained from them and they were not developed by elites and nobles, who preferred staying in urban centers on the sides of river.

III

The 'Account of Twelve *subas*' in the *Ain-i-Akbari* supplies statistics of the measured area and revenue demands of the State from *parganas*. *Ain* provides there statistic in right columns under these heads as *parganat* (*parganas*) quila (fortress), *arzi* (measured area), *naqdi* (assessed revenue), *suyurgahal* (revenue grants), *zamindars*, *sawar* (Cavalry) and *piyada* (foot soldier).⁸⁰ This statistic gives the information which could be used in different derivations.

Shireen Moosvi has calculated the *arazi* and *jama* from the original manuscripts and has provided the total figures for the *parganas*. Though the difference between the two totals (that is done from *Ain* and the other provided in

⁸⁰ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian systems* pp 1-2 He had pointed out that Blochman's editions however, has dropped the original pattern of statistic provided in the manuscripts and in the Jarrett's edition few columns have been omitted without explanations.

table) is small, still I have preferred here to take the *pargana* total from Shireen Moosvi's calculations.⁸¹

Table I
Area and Revenue Statistics of the *Sarkars* of the *Suba*
(000'omitted)

S. No	<i>sarkar</i>	Measured Area <i>Arazi</i> (area in bighas)	Area of Percentage	Estimated Revenue <i>Jama</i>	Revenue percentage	Map Area in sq. kms.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Allahabad	573585	14.49	22831599	10.75	6700
2	Ghazipur	288780-12	7.29	13729622	6.46	3820
3	Banaras	154702-12	3.91	8860618	4.17	520
4	Jaunpur	870707	21.98	56002527	26.38	5965
5	Manikpur	666919-12	16.83	33906527	15.97	734
6	Chunar	106269-16	2.67	5810954	2.73	4043
7	Bathghora	-	-	7262780	3.42	279.23
8	Kalinjar	508273-12	12.82	23809087	11.21	1537.7
9	Kora	341167-3	8.60	17396561	8.19	3452
10	Kara	450487-15	11.36	22654068	10.67	4113
	Total	3960893.2	99.95	212264343	99.95	89648

- Sources:
1. Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, p. 23-28
 2. Column 7 taken from Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p Vii-Viii. (1 bigha = 0.0024282 sq.kms.)

In the table when percentage of the area for each *sarkar* was calculated, it is seen that few regions like Jaunpur, Manikpur, Kalinjar and Allahabad had comparatively large measured area. From the Geographical study we know that these areas had lied in the fertile soil region. Even Banaras, Kora, Kara, Ghazipur, Chunar had also similar soil but the measured area was less. But Bathghora *sarkar* does not have measured area and it can be inferred that this region was not fertile as it lied in rocky area and forests were there. This would have also made it inaccessible for the revenue officials who had gone for survey and result was they left it unmeasured.

⁸¹ Shireen Moosvi. *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c 1595, A statistical study*, OUP, 1987 pp 23-28

Even in the measured area *sarkars* we find that it is very small percentage of the map area that is measured. This can be seen in case of Chunar, Banaras & Kora. They would also have rocky regions which would not have been suitable for crop production. This can be inferred that the size of uncultivable waste was large (nearly 89.29 percent).⁸² This gives that cultivated area was 14.37% of the total. This was the lowest in the northern plain *subas*. In the table if we see the percentage of the measured area and the percentage of revenue estimate we find certain similarity. This similarity is showing that whatever small area was cultivated the revenue yield was between 90-116% from them. For example, in case of measured area of Jaunpur which was 21.98%, we have revenue percent as 26.38%. This shows revenue yield is higher. This can help us to realize that since the area was fertile and the perennial rivers were there, the crop production in even small area yielded good amount of revenue this was because of two or three crop in a year. This was even given impetus by cash crops like sugarcane, indigo, *pan*, cotton etc. Similar case we find with most of the other Allahabad *suba's sarkars*.

This explains why there *dastur*-circles yielded high rates. This increase in revenue camps also be taken that it contained in it the percentage of non-agricultural sector.⁸³

Another territorial division, which we see during Akbar's reign, was, the *dastur* which are do not find in the earlier periods. This was also introduced during

⁸² K.K. Trivedi, *Estimating Forests, Wastes and Fields, Studies in History*, pp 310-311. He has taken out the uncultivable waste to be 80030 sq. kms. And has taken out its percentage from the total map area 89,648 sq. Kms (as provided from *Atlas of Mughal Empire*, p vii-viii)

⁸³ Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (London 1925) p 96. He has said that while carrying goods from Allahabad they had to pay Rs. 4 for each wagon. This was demanded by the *daroga*

the period of *suba* constitution. The *sarkars* In the *doab* area were divided into different *dastur* circles.⁸⁴ The basis of this division was difference in crop rates (mainly due to the productivity of the soil). The southern part had no *dastur* circles, except in Kalinjar on western side.⁸⁵

This provides the explanation why this less fertile region was attached to such fertile part. It can be thus inferred that the area and *jama* figure of this part of the *suba* was not based on the extensive surveys as done in other parts of the *suba*.

If the above differences kept aside and then classification of crops of the *suba* is done. We find that *suba* Allahabad lied in a heterogeneous region. On the western side wheat and rice both were cultivated and on the eastern boundary rice zone prevailed.⁸⁶

The demarcation of *suba* was to ensure that no single officer had much revenue yielding area, that they become ambitious as seen in past histories of the region Akbar tried to do this to avoid further rebellions, and this would have been one of the major reason behind merger of unproductive area with very productive and densely populated area. He might have chosen Allahabad to be the headquarter and not Jaunpur, Kara-Manikpur (the earlier centers), because he wanted to have

⁸⁴ *Dastur*-circles were revenue rates of that area. It included one *pargana* or many *parganas* together mostly it was within the *sarkar*, but at times included *parganas* from different *sarkar*. In there were 15 *dastur* circles and there were mostly in the northern part of the *suba*. These many *parganas* in the surrounding areas. At times one *sarkar* had three *dastur* circles, for eg. Allahabad, Kora, *sarkar* like Jaunpur and Manikpur, had 2 *dastur* circles. Other *sarkars* had only 1 *dastur* circles. Ain II, p. 96-97.

⁸⁵ Kalinjar *sarkar* had only one *dastur* circle inspite of having large area . Bathghora *sarkar* did not have any. As we have seen earlier and speculated that there would have been geographical factors, or the presence of strong chief who would not have allowed to measure in his dominion and fix rates. So no *dastur* circles existed there. The area of this *sarkars* when calculated comes nearly 31-32%. When this is added to the areas of parts of Kalinjar, Chunar and Allahabad, it would reach at least to about 38-40 %

⁸⁶ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system*, pp24-26. See also, Spate fig. 18-6; Uttar Pradesh: Select crop distribution, rainfall, and irrigation, pp552-54; K.K.Trivedi, *Agra: A profile of a Mughal suba*.

strict control over the southern part which was under autonomous chiefs. This headquarters would have also been preferred to have easy access to the activities of Bengal and Bihar *suba*.

In the Mughal period Allahabad fort had significant history as herein reign of Jahangir, the crown prince after his rebellion against his father,⁸⁷ stayed and even tried to rule in the local area and till 1605, when Akbar died and he became the emperor. Even Shah Jahan had been at Allahabad fort for quite some time when he revolted against Jahangir⁸⁸ and many *mansabdars* and nobles were sent against him.

In the last quarter of seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, this region again witnessed revolts.⁸⁹ Several pockets started emerging in the *suba* in the absence of strong ruler at Delhi (as Aurangzeb was in Deccan). One of the important pocket was Benaras where the *zamindars* revolted.⁹⁰ Later Allahabad's importance declined and Lucknow gained prominence over this region.

IV

The resource potential of this *suba* was fairly good if we compare it with other *subas*. In 1595, the measured area of this *suba* was very low, as we have seen earlier that much area was under forest and plateau region so not measured, even

⁸⁷ Beni Parsad, *History of Jahangir*, (Allahabad 1962) p 36

⁸⁸ Ain I p 450; Tuzuk-i-Jahangir (R&B) II, pp 294, 296; de Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr.J.S.Hoyland and S.N. Banerji, Bombay, 1928. p 215, 216.

⁸⁹ Muzaffar Alam, "Aspects of Agrarian Uprisings in North India", (ed.), Sanjay Subramanyam and Muzaffar Alam, *The Mughal State 1526-1750*, pp.425-473.R.P.Rana, *Agrarian Revolts in Northern India during the late 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, *IESHR*, Delhi XVII (3-4), 1981, 287-326.

⁹⁰ *Zamindars* revolted Benaras and Mansa Ram came to power in 1738 and laid the foundation of Benaras Raj. One year later his son Balwant Singh secured his position by obtaining a *zamindari* saved from *nawab* of Awadh and got title of 'Raja' from Mughal Emperor. See K.P. Mishra, *Benaras in Transition (1738-1795)* Delhi 1975.

those which were measured had large proportion of uncultivable and cultivable waste, 89.27% and 33.98% respectively.

If we draw a table which shows the map area, measured area and estimated revenue for few *subas* then we can infer this and find that *suba* had less measured area but comparatively it gave high revenue.

If we take the difference between the measured area of Awadh and Allahabad, it is 15049 sq. kms. And the area in percentage is around 61%. But correspondingly the difference in the revenue index is only 13%.

Table: II

Comparison Area and *Jama* for five *Subas*

S.No.	<i>suba</i>	Map area in sq. km.	Arazi in sq. km.	% of 4/3	Jama in dams	6:3 *1000	Index Agra 100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Agra	11,9,132	63956	53.6%	5,46,250	4,585.25	100
2.	Allahabad	89,648	9,618	10.7%	212,428	2,369.58	51.68
3.	Awadh	68,539	24667	35.9%	201758	2943.70	64.2
4.	Delhi	1,73004	69,362	40.0%	6,01,616	3477.41	75.84
5.	Lahore	1,40969	38,824	27.75%	5,559,458	3968.66	86.55

Source: Column 3 from IRFAN HABIB, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire, Delhi 1982 pp vii-viii*
Arazi and jama figures from Shrieen Moosvi, The Economy of Mughal Empire: A Statistical Study, pp 23-26, They being converted by 1 bigha = 0.0024282 sq. km.

This makes it clear to some extent that inspite of having large measured area the revenue was less. Awadh's uncultivable waste is also only 64.01% where as that of for Allahabad is 89.27%. All this gives an idea that inspite of having small area under cultivation, *suba* Allahabad had good revenue potential.

This small area yielding large revenue follows the logic that this area had the potential and thus it was merged with part which was not too fertile and irrigated. This would have been to curb to some extent the power of the governors and officials.

The revenue granted from non-agrarian sectors of the economy is very difficult to estimate. Mughal rulers, did not give much attention to revenue potential from this sector. They did not give importance to have an account or proper calculation of revenue from this sector. Even in the transit of goods to important towns and ports the merchants had to pay 2-5 % ad valorem⁹¹, though the amount would have been increased or decreased in different centers.⁹² This was very less in comparison to fifty percent demand on the agricultural production.

Contemporary writers were aware of the important routes especially Agra to Patna.⁹³ Where Agra being the model centre of the merchandise which mostly came from Bengal and where to go to the Surat or Multan. Thus this route followed was important as on way merchants use to sell their goods in major cities and also pick up the specialized production from these places and take them to Agra⁹⁴ and then further to ports. The centres on the route from *suba* Allahabad were *sarkar* head spaquarters like Kora, Kara Allahabad, Jaunpur, Ghazipur etc. The urban taxation of the *suba* was 30,22,738 *dams*⁹⁵ and if the per cent is taken from the *jama* which was 2122643 *dams* it was about 1.42%.

Goods which were not extensively available in the western region were facilitated by the merchants who were from east that is from *suba* of Bengal &

⁹¹ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p 72-73

⁹² Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball (ed.), W. Crooke 2 vols., London, 1925.p 96. It was 4% at Allahabad.

⁹³ Bernier, *Travel in Mughal Empire 1658-68*, tr. By A. Constable revised V. A. Smith, London 1916; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, vol.2, pp.113-21; Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy ion Europe and Asia*, vol.II, *Travels in Asia*, (ed.), R.C. Temple Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, no.XXXV, London, 1914.

⁹⁴ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p 73

⁹⁵ Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of Mughal Empire*, p 312-314

Bihar.⁹⁶ They use to collect cheap goods from these regions and supply to the West.⁹⁷ Indian cotton textiles were exported from Bengal, Patna, Benaras etc. to Agra, Multan, Lahore, Persia, Turkey.⁹⁸ If the Mughal administration realized the tax at the rate of 2.5% ad valorem substantial revenue would have been collected from cities. Though we do not have the *jama* figure for period after Jahangir and Shah Jahan, it is not very easy to make a guess for what percentage of the *jama* figure it amounted for Allahabad *sarkar* on Banaras *sarkar*.

V

Contemporary sources do not provide any specific demographic pattern of the *suba*. Veteran medievalists like Moreland⁹⁹, Irfan Habib,¹⁰⁰ Shireen Moosvi,¹⁰¹ A.V. Desai,¹⁰² Kingslay Davis,¹⁰³ K.K. Trivedi¹⁰⁴ have tried to draw some pattern of population. Unfortunately none of them have reached to conclusion which would be acceptable to all.

⁹⁶ Pelseart pp 4,5,6,9; Mundi II p 95; Finch, *Early Travels in India*: ed W. Foster 1927 p 178-179

⁹⁷ IV p 250, see also S. Moosvi p 385

⁹⁸ W. Foster, *Letters received by East-India Company, from its servants in the East 6 Vols*, London (1896-1902), IV, p 250, see also Shireen Moosvi p 385. She says that western overland routes were used to export Indian Cotton textiles. This was in sixteenth Century also as mentioned by Babar that cotton was among the main merchandise which was sought to Kabul from India.

⁹⁹ W.H. Moreland *India at the Death of Akbar: An Economic study* (London 1920) Delhi reprint, 1962, pp 16-22

¹⁰⁰ Irfan Habib 'Population' *Cambridge Economic History* (ed.), Tapan Ray Chaudhary and Irfan Habib pp 163-171

¹⁰¹ Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, pp.395-406.

¹⁰² A.V. Desai, "Population and Standard of Living in Akbar's Time", *IESHR*, vol.IX, no.1, 1972, pp.34-62.

¹⁰³ Kingslay Davis, *Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton, 1951, p.24.

¹⁰⁴ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: A Profile of a Mughal suba*, Pune, 1998.

I have tried to understand the density of population in *suba* Allahabad by the general map showing *parganas*¹⁰⁵ of the *suba*. If we comparatively analyse with physiographic map the map we find that nearly 95% of the *parganas* lied in the northern part of the *suba* and only a small percentage of *parganas* are there in *sarkar* Bathghora and southern part of Kalinjar. This helps us to understand the population density to some extent. It was only the upper part which was developed and had cities where all sorts of multi cultural population survived. Thus, we can speculate that comparatively the population density here would be on a higher side in northern part of the *suba*.

If we work out the pattern of the population based on the *jama* figures in the different *dastur*-circles,¹⁰⁶ it gives a picture where *Jaunpur* had highest *jama* per *square mile*, followed by *Manikpur*, *Kara* and *Bhadoi*. The other *dastur*- circles like *Banaras*, *Ghazipur*, *Allahabad*, *Rae Barielly*, *Kora* paid nearly equal *jama* per square mile. *Chunar*, *Jajmau*, *Kutia*, *Kalinjar*, *Ghiswa* paid low *jama* per square mile. And the large *sarkar* of *Bathghora* did not have any *dastur*-circle and paid relatively very less *jama* per square mile.¹⁰⁷

The comparison the maps of this *suba*, we find some logic between the establishments (i.e. the towns, cities) and the population. From this comparison it can be inferred that the northern part of the *suba* was very fertile and had the potential to support large population. It also yielded the revenue relatively high and

¹⁰⁵ Irfan Habib ' *Population*' *Cambridge Economic History* ed Tapan Ray Chaudhary and Irfan Habib pp 163-171

¹⁰⁶ Shireen Moosvi, p 133-134

¹⁰⁷ *Ain* II p 177. *Ain* though does not provide any statistic but it is clear from the figures available that some lump sum amount was paid by the autonomous chiefs, though area was not measured, it could be due to geographical reasons or reluctance of these chiefs.

thus had all the trading centres and towns located here, so the populations of this region was large.

The towns and cities developed in this *suba* with diversity in population. This was due to these cities being located on the trade routes, which were very significant for inland as well as overland trade.

Different trading groups, *serrofs*, bankers, artisans, nobles all resided in Mughal towns. This led to development, though on small scale. The towns and cities grew mostly on trade routes and in those places which were on the bank of the rivers.

Thus, in *suba* Allahabad there is not many cities in southern part. Though while formation of *suba*, it would have been one of the idea behind merging a developed land with underdeveloped land. But, this did not acquire much relevance in case of *suba* Allahabad, as the nobles preferred staying on the banks of rivers.¹⁰⁸ Most of the towns were unplanned and were result of religious factor or economic importance, only the strategic location was taken into consideration.

Thus, formation of *subas* were partially successful act which could not develop as was expected from it while it was formed still it can be said that these were partially successful.

The above discussion shows the few aspects behind the formation of *suba*. It becomes explicit that the geomorphological features were important and were kept into consideration while demarcating the *subas*. Akbar took into considerations the political history of the region as well as the economic power generation of the region

¹⁰⁸ Pelsert, 'Remonstrat', Tr. W.H. Moreland, *Jahangir's India* p 6.

into consideration while segregating certain areas into one block and adding few to other. He would have definitely had some plans of development of those regions which were earlier under developed when he added latter to the former. Though the achievement was not great still this aspect cannot be ruled out.

In cash of *suba* Allahabad, after its demarcations, Akbar selected Allahabad to be its headquarter and not Jaunpur (a centre of Afghans) or Kara Manikpur. This might have been due to its strategic location, and Akbar's plans to keep a close watch on the developments in *suba* Bengal and Bihar. He also wanted to have control over *Garh-Katanga* region, and this would have been possible only if fort was at Allahabad and troops were stationed there. As it can be inferred from whatever information is provided in the contemporary sources, that the lower part of the *suba* was not under the direct control of the Mughals.¹⁰⁹ That it would have been in the hands of local proprietors or *zamindars*, it was necessary for the Emperor to keep an eye on the developments in the region.

This is also clear, when we do not find much development in the southern region, while in the northern part of *suba* development took place. These southern region chiefs would not have cooperated in any such effort.

Thus, formation of *subas* were partially successful etc. which could not develop as was expected from it while it was formed. Still it can be said that these were partially successful act as till the center remained strong these regions were under its control. Later in eighteenth century situation changed and these *subas* individually started disintegrating from the empire.

