Medieval period was rich in tradition of urbanisation during which new towns emerged and older ones revived. Royal capital cities, viz., Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Lahore flourished and expanded to a very great extent. The development of these towns was not a development by chance. It was the outcome of various factors e.g. a) introduction of a land tenure system conducive to the growth of productivity, b) industrial activity catering to the civilian, army and palace requirements, c) inland and foreign trade, d) numerous administrative reforms e.g., introduction of revenue system, division of territory into Subah, Sarkar, Dastar and Mahal, e) cultural and religious activities, f) peace and tranquility on the political front, g) mobilization of state resources, h) creative urge of the Mughal Kings.

Mughal King's concerted efforts laid foundation of new towns and greatly embellished the older ones. They constructed forts, palaces, mosques, tombs and shrines, dug canals and laid gardens. In a situation like this,
where large number of urban centres specialising in
different functions were revived or came into being a fresh,
a large variety in the layout and plan of these towns and
cities was but inevitable. It is on account of this
important reason that we find differences in the form and
layout of various north Indian cities of the medieval period.

The morphology of cities is governed by multiple
factors, viz., geographical and physical conditions, the
background of the origin of the city, the level of
development of a city and the functions which the city
performed, all these factors shaped the morphology and
structure, house type and development process of the city.

The cities situated on plains, hills, mountains,
river banks and along the sea-shore naturally differed in
planning, design, pattern of communication highways, roads,
lanes, street network, house type and building material.
Apart from the physical conditions, climate also influenced
the site and planning of the cities. Plains, for example,
remained the main areas for population-concentration and
river banks were the favourite sites for cities. So far
as the forts and their planning are concerned Mughal Kings
selected strategic sites from their military engineering
point of view anywhere as their need be e.g. plains,
river banks, hills, hilltops, foothills and so on and so
forth.
The cities which originated in different periods of history, differ significantly. The ideal and standards of planning have undergone continuous changes. The selection of site, planning of network of roads and designing of houses bear the post-mark and impressions of their historical period. For example, cities of the earlier period had the tendency of concentration of all activities in a smaller region, people flocked within a very limited area - thus creating congestion and overcrowding and unhealthy sanitary conditions. Closed type multi-storyed buildings to accommodate the members of a large joint family was the general trend of the period. There was hardly any space left for open lawns. This was necessary for compact living. The muslim rulers introduced the systematic planning of cities. Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi of the medieval period attract the attention from the morphological point of view. Delhi grew to be more than mere seat of principality, and was destined to be the central point of an empire. The twin cities of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri undermined the supremacy of the imperial capital during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both Delhi and Agra are situated on the west bank of the river Yamuna. Fatehpur Sikri was founded by King Akbar near Agra. All these three still attract historians, tourists and art historians.
AGRA

The city of Agra is situated on the west bank of river Yamuna. The most significant fact is that of its location, which has played a very important role in the process of urbanisation. It is situated on the confluence a) of three distinct geographical regions viz., i) the plain, ii) the plateau, and iii) the desert; b) of four specific cultural areas, viz., i) Brij, ii) Bundelkhand, iii) Rajasthan and iv) western Uttar Pradesh; c) of different trade routes and human needs of transport.

Again, it held a unique strategic and political position in the country in those days and was practically free from any upsurge or war. It had a vast agricultural hinterland and offered prospects for farming masses. Yet one more interesting fact about location had been that the main centre of habitation shifted from the eastern or the left bank to the western or the right bank of Yamuna during Muslim Period. Mughal Dynasty left a far reaching impact on the life of India, its polity, its art and culture, its buildings and their architecture, its towns and its entire social and economic life. Towns like Agra are examples of its achievements par excellence for it is here that art and culture developed and social and economic life strengthened.
More and more people were attracted from all the three geographical regions and four cultural areas and started settling in the city amicably where ample avenues for employement, trade, commerce etc. were available. There was peace and tranquility. There is a controversy as to whether there was a wall around Agra or not. Agra, the capital city had no wall though according to the Agra Gazetteer and Archaeological survey reports of 1871-72, Agra, was surrounded by stone wall in former days. Most of the foreign travellers, during the seventeenth century, declared that there was no wall outside the city. William Finch (1608-1611) recorded that the city had no wall. Pelsaert who visited Agra in 1620, described it as an unwalled city. Thevenot (1667) and Manucci also recorded that the city was unwalled. The existence of gates of a city is not a convincing proof of its having a wall.