¹⁰⁹ *Ain* II p 176, we do not find any statistical information about Bandogarh *sarkar*. Only a general revenue collections is provided in lump sum

Chapter 2

Agricultural Sector

In the medieval period agricultural sector was important as the revenue generated from it was large and Mughals relied heavily on it. The contemporary Indian resources therefore provide the account of the agricultural revenue. Information about the non-agricultural sector is mainly available to us from the European language sources. The detailed information about the agricultural sector is provided in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. This especially relates to the productivity of soil, *dasturs* (assessment rates) *arazi* (measured area) and *jama dami* (assessed revenue). This has been of immense value to arrange a general picture of Mughal period agricultural sector and the measures that were introduced to regulate it.¹

In order to understand the revenue assessment under the Mughals we need to know the extent of cultivation. Veteran medievalists like Moreland², Irfan Habib,³ Shireen Moosvi⁴ have tried to calculate the extent of cultivation, taking the *Ain* statistics as base. Moreland has taken the statistics provided in the *Ain* for *arazi* as gross cropped area (i.e. double cropped area which is counted twice). He has compared this with the data of 1900, to assess the cultivated area during the gap of

¹ W.H. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Muslim India: A Historical Essay with appendices*, R.P. Tripathi, Irfan Habib and C.

² W.H. Moreland, "The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire", *JUPHS*, II, (i), Lucknow 1919

³ Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian of Mughal Empire 1556-1707* (Revised) New Delhi 1999.

⁴ Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire: A Statistical Study*, Delhi, 1987.

three hundred years.⁵ Later scholars have accepted Moreland's view in the main. Irfan Habib has classified the measured area of Mughal records under three heads: "Total cropped area (or sown)", "Current fellows", and "Cultivable Wastes other than follows."⁶ Shireen Moosvi has also accepted this view but she adds that, around 1595, the measured area included a substantial percentage of cultivable waste and only ten percent was uncultivable waste.⁷ However, S.P. Gupta has estimated the uncultivable waste on the higher side and has suggested this to be 20 percent.⁸

The above assumptions do not match the per *bigha* assessed revenue (obtained from *jama* and measured area figures of *Ain*) with the crop/revenue takes of the *dastur* circles.⁹ Based on the *Ain*, the average per *bigha* assessed revenue for the *aabti* (where measurement was complete) *provinces* work out as Agra - 22.15 *dams*, Delhi - 20.00, Awadh - 25.00 Lahore – 33.00 and Allahabad – 48.89 *dams* per *bigha*.¹⁰ In case of *suba* Allahabad it is suggested that the measurement was partial, which may explain its high ratio.¹¹ This mis-match is more

⁵ W.H. Moreland, "The Agricultural Statistics of Akbars Time". *JUPHS*, II, Lucknow 1919 pp 1-39

⁶ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p 6

⁷ Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of Mughal Empire* p 44

⁸ S.P. Gupta, *The Agrairan System of Eastern Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1982, p 41

⁹ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of a Mughal Suba*, Pune 1998 p 54-55

¹⁰ Shireen Moosvi. *The Economy of the Mughal Empire* p 44

¹¹ Moreland, *JUPHS*, 1919, Vol II I, p 3

prominent with the cash crops, whose rates were very high, i.e. the difference varied from food crop to cash crop between 13 (for *Kuri*) to 268 *dams* per *bigha* (for *Pan*).¹² To obtain the over all average we avoid there cash crops which were assessed at very high rates, for instance, sugarcane (120-240 *dams/bigha*), indigo (120-160 *dams/bigha*), Pan / betel leaves (210-270 *dams/bigha*)¹³

This can be seen from the following two tables. One is on *Ain* food crops. Table 1 and Table 2 is having mixed crops irrespective of the seasons:

Table 1
Assessment Rates for Main Food Crops (*dams /bigha*)

S.No.	Crops	Assessment Rates		Mid point of Col. 3	Average of <i>dasturs</i>
		Min	Max		
1	Wheat	58.4	69.18	63.79	62.14
2.	Barley	40.6	67.2	53.9	36.20
3.	Gram	37.0	41.9	39.45	36.27
4.	Rice	46.24	56.24	51.24	46.19
5.	Jawar	32.15	40.6	36.37	34.20
6.	Moth	14.11	33.14	23.62	25.26
	Average			44.72	40.04

Source: *Ain-i-Akbari* pp 98.99

¹² *Ain* II, pp 98-99

¹³ K.K. Trivedi, "Estimating forests, wastes and fields", p 307. see Also K.K. Trivedi's *Agra: profile of Mughal suba* pp 54-55

Table 2
Assessment Rates of Crops (Food Crops and Commercial crops)
(dams/bigha)

S. No.	Crops	Assessment Rates		Mid point of Col. 3	Average of <i>dasturs</i>
		Min	Max		
1	Indigo	162.3	163.6	162.95	152.03
2.	Sugarcane (common)	103.17	143.1 7	123.17	109.22
3.	Mustard	20.3	40.6	30.45	32.36
4.	Wheat	58.4	69.18	63.79	62.14
5.	Rice (common)	46.24	56.24	51.24	46.19
6.	Jowar	32.15	40.6	36.37	34.20
7.	Barley	40.6	67.2	53.9	36.20
8.	Moong	40.6	49.5	45.05	43.96
		Average		70.86	64.53

Source: *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp 98.99

In Table 1, the major food crops have been taken and their maximum and minimum rates have been provided (in column 3). The midpoints of column 3 is in column 4 which shows that comparatively the rates remained high. If the average is taken for all these crops then it is also on the higher side inspite of there being few cheap crops included in it.

Column 5 shows the average of the *dasturs* and this comes out to be 40.04 which is less than the mid point. This shows that the rates of the same crop varied in different *dastur* circle. This could help us in understanding the cropping pattern in the *suba. Sarkars* which did not have the favourable condition to grow these crops, but the demand was

high, the rates would have been high. And also that the price would have been on the basis of consumption of the crop.

If we closely analyse column 4 and 5 we see that the rates mid-points are high and the average is low. This explains the demand – supply relationship of commodities.

In table 2, I have taken few cash crops and few main food crops (here *pan* is not included as its rate is high everywhere). Column 3 shows the maximum and minimum assessment rates. If we take the midpoints, (as done in column 4) and average of the *dasturs* (in column 5), we find similar results as table 1, i.e. column 5's rates are less than the average of rates provided by their midpoints. Here I want to show that the rates have gone high in average because of the cash crops. These crops were in high demand all over the *suba* as they were sent to other *subas*, their rates were high. These crops (indigo, sugarcane, cotton) had high rates because they engaged the soil for nearly one year. They also required better irrigation facility and fertile soil to give good yield.

They were used extensively inspite of their price being high. When sold the peasants got good returns and thus most of them even opted for it. High rates can also be on the basis of transaction charges added to them¹⁴, since they were not always available in the region of their requirement.

¹⁴ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System* p 73

We can find from the above tables that Mughal administration would have collected revenue nearly 40 *dams/bigha*, on an average. And if the commercial crops revenue were added to it, the revenue per a *bigha* would have gone very high. But the minimum would have been 40 *dams/bigha* around A.D. 1600.

With this assumed average rate of assessment as 40 *dams/bigha*, the stated *jama* of the *suba*, 21,22,64,343 *dams*,¹⁵ could have been obtained from the cultivation of 39,60,893-2 *bighas*. This shows that it was just one-seventh part of the area of *suba* which was measured and given in *Ain*. But this does not early explain why such less area was measured. But we can say that the *jama dami* included the revenue yield from the non-agrarian sector also. Its sphere has been calculated at about the percent of the *jama*.¹⁶ If we subtract this amount from the total, the *jama dami*, 1,91,03,792 *dams*, could have been obtained from cultivation of 1584440 *bighas* or 40 per cent of the recorded 39,6,893 *bighas* of measured area.

The measured area can also be calculated and the relationship could be inferred with area of *suba* or its *sarkars*. The following table is

¹⁵ Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire* p 27-28

¹⁶ *Ibid* p 129-130

made with the help of *Ain-i Akbari* for measured area and Irfan Habib's Atlas for map area.

Table 3

Size of measured area, c 1595 (in sq. kms)

S.No.	Sarkar	Map area	Measure dams	4:3
1	Allahabad	6700	1393	20.79
2	Benaras	1520	376	24.73
3	Chunar	4043	258	06.38
4	Bathghora	27923		
5	Ghazipur	3820	701	18.35
6	Jaunpur	15965	2114	13.24
7	Kalinjar	15377	1234	8.02
8	Kara	4113	1094	26.59
9	Kora	3452	828	23.98
10	Manikpur	6734	1619	24.04
	Total	89648	9618	10.72

Sources: (i) Col 3 from Irfan Hebib, *An Atalas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982, pp vii-viii

(ii) *Arazi* figures given in Shireen Moosvi's *The Economy of the Mughal Empire* pp 23, The figures have been converted; 1 *bigha* 0.0024282 sq. km.

This is clear from the above table that only 11% of the area of the *suba* Allahabad was measured. Here, we find the approximate estimation done earlier as one seventh of the total area comes nearer to this calculation. Still it can also be that whatever map area we have for the *suba* and *sarkar* boundaries cannot be the same as that would have been in sixteenth century.

The macro regions of the *suba*, the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* and Ganga-Ghaghra *doab*, which covered the plain area though here and there forests did exist even in these plain areas.¹⁷ These forests were large and animals like tiger, elephants found shelter here. In the *sarkar* Bhattghora the forest would have been very dense as we don't have any measured area figure from this *sarkar*. This is also supported by the figures provided in *Ain* that the autonomous chiefs had 200 elephants with them¹⁸, while in other places the *zamindaras* either did not possess them or even if they had it was nominal. In the first chapter we have seen that when Asaf Khan attacked *Gharh Katanga* region, along with the wealth he managed to get around 500 elephants from this region.

Even the figures in *Ain* for *sarkar* Kalinjar shows that the chief possessed around 112 elephants.¹⁹ All this attest the fact that this region was inhabited by thick forests, which were of sal trees.²⁰ Thus, we can conclude safely that most part of *sarkar* Kalinjar, *sarkar* Chunar and parts of Allahabad *sarkar* and whole of Bathghora was accessible for the Mughal officials, and also parts of *sarkar* Jaunpur, Manikpura, Kora

¹⁷ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol III, 266-267; *Finch in Early Travel in India* (1583-1619), ed W. Foster, London 1927, p 177; JB Tavenier, *Travels in India* 1640-47, Te V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crook, London (1925) Vol II p 205.

¹⁸ *Ain* II p 177

¹⁹ *Ibid*

²⁰ O.H.K. Spate and Lermonth pp.48-49.

were inaccessible. Thus, we find only 11% of the total area of the *suba* being measured.

For *sarkar* Bathghora, it is also to be kept in mind that it was dominated by Gond tribes and Beghala chiefs and these would not have allowed the official to come and measure the land. As they would not have been paying the proper revenue fixed by the state but would have been giving something as tribute or *peshkash*.²¹

By rough estimate nearly half of *sarkar* Kalinjar would have been under the thick forest and hilly land. So these two *sarkar* areas under such forest and hilly terrain would together comprise merely 35% of the *suba*. If the forest areas of the northern plain is also combined to it, it would come amount 40% of the area of the *suba* which would have been left without measuring it.

Thus, statistics of *Ain* can be used to draw many results. As *pargana* jurisdiction would have been a common phenomenon²² and under Akbar it would have been defined as measuring unit, cultivated land formed just one category of overall land covering land under

²¹ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system* pp 227-228, see also P. Saran *The Provincial Government of the Mughals 1526-1658*, New York, 1941, Delhi, reprint 1973 p 123-124. The *Ain* ignore the Bundel Kingdom of Orchha. The *sarkar* of Bathghora was already a kingdom of its own right.

²² K.K. Trivedi, "Estimating forests, wastes and fields", *Studies in History*, Vol XIV, 2, July-Dec 1998, p 301-11. See also K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of a Mughal suba*, pp 58-59.

habitation, tanks, wells, rivers, barren lands, hillocks.²³ The unit of measurement being *bigha*.

Measured area in the *Ain*, has been provided under the leading *zamin-i-paimuda*, which does not necessarily mean cultivated or cultivable area. It could have been the administrative unit of a settlement. It has been explained by K.K. Trivedi on the basis that, the statistics are not provided in relation to *sarkar* or a *pargana*; and also that Abul Fazl has not used the expressions like *kishta/mazru* (tilled/cultivable lands) for these statistics.²⁴

From the above discussions, we may conclude that only 14.28 percent of *suba* was under cultivation, this is close to our measurement calculation of 11% of the area was measured. We have hypothetically stated that 40% of the area would have been under thick forest. The rest of the area we can speculate was under the chiefs and *zamindars* who would not have allowed the Mughal officials to measure the land. This percentage would have been on the higher side because this regions was fertile and as we have seen in chapter I, the rebel chiefs would have been staying here in large numbers. In later part of this chapter we shall try to make a rough estimate of area under these chiefs.

²³ Ibid

²⁴ *Ain*, II p 169-179. This is for *subas* Allahabad's statistics provided by *Ain*.

II

Agricultural production continued to be large in the Mughal period and Indian peasants had acquired the knowledge to grow a large number of food and cash crops. Large number of crops were harvested in both the harvesting seasons.²⁵ Few countries (except China) could have compared itself with that of the great multiplicity of crops in India.²⁶

During this period large number of commercial crops were grown. This would have been because it gave large revenue returns and were also in demands in the international markets. It is in the seventeenth century and not when *Ain* was written that these were extensively introduced to Indians. Even tobacco and maize were adopted between 1600 and 1650 and were widely cultivated throughout the Empire.²⁷

Leaving few, most of the crops, out of the 41 crops²⁸ grown in the *suba* were grown in all the *dastur* circles of the *suba*. This would have been because different crops acquire different soil, irrigation facilities

²⁵ *Ain*, II pp 98-99

²⁶ Irfan Habib, 'Technologies and social change in Mughal India (*JHR* 1978-79) Vols, p 153

²⁷ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system*, p 50

²⁸ *Ain*, II pp 98-99

and weeding which necessitated expensive inputs, while few could be grown on less fertile soil and required less water for irrigation.

In selecting a particular crop for a particular area the quality of soil acted as a determining factor. Even in the fertile areas, where there is irrigation facilities, the *parauti* lands would not be used to grow crops like wheat and sugarcane as few of these crops need soft soil. Under the Mughals the *polaj* land was always cultivated and other lands were at times not cultivated, and there were different rates of assessment in different areas.²⁹ Most part of *suba* Allahabad lies in upper and middle Gangetic plains, major portion of this is in the *doab* area and thus comes under the alluvial soil.³⁰

The nature and type of soil is determined with the kind of plough used. The alluvial soil in *suba* Allahabad mostly comprise of the fine silt type i.e. *khadar* type. This is a classification of alluvial soil which is very fertile and it is inundated by flood every year. This siltation occurs due to presence of perennial rivers. The northern part of the *suba* is irrigated by three perennial rivers namely, Ganga, Yamuna and Ghaghra (*Sarau*) and their numerous tributaries.

²⁹ *Ain*, p 297, 301-303 see also K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of a Mughal Suba* p 60-61

³⁰ R.L. Singh, *India: A Regional Geography*, Varanasi 1981 p 135

The perennial rivers spread throughout the Gangetic plains making the soil fertile due to presence of alluvium. This alluvium made the soil light and the places where these were there as top soil, it was not required to plough deep, so wooden plough was easily used by peasants.³¹ But if the alluvial layer was absent and the soil was hard, then heavy plough³² was required to deeply furrow the soil and make it porous. In *suba* Allahabad both kind of soils were there in northern and southern parts respectively. Cultivators used ploughs with small iron plough here fitted in such an angle that it would not penetrate very deep into the soil. This would also help in retention of moisture for long. This would have been the southern part and south western part of the *suba* where water table was not high and no perennial river was there. So far irrigation cultivators would have to judiciously use the rain water which was not very high (between 60 cm to 110 cm)³³. Scholars have speculated and tried to prove on the basis of geographical conditions which Indian peasantry faced thus adapted to the conditions available. They would have used iron plough (though a small one) to cultivate their lands and get best out of it.³⁴ The European travellers have also attested to the fact that Indians used the existing agricultural

³¹ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: profile of Mughal suba*, Chapter II.

³² Harbrans Mukhia, "Agricultural Technology in Medieval North India", *Perspectives in Medical History*, Delhi (1993) pp 220-223

³³ R. L. Singh pp.135-137.

³⁴ Moreland, *India at the Deeth of Akbar; An Economic Study* London (1920), Delhi permit 1962. pp 98-99; Infan Habib, *Agrarian system* p 24-25; Harbans Mukhia, *Perspectives*, pp 214-244

implements.³⁵ They even used manure to have the soil contain its fertility. There manures were mostly the cow-dung which were used as fertilizers.³⁶

Rotation of crops could be seen in this period, as *Ain* provides the list of crops grown in spring season and autumn season.³⁷ In this list even leguminous plants are seen which would have helped in maintaining the fertility of the soil.

In the areas where the soil was not fine and light the kind of plough used would have been of iron. This would have been in case of *sarkar* Bathghora and Kalinjar where the hilly land prevailed and there was no perennial river, which means the water table would be low. So its cultivation was done in this area.³⁸ The soil in this region was also red and black type, which is generally hard when dry.

As mentioned earlier contemporary sources in Persian do not speak much about iron plough. But European sources³⁹ do talk about it. In fifteenth century impression sources iron plough share is mentioned.⁴⁰

³⁵ F. Pelseart, 'Remonstratate' c 1626, Tr. W.H. Moreland and P Geyle as *Jahangir's India*, Delhi reprint 1972 p 48

³⁶ Tavernier, I p 40. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System* p 61

³⁷ *Ain*, II pp 98-99

³⁸ As *Ain* does not provide any clear description of statistical information about this *sarkar*. *Ain*, II p 177. No darker circle is there in this *sarkar*.

³⁹ Steel and Cowther, *Purchas....* II p 268; Pelseart p 48, Terry, I, p 40.

⁴⁰ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system* p 24-25 He has described that the use of iron plough share is discussed in *Miftah-ul Fuzla* by Muhmmmed bin Daud Shadiabadi

Irrigation in this *suba* would have been mainly with the rainwater and the rivers, since there has been no mention of canals. It can be inferred that the drainage of the rivers was so extensive that bringing water from river system in this manner was not required or found necessary.

Whatever would have been the requirement for irrigating the fields, it would have been met by well irrigation. Wells would have been the most important artificial means of irrigations. Various devices existed, for drawing water from wells, like 'Persian wheel', the *Charas* and the *dhenkli* are among few mentioned here. 'Persian wheel' was not found commonly being used, this would have been because of its high cost, as very good carpenter was required to make the entire device from wood, and if spoiled, it was to be again replaced by a similar wheel which always required a trained hand. This would have been the most common reason for it not being extensively used in this period, though wooden rollers were in use.

Though there is no direct evidence of the use of 'Persian wheel' in Gangetic valley it is assumed that it had reached India in sixteenth century as has been mentioned by Babur (1530)⁴¹ that it was in use in

⁴¹ Babur, *Baburnamah*, Irfan Habib, "Technological Barrier and Social Change in Mughal India", p.158.

one of the provinces and its carpenters were familiar with constructing pin-drum gearing, while those of the other regions were not.

The tribals in the Chattisgarh and Lohardega used wooden rollers and they along with Deccan and Gujarat peasant communities did not show any intrinsic barriers to adoption of these technical devise which were cheaper and had mastered the skill.⁴² Thus, it can be speculated that if at all there was any use by the people of Lohardagga and Chattisgarh, then at least the southern part of *suba* would have adopted it. This speculation is done on the basis of similar geographical features and ready availability of wood due to presence of forests.

Constructing pin-drum gearing. Use of *charas*, in the region around Agra and to its east has been mentioned in *Baburnamah*.⁴³ To quote Irfan Habib,

“Around Agra and further east, the *charas* or the leather bucket lifted out of water by yoked oxen, pulling a rope thrown over a pulley was most common.”⁴⁴

As area further east to *suba* Agra is *suba* Allahabad it can be inferred that this was used in this *suba* also to draw water from wells for irrigation.

⁴² *Social Change in Mughal India*, p 158.

⁴³ Babar, *Baburnama*, vol I to A.S. Beveridge, London (1921) Delhi reprint 1970 p 487

⁴⁴ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System* p 28

Most of the wells in *suba* Allahabad were *Kachha*, that is they were made without the use of masonry. These necessarily had to be dug afresh, every year.⁴⁵ Pelseart has mentioned the wells being dug afresh annually in *suba* Agra during *rabi* season.⁴⁶ Since we have traced that the device, the *charas* was used in rest of *suba* Agra also, we can speculate that such wells were dug in *suba* Allahabad also, at least in the northern part. This is on the basis that the geographical locations of both the *subas* was somewhat similar.

As discussed earlier the area under cultivation is not fully known in case of *suba* Allahabad. It was only 14% of the total area which was used for cultivation. Still this *suba* was divided into ten *sarkars* and has fifteen *Dastur* circles⁴⁷. *Dastur* – circles are clubbed areas from where uniform revenue rate was charged against a particular crop. Though it is not mentioned in the sources, the basis of the *dastur* segregation, still we can say that the *dastur* must have been segregated on the basis of agricultural efficiency of the land, various types of crops being cultivated and harvested and different qualities of soils present in various parts of the *suba*.

⁴⁵ Babar, *Baburnama*, I, p 388

⁴⁶ F Pelseart, p 48

⁴⁷ *Ain*, II p 96

The rates of the crops provided in the *Ain* for *suba* Allahabad shows that the average was high for Allahabad. This was mainly because most of its area was not measured.⁴⁸ The crops were extensively grown in the areas where adequate rainfall was there soil was of good fertility and thus supported high yield. As for example rice was grown in Allahabad *suba*, Awadh and parts of Agra.⁴⁹

To understand the rates in the *dastur* circles we have Table 4 which is there for all the fifteen *dastur*-circles and some important crops have been taken into account. Studying the table carefully, we find that rates of certain crops were very high in few *dastur*-circles and for few other crops very low in those *dastur* circles only.

This gives us the clue that *dastur* circles where the rates of certain crops were high, demand was more supply less. This we can clearly see in case of Kara where rate of wheat is 113.59 *dams/maund*⁵⁰ and that of Persian musk melon was lowest here, as 75.5 *dams/maund*.⁵¹ Rates at Benaras, Jaunpur, Chanadah, Bhadoi for wheat were same, which help us to understand that these regions were adjoining and the transit charges would have nearly been the same for all of them. This

⁴⁸ W.H. Moreland, *JUPHs* (ii) (i) p 3

⁴⁹ Spate and Leermonths, *India and Pakistan*, pp 552-553 (fig 18-1)

⁵⁰ *Ain*, II pp 98-99

⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp 98-99

can be understood in terms of Allahabad city, which uses the headquarter of the *suba*. If there the rate was 100 then any other place where this rate was more than hundred then, the demand was more but supply less in that region and if the rate was less then demand was less or the crop was grown over there. But this prevailed in case of main food crops and not the commercial crops. We find the rates of commercial crops high throughout the *suba*, as they were in high demand always inside the *suba* as well as outside the *suba*.

From this we can derive certain crop pattern of seventeenth century. The cash crops indigo, sugarcane, cotton and *pan* (betel leaves) are most important. Indigo, which was used for manufacture of a dye, was cultivated all over the *suba*. Another crop, known as *al*, which produced a dye of red colour, was produced on a limited scale in the *sarkars* of *korra* and *Jajmau*.

Sugarcane was grown in the *suba*, almost in all the *dastur*-circles, as irrigation was good in all the *dastur*-circles except Jalalabas.

Even cotton was cultivated almost in all the *dastur* circles except Jalalabas. Jalalabas did not have any autumn harvest,⁵² this might have been due to it being in low lying area, would have been flooded.

⁵² *Ain*, II, p 99

The high yield of various crops entered in *Ain's* suggests that cultivation was normally confined to fertile lands. And the land was normally clarified into good, medium and poor. Under Akbar fresh estimates were made for the crops based on the different categories of land.⁵³

Thus, the yield from *polaj* land (cultivated every year without any breaks with adequate irrigation facility) would have been high.

Few crops took long periods to grow and therefore, occupied land for⁵⁴ long, so they were charged more by the Mughals. Sugarcane, cotton, indigo took much longer time to mature than any other food crops.⁵⁵

Amongst these cash crops, sugarcane and indigo were having reputation in international markets and helped in earning large revenues.

Cultivation of sugarcane and processing of its juice to obtain different categories of sweetening agents has been known in South Asia for more than 2000 years.⁵⁶ It is accepted that this knowledge spread to other parts of the world from India. More than half a dozen varieties

⁵³ *Ain*, pp 297-301

⁵⁴ W. H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System*, pp 250-251 suggests that maximum rates demanded once high grade crops. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system*, pp 246-247; Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of Mughal Empire*, p 104.

⁵⁵ *Ain*, II, p 77, for sugarcane, see also K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile for a Mughal suba* p 68.

⁵⁶ MC Grindle, *Ancient India as described by Magasthenes and Asian*, p 55; see also K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of an Mughal suba* p 69

were prepared from cane juice by the close of the first millennium A.D.⁵⁷ These variations could be obtained from cane juice.

During this period two main variety of sugarcane were cultivated in *suba* Allahabad – the common sugarcane and the *paundah*. Even other varieties would have been cultivated but Abul Fazl mentions only these two in *dastur* rates, as in the case of rice.⁵⁸ Abul Fazl says that one kind of the sugarcane was soft and tender and even the birds could easily puncture its stem by pecking. However, he says that for the production of sugar products, harder variety used.⁵⁹ Later it was inferred in nineteenth century that it was the *paundah* variety about which Abul Fazl talked as soft. This had sweet juice and was cultivated as garden crop.

We have seen that its rate was high in the *sarkars* of *suba* which were near Allahabad city. As the population in the city would have been large and these were to be carried from certain distance for consumption of common people, so rates were high. As the demand was more, rate was high.

There has been no change in the method of cultivation from the way it has been described by Abul Fazl four hundred years ago. They

⁵⁷ George Watt, Dictionary of the *Économic Products of India*, vol 6 pt ii, pp 28-31

⁵⁸ *Ain*, pp 360, 362, Abul Fazl mentions 11 varieties of rice.

⁵⁹ *Ain*, pp 76-77

put some healthy sugarcane in a cool place, and sprinkle it daily with water. When the sun entered the sign of Aquarius (Jan-Feb), they cut off pieces a cubit (about 18") and upwards in length, put them into soft ground (thus cultivated extensively in alluvial plain where soil is soft and irrigation facility is good due to presence of rivers, and also while moving eastwards the amount of rainfall increases⁶⁰ and cover them up with earth. The longer the sugarcane is the deeper they put it. Constant irrigation is required. After seven to eight months it will come up.⁶¹

Even indigo required soft soil and proper indigestions.⁶² The soil was prepared by ploughing again and again.⁶³ And when seeds are sown after four month (approximately) the crop is four feet high. It is cut and this upward portion is cut leaving 15 cm still in field. This crop is *nauli* which is reddish and heavy.⁶⁴ This dye was used to dye cool and heavy foods. The second crop is ready by the next August. The dye obtained is called *Zearie* or *jeery*, light of perfect consist labour and is deemed to be the best.⁶⁵ The *jury* was in maximum demand for drying milk and cotton

⁶⁰ Spate and Learmonth, p 40-41

⁶¹ *Ain*, p 76-77 see also K.K. Trivedi, *Agra Profile of a Mughal suba*, p 70

⁶² S. Muhammad Hadi, p 75. He does not suggest deep following in nineteenth century in Utter Pradesh for Cultivation of Indigo

⁶³ Pelseart, p 48; *The Early Travels*, p 152-153

⁶⁴ *Ibid* p 11; *Ibid.* see also K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of a Mughal suba* p 75

⁶⁵ *Letter Received by the East India Company from its servants in the east 1602-17*, Vol IV, ed. W. Foster, London, 1896-1902 p 241 Mundy, II p 22

cloths. Then the plant was left to bear seeds and the third cutting was called *katel/khtiyal*. The product was blackish and were worst quality.⁶⁶

We see that these two crops occupied the land for nearly one year, though they yielded high revenue rather this would have been the reason behind they having high revenue rates.

Pan and cotton also had similar price. *Pan* of Banaras was famous even in those days and its rate remained somewhat similar in all the *dastur* circles.

Agricultural production had helped to a large extent in growth of trade and commerce. As there was high yield it could support large density of population which was not involved in agricultural production. The agricultural raw materials were also useful for growth of agro-based industries. Few of them we shall discuss in chapter four.

This yield led to high revenue rates in the *doab* areas, which made the elites, nobles and *zamindars* rich. They enjoyed all comforts of life though the peasants remained in hand to mouth situation, as most of the produce was distributed amongst these classes.

⁶⁶ Ibid

Few Important Crops

Regions	Wheat	Poppy	Pension Muskmul	Sugarcane (Paundeh)	Cotton	Indigo	Pan	Singhara
Allahabad	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Jabalbas	95.9	100	103.8	-	-	-	-	-
Bhadoi	105.43	-	-	95.6	102.27	99.2	116.29	95.86
Banaras	105.25	76.74	92.95	86.41	108.2	99.2	127.7	95.86
Jaunpur	105.25	76.74	92.95	92.64	108.2	99.2	127.7	95.86
Mongrah	95.9	103.9	103.8	97.22	102.3	99.2	116.29	95.86
Chandah	105.43	76.74	92.95	92.64	108.2	99.2	127.6	95.86
Ghazipur	105.43	76.74	92.95	92.64	108.2	99.2	127.6	95.86
Kaneh	98.53	103.9	100	99.71	100	99.94	127.6	100
Kora	113.59	84.7	75.5	92.64	102.27	1000	100.14	100.016
Kotia	98.53	101.9	100	100	99.84	100	127.23	95.86
Jamau	98.9	85.3	82.72	92.64	104.6	100	100.19	95.86
Kalingar	103.69	36.8	79.6	92.64	102.27	100	127.7	95.86
Manikur	95.9	104.2	103.8	96.4	102.27	99.2	127.23	95.86
Rae Badhi	102.05	77.14	92.95	92.64	104.57	99.2	127.23	95.86

Calculation based on datas provided in *Ain II* p 98-99.

Chapter 3

Zamindars in Suba Allahabad

*Z*amindars were the names given to the rural propertiore class in later period. But under the Mughals they were categorized broadly under three heads. These heterogeneous groups were either autonomous chiefs, intermediary *zamindars* or primary *zamindars*.¹

Autonomous chiefs were independent to some extent from the state and they either maintained cordial relations with the state and even offered gifts in the form of *peshkash*,² to the Emperor or if in confronted situation tied to keep away from state and if concentration happen to occur they were also ready to rebel and fight. This can be attested after seeing the *Ain's* description about the contingents of the *zamindars* in Table I.³

The other groups were those of the intermediary *zamindars* who were also holding lands but not very large. They were those who were suppressed by Allauddin Khalji to a large extent,⁴ but later again gained strength after his death. They were called as *rais*, *renas*, *rawats*, *khut*, *Maqqadamsetc*. During Khaljis and Tughlaqs, they were made to pay revenue and their status reduced to large extent. They were even forced by the nobles of Sultan if they were not ready to pay.⁵

¹ S. Nurul Hasan, "zamindars under the Mughals", *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg, Delhi, 1979, pp.17-31, See also Nurul Hasan, 'Position of *zamindars* in the Mughal Empire', *IESHR*, 1, no.4, 1964, pp.107-19

² Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, pp.221, 225 and n.

³ *Ain*, II, pp.171-179.

⁴ K.S. Lal, *History of Khaljis*, Delhi (1980), pp.179-8.

⁵ Irfan Habib, *Cambridge Economic History*, I, p.56, where he has cited of one incidence of Sultan Tughlaq (Ghazi) going to the *talwandi* (territory) of Rana Mal. See also *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, pp.184-85, 188,..... K.K. Trivedi, "The Emergence of Agra as a Capital and a City, *JESHO*, vol.XXXVIII (1994), p.153.

Table No. 1
Contingents of few prominent zamindar Castes.

S. No.	Sarkars	Rajputs		Brahmans Cav.		Muslim		Rajputs + Brahman		Rajput + Muslim	
		Cavalry	Infantry	Cavalry	Infantry	Cavalry	Infantry	Cavalry	Infantry	Cavalry	Infantry
1.	Allahabad	-	-	35	1900	-	-	35	800	-	-
2.	Banaras	500	4000	130	4000	-	-	2000	4000	-	-
3.	Manikpur	114	7000	-	-	50	200	-	-	-	-
4.	Kalinjar	40	700	-	-	20	2000	-	-	-	-
5.	Kurrah	130	5000	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	400
6.	Chunar	-	-	-	-	500	18000	-	-	-	-
7.	Kara	30	1200	70	130	40	500	110	6300	30	1000
8.	Jaunpur	260	15300	10	3200	-	-	150	3500	50	2000
9.	Ghazipur	90	4970	200	1000	-	-	2000	2000	-	-
10.	Bathghora	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1164	38170	445	10230	610	20700	4295	16600	280	3400

Source: *Ain-i Akbari*, , vol.II, pp.172-179.

Primary *zamindars* had hereditary rights over cultivable lands and were traditional cultivating castes.⁶ They did not pay and revenue,⁷ but they helped the revenue officials to collect the revenue and for this they received *malikana*. This was about 10%.⁸ This was the nominal share of the *zamindar* along with many other cases. These rights were curbed only under the short period of Allauddin's reign. *Khudkasht* were those who held the land and were cultivating it with the help of the peasants. *Pahikasht* did not hold their own land but tilled others land. They were not stable in one region but kept on moving.⁹

In the Mughal period they were spread everywhere in the northern India. In this period the surplus of agricultural production was shared by emperor, nobles and *zamindars*.¹⁰ *zamindars* had either accepted the suzerainty of the emperor and were ready to pay certain voluntary offerings or *peshakash*.

Even Mughal emperor as strong as Akbar did not dare to remove them from their place because he realized the nexus between the *zamindars* and the economic life of the country. They had their influence on

⁶ Nurul Hasan, "zamindars under the Mughals", pp. 17-31.

⁷ Ibid., p.28.

⁸ B.R. Grover, "Land Rights in Mughal India", *IESHR*, 1, no.1, 1963.

⁹ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India*, vol.ii, Chapter IV, p.15. see also Satish Chandra, Some Aspects of Indian village society in Northern India during the 18th century-the position and Role of *Khudasht* and *Pahikasht*, *IHR* (1) Delhi 1974, pp.51-64.

¹⁰ Nurul Hasan, "zamindars under the Mughals", pp51-64.

agricultural production, handicraft and trade,¹¹ even in the cultural sphere. Thus, inspite of having a strained relation (especially due to economic share taken by them) the Mughal emperors tried to have cordial relation with the *zamindars*. But they were always alert about the activities of the *zamindars*. This is evident from *Ain's* statistics in which out of the eight columns four have been given for *zamindars*.

In the statistical data provided by *Ain* there are columns of *Parganat* (*Parganas*), *Qila* (Forts), *Arazi* (measured area), *naqdi* (assume revenue stated in cash), *Suyurghal*(revenue fronts in town) *zamindar* (bhumi), *sawar* (cavalry) and *Piyada* (infantry). But these columns have been removed in Blochmann's translation and it is under four to five columns in Jarets' translation, where rest have been omitted without full description.¹²

If the descriptions are closely seen, then it can be gathered that four to five columns have been devoted to *zamindars* in the *Ain*. This can be used to infer how the state was concerned about the possession and strength of these autocratic chiefs. As we find that the cavalry and infantry figures have been rounded off to whole, it shows that if it was rough estimate of them in the state. These columns comprises of the castes of the *zamindars* who would have been prominent in more *parganas*, the forts, with description of what material they were made of (though the *garhis* and

¹¹ Nurul Hasan, '*zamindars* under the Mughal, p.17.

¹² Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.170.

the *qilachas* which would have been the mud forts are not mentioned, may be they were numerous, thus omitted), the cavalry, infantry and number of elephants they possessed.¹³

The *zamindars* would have kept contingents to safeguard their property. They even grew very rich at times and this is inferred if the close analysis of their contingent numbers are done based on the *Ain's* statistics. This is found to be more in case of few castes (as we find in Table I). They even helped the state with their contingents if the relation was good,¹⁴ but could use them against the state when the Emperor was weak. This was in case of rebellion of *zamindars* to become completely independent as we find in later half of seventeenth century and eighteenth century.¹⁵

Table I shows the statistical description of the cavalry and infantry possessed by the *zamindars*. The *suba* Allahabad had a total force of *zamindars* in the reign of Akbar as 13443 cavalry 229560 infantry and 331 elephants.¹⁶

¹³ *Ain*, II, p.172-179, see also Shireen Moosvi, p.138. She says that the number of cavalry were accurate to some extent, but the infantry figure was mostly appropriate. But all these calculations were done on the basis of information provided by the *quanungos*, *chaudhris* on the local chiefs themselves.

¹⁴ Nurul Hasan, "Zamindars under the Mughals", p.17-31.

¹⁵ Muzaffar Alam, *Crisis of Empire in Mughal: North India. Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-1748*, Delhi, 1986.

¹⁶ *Ain II*, p.17-79. On the basis of actual calculation.

But Abul Fazl says that the number of *zamindars* in the province were 11375 cavalry, 237870 infantry and 323 elephants.¹⁷ There is some difference it which may be due to inclusion of few more later on.

These figures being calculated by Mughal authorities shows the concern of the Mughals against the possessions of the *zamindars*.

It can be inferred from the table that Rajputs held the largest contingents followed by Rajputs and Brahmans together. The Brahmans and Muslims were only in few pockets and not everywhere and also their possession was comparatively less. Only in Chunar they dominated.

It can be said that the Rajputs and Brahmin *zamindars* were strong and could have posed threat to the state if required. As we find in late seventeenth century, rebellion of Benaras chiefs.¹⁸

If a *zamindar* became strong and had much of wealth, he at times tired to fortify his settlements.¹⁹ If we see the statistics provided by *Ain*, forts have been clearly described, in the places where they were existing, and of what material they were made of was it on stone fort, or a brick fort though forts made of mud have not been explicitly described.²⁰

¹⁷ *Ain II*, p.171.

¹⁸ Kamla Prasad Mishra, *Benaras in Transition (1738-1785) A Socio economic Study*. Here he shows the revolts of *Bumihar zamindars* in Benaras region and they emerging as strong power i.e. Mansa Ram. And his son later getting title of 'Raja'.

¹⁹ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian Systems* p.204 He says that when he possessed five villages or more he tried to build a *garhi* or a *qilacha* which was *small fort*.