During Medieval Period, after the establishment of Mughal Empire, the city steadily gained importance and soon became the first city. Babar, the founder of Mughal Empire in India, after defeating Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, made Agra his residence and capital. He built an unpretentious palace, a few baths and laid out a beautiful
garden, known as Hast Bihist or Nur-i-Afshan (now known as Rambag) on the east bank of Yamuna. During the time of Akbar (1556-1605) Agra attained its world wide fame (Fig.5).

Akbar demolished Sikander Lodi's brick fort, and erected a new one in 1565, a more stately edifice, just near or partly on the same site on the western bank of Yamuna. He added many new buildings, including a mosque, residential palaces, offices and gardens; and the city grew into a large and magnificent city (the first city of India, its population was estimated to be 2 lakhs). According to Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri "Agra is one of the largest ancient cities of India on the banks of the river Yamuna. It had an old fort.......". Apart from being a Capital of the Empire, it was the head quarters of a province known as Agra Subah. Akbar's policy of cultural fusion made Agra the centre of a great movement aiming at the great political and cultural unity of India (Particularly the fusion of persian and Indian styles and thus building up an art-tradition in painting, blending of Hindu and Muslim styles into a new style of Indian architecture; and a new school of music in which the Hindu and Muslim mingled). This legacy of Agra has been of an abiding influence.
During the reign of Shahjahan the magnificence of Agra increased, and it became the centre of new culture in the east. He built a pearl mosque in Agra. He immortalized it by erecting the famous Taj Mahal. But the streets being mostly narrow and crooked he intended to rebuild the whole town. He desisted from this on account of protests of the inhabitants.

Generally, the city of Agra has developed in a haphazard manner. It is a particular combination of the old and the new. It is a conglomeration of a number of localities - which came into existence at different times, but which became one by the process of expansion. Nor does the city lie on a single extended plane, many reminiscences, ravines and undulations being special features of its topography. The old quarters of the Mughal city in the vicinity of Akbar Fort, such as Rawat Para, Pipal Mandi, Kacherighat and Belanganj, have retained their importance through the ages, but they were mainly inhabited by old world businessmen and by the descendants of the employees of the Mughal government. The buildings in this area are of traditional Hindu type, do not follow any set architectural pattern and are made of stone or brick, being two or three storyes high. Generally, the rooms, which often have verandas, are built around an
open courtyard and have flat roofs usually fringed with carved stone screens.

Agra is spread in an unimaginative and unmanageable dimension. The colonies and smaller bazars are either 'Mandi' or 'Ghati'. Among the many 'Mandis' and 'Ghatis', the important ones are Shahzadi-Mandi, Nai-ki-Mandi, Rui-ki-Mandi, Namak-ki-Mandi, Gur-ki-Mandi, Loha Mandi and Sabzi Mandi etc. Among Ghatis the important ones are Ghatia Azam Khan, Ghatia Mamu Bhanja etc.

Monuments built by Muslim Kings bear testimony to this fact (Moti Masjid, Jahangiri Mahal, Anguri Bagh, Saman Burj, Diwan-i-Am, Diwan-i-Khas in Agra Fort, Taj Mahal, Mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, Mausoleum of Itimad-ud-Daula) that Agra has the predominance of muslim architecture. It had a fort rebuilt by Akbar with red hewn stone. Shahjahan later on preferred the regnal white marble to red sandstone. The wealth of obtruct motifs on the western walls of the fort is certainly in accordance with the Arabian style. The city bears imprints of Muslim Culture as it is a gross product of the efforts of rulers of Mughal dynasty.
FATEHPUR SIKRI

Fatehpur Sikri, situated twenty three miles away from Agra in the southwest, is another urban centre, a brain child of the great Mughal builder Akbar. History of this city is that it was built by Akbar to mark the birth of his son Salim (later known as Jahangir). As the royal headquarters shifted in the year 1569 from Agra to Fatehpur Sikri, it came into prominence. The traders, craftsmen, royal employees and foreign travellers started visiting and sometimes settling there. This accelerated the process of urbanisation in and around this town which covered twin villages of Fatehpur and Sikri (Fig.6).