²⁰ *Ain*, II, p.171-79

I have plotted the forts on the map provided. We see that there are 10 stone forts, 20 brick forts and 2 forts which were made of stone from ground and brick from above. This could have been due to one reason that they were earlier built of stone, and then in battles if they were destroyed, then they were rebuilt by the controlling authorities. Such forts are at Baldah of Kara²¹ and at Jaunpur²², and its suburban region. These two places have been important since Sultanpate period i.e. Kara during Allaudin Khaliji and Jaunpur during Sharqi Sultans.

Chunar fort is a stone fort, which is on a Summit of a hill.²³ It was lofty and strong.

Kalinjar fort is a stone fort which is on a high hill (nearly 1230 feet above sea level).²⁴ Its origin is not known, but it is very old. It contains a *kal Bhairab* idol which is 18 cubits high, of which marvelous tales are related.²⁵ In later period also this fort remained important in history after Mahmud of Ghazni tried to besiege it. Even Sher Shah tried to bring it under his control and finally captured it. It was the same fort where he died due to outbreak of fire in ammunitions.²⁶

²¹ *Ain* II, p.179.

²² *ibid.*, p.174.

²³ *Ain.*, p.170.

²⁴ *ibid.*

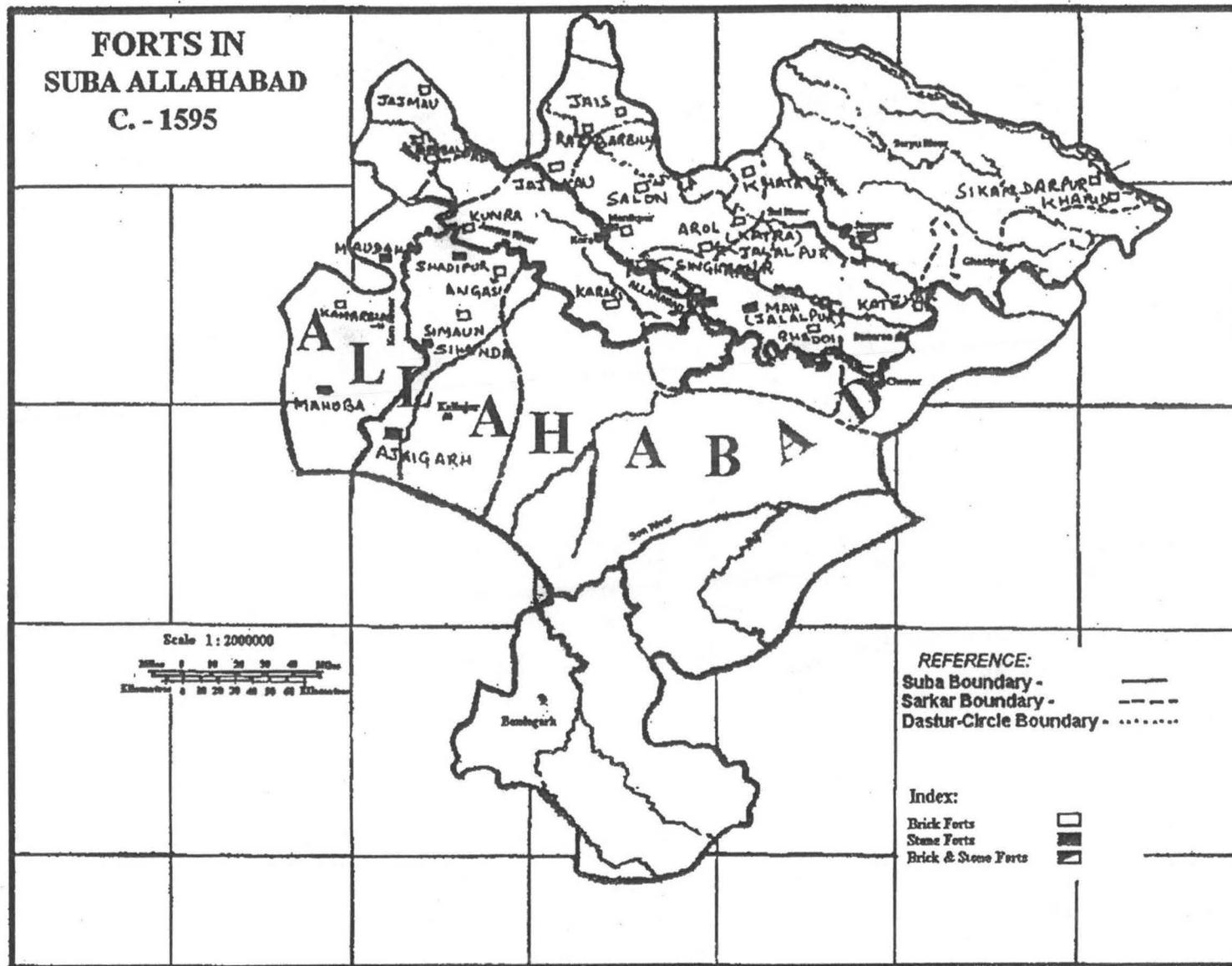
²⁵ *Ain*, II p.170.

²⁶ Abbas Khan Sher Wani, *Taikh-i Sher Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson IV, pp.402-3.

Sarkar Kora has a brick fort and one is at Jajmau, as mentioned in *Ain*, but its type is not classified. May be it was a mud fort of large size. As there were mentioning regarding mud forts or *qilachas* built by *zamindars* to safeguard their property. But it was not appreciated by the officials of the Mughals.²⁷ This makes us presume that Mughals did not appreciate the increment in the power and status of new *zamindars* or perceived than to be the found where rebellions could germinate.

Jaunpur had three brick forts and one which was half brick half stone fort. All the brick forts were in north eastern part of the *suba*. Manikpur had eight forts but all of bricks presence of their brick forts and no fort in Ghazipur i.e. the *doab* area having mostly brick forts can be inferred that the Rajputs after the decline of Sharqis would have tried to become strong again. And since in these areas they were dominant, (as we will see later), they would have tried to fortify their settlements, it could also have been because of availability of bricks from Allahabad where brick were made. These fortifications can also be inferred as these areas were not to pay revenue to the state and so inside that fort their autonomy would be there.

²⁷ A petition to the court by the official Akhbarat 47/150, 'A *Faujdar* of Kara in Allahabad Province reported to the court that seditious *zamindars* in the area had built ' three on four *qilachas* in every village" Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.204.



Sources: 1. Irfan Habib, The Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Sheets 8A, 9A

2. Abul Fazl, Ain-i Akbari, Translation Jarrett Ed. J.N. Sarkar, Calcutta, (1949), Vol. 2, pp. 171-179.

Bathghora *sarkar* not having any description has an explanation that the state officials had no access to this region so information is not there whether forts existed here or not.

Here, I have made an attempt to draw a table (II) based on the *jama* figures provided in the *Ain* for different *sarkars*.

The table has been prepared by taking the revenue of each *pargana* and the caste of *zamindar* prominent in that *pargana* or *Mahal*. If two or three castes were there then the total revenue of that *pargana* is divided by two or three respectively.

Abul Fazl mentions that few caste were prominent in that region and there is all possibility that he would have negated those which were very low compared to others. So whatever inference we draw it would be to show what was the trend on higher side and not exactly what would have prevailed.

When we study the table carefully we find that *sarkar* Allahabad and Benaras we find that Brahmins dominated here. About more than 70% of the *zamindars* here were of this caste followed by Rajputs (minor clan) in Allahabad and Raghuvanshi (major clan) in Banaras.

Table 2
Zamindars In Suba Allahabad in 1595*

Zamindar caste	Allahabad		Banaras		Ghazipur		Chunar	
	Revenue	Revenue percent	Revenue	Revenue percent	Revenue	Revenue percent	Revenue	Revenue percent
Rajputs (Minor Clans)	3221930.1	12.48	426613	4.81	-	-	-	-
Rajput Kausik	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brnar	200000	0.77	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khandel	856555	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gauhwal	569990	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bachgoti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Raghvamshi	-	-	1874230	21.15	-	-	-	-
Baisz	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-
Chandel	1082375.6	4.19	--	-	-	-	-	-
Biscn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baorya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gaoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parihar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rajput Gautam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Raj Korhak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Rajputs (Major Clans)	270892.06	10.49	18742.30	21.15	-	-	-	-
Total Rajputs	5930850.7	22.98	2300845	25.97	12332254	69.03	-	-
Brahmans	18252577	70.74	6656775	74.02	4907544	29.02	-	-
Kayasthas	628355.33	2.43	-	-	328904	1.94	-	-
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sayyid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rehmatullai	628355.33	2.43	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ansari	-	-	-	-	-	-	277969.33	4.78
Saddiki	-	-	-	-	-	-	277969.33	4.78
Shaikhzadas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkomen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farooki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Afghans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurmi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Varios	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GRAND TOTAL	25440137	98.6	8957620	99.99	16910894	99.99	833908	14.34

Contd.

Zamindar Castes	Manikpur		Jaunpur		Kalinjar		Kurrah		Kara	
	Revenue	Revenue Percent	Revenue	Revenue Percent	Revenue	Revenue Percent	Revenue	Revenue Percent	Revenue	Revenue Percent
Rajputs (Minor Clans)	8253401.3	24.33	41597640	60.78	3435992	14.43	-	-	10339948	49.27
Rajput Kaushik	-	-	67052089	9.79	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhar	-	-	-	-	256013	1.07	-	-	-	-
Khand	1216994.6	3.58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grahwal	-	-	-	-	834299.33	3.5	-	-	-	-
Khandwal	905797	2.67	-	-	2247346	9.43	-	-	-	-
Bachgoti	2471417.5	7.28	1893803	2.76	-	-	-	-	-	-
Raghovamshi	-	-	-	-	893675	03.75	-	-	-	-
Bis	645519.75	1.90	-	-	3131416.7	03.75	1035645.6	5.95	-	-
Chandal	-	-	-	-	-	-	600596	3.43	-	-
Bisen	9432927.5	27.81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baoraya	1955505.9	5.76	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gaorja	645519.75	1.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parihar	-	-	-	-	2181637.3	9.16	1927801	11.08	-	-
Rajput Gautam	-	-	2784069	4.08	-	-	1633782	10.54	-	-
Rajput Kosak	-	-	1415681	2.08	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Rajput (Major Clans)	17273680	50.92	12798761	18.7	9544387.8	40.08	5397824.3	31.02	-	-
Total Rajputs	25527.81	75.23	54396401	79.49	12980379	54.51	6433469.6	36.97	10339948	49.27
Brahmans	1956508.5	5.76	5794763.5	8.46	-	-	8095230	46.53	5914282	28.18
Kayasthas	1384031	4.08	986953	1.44	-	-	1833782	10.54	1298042.5	6.19
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sayyid	-	-	2529398	3.69	834299.33	3.54	-	-	-	-
Rammatulaas	-	-	2259147.5	3.3	1347338	5.56	-	-	-	-
Ansari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saddiki	-	-	565058	0.82	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shaikhzadas	-	-	209067	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkoman	3626067	10.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farooki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Afghan	-	-	-	-	-	-	1035645.3	5.99	1061830.7	5.06
Kurmi	-	-	1415681	2.06	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gound	-	-	-	-	3131416.7	13.45	-	-	-	-
Variou	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1072308	5.11
Bagri	-	-	-	-	1347338	5.65	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	-	-	-	3968321	16.66	-	-	1298042.3	6.18
Grand Total	33918474	100.00	68156468	99.57	23609091	99.50	17398126	100.00	20984452	100.00

Source: Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, pp. 171-179. *Sarkar* Bathghora has not been included in the table because *Ain* does not provide any data for this *sarkar*

* This table has been prepared by taking the total *jama* of each *pargana* as the revenue of *zamindars*. The *parganas* where more than one *zamindars* were there, there I have divided the revenue of the *paragana* with that number (the number of the *zamindar*)

These *sarkars* had Brahmin population of *zamindars* on a higher side because may be, because this region had been Hindu pilgrimage centre since ancient period and it continued to be under the Mughals also. This also explains that the rulers who captured Delhi throne could drive out these proprietary chiefs from these areas. May be that they accepted the sovereignty of the Sultans to some extent but did not surrender.

Similarly if we see the datas of Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Manikpur, we find that Rajputs percentage of Rajputs is high which is followed by that of Brahmins. It is seen that other castes like Kayastha and Muslims were below 5%. The total percentage of Rajput clans is 17% according to the statistics provided by *Ain'*. It can be seen in form that this area was dominated by Rajputs and even if the Delhi Sultan kept this region under their rule, they could not remove them and they existed in Mughal period also.

Kara and Kora *sarkars* show statistics where Brahmins are about 28% and 47% respectively. The other dominating castes were Rajputs. Their minor as well as major clans were spread all over. These are the only two *sarkars* which have Afghan population. This shows that they did not remain prominent in the region where they earlier used to be ie. In Jaunpur, Ghazipur etc. It can also be understood here that after their rule was over, they were pushed westwards.

This table helps us to infer that the state did not have the control over the *zamindars*, it was only the case of confrontation where both the sides would have understood that none of them can have absolute power. It is suggested by Nurul Hasan that the revenue from land was shared by *zamindar*, nobles and the emperor. This is supported if we see the data in the other three *sarkars*. Kalinjar, Chunar and Bathghora (no statistics is provided in the *Ain*, so calculation is not done for this *sarkar*).

In *sarkar* Chunar for only one *Mahal* the description is provided that it was dominated by Saddiki, Ansari and Farooki. Even these cover only 14.34% of all the '*jama*' of this *sarkar*. Rest of the *mahals* do not have the detail description of the *zamindars*. Even in *Sarkar* Kalinjar, we find that '*jama*' of 16.6% do not have any explanation for which caste stayed here.

And all these areas lie in the similar region. Thus, it follows our discussion we took up earlier that if this region was dominated by autonomous chiefs then they had not accepted the suzerainty of the state, so they would not have allowed the survey officials to measure their land and count their contingents or take other details of that region. There is even other possibility that since this region was forested area and plateau region, it was not easily accessible to the officers to go and do the survey.

Since, we do not have any information clearly about this tribal zone which was included in the *suba*, we can not say much about this. But this

region can be a good example of autonomous chiefs in confrontation with state, if we accept that they existed there.

Thus, we can conclude that this area remained inaccessible to the Mughal officials due to the tribal nature of these chiefs. This also explains that all the autonomous chiefs were not accepting the suzerainty of the Mughals inspite of their areas lying under the Mughal empire.

But those who were intermediaries and had accepted the suzerainty and were working as the official were *chaudharis*. *Chaudharis* were the primary *zamindars*, and were the leading *zamindar* of their own area. *chaudhari* which was a office was hereditary *chaudhari*'s main duty was to assist in the collection of revenue and for this he received sarkar.²⁸

In his own territory a *chaudhari* was the primary *zamindar* but for the other near by area he was an official of the state.

Another category of intermediary was the *taalluqdar*, which means holder of the *taalluqa* or the area over which any kind of right could be claimed.²⁹ He was not necessarily the *zamindar* of the whole area, but only a part of it could be claimed by him and for the rest he was intermediary.

²⁸ Revenue free land on allowance for *Chaudhari* in lieu for the help provided by him in collecting revenue IH, *Agrarian System*, p.182, 213 and n.

²⁹ Irfan Habib, p.211.

*Taalluqa's*³⁰ had also at times the new *zamindaris* acquired by purchase and it also could be a group of villages which were formed for administrative purpose. At times the *Talluqdar* become synonymous with the small *zamindars*. In the later half of the seventeenth century *zamindars* were being clubbed with revenue officials. This would have been those who maintained cordial relation with the state. The state by calling the chiefs by one same tried to reduce their positions *zamindars* were seen as official or tax gatherers rather than tax payers.

The relation between the imperial authorities and the *zamindars* were of the nature that in the imperial territories the *zamindars* rights were only over a portion of the land which were raiyati areas where peasants rights were held. There were areas where authorities directly dealt with the peasantry.³¹ This implies that if the relation between the *zamindar* and the state was not cordial he could be removed from the job of collecting the revenue from the nearby *raiya* area and the *zamindari* could be sold to other *zamindar*.

Thus, in those areas which were under the imperial control, total autonomy could not be maintained. And in this process the *zamindars* would have lost their few rights that means *proprietary* right. This would have been the background grudge for numerous revolts in the second half

³⁰ The word *Taalluqa* was used indifferently for the territories of *jagirdars*, *zamindars* and independent rulers, *ibid*.

³¹ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.209.

of seventeenth century and later in the *suba*.³² *Suba* of Allahabad witnessed a number of uprisings, most of them concentrated in Benaras, Kalinjar, Nizemabad, Chunar, Khaigarh, Jalalabad, Ghazipur, Zaminya, Jaunpur.

These rebellious shows that the supposed *zamindars* were gaining strength when the state was getting weak due to Aurangzeb's above in the north and were now trying to assert their autonomy Mannucci unites about these defiant *zamindars* as *zortalab zamindars* and says:

“we were some days in Allahabad and the governor was Behadur Kahan, who was absent on a campaign against some villagers who objected to pay their revenue without atleast, one fight, just as villagers of Agra do.”³³

During this period it could be even witnessed that the autonomous chiefs, intermediaries and the primary *zamindars* were also fighting amongst themselves, as each of them wanted to deviants the ladder or to safeguard their positions and increase the possessions. Proprietary peasants who were also *intermediary*³⁴ *zamindars* and Primary *zamindars*. At times the states used to put such frontiers who would be able to break the caste nexus over the *zamindari* in certain areas: which was not good for the state. We find local Muslims being fronted big *zamindaris* in the midst of Bais Rajputs³⁵ in Baiswara.³⁶

³² Manucci II, p.83.

³³ R.P. Rana, *Agrarian Revolts*, pp. 287-326.

³⁴ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India: Society, the Jagindari Crisis and the village*. Chapter IV. New Delhi 1981. See also Irfan Habib 'Potentialities' *Enquiry*, winter 1971, p.19-21.

³⁵ *Insha-i-Roshan Kelam* 11.6b-7a. "Baisawara included parts of Lakhman, Awadh, Manikpur and Kara. The Bais survive as an important *zamindar* clan in the region, in Irfan Habib's *Agrarian System*, p.199.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.222.

These uprisings can not be generalized to be only of the rural communities, but they certainly highlighted the reaction, of the certain regional groups to the imperial power. They perhaps were the angers of the local groups and of the ruling class, who controlled he resources and could maintain themselves and at least possessed the power to with stand the Mughal army.

One induction of the propriety of this region can be seen from the active trade. Movement of merchandise by *banjaras* were of large evolves in this region. But the uprising of the political activities of the *zamindaris* created a shape in the traditional set up between trading and money-lending communities and the Mughal ruling class. Initially the traders and moneylender financed the jagirdars to curb the *zamindars*. And this is turn infuriated the *zamindars* who began to blockade he crucial trade rocks and resorted to various methods the fleece the traders. But here were at times shifts to traders towards *zamindars* if they managed to defeat imperial adversaries.³⁷

The above description of the *zamindar* gives us a picture of autonomous chiefs and the other proprietary *zamindars* who differed in their degrees of possession of territories. Few of these Rajas who had their areas near the mountains or forest retained their autonomy till the end.

³⁷ R.P. Rana, 'Agrarian Revolts in Northern India during the late 17th and early 18th Century. IESH, vol. XVIII, Nos. 3&4.

Specially in the *sarkar* of Bathghora. As Pelseart and Manucci said that in Hindustan, the tracts ruled by the rajas and primary *zamindars* were usually found only behind the mountains and forests.³⁸

Thus, it can be understood that Mughal empire held the authority over this whole suba but a major chunk of it was lying in the hands of rajas and chiefs. As in case of this suba the forest and the mountainous region is nearly 50% of the total area. These helped the rajas or the chiefs to maintain their rules even under the powerful rulers at the centre. This also shows that the Central administration could be posed a challenge by these rajas, if they manage to acquire that much money and power Alauddin possessed.

As Abul Fazl rightly says about *zamindars* in *Akbarnama*:

"The general custom of Indian *zamindars* is to leave the path of single mindedness and to have an eye to every side, and to join anyone who is victorious or is making increasing stir".³⁹

³⁸ Pelseart 58-9; Manucci II p.444.

³⁹ *Akbarnama*, II, p.60.

Chapter 4

Manufacturing Cities & Trade

The establishment and consolidation of Mughal Empire under Akbar had some epochal repercussion on the socio-economic set up of the sub-continent. As the experiences of the previous centuries indicated the Sultans of Delhi could not streamline the administrative machinery to independently assess their resources and ensure their legitimate and equitable distribution among their notables. Bureaucratic measures introduced by Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Bin Tughalaq were towards greater control over the resources of the state. They curbed the power and authority of the ruling elite as well as local potentates, they were individualistic; adoc, and limited on many events.¹

Given these previous limitations the splendour and opulence of Pax Mughalia rested on the reorganization of administrative set up and greater control over resources by the state. This new ideology of the state is implicitly manifested in the evolution of the *mansab* system. The complete revamping of the revenue department and the unambiguous linkage of revenue assignment (*jagir*) to the prescribed salary entitlements. However, one imprecendently crucial step towards administrative systematization was the organization of the *subas*.

Certain preliminary remarks are must. As the contemporary Persian sources have not mentioned in detail the economic issues as its importance was not taken into account by the Emperors. So we have to rely on the

¹ K.K. Trivedi, - p.2., *Agra Profile of Mughal Suba*, Pune 1998.

foreign sources (English factory Records, Travellers' Accounts), Local merchant's autobiography etc. to build up the economic history of the *suba*. Hence, here the study of Alahabad *Suba* especially on the economic vibrancy entails a microscopic appraisal of the accounts of contemporary foreign travellers and recent meticulous research by veteran medievalists. Rather, we can say that Europeans have emphasized more on economic aspect of the *Subas*, as they mentioned in detail only those products which were purchased by them. Few of their concerned products were textiles, indigo, saltpetre, spices etc. There is very scanty information or rather no mention of other items. However, we find sufficient amount of information about means of transport used, markets, some manufacturing centres, merchants, procurement of goods etc. Here, an endeavour is made to underscore the centrality of non-agricultural craft production, commercial enterprises and ubiquity of financial sector in the economic life of the *suba*. Not much emphasis has been laid down by the sources regarding technologies applied for production of various goods. Though a slight deviation from traditional line of agreement can't be ruled out, by and large I have attempted to demonstrate the economic potential and growth of the *suba* in the consolidation of the Mughal economy.

Though not much mineral resources are available. Among the few found in the *suba*, were Kalinjar which had an iron mine,² and also

² *Ain*, II, p.170.

diamond fields were within 8 *kurohs* of Kalinjar.³ Iron being one of the most important mineral resources was used extensively, for manufacturing as weapons, various tools for the craftsmen and agricultural implements. It appears that mining of the ore, must not have been an organisation problem.

Another most important mineral in use during the period was saltpetre. Its manufacture was widespread in the empire, as it was in great demand, due to its use in manufacturing gunpowder, and also used by rich people as a cooling agent in drinking water.⁴ Saltpetre became of great interest to the Europeans as they used to purchase it for ballast in their ships with intention of making some profit out of its sale in Europe. Most of the saltpetre of the world which was used for gunpowder was exported from India.⁵

Some of the European travellers have mentioned regarding its manufacture, as their interest in the mineral led them to its manufacturing grounds. Crude Saltpetre was obtained by lixiviation of the soil on deserted and even occupied village sites. It consists, of the potassium nitrate and nitrogenous organic matter. The soil could be black, yellow or white, however, black soil was considered best. The manufacturers of

³ *ibid.*, see also Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheet 8B and p.32.

⁴ Mundy, II, pp.76-77: Bernier, pp.356-57, Tavernier, II b-10.

⁵ Tavernier, II, p.-10.

saltpetre scrapped the upper crust of the salt earth and collected it. The method of preparation was not very tough neither it was costly. Two shallow reservoirs, at different plinth levels were constructed beside each other. They could have either masonry walls or mud walls, the reservoir constructed at higher level was bigger in area. It was filled with the salt earth and thoroughly filled with water. After some time when the soil became soft it was trodden by a number of people till it was completely mixed with water and converted into thin paste. The Chemical reactions required in this process was mainly, the nitrogenous organic matter brought into contact with potash, and the ammonia being converted into nitric acid, which of combined with potash, and the salt, so formed permeated the soil. After being converted into thin paste the material was left the undisturbed for about two days during which the nitrogenous and potassium salts were dissolved in water while the waste and heavy mater settled at the bottom. The liquid was, thereafter, drained into the second and lower reservoir and again allowed to rest for some time until deposits settled. After the waiting period finished, water was taken out and the deposits were put into an iron pan and were allowed do be heated in order to remove the impurities. Taverneir mentions that the Dutch imported boilers from Holland and employed refiners to refine the crude saltpetre for themselves, however, they could not succeed, as Indians felt that they were being deprived of their profits of refining, as a result they stopped supplying them with whey

(refining material, which helped in bleaching of saltpetre),⁶ The more the saltpetre was white and transparent, the more it was costly.⁷ After being refined the residue was placed in earthen pots, left open for a night further allowing the rest of the impurities to settle down at the bottom. Thereafter, the jars were broken to keep the impurities away and the saltpetre obtained was dried in the sun.⁸

Quality of saltpetre produced at Agra was better than that of Ahmedabad.⁹ At Agra and Patna saltpetre was produced in abundance,¹⁰ and from these places it was taken to be stored at Bengal, and from there it was loaded on ships and exported to various parts of Europe.¹¹ The cost of refined salt petre was three times than that of the impure one.¹² The price of saltpetre before 1626 was 1-1/2 Rupee per mound : in 1626 its price varied from 2 to 2 ½ rupees a manual at Agra.¹³

We saw that saltpetre was extensively produced in Ahmedabad, many parts of Agra *Suba* and also in many part of Bihar *suba*, Patna being its main centre and from the it was stored at Bengal, to be exported to

⁶ Tavernier, vol.II, p.10.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Tavernier, Vol.II, p.10, Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.66-67.

⁹ *E.F. Records* (16 51 - 54), p.197.

¹⁰ Tavernier, vol.II, p.10; Pelseart, p.46.

¹¹ N. Mannucci II, *Storio de Mogor* (1656-72), tr. W. Irvine, 4 vols., Indian Text Series, Government of India, London, 1907-8. .p.77.

¹² Tavernier, , vol.II, p.10.

¹³ Pelseart, p.46.

Europe. Allahabad also exported saltpetre.¹⁴ As mentioned earlier, the best quality soil required for production of saltpetre was black soil;¹⁵ we find that even parts of Allahabad *suba*, specially the western and southern parts consisted of black type of soil, hence, we can draw a conclusion that saltpetre must have been produced in abundance in the Allahabad *suba* as well. As the climatic condition of this *suba* were also similar to that of the *suba* Agra as well as *suba* Bihar, where it was manufactured extensively. As, this Suba consisted of water in abundance, one of the main ingredients required for the saltpeter's preparation, hence, the possibility of Allahabad Suba producing saltpetre, cannot be ruled out.

Mughals were great builders, and perhaps constructing a building emerged to be one of the largest sectors of employment, especially in the capital cities of the *subas*, as well as in the *sarkars*. In the *suba* of Allahabad we see that almost all the *sarkar* capitals consisted of magnificent buildings as well as forts which were built of both stones and burnt bricks. During the formation of the *suba* Allahabad, Allahabad was chosen as the capital of the *suba* and to make the capital city strong, Akbar laid down the foundation of the fort of Allahabad at the confluence of the two rivers Ganges and Jamuna.¹⁶ The construction of fort was a big task and it took five years to build the fort, a cost incurred was Rs. 12,00,000

¹⁴ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East India*, (ed.), W. Foster, p.293.

¹⁵ K.K. Trivedi, p.138.

¹⁶ Badauni, vol.II, p.179, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, vol.III, p.616-17.

(=4,80,00,000 *dams*),¹⁷ and the construction of buildings, innovations and maintenance needed about half as much expenditure incurred during the construction.¹⁸

If we see other major cities of the *suba* they also consisted of large number of buildings, like Banaras which was a large and well built town, where majority of houses were constructed from brick and cut stone, and were more lofty than that of on the towns of India.¹⁹ As mentioned by Heber about the houses of Banaras,

“Above these the houses are richly embellished with verandahs, galleries, projecting ariel windows, and very broad and overhanging caves supported by carved brackets”²⁰

Banaras also consisted of large number of temples, mostly small in size, most of them consisting beautiful carvings of flowers animals and palm branches.²¹ The material of the buildings consisted of good stone from Chunar.²² Banaras also consisted of Mosque of Aurangzeb a handsome building was at a very advantageous situations from where several other Muhamadan tombs, some very beautifully designed, were visible.²³ All these buildings would have employed lot of men, money and material in their construction.

¹⁷ Shireen Moosvi , *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, p.266.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.266.

¹⁹ Tavernier , I, p.118.

²⁰ R. Heber , *Narratives*, p.372.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 372.

²² *Ibid.*, 372.

²³ Tavernier , vol.I, p.118, R. Heber Narratives, 388-389.

As mentioned by Heber, regarding the fortress of Chunar, bring this like to next line “The view of Chunar is, from the river very striking. Its fortress, which is of great extent formerly of fruit rate importance, and in good repairs, covers the west and sides of a large and high rock, with several successive enclosures of wells and towers, the lowest of which have their bases washed by Ganges”.²⁴ We also mentioned about the houses which consisted of white walls and red tiled roofs, and to him these looked exactly like those of a small English country town.²⁵ He mentions that, Chunar also consisted of the houses made of stones and mostly of two stones generally with verandahs in front let out into shops.²⁶ He also mentions about several other buildings in Chunar. One of them was an old Hindu palace, a central dome surrounded by several vaulted apartments with many remains of paintings and carriages, but dark, low and imperious to heat, he also mentions about another lofty building which was on the other side, and was more airy buildings, and at that time it was being used as armoury, which was earlier a residence of the Muslim governor, the building consisted of large beautiful rooms and beautifully carved windows.²⁷ He further mentions that nearby existed an extraordinary well whose diameter was about 15 feet, cut in great depth in solid rock but its water was not sufficiently good to be used except in case of necessity.²⁸

²⁴ R. Heber, *Narratives*, p.401.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ R. Heber, *Narratives*, p.403.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ R. Heber, *Narratives*, p.408.

Similar types of buildings were found in the cities like Jaunpur and Ghazipur. Jaunpur was a pleasant city built the ton river Gomati. This city and its suburbs presented an attractive sight with tall, imposing buildings with broad pavillions (*mandapas*) and large monastic establishments (*mathas*). Its roads were lined with magnificent rows of large mansions spread out of multiple courtyards, their roof-tops fitted with *Shamianas*.²⁹ Same types of buildings existed in Ghazipur and other cities of the *suba*. Hence, we see that massive construction work was done is the *suba* during the Mughal period and also some of the construction carried of Sarais during earlier period. Also each city was surrounded by a large number which were constructed for merchants and travellers at night while travelling some of them might rest. Some of them were large enough to accommodate two or three thousand persons at a time along with their horses, camels.³⁰ Construction work as a whole merged as an industry and it included a large number of master craftsman, labourers, sculpture and also some painters, most of the Mughal buildings included paintings and carvings. Building industry included hierarchy of personnel involved in it, right from the chief architect to the labour, a large number of officials were involved, and they worked in different supervisory capacities in the empirical establishments.³¹

²⁹ Banarasidas, *Ardhkathanak*, (ed.), Mata Prasad Gupta, Allahabad, 19 43, p.5.

³⁰ Bernier, p.233 , Tavernier, I, p.118

³¹ Ashan Jan Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India, the Evidence from painting*, Delhi, 1988, pp.6-15.

The extensive construction of buildings during the Mughals included materials like clay, bricks and stones as basic units of construction. The stones used were of various types and colours ; red, yellow, white and black marble of various colours. Stones were also used for making stone doors.³²

Bricks were also naturally used. Abul Fazl mentions 3 kinds of bricks: baked, half-baked and unbaked.³³ Another important building material was wood, but it was used mainly in palaces of kings and nobles as it was costly. Many varieties of wood were used but teak, *sal* were mostly used wood – carving was famous.³⁴ The cementing material used in the buildings during that period was earth or clay mixed with water, which was weakest. An improved kind was straw added to a mixture of clay and water, it was also used for plastering the walls. For superior work lime obtained from certain limestone was used. Lime mixed with other ingredients was used to give a smooth and very bright plaster.³⁵ Also use of iron was done extensively in the form of clamps, nails, door-knockers and rings etc.

Eighteenth century records refer to the export in large quantities of sugar and jaggery of Mirzapur and Banaras.³⁶ This can be attributed to the

³² *ibid.*, p.16 & 17.

³³ *Ain I*, p.168, A.J. Qaiser, p.16 &17.

³⁴ Qaiser, p.17-20. As in Allahabad forests were there which had *sal* trees in abundance, it would have been easier to use these woods for construction purposes.

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ H.K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in upper India (1556-1803)*, Delhi, p.119.

rising agrarian production. The numerous references to sugar industry, cotton and indigo production suggest a progressive indispensability of industrial growth to a well commercialised agrarian production.

The numerous references to sugar industry cotton and Indigo production suggests a progressive indispensability of industrial growth to a well commercialized agrarian production. During the Mughal period, rural cottage industries existed, where different varieties of cash crops were cultivated on extensive scale and were used as raw materials in manufacturing processes, and hence, they added to the rural wealth. Among the various cash crops harvested in the *suba*, cotton, oilseeds, sugarcane and indigo were famous. However, these required some processing before they could be brought to the market for sale. Before being sold to the weaver, cotton was picked and ginned and its seed was separated by the Indian *gin/charkhi* by the peasants, and thereafter, a special class of intenerate labourers, called *dhuniyas* carded it with a bow. After that, it was spun into yarn within the peasant households, and from there it was taken up by the traders.³⁷

Oil was extracted from oilseeds at the village itself, by people of a special caste who were known as *telis/oilmen*, they used to work with the help of ox-driven presses,³⁸ which is even used today in villages for extracting oil from oilseeds.

³⁷ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.63-64.

³⁸ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.66.

Manufacture of sugar and, *gur* or jaggery was another important industry in villages. Cultivation of sugarcane and processing of its juice to obtain different categories of sweetening agents has been known in south Asia for more than 2000 years.³⁹ Also the technique to prepare sugar was spread to other parts of world through India. More than half a dozen varieties of sugar were produced by the end of the first millennium A.D.⁴⁰ The sugarcane juice could be refined at different degrees to obtain different varieties of sugar and *gur*. After the sugarcane has been cut into pieces it should be immediately crushed in order to prevent it from undergoing certain chemical changes, which are injurious in preparation of crystalline sugar.⁴¹ As a result process of sugar preparation was carried out in the field itself. In the *suba* of Allahabad, two varieties of sugar cane were cultivated in almost all the *sarkar's* extensively, they were – the common one and the *paundah*. Abul Fazl mentions about *paundah* that his kind of sugarcane was so soft, juicy and tender that even binds could easily puncture its stem by pecking. For preparation of sugar products, the other harder varieties were used.

Sugarcane crop took nearly nine to ten months to mature, and generally they were ready to be harvested in October – November. The

³⁹ Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p.55.

⁴⁰ F. Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism 15-18 Century*, vol.I, tr. Sian Reynolds (London), 1985, p.224..

⁴¹ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of a Mughal Suba*, p.69.

next step was to obtain juice by crushing the sugarcane and further processing it to obtain sugar products. Various crushing devices have been found in fields, indicating that crushing of sugarcane was done in fields itself. Purification of the juice was done by putting it into iron cauldrons which served as boilers.⁴² Normally more than one pan was used for boiling, juice first being poured to the least heated pan, thereafter being transferred to the hotter ones, and at last to the hottest pan.

Researches of modern day sugar industry after carrying out certain investigations, suggest that there should be minimum loss of time between the cutting of the plant and its crushing, secondly, the initial heating of the juice should be conducted under a low temperature; and thirdly, to prevent acid formation and fermentation, some alkaline substance should be mixed with the juice, while starting the heating process.⁴³ In those days also alkaline substance was added to the juice during the process to remove impurities.⁴⁴

To obtain the juice of sugarcane, worm – geared wooden rollers worked by an oxen were used in southern regions,⁴⁵ while stone mortar and pestle-mill, also turned by oxen, were used in the Gangetic zone.⁴⁶

⁴² Irfan Habib, *Agrarian Systems*, p.64.

⁴³ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of a Mughal* p70.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.71.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

Heber has mentioned about the stone-mortar pestle-mill used in Chunar as follows:

“It is a celebrated the gap place for sugar, which indeed seem cultivated to a great extent and increasing extent in all this part of country. At most of the *ghats* leading to the villages, I see large rollers of Chunar stone, apparently just landed from boats, and intended to crush sugar-canes. The demand must be great to elicit such a supply”.⁴⁷

Hence, stones from Chunar were brought to make the stone mortar-pestle mills, it was known as *kolhu* and was similar to the one used for extraction of oil from oilseeds.

The *kolhu* was cylindrical in shape, and its major portion was submerged in ground, in order to have strong hold.⁴⁸ The portion above ground, had a hole and at the base of this hole a small cylindrical cut was made to function as a pivot for pestle. The juice could be collected from a narrow outlet below.⁴⁹ Continuous rotation of the pestle reduced the sugarcane into pulp. In order to reduce the effort required for crushing, sugarcanes were cut into small pieces of about six to nine inches, as it would have been difficult to reduce large pieces into pulp. Large percentage of juice was obtained by cutting sugarcane into the smaller pieces. The juice obtained was put under low heat. The arrangement for its boiling was done in nearby. A cavity was dug in the ground, keeping in view the number of pans to be used, accordingly its length was determined.

⁴⁷ R. Heber, *Narrative*, p.416.

⁴⁸ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra a profile of Mughal Suba*, p.72.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

The opening farthest from the fireplace was left open, for heat to spread in the whole cavity. To obtain high quality sugar generally two to five *pans* were needed for refining. The *pan* closest to the fire received maximum heat. The juice was poured into the *pan* farthest from fire, in order to receive less heat to prevent from acid formation and thereafter, alkaline soil was added to it *shora* sometimes a plant like *suklace* was also used.⁵⁰ Alkali helped in checking the acid formation and also helped in refining, as impurities came to the surface and hence were removed from there. After that the juice was transferred further, to next hotter pan and by the time it reached the hottest pan, the juice was completely purified, by heating continuously required sugar type was obtained.