This large city, erected on a stony ridge, is very magnificent. Fatehpur Sikri, like other royal premises consists of a masonry fort, a royal palace, residential lines of nobility, numerous mansions and gardens, a mosque, a school and a religious house. In addition to these edifices, Fatehpur Sikri had a special arrangement of Chaugan (horse polo ground) where elephant fights took place.

The importance of Fatehpur Sikri was, however, short lived because by the end of the sixteenth century it was abandoned by royalty, because of its inferior
PLAN OF FATEHPUR SIKRI

REFERENCE

SOURCE - P. Anan Anab "FATEHPUR SIKRI"
PUBLISHED BY: The Director General Archaeological Surveys of India, P No 1

Fig. 6
water, unhealthy climate and for other certain political reasons. There are accounts of Shahjahan and others visiting it and offering their prayers. In the days of Akbar the place was famous for its handicraft.

Patehpur Sikri resembles Mughal Forts of Delhi and Agra because important buildings that were constructed here likewise include Naubat Khana, Taksal Khazana, Diwan-i-Am, Diwan-i-Khas, Turkish Bath, Nishagh-i-Rammal, Ankh-Michauli, Pachisi Court, Khas Mahal, Turkish Sultan's house, Khwabgah, Mariam-uz-Zamanis' house, Jodhabai's palace, Birbal's house, Nagina Masjid, Jama Masjid, Buland Darwaza, Three pillars, Tomb of Shaikh Salim Chisti etc. 11

Akbar quitted it in 1586 as the water supply of the place was naturally defective. 12 Ralph Fitch found that houses and streets of Patehpur Sikri were not so fair as those of Agra. 13 The obscure ruins of business streets there tell their tale. No doubt the withdrawal of the court must have left the place desolate and empty.

DElhi

A close study of the layout of the city of Delhi, reveals that it was properly planned. The author of Khulast-ut-Tawarikh gives a vivid description of the
general appearance and layout of Delhi city, "its attractive houses have perfect beauty and charm, its soul-refreshing pleasure houses possess grace and happiness, its streets look like the flower-beds of a garden in ornamental beauty, the squares of every ward of this town are beautiful and heart ravishing, like the squares of a garden, everyone of its houses and mansions looks like flower-bed of eternal spring, the roads of its bazars are bright and attractive like the veins of jewels, its shops are full of happiness and beauty like the two eyebrows of beloved ones."  

There is no town in India that can compare with Delhi in the number of its monuments; and memories are concerned almost exclusively with the rule of foreign conquering dynasties and the religion of Islam introduced by them. Delhi is the only place in India that grew to be more than the mere seat of a principality, and was destined to be the central point of an empire. People sometimes talk of the 'seven cities of Delhi'. The number can be increased if the various towns, villages and collections of ruins are added e.g. Lalkot, Jahanpanah, Siri, Tuglaqabad, Firozabad, Purana Qila and Shahjahanabad. During periods of political unsteadiness when it became necessary for the king to change the royal seat from one
place to another, villages could easily be grouped together into a city to function as a capital. The king and his council were followed by the merchants and other sections of society and the new capital soon changed the complexion of the group villages giving them an urban outlook.

Delhi, as a town during medieval period, attracted Humayun, who selected the site on the banks of river Yamuna, a fort was built, a palace for the royal family and city walls were constructed and the township was named as Din-Panah. This fort was elevated on the old site of Purana Qila and thus foundation of an urban centre was laid. Humayun was defeated by Shershah and fled from India. Shershah built a new fort and city after demolishing Din-Panah. He died in 1545. Humayun survived to the end of the reign of Shershah's son and successor, Islam Shah (1554). In the same year Humayun entered India from Kabul, and conquered Delhi on July 23, 1555. Humayun completed the structures left incomplete by Shershah. Humayun died in 1556. His son Akbar shifted from Delhi and made by rotation Agra and Fatehpur Sikri as his capitals. But the process of urbanisation had taken momentum in Delhi and it survived
SOURCE: AZIZ ABDUL. CHANGING FACE OF DELHI A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE, P.40.