Another important cash crop cultivated in the *Suba* was indigo - a dye yielding crop. Indigo dye was manufactured in the villages of northern India. However, best quality Indigo was produced in the Bayana region of Agra subas as mentioned by the European travellers⁵¹ Indigo cannot be used in the raw state, dry or green, it needs to be processed before being used in the textile industry or in the woolen industry in Europe. European travellers like Tavernier and Mundy have discussed the processing of indigo dye.

⁵⁰ K.K. Trivedi, p.73.

⁵¹ Tavernier, p.7, Pelseart p.13.

The processing involved the building of two levels of masonry vats set of rectangular and (a circular) with well cemented walls and with lime for a smooth surface. Rectangular vat was placed on a raised platform, about two metres above the ground level, the floor of the circular vat was marginally above the ground level with its brim at the bottom of the rectangular vat for natural flow of indoxyl; dissolved in water for the next stage of processing.

The entire crop yielded from one *bigha* was removed to the higher or rectangular vat with 36 ft. in perimeter⁵² It was then filled with water and the plant was allowed to steep for 16 to 17 hours.⁵³ During the steeping of the plant, the indigo colour located in the leaves of the plant in the form of a glucoside, called indican and easily soluble in water,⁵⁴ is converted into indoxyl glucose. This chemical change is brought about by the action of bacteria during fermentation. Simultaneously much gas is produced due to the presence of enzymes, in the unfermented parts of the leaves.⁵⁵

After the steeping process, the water was then run off into a circular vat, constructed out at a lower level, 32 ft in circumference and 6ft deep. Two or three men standing in the vat subjected the liquid back and forth

⁵² Pelseart, p.10.

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.15.

⁵⁵ K.K. Trivedi, p.75.

with their arms, and owing to the continuous motion the water used to absorb the dark blue colour.

It was then allowed to settle down again for 16 hours, during which the matter, being heavier than water settled down, at the bottom. The waste water was, thereafter, drained out through an outlet at the level of the bottom. The indigo which used to be deposited at the bottom was taken out, and laid down on cotton clothes to dry, till it turned like firm soap, and then was turned in balls.⁵⁶ The indigo obtained were put in earthen vessels, and were closed tightly in order to prevent them from becoming too dry. After this whole process, the indigo was ready to be finally put in the market. However, this industry has long been extinct along with the crop.

Also there were other rural industries based on distillation, these included of, liquor, rose water, rose essence or other perfumes.⁵⁷

Apart from these traditional industries foreign accounts also give plethora of evidences conforming the considerable degree of industrial activity in textiles (cotton and silk), boat industry and perfume activity across the Allahabad *sarkar* and also in other major manufacturing centres like Jaunpur, Banaras, Ghazipur, Kara, Kalinjar etc.

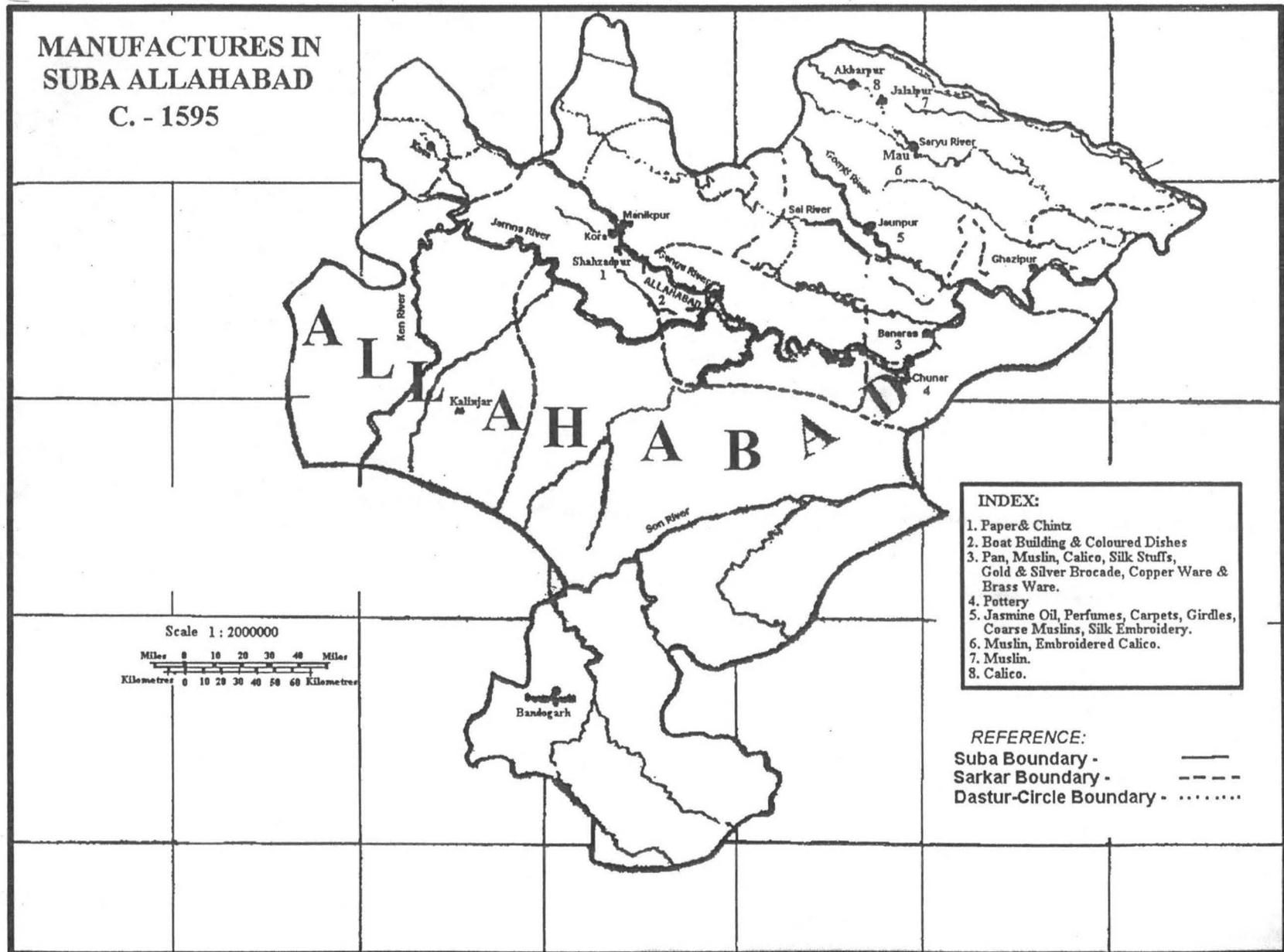
Among various manufactures in the *suba*, the textile production was the most important. Manrique has specifically referred to Banaras for silk

⁵⁶ Pelseart p.10-11, Tavernier, II, 8-9.

⁵⁷ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.67.

**MANUFACTURES IN
SUBA ALLAHABAD**

C. - 1595



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industry and superior quality of embroidery work.⁵⁸ Costly fabrics such as turbans, girdles⁵⁹ and other silken clothes⁶⁰ were woven in Banaras with silver and golden threads. Also gold and silver brocade was made here.⁶¹ Manrique also mentions about very fine Muslin (*Khasa*), being manufactured in Banaras.⁶² Bernier gives some more insightful description of the existence of Royal manufactories in the *suba*,

“large halls seen in many places, called *karkanyas* or workshops of the artisans. In one hall embroiders are busily employed, supritended by a master. In other you see the goldsmiths, in a third painters, in a fourth vanishes in liquor work, in a fifth tailore and shoe makers – in a sixth manufacturers of stilk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers and drawers worn by females, so fine as frequently to wear out is one night”.⁶³

Thus, is Banaras costly fabrics such as turbans and other silken cloth were woven with silver and golden threads.

Silken goods manufactured at Banaras was exported to countries like Turkey, Ross and Khurasan.⁶⁴ Referring to Banaras Mannucci writers,

“... in this city is made much cloth worked in golden and silver, which is distributed hence all over the Mogul realm and in exported is many parts of world”.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Manrique, *Travels of Say Sabastren Manrique*, (1927), vol.II, pp.146-77.

⁵⁹ Pelsant, p.7.

⁶⁰ Manrique p.147.

⁶¹ Manrique, p.147.

⁶² Manrique, p.147.

⁶³ Bernier, F., *Travels in Mogol Empire* (1656-68), p.258-59.

⁶⁴ Ralph Fitch, London, 1899, p.103, Tavernier, I. p.118, Mannucci, II, p.428..

⁶⁵ Mannucci – II, p.83.

Jaunpur and Banaras being great cotton producing areas, became important centres of cotton textile production.⁶⁶ At Banaras there was a street of weavers *katra Resham* (silk Bazar)⁶⁷

Banaras was famous for high quality embroidery and engraving work. Verses of the Quran were very beautifully engraved on towards and *Katers*. Holy verses were also embroidered on costly cloth and velvet. The practice was however, not liked by Aurangzeb, who on June 2nd 1697 ordered Abdul Qadir to see that such production was stopped immediately in different *kharkharas* in Banaras. The Emperor further ordered that all stocks which contained Quranic verses either engraved or embroidered, be confiscated and set to him.⁶⁸

Besides Banaras, cotton and silk cloth was also manufactured at Allahabad and Jaunpur. Regarding Jaunpur; Pelseart says that it was an important centre of cotton goods including turban and girdles or coarse Muslin.⁶⁹ Silk embroidery was also done there.⁷⁰ Apart from these foreign accounts Abul Fazl also unambiguously confirms the existence of thriving cotton industry in the *suba* and its export to far off countries.⁷¹ Among other notable things that were exported from the *suba* of Allahabad to other

⁶⁶ *Ain*, II, p.169-70.

⁶⁷ Naqvi, p.130.

⁶⁸ Akhl(r). (*Akbar –ul-Akhiyar*); 40 regional year.

⁶⁹ Pelseart, p.7.

⁷⁰ Fintch, *Early, Travel*, p.177.

⁷¹ *Ain*, I, p.617, *ibid.*, II, p.169.

places were diamonds, saltpetre, opium, sugar, indigo, cotton, and cotton cloth.⁷² Tin, zinc, and Iron were sent from Mirzapur to Gorakhpur.⁷³ Raw cotton was supplied to Bengal from Mirzapur.⁷⁴ Besides brassware, *aftaba Chilamchi*, turban cloth of Gridles, among textiles were exported from Benaras to Munshidabad.⁷⁵ Sheep were exported from Jaunpur in large number.⁷⁶

However, if we study on regional basis different *sarkars* of the *suba* represented divergent dimensions of industrial production and economic growth. As can adequately be discerned from *Ain* and other foreign accounts, with exception of certain important industries and *sarkars* specialised in different kind of industrial production.

Jaunpur was famous for many local industries such as woolen carpets, cotton goods, turbans, girdles, white *chelas*, *Zelal*, and t' say and coarse carpets.⁷⁷ The Jaunpur carpets, *amertees*, *khasa* and silken goods were exported from Jaunpuria Bengal ports. Jasmine oil was also prepared at Jaunpur.⁷⁸

Benaras, a traditional centre of textile production, as mentioned above earned marked distribution in silk, cotton and embroidered

⁷² Hamilton, I, p.293.

⁷³ Khan, *Trade and Industries of India (1700-1750)*, p.123.

⁷⁴ Khan, p.23.

⁷⁵ Khan, *Trade and Industries of Indian (700-1700)*, p.123.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Pelseart, p.7; *Chelas* is used of goods from various places, in Jaunpur it was probably plain calico. *Zelal* probably refers to plain Calico of Jalalpur.

⁷⁸ Finch, *Early Travels*, p.177.

production. However, Benaras was reputed for other commodities as well, which were manufactured here, these were copper-ware and brassware, dishes, basins and numerous articles for domestic use.⁷⁹

Another region of province in the *suba* was Kara which was one of the biggest trading and commercial centres in its western part. Peter Mundy records about the Kara, "This place is the biggest and best furnished of any we saw since our coming out of Agra".⁸⁰

It was an important market centre and the markets of Manikpur served as a supply base. Kara attracted a large number of traders.⁸¹

Allahabad itself was a big trading and commercial centre for it was situated on the two significant waterways. It provided an ideal base for another transaction with Bengal via Patna and was always studded with the imported goods from other countries. In Allahabad coloured dishes were manufactured.⁸² Apart from well entrenched carpets, textiles and traditional Industries the manufacture of fine paper was quite common at Shahzadpur,⁸³ near Allahabad. Since, Mughal Empire was vast and lots of official works were carried on, and regarding all these various *firman*s were issued by Emperors, so use of paper must have been widespread, and

⁷⁹ Pelseart, p.7, Marshall p.114.

⁸⁰ Peter Mundy, II, pp.91-92.

⁸¹ K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of people of Hindustan*, p.88.

⁸² Mannucci, II, 428.

⁸³ Peter Mundy, II, p.98.

paper must have been used for literary works as well. Contemporary sources do not mention about paper being manufactured in the *suba*-Agra, where *Agra* city was the capital and, hence, it must have required lots of paper, so we can bring a hypotheses that paper must have been exported to *suba* Agra from Shahzadpur, as *suba* Allahabad lied adjacent to *suba* Agra, paper was also manufactured at Zafrabad. According to Jaunpur Gazetteer,. At one time there was an extensive manufactures of paper from waste fibre of the false hemp. This is said to have been carried at Zafrabad for centuries and almost the whole of Oudh was supplied with the paper from this place”.⁸⁴

Among other important trading centres were where Jalalabad, (*sarkar* Allahabad), where fine muslin (*khasa*) manufactured⁸⁵ also ‘eckburies’, apparently a period of course muslin was also manufactured here.⁸⁶ Mau, situated in *sarkar* Jaunpur, where muslin and embroidered calico (*bafta-chikan*) were manufactured.⁸⁷ And Mirzapur. Regarding Mirzapur, Twining Says,

Many large boats were lying here laden with bales of cotton, of which article Mirzapur is the chief emporium on the great river”.⁸⁸ At

⁸⁴ Jaunpur Gazetteer, p.58.

⁸⁵ Benier, p.292.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Irfan Habib; *An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, Sheet 8 B, p.33.

⁸⁸ Naqvi, p.184.

Chunar, fine potteries were manufactured which were well-known as “plain red unglazed pottery of Chunar.”⁸⁹

There has been a tendency among a specific faction of historians to marginalise the vitality of urbanisation and industrial growth and confine their analysis to agrarian production as it provided the substance to the majority of the noble class.

However, if seen in light of the prevailing socio-economic ethos certain suggestive remarks can be made. The peculiar feature during medieval India was that the industrial skill and profession based on from father to son. To quote Bernier,

“The embroider brings up his son as an embroider, the son of gold smith becomes a goldsmith and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician”.

The highly specialized knowledge of an artisan greatly helped the industrial production.⁹⁰ ‘Persons of same profession tended to congregate at one place. At Banaras there was a street of weavers called *Katra Resham* (silk *Bazar*).’⁹¹

Common economic fundamentals seem to have operated in Suba’s economy. A sophisticated level of individual production and demand for raw material plausibly extended the existence of a well-developed

⁸⁹ Mundy II p.114, Irfan Habib, *An Atlas*, Sheet 8B, p.33.

⁹⁰ Bernier – *Travel in Mogol India*..... p.259.

⁹¹ Naqvi, p.30.

communication network. There was –developed communication network. There was therefore, an extensive trade of silk and *kimkhwab* (Gold brocade). According to Manrique, very fine cotton cloth was woven continuously by seven thousand looms in Benaras and in its neighborhood.⁹²

An important factor in the growth of industry at Banaras was the easy availability of raw silk from Bengal. In addition as has been mentioned before, the fine like and embroidery products had favourable market in Central Asia and Persia. Thus, a well developed industrial set up triggered an active chanelization of potential resources and transaction of raw material and finished goods.

Given the dependence of commerce and trade on rivers a progress in boat industry was a logical corollary. This particular mode of communication via river was considered safer than the highway. Allahabad being siderated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna, became an important centre of shipping industry. Here big boats and ships were built.⁹³ In 1596 a 37 yards long ship was constructed on the top of a large boat, which made it easier for it to be launched in shallow sea.⁹⁴ As ship-building, like any other industry is dependent on the convenience in

⁹² Manrique, II, p.147..

⁹³ *Ain*, I, p.280; W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp.156-57.

⁹⁴ *Ain I.*, p.290. Abul Fazl: *Akbarnamah* p.1066. See also de Laet; *Akbar the Great Moghal*, p.155.

assembling the necessary materials, it can be carried on only within reach of the sea and on the coast it will be localised at those places where materials are most readily procurable. In 16th & 17th centuries, timber was the determining factor, and ships could be built only where suitable timber was available. In Allahabad, ship-building had developed, with the availability of best -timbers provided to it by the forests in the Suba.⁹⁵ Large boats loaded with goods plied between Allahabad and Benaras and further towards Bengal. Traffic on Various tributaries of river Ganges was fairly high.⁹⁶

Another outstanding industrial progress occurred in perfume manufacturing Jaunpur and Ghazipur were the important centres of perfume manufacture. It is said to have been introduced in India from Persia during the reign of Sharqis. The principal scents were obtained from the flowers of Jasmine, the rose the *Keora* and from the roots of *Khaskhas*. *Bela* and *Chameli* were extensively cultivated in and around the city. Roses were scarce in Jaunpur and hence were supplied from Ghazipur which was famous for rose water.⁹⁷ In its neighbourhood there was large scale cultivation of rose garden. It covered more than 100 acres of land. Rose water of a superior variety was extracted here in substantial quality. There

⁹⁵ A.S. Qaiser, *IESHR* V-5(3) ; June 1968; p.-149-70.

⁹⁶ *Ain II*, p.99.

⁹⁷ R. Heber, *Narratives of a Journey United province of India from Calcutta to Bombay*, Vol.I, London, p.349.

was a rose water factor at Ghazipur and good *attar* from rose was prepared here.⁹⁸ He has described the manner in which *attar* was prepared here,

“The *attar* is obtained after rose water is made by setting it out during the night till the sun-rise in the morning, in large open vessels exposed to the air, and then the strimming off the essential oil which floats on the top. The rose water which is thus strimmed bears lower price than that which is warranted with its cream entire. To produce one rupee’s weight of *attar*, 200,000 well grown roses are required. Price is extravagant”.

However, the *attar* produced at Jaunpur was considered superior and better than that produced in any other part of the Mughal empire.

One more region which deserves attention is the *sarkar* of Kalinjar. It constituted mainly of forests and plateau and it was quite rich in mineral resources like iron and diamond. As has been shown in an Atlas of the Mughal Empire by Prof. Irfan Habib this region equipped Mughal army with enabled supply Mughal army with unabated supply of elephants⁹⁹ and other forest products like best quality timber called black ebony was supplied to the Mughal Empire from Kalinjar.¹⁰⁰

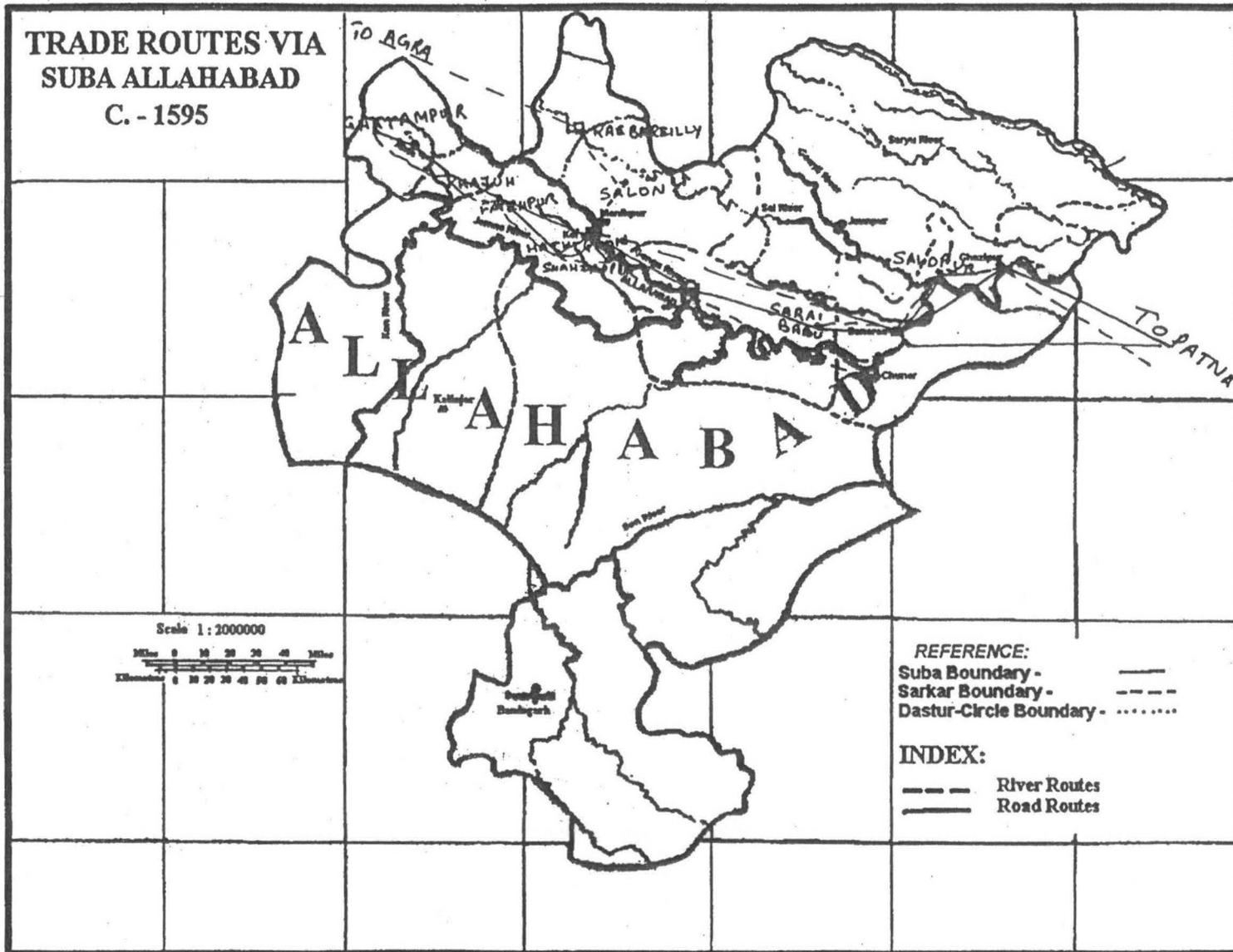
II

The movement of goods were facilitated by a well developed communication network as we find that most of the cities and *qasbas* of this *suba* were situated on river banks and they even developed due to their

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.349.

⁹⁹ *Ain*, I. 685, Abul Fazl mentions about Elephant, "Elephants are found in the following places in the subah of Illahabad, in the confines of Panah (Bhath) Gora, Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sirgiya and Basta, p.32.

¹⁰⁰ " Elephants of Pannah are best", See also Irfan Habib, *An Atlas..* Sheet 8B, p.94. *ibid.*



Sources: 1. Irfan Habib, *The Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 8A, 9A, 8B and page 31.
 2. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. CIX, CX, CXI, CS, CSI, CSII.
 See also *Chahar Gulshan*, in *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. 177-178.
 3. R. Heber, *Narratives*, I, pp. 29-401. See also *Mundy II*, pp. 83-137, *Tavernier I*, pp. 113 to 121, *Marshall*, pp. 159-60.

strategic location, like Allahabad, the capital of the *Suba*. Allahabad lacked in craft production, it lacked in textile and other productions as well, only different coloured dishes were made,¹⁰¹ which could one used by rich people only as they were not very durable. It was not important as production centre, but it was a pleasure resort for rich people.¹⁰² Due to its strategic location i.e. being situated at the confluence of two rivers, and also it was lying on various important trade routes, it was provided with all the commodities produced and the outside the Mughal empire. Goweever, other cities of the Suba, like Benaras, Ghazipur and Jaunpur, were commercially very important. The Geographical location of the *suba*, was such that it was connected to North Western, Eastern as well as southern part of the Mughal Empire through both land routes as well as water ways.

The famous imperial highway, also known as the Grand Tunk road, from Sounargaon (Dacca) to Peshawar, constructed by Sher Shah, passed through the Allahabad. Besides this route, there were various other trade routes passing through the *suba*. Like the goods produced in the east were transported to Gujrat coast or the Daccan markets, and vice-versa, via Allahabad - Kalpi - Chandari-Malwa region route.¹⁰³ There existed a route from Delhi to Patna via Bareilly-Lucknow, Brahmangaon, Benaras etc.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Mannucci, II, p.402.

¹⁰² Pelsaert, pp.6-7.

¹⁰³ K.K. Trivedi, Emergence of Agra as a capital and a city', *JESHO*, vol.XXXVIII, pp.147-70.

¹⁰⁴ C.G. f. 141a-b, see also *IH, An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, Sheet, 8B., p.31.

The *suba* was connected to the Gujarat coast by Allahabad-Agra route via Ghatampur - Kalpi - chanderi - Gujrat coast route.¹⁰⁵ Another route existed from Agra to Allahabad.¹⁰⁶ (Mundy and Tavernier describe the route to Allahabad as a section of the Agra - Patna route). Similarly, CG mentions that from Allahbad the route goes to Patna, though further stages have not been described. Finch in forms a section of the in alternative route from Agra to Jaunpur.¹⁰⁷ Agra was connected to Jaunpur via Kannauj, Lucknow and Awadh.¹⁰⁸ Another route from Agra for Karanbas, passed through kol.¹⁰⁹ Goods from Allahabad were transported to Benaras, by the road way, which was a sections of the Agra -Patna route.¹¹⁰ About this route Mannucci describes that it the route was level without hills and took him eight days to reach Benaras from Allahabad. Another alternative route to Patna from Allahabad ran through Jaunpur.¹¹¹ Benaras was connected to Patna by two routes. One was the northern routed via Ghazipur¹¹² and another through route Sahasram.¹¹³

Rivers also provided an important means of transport during he Medieval period. There were two important route from Delhi to

¹⁰⁵ K.K. Trivedi, *Emergence of Agra as a capital city*, p.197-70.

¹⁰⁶ Finch, *Early Travels*, 178-79.

¹⁰⁷ I.H. *An Atlas of Mughal Empire Sheet 8B*, p.31.

¹⁰⁸ Finch, *Early Travels*, 175-7.

¹⁰⁹ Mundy, II, 71-4, also see Irfan Habib, *An Atlas -- Sheet 8B*, p.31.

¹¹⁰ Mundy II, 107-22, 178-81, Tavernier, p.116-19; Mannucci IIp,76-77.

¹¹¹ Mundy, II, p.118, Allahabad-Jaunpur Route is Mentioned in Finch, *Early Travels*, p.177.

¹¹² J.N. Sarkar *India of Aurangzeb*, p.CIX, Cf., f.141 b.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.CX,CXI, Mundy, II, 122-35, 162-73, Tavernier, I, 119-21.

Murshidabad which passed through the *suba*. One was the water route and it passed through Calcutta - Dacca - Faridpur - Bhagalpur - Monghyr - Bankipur - Patna - Dinapur - Karmnasa - Ghaziur-Saidpur-Benares Chunar - Allahabad.¹¹⁴ In the *suba*, boats plied regularly between Calcutta and Allahabad.¹¹⁵

All along at least the major routes *sarais* were constructed by local officials and nobles for use by merchants and travellers.¹¹⁶ These were built at a convenient distance of one day's Journey.¹¹⁷ At important towns, not only were a number of *sarais* built,¹¹⁸ but some of these could be well built and large enough to accommodate two to three thousand persons at a time, along with their horses and camels.¹¹⁹ The *sarais* provided separate quarters for women travellers.¹²⁰ Some were beautiful pieces of architecture,¹²¹ They contained, large rooms, halls and verandahs, with trees inside the courtyard and different types of shops.¹²² As mentioned by Tavernier about the *sarais* near Banaras,

"In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cotton, silken stuffs, and one kind of merchandise. The majority of those

¹¹⁴ Heber, I, pp.26-401.

¹¹⁵ Mundy II, pp.83-137, Tavernier, 113-21.

¹¹⁶ Pelsaert p.150, Mundy II. Pp.78-79; Benaras had several *Carvan sarais*, Tavernier I, p.118.

¹¹⁷ Bernier, p.294, Finch, Early Travels, p.179.

¹¹⁸ "Jaunpur, had fifty - two *sarais*, in its neighbourhood", *Ardhkathanak*, p.5.

¹¹⁹ Mannucci, vol.1, p.67, "Each of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 2000, persons, with their horses, camels, carriages, and some of the are even larger."

¹²⁰ Mannucci, vol.I, p.67,

¹²¹ Mannucci, I, p.69.

¹²² Mannucci, vol.I, p.67.

who vend the goods are workers who have made the pieces, and in this manner foreigners obtain them at first hand:"¹²³

Growth of cottage Industries necessitated the facilities for the transport of merchandise from manufacturing centres to the capital and to the important cities. Although roads and other means of communication were not very satisfactory, yet for them the traffic and volume of trade they served well. On and, pack-animals and bullock carts were used as the means of transport of goods. Large caravans of oxen owned by several families and organized into one, *Tanda*, sometimes consisted of 20,000 animals.¹²⁴ These people were known as *banjaras* their only occupation being carrying trade in the whole of the country, they used to travelling with their women and children, they did not live in houses. They enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the transport of food grains, salt and sugar. These tandas were a common site on all important routes. Large herds of oxen kept by *banjaras* suggest that inland trade was very considerable;¹²⁵ a *tanda* of 20,00 animals could have carried nearly 2,700 tons weight.¹²⁶ The cost of this mode of transport was lower than the carts Camels were also used for *caravans*, but rarely, and they were specially reserved to carry the baggage of the nobles.

¹²³ Tavernier, p.118.

¹²⁴ Mundy, II, p.98, Tavenier, I, p.32-33.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Tavenier, I. p.-33.

Transport of goods on carts seems to have been much more convenient and economical because it did not require loading and unloading at every halting place. Extra strong carts were made, sometimes with solid wheels, for transporting excessively heavy materials, like carved statues or big pieces of stone; specially built carts of very large size, drawn by say a team of twenty or thirty very powerful built oxen and buffaloes were used for these purposes.¹²⁷ Normal carts also, after being modified, could carry the equivalent three camel loads and were drawn by six to twelve bullocks.¹²⁸

For individual transport, horses were preferred for their speed. However, small, very light carriages driven by oxen were used for travelling,¹²⁹ usually meant for travelling alone or for two persons. These carriages were provided, with curtains and cushions for comfort, those that were carved and gilded with gold perhaps belonged to the nobility. These were available on hire at all important towns. Normally these carriages were driven by a pair of oxen, and were similar modes of transport as in Europe. Generally these were hired by merchants to reach production and market centers and elsewhere. The charges in those days were about a rupee per day,¹³⁰ Since the time immemorial the rivers have provided the

¹²⁷ Manrique, II, p.173.

¹²⁸ Tavernier, I, pp.42-43, 113.

¹²⁹ Tavernier, I, pp.44-45, Manrique, II, p.152.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

easiest and the cheapest means of transport from Western to Eastern provinces of Mughal empire. Hence, navigation was an important transport. Major rivers of *suba* Ganges, Yamuna, Gomati, Ghaghra, Son served as the plain water ways. It was doubtless the strategical advantages provided by *suba* Allahabad with respect to water ways, made Akbar to build the fortress of Allahabad. The fort moreover commanded the way, which for centuries had been used by travellers from *doab* region while going towards eastern parts of India. Boats were extensively used by travellers, merchants and traders across the water ways in the *Suba* and it is clear that a considerable volume of traffic was carried by these means.¹³¹ Salt textiles, raw cotton carpets, laden on large boats, up to capacity of 400 to 500 tons were sent to the eastern provinces during the rainy season, some of the barges on Yamuna were of 100 tons.¹³² Goods from Bengal and Bihar were carried upstream during other months of the year.¹³³

The rivers Ganges and Yamuna being deep and broad, no masonry bridges were constructed over them. Most of the rivers of the *Suba* were not having bridges. However, some of the rivers of the *Suba* like Rind River, had a bridge at Kora.¹³⁴ There was bridge on Tons river at Akbarpur, with inscription, built in 1568-69¹³⁵. Another bridge existed on

¹³¹ W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p.156-57.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Finch, *Early Travels*, p.18.

¹³⁴ Mundy II, p.91, see also Irfan Habib, *The Atlas of Mughal Empire*, Sheet 8B, p.31.

¹³⁵ Irfan Habib, *The Atlas of Mughal Empire*, Sheet 8B, p.31.

Gomati river at Jaunpur, and it was completed, in 1568-69, as indicated by inscription on the bridge.¹³⁶

The variety, volume and value of goods, and the frequency with which large sized boats travelled through the rivers of the *suba* suggest that navigation through rivers functioned on well organised basis. There is a map showing the trade routes via *suba* Allahabad.

III

Mints were also situated in few cities of this *suba*. Here is a table showing the mints in different cities in different periods. We shall see how this shifted.

Table 1*
Mints in *Suba Allahabad*

Name of the Mint town	Akbar 1556-1605			Jahangir 1605-1628			Shahjehan 1628-1658			Aurangzeb 1658-1707		
	Au	Ag	Cu	Au	Ag	Cu	Au	A g	Cu	A u	A g	C u
Allahabad		√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	
Banaras			√									
Barelli										√	√	
Chunar		√	√									
Jaunpur	√	√	√							√	√	
Kora			√									
Manikpur			√									

* M.P.Singh, *Town, Market, Mints and Ports in Mughal Empire*, pp.193-252. Also Irfan Habib – *An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982; Aziza Hasan, “Mint of the Mughal Empire”, ICH, XXIX Session, (Patila 1967). Ag-Silver, Au-Gold, Cu-Copper

¹³⁶ *Ardhkathanak*, pp.40, Tale 264; *Finch, Early Travels*, p.176, see also Irfan Habib, *The Atlas of Mughal Empire*, Sheet 8B, p.31.

From the above table we can see that there was shifts in types of coin minted in a city. As Abul Fazl said, that there was no gold coin mint was situated in *suba* of Allahabad. But we find that later under Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb this *suba* had gold mints, so it also can lead us to drive inference that trade and commerce improved in 17th centuries and this *suba* gained importance. Specially under Aurangzeb Allahabad, Bareilly and Jaunpur had gold and silver mints.

If we the working of the mint, they were under officer called *Darogha-i Taksal*.¹³⁷ His duty was to supervise the working of mint, and for this reason he was required “to be circumspect and ‘intelligent... (who)’ keeps every one to his work and shows the zeal and integrity”.¹³⁸ The opening and closure of mint was at his pleasure.¹³⁹

The *sarrafs* examined and counted the coins when any payment was made or received at mint.¹⁴⁰ He was a man who possessed special skill to determine the purity of coin weight. He was appointed to the office by the state. The *Ain* stresses that the success of the mint department depended on the experience of the *sarrafs* as he “determines the purity of the coin”.¹⁴¹ He

¹³⁷ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, III, p.223, The English Called him the ‘mint master’, *EF*. (1618-21) p.8.

¹³⁸ *Ain*, I, p.13.

¹³⁹ *EF*. (1618-21), p.8.

¹⁴⁰ *Ain* I, pp.13-14.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*.

was the government official and therefore, he could be distinguished from private bankers and money changers were known as *sarrafs*.¹⁴²

Prices of the commodities are not explicitly mentioned in the contemporary sources but there has been description provided by Abul Fazl in the *Ain*.¹⁴³ It appears that urban centres mostly dealt in cash payments as the rates are provided in *dams*. The high magnitude of foreign trade, involving the active participation of foreign joint stock companies had given immense spurt to the financial sector and therefore, transaction through bills of exchange (*Hundi*)¹⁴⁴ became a well institutionalized practice in all over the subcontinent. With the economic set up in India this practice seems to have been well entrenched in Allahabad *suba* too.

Tavernier, dealing with the different rates of commission of the Bills of exchange has mentioned that 6% was charged by the agents¹⁴⁵ (mostly *sarrafs* or jewellers). If we carefully see the rates of exchange of *Hundi* we find that those *subas* which were far away from Surat, i.e. the cities having Bills of Exchange in farther *subas* were having higher rates of exchange.

As Surat was an important port for international sea trade, during the first half of seventeenth century and even later it was linked with eastern cities like Benaras, Patna, Decca, Allahabad for procurement of goods.

¹⁴² Ibid., p.16, Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, p.302.

¹⁴³ *Ain* 1, pp.62-64.

¹⁴⁴ Tavernier, vol.1, p.36.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

Though this link was not direct still the influence of these cities were significant in international trade, be it, sea trade or overland Eurasian trade,¹⁴⁶ as these cities produced many important items also, and also were imported many goods from nearly *subas* or also from Bengal, Gujarat or Deccan.

The usual practice, was not the bills were taken via Agra and then used in Surat or for that matter in any big commercial town. The usual practice was that the merchant deposited his money to some authorized agent at Banaras and sought "letter of exchange" at Agra. At Agra he again sought another letter of exchange¹⁴⁷ on Surat Goods were also insured against theft. They were kept mixed in a boat, as a valuable goods with few less valuable ones like *suba* Allahabad imported *ghee*, probably from Awadh.

IV

Cities or towns developed during the Mughal period in large number. There were direct and indirect factors involved in their development. Towns and townships developed with the political stability, industrial growth (in Mughal period it was the craft production,

¹⁴⁶ Stephen Dales, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade 1600-1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, Chapter 1.

¹⁴⁷ Irfan Habib, "Bills of Exchange", *IHC*, 1975.

commercial feasibility, strategic location,¹⁴⁸ and it being a pilgrimage center. *Suba* Allahabad finds many factors involved together in its growth. Many towns including the *suba* headquarter grew, most of them due to increase in commercial activity due to coming of European trading Companies. This was because this *suba* was a link between the Bengal, Bihar and Agra *suba*. This lied on the trade route which was connected to overland trade to Lahore, Multan, Kabul via Agra,¹⁴⁹ as well as to Surat. These routes also had river communication on a larger extent.

In seventeenth century the growth of urban centres were due to increase in trade which was due to Mughal policies to help in growth of trade. Urban centres mostly have non-agriculturists in large numbers.¹⁵⁰ This was mainly in those places which were located on the trade routes. Specially those which could be connected by river as well as roads developed very fast. Centers like Allahabad, Kara, Manikpur, Jaunpur, Benaras¹⁵¹ etc developed due to their strategic location. Even those centres which were having the potential to manufacture goods which were exclusive and of use developed. This we have discussed in detail in earlier

¹⁴⁸ Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in upper India, 1556-1603*, Bombay 1968 p 9, see also C.A. Bayley, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge, 1983.

¹⁴⁹ Stephen F. Dales, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade 1600-1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

¹⁵⁰ Pelseart, p 6, Mundy II pp 207-208, Thavenot, 47, Hemilton, p 317

¹⁵¹ Finch, *Early Travels*, pp 176-177, Thavenot p 97

section. Later even the administrative headquarters, developed due to noble staying there and due to them urban centres developing in those region.

Rivers which provided easy and cheap means of transport on boats as the roads in those days were *Kachcha*. In rainy seasons the roads especially on some routes i.e. which was between Agra and Patna became difficult and unsuitable for wheeled traffic.¹⁵²

Most of the urban centers were developing at the river side like Allahabad, Manikpur, Benaras, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, kara etc. The centres lying on the trade routes attracted traders and merchants who found it profitable to halt at these places and sell few of their goods, and then even carry the goods available in these places and go to Agra and even to Surat.¹⁵³ This led to development of new *qasbas* and townships at places wherever merchants made their base and placed their agents and expanded their transaction.

In these *qasbas* merchants sold their goods in the markets which were set up by them periodically according to the requirement of the region. The towns which developed had large population which was engaged in activities other than agriculture People from rural areas or small towns came to big townships to try their luck.¹⁵⁴ The towns population also

¹⁵² *The English Factories in India 1618-21*, ed. W. Foster pp 258, 283; Peter Mundy II, *Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia Vol II: Travels in Asia, 1630-34*, ed. Sir R.C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, Bombay 1928 pp 143-44. see also Infan Habib, *Agrarian System* pp 68-69 and n

¹⁵³ Banarasidas, *Ardhkathanak*, pp.43, 56.

¹⁵⁴ Banarasidas, *Ardhkathanak*, pp 43, Tales 280-285.

included *sarrafs*, bankers artisans, manufacturers merchants, traders, nobles, etc.¹⁵⁵ These *sarrafs* were at places where units were opened by state and large scale money transactions occurred. At times they were even appointed by the state to check the purity of coins, their weights etc.

These *sarrafs* also acted as bankers and had become an integral part of that periods' urban society, nearly each *pargana* had a *sarrafa*¹⁵⁶. It was to Allahabad as basically that these fiscal officers were appointed or they even came to adventure their luck and these cities even received empirical titles and mints were established.¹⁵⁷

There was another section which dealt in gems and jewellery and were so rich that they were able to buy them in Banaras and Jaunpur and so to sell it in Agra.¹⁵⁸

However, these cities also had poor shopkeepers who were forced to give their goods at cheap rates to nobles faujdars etc.¹⁵⁹ This shows that even the medieval cities had mixed population, but the growth of urban

¹⁵⁵ Pelseart, p 28-29

¹⁵⁶ Letters Received IV p 193; Tavernier, pp 28-29, see also Irfan Habib, *Money Changes in Mughal India*; K.K. Trivedi. *Agra Profile of a Mughal suba*, p 37

¹⁵⁷ C.A. Bayle, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazars: North Indian Society in the Age of Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge, 1983, p.123.

¹⁵⁸ Banarsidas, *Ardhakathanak*, p.43, Tales 280-285; also p.56, Tale 392, The author speaks of groups of merchants and traders who traded in gems and Jewellery and they even went together for pilgrimage to Kashi and then to *Parsvnath*. It shows that they resided in Jaunpur and traded in Gems and Jewellery and made large profits, it also honour that the author himself went to Agra first time with necklace previous stones, etc, to try his luck.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p18, During Chin Qilich Khan's period in Jaunpur. For general description Pelseart p 68

centres explains that there was surplus in the countryside which could support large population which did not take part in cultivation.

This *suba* had fertile plains and thus had all the necessary requirements for urbanisation. The fixed markets of grains and cotton trades held in the interiors with the help of local *zamindar* or petty rulers were *ganj*.

The *doab*, with the highway going from Dacca to Sonargaon and further west and Ganga-Jamuna boat traffic, was thickly clustered with fixed markets.¹⁶⁰

This *suba* also has an old urban history. The archeological remains suggest that about 64 km away (towards west) from Prayag (Allahabad was near the ancient city Kaushmbi).¹⁶¹ This was one of the twin urban centers along with Hastianpur. This fact attests to the urban development mostly taking place in regions which were rich in resources and had the potential to sustain the large non-agricultural populations.

Religion also helped in growth of urban centers. As the pilgrimage centers attracted large number of pilgrims and their coming to the place at

¹⁶⁰ C.A. Bayley, *Rulers Townsman and Bazars*, pp.110-115.

¹⁶¹ A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, vol.I, New Delhi, 1954, pp.26, 39, 42. Romila Thapar, *History of Ancient India* pp 23-27; D.N. Jha, *Ancient India: In historical Outline*, New Delhi, 1977, revised edition 1998, pp 55, 62, 63, 65, 81, 129, 158. These scholars have described this centre as a developed urban centre on the basis of they being on the trade routes, seat of power due to all the resources in abundance present there, developments due to Buddhist influence, mints were there. And thus it is seen that it was due to the potential and strategic location of the region which helped it to develop into urban centre in that period and also remain an important region in the periods to come for those rulers who wanted to have control over North India, Later in Sultanate period also Delhi Sultans tried to have control even this region.

certain intervals in large numbers gave merchants, artisans, traders, bankers, sheroffs etc. a chance to earn money. So they also flocked to these pilgrim centres during the stay of pilgrims to try their lucks. And if the importance of the pilgrimage centre was for whole year, they found it a good place to earn. In this *suba* two such centers were Allahabad (Prayag) and Benaras (Kashi). At Allahabad pilgrims came to had holy bath at the *Sangam* or the Confluence.¹⁶² Even today people go for *Mahakumbh mela* after every twelve years and for *Ardhakumbh mela* after every six years.

Banaras was an urban and learning centre¹⁶³, which was also called as Kashi in earlier period. As the contemporary and later writers describe this city had many buildings, temples but the roads were very narrow and congested shows that this city was always having high density of Population.¹⁶⁴ Population of this city was large and this would have been added due to it being a pilgrimage centre. The merchants and traders came to sell their products from different *qasbas*.

Few of these towns were also having craft production. Benaras produced very fine quality of cotton and silk cloth. Other towns also produced different products which could be manufactured from the resources available there or in the nearby areas. It was a big transaction centre in the medieval period.

¹⁶² *Ain* II p 169, *Ardhkathanak*, p.36.

¹⁶³ Tavernier, II, p.234.

¹⁶⁴ Tavernier, II p 118-119

Thus, it is seen that these settlements had increase in production and trade also the increases in regions which were rich in manufactures and tied on the trade routes. This upper part of the *suba* developed under the Mughals due to Akbar setting up his fatal Allahabad, so *karkhanas* was set up which was to produce goods for the elites and nobles. Still it can not be denied that these centers had the potential to develop and it was only the strong state's political stability and management which gave them impetus to develop.

Akbar combined two different geographical regions into one *suba*. While demarcating the *suba* and making the headquarter Allahabad, he would have planed to develop the southern region of the *subas* and have control over this area.

The cities developing due to political elite class coming and building their life *mahals* and those regions saw growth to a large extent. Since, the Mughal Emperor laid the foundation of fort at Allahabad, this kind of development started here. Earlier Delhi sultans had their forts at Jaunpur, Kara etc. Even if the Emperors or Sultans did not stay, the elite initiated them. As few contemporary travellers,¹⁶⁵ has said that these elites were very rich and built their houses in such a manner that it reflected their extensions and extravagant life style. Pelseart has described that.,

“Their *mahals* (palaces) are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless fertility, superfluous pomp.... they have

¹⁶⁵ Pelseart p 6

three to four wives... Each wife has separate apartment for herself and her slaves, of whom may be 10 or 20 or 100."¹⁶⁶

Though in *suba* Allahabad the number of such nobles were less, but few of them existed at least in *sarkar* headquarters and attracted merchants, traders craftsmen and different professional groups.¹⁶⁷

During this period the cities developed but they were not planned and one could not find houses built in a planned manner. This would have been so because rich and the elite preferred to stay on the banks of the rivers with their gardens and pavillions on the east bank¹⁶⁸ to beat the heat and others i.e. the poor and the less privileged had to stay on the peripheral areas. This shows the social stratification of the society.

European travellers were so impressed with these cities, their buildings and the high density of population that they compared Agra, Allahabad, Benaras, Delhi, Lahore etc. with that of the largest and most populous cities of Europe.

However, they did not compare other centres like Jaunpur, Kara, Manikpur etc. because these were not on the direct routes. Still they were

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Pelseart p 61-62. Cities were followed by all types of menial workers. Mostly the construction workers came to cities who found jobs to build the forts and *mahals* (Palaces of nobility) (*Baburnama* p 520). Also come the artisans in large number, as the articles had to pass through several hands before it came in the market as finished product. (Pelseart p 60) Even Banarsi das, *Ardhakathanak* ed. Meta Prasad Gupta, Prayag, 1943 author himself was a son of a gem merchant and went to Agra with gems and jewelelry to sell them and try his fortunes as Agra was the centre. His father had shifted to Allahabad for sometime from Jaunpur

¹⁶⁸ *Ain* p 441; Pelseart p 3-5; Manrique p 151, Nicholo Manucci, *Storoi de Mogor*, 1656-1712 tr. W. Irvin, London, 1907-1908 Vol I, p 132. See also K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Profile of Mughal Suba* p 37. In case of Allahabad *suba* forts are found built on the banks of rivers for example. Allahabad fort, Chuner fort, Kara fort etc. (*Ain* II p 171-179)

centers with similar potential and had remained important active centres of attraction under the Mughals. Jaunpur is said to be celebrated for following thing, each of numbering 52: 52 *parganas*, 52 shopping centres, 52 markets (i.e. *mandi*) and an equal number of *sarais* in its neighbourhood.¹⁶⁹

All *sarkars* in the *doab* area, generated voluminous revenue in their jurisdiction and on an average only 25 per cent of the total revenue of the empire went to imperial treasury.¹⁷⁰ And the rest was with the *mansabdars* and nobility. Yet there was not much development in towns and *sarkars* of different provinces. This would have been because there nobles competed with each others to satisfy their vanity, the recourses generated in the area were pumped into only a few towns which were important centres and the others were left neglected. This led to growth of few centres, (which got impetus from the elite clears)¹⁷¹ and other places remained starved and could not prospered. Thus, we can say that the growth of cities and market centres in *suba* Allahabad were due to trade and the centres on the trade routes developed more than other centres. This also makes it clear that the centres developed with more intensity due to European trading companies as the demand of good increased.

¹⁶⁹ Banarsidas, *Ardhkathanak*, Tale-31-32, p.5.

¹⁷⁰ K.K. Trivedi, 'Share of Mansabdars in the state revenue resources: a study' of the maintenance of animals', *IESHR* 24, 4 (1987), pp 411-23.

¹⁷¹ Stephen Blake, *Shahjehanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India 1639-1739*, New York 1991 ch-1. He talks about military camps and patrimonial bureaucratic empires

Conclusion

The Mughal empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries had reached its zenith and became a vast empire which occupied a large part of Hindustan. As such managing such state with different types of local (Rajputs, Afghans, Jats etc.) and rajas was a difficult job. Hence, we see that the existing empire was divided into several provinces or *subas*, in order to have smooth functioning of the affairs of the state and leaving least possible chances for the rebels to lead an uprising against the emperor, the 1580, Akbar re-demarcated the various territories of the empire and created an administrative unit called *suba* which was further divided into *sarkars* and these there after, composed of various *parganas*, a further smaller unit. All these were done mainly to enable the Mughal regime to exercise or wide economic and strategic reach over its vast territories (covering which approximately 23,00,000 square kilometers) with a revenue potential of over 100 million rupees. The formation of *suba* Allahabad, thus under administrative, fiscal and political region, and this in turn influenced economic and political developments in the Mughal empire, special care was taken in demarcating the boundaries of these *subas*, as to which areas needed to be attached to the individual

provinces, these demarcation were done on the basis of datas collected during the course of elaborate land survey and revenue related matters in the 1570's in association with experience of earlier rulers, available in various compiled works (like the *Taikh- i Sher Shahi*, the *Tazkirat-ul Waqiat*, *The Humayunama*).

The *suba* Allahabad was formed comprising areas of the fertile parts of Ganga-Yamuna *doab* and part of Ganga-Ghaghra doab in the north and the its southern part of comprised of the Kaimur hills or Rewa Plateau which were not-fertile and were not important from fiscal point of view but were important in order to keep a watch over the Bihar and Bengal *suba*; these forest areas of the Rewa Plateau also acted as national defence for the centre. The *subas* namely Agra, Awadh and Allahabad were formed but of the existing provinces around the Indo-Gargetic region, and to them, this, as we have seen earlier (chapter 1) was done basically to weaken the rulers of these areas, as they were master of rich revenue yielding areas, and we have seen in the case of Alauddin Khalji, how he became ambitions after being appointed the governor of Kara, and thereafter challenged the Sultan, and seated himself on the Delhi throne, Similar was the case of Sher Shah, coming to power and later on we saw during Akbar's

reign the *uzbeks* and Afghans of these areas led a rebellion and challenged Akbar so, these revenue rich areas, (which contained potential to make any local ruler of the region to become a threat for the centre) were divided in to three provinces in order to weaken the power of the existing rebel forces. In order to further weaken the local potentials, and also to restrict their power and influence within small boundaries, the *suba* was divided into a number of *sarkars* in such a manner that *zamindari* areas of these local power groups were curbed within the periphery of respective *sarkar* boundaries.

As a result of the emergence of the *suba* Allahabad, various economic changes also occurred in the region. Allahabad the ancient city of *Prayag*, was chosen as the capital city because of its, strategic location that is being situated at he confluence of two main rivers the Ganges and the Yamuna which were major water ways of the region and also various trade routes passed through it, connecting Allahabad with Bengal in the east, Gujarat in the west and also Decca this route also joined Multan and Kabul. To make the city strong and to garrison Mughal forces, (in order to have a control in this region) Akbar built a strong magnificent fortress of red sandstone at the confluence and Ganges and Yamuna. As result, urban boom took

place and Allahabad emerged as a commercial centre, though it was not able to produce much items, but its markets were flooded with all sorts of goods of from inland as well as overseas. Allahabad emerged as a centre for ship building due to its location and easy availability of timber from forests in its neighbourhood, and here, huge volumes of merchandise between Gujarat and Bengal were exchanged. The overland route reached till Kabul from Sonargaon in Bengal this route also crossed Allahabad.

All the merchants and traders who started with their goods from Bengal, took halts (*Sarais*), there they sold few of their goods and purchased the peculiar goods of that place and so in this manner, the *sarai* area became a periodic market place.

This periodic market attracted buyers and Sellers from the nearby areas. Thus, we find the development of new 'urban' centres that is the *qasbas* or small township when frequently visited by merchants, bankers, *saroffs*, elite's and buy years developed into urban centres called cities.

It leads us to infer that political stability led to increase in trade and this in turn led to growth in urban centres. This was also encouraged by the nobles, military commanders and rich land

proprietors who wanted to imitate the emperor at least in material procurement. Thus, these cities attracted the artisans, craftsman etc.

Even the central authority tried to give certain powers to *kotwal* and *faujdar* of the suba.

We find that silver mints were opened at Allahabad and Rae Barielly during Akbar's region and further small regions also gained importance but this was only when the region was strategically located, it was not that all the areas developed in the Mughal period. Only places which were on the main trade routes (be it riverine or land) developed as cities. Also those cities which had the potential to sustain increased population density grew. It is not solely true two, as few foreign writers have pointed out that Mughal empire was 'patrimonial-bureaucratic' empire, and cities developed due to the military establishment. This was rather one of the reasons for development of cities in the Mughal period.

Thus, we find that the political stability provided by Akbar, and further decentralisation of power with the authority in the hands of state, Akbar gave a new beginning to the rule. But this was valid only till a just and strong ruler sat on the throne. We find that, uprisings and rebellious started in Aurangazab's lifetime only, while he was in

Decean. It gained more strength after his death when weak Bahadur Shah I came to power.

All this leads us to conclude, that Akbar's demarcation of *subas*, in order to have long empire was partially successful, because eighteenth century saw series of rebellions. But this demarcation gave approximately a centuries, peaceful rule to the Mughal Emperors.

Appendix

List of *Sarkars* with their *parganas*

Allahabad	Sangraur, Saraon, Allahabad, Bandhua, Jalalabad (Ariah), Khairagarh, Kantit, Sarai Babu, Korh, Bhadoi, Hodiabas (Jhusi), Mah (Jalalpur)
Benaras	Benaras, Haraua, Pindra, Bialsi, (Jalalpur), Kathihar, Afrad, Kaswar
Chunar	Chunar, Ahilwara (Ahraura), Bhulli, Bhadwal, Dhus, Ralhupur Majuwara, Sawath, Narwan (Narhan), Mahaich, Tanda, Mahwari, Mawai, Bahadurpur,
Gahora	Dasenda, Sohagi, Teonthar,
Ghazipur	Belhabas, Bahrjabad, Saidpur, Ghazipur Karanda, Madan Banaras (Zamanya), Chausa, Garha, Pati, Muhammadabad, Shadiabad, Zahurabad, Pochatar, Dehma, Kopa, Lakhnasar, chit, Ballia,
Jaunpur	Mariahu, Naipur, Tanda, Khaspur, Birhai, Chandipur, Tilahi (Jalalpur), Akbarpur, Sinjhauli, Surharpur, Aldamau, Chanda, Seotha, Mendha, Ungli, Rari, Jaunpur, Zafarabad, Ghiswa (Nachhlishahr), Mugra (Bramangaon), (Bamhulaon), Dostpur, Kola, Khanpur, Kirakat, Deogaon, Nangun, Nezamabad, Kauria, Gopalpur, Sagai, Chakesar, Nathrupur, Ghasi, Mau, Mittu (Pur), Chjriakot, Badaon, Kaharid, Sikandarpur, Bhitri,
Kalinjar	Ajaigarh, Kalinjar, Rasin, Sihandda, Mahoba, Kaharela, Khandeh, Maudaha, Angasi, Simauni, Shadipur,
Kara	Kunra, Aya, Sah, Fatehpur, Haswa, Kotla, Hathgaon, Kara, Shahzadpur, Karari, Ainch, Kittagaon,
Kora	Kutia, Gunir, Bindki, Khajua, Kiranpur, Kora, Ghatampur, Majhawan, Jajmau, Mauhsinpur,
Manikpur	Arol (Katra) Bhilwal, Dajmau, Jais, Jalapur, Manikpur, Nasirabad, Rae Bareilly, Salon, Thulandi,

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