Fig. 7
as a unique urban centre despite the loss of royal patronage. The royal mint continued to function at Delhi. Population continued to concentrate in the sarais, and Humayun Madrasa still attracted scholars from India and abroad, and the city remained a place of learning. Abul Fazl had a fancy for the city and its lofty buildings of stone. Jahangir, successor to the Mughal throne shifted from Agra to Lahore and back. His son Shahjahan, shifted his capital from Agra to Delhi in 1638, perhaps, because the climate of Agra did not suit him or because he wanted to escape from painful memories of the death of his wife, and built a new city, named as "Shahjahanabad" (Fig.7).

Shahjahan selected a pleasant site on the west bank of river Yamuna, which extended to the ridge, the ridge offered foundation which was in fitness of huge installations, especially to give them grandeur. The area so selected was conducive to the future growth of a larger city. A plan was scientifically thought out and got implemented through the architects and builders. It is also believed that some Italian designer was also involved in the task of the erection of Lal Qila. This Red Fort was built in ten years and the first Royal court was held in it in the year 1648.
In 1650 the king got a mud and stone wall of Shahjahanabad constructed, which unfortunately, could not withstand the monsoon and collapsed, again a new wall of stone and lime mortar was constructed. It was 6,095 m long, 8 m high, 3.6 m wide and interspersed by 27 towers each about 10 m high.

At various points of the city wall were constructed massive gates and smaller pasterns. In course of time, a few came to be added and few went out of existence. Among these Delhi gate, Nigambodh ghat gate, Kashmiri gate, Ajmeri gate, and Turkman gate still exist. Rajghat gate, Kali ghat gate and Lahori gate are no longer in existence.

The fort was surrounded by ditch on all sides except the river one. The main gate of Red Fort known as Lahori gate, opened on the side of Chandni Chawk. The fort was divided into different parts for different purposes namely work place and residential place. The halls known as Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas were used for King's audience, besides which there were constructed palaces, baths, mosque, prayer hall and pavilion. Arrangements were made to lay gardens to keep the surroundings cool and pleasant. Gardens had fountains and canals.
Though Red Fort, was the principal building of Shahjahanabad yet Jama Masjid, another gigantic building was constructed on a ridge. Jama Masjid had a spacious courtyard, tall minarets and beautiful domes, it stood at a square where terminated long streets from the four sides of the city. The prayers attracted people from all walks of life, living in different residential areas around the mosque.

The city was scientifically planned, in accordance with its functional requirements. The first major part of the city was the fort, exclusively meant for the royal purposes, while the rest was further subdivided into areas, earmarked for a specific purpose.

The royal palace and apartments were well segregated and far apart from the residences and offices of the military guards and other men on duty. The royal palaces and buildings occupied the eastern part of the fort and the retinue the western part hugging the gates. Royal enclosure consisted of a mosque also. Another important area was outside the eastern wall of the fort which was used for recreational activity of the king who watched elephant fights. Third area was a large area, west of the fort in front of the Lahori gate, which was
called Chowk Shahi or Royal Square. Tents of Rajahs and Oamaras in King’s pay, who came in attendance were pitched here. These Rajahs and Oamaras exercised the royal horses and performed military duties. The remainder city-territory of Shahjahanabad, was meant for the residential recreational and other purposes of different social groups. The fort was connected with the rest of the city by two roads. One commencing from Lahori Gate and other from Delhi Gate. The city consisted of the shopping centres, commercial places, places of worship both for Muslims and Hindus sarais and residential lines. Chowks at the crossings of roads were used as commoner’s bazars, because there were no specific business zones. No doubt, there were some pockets for business establishments, which contained important markets along road side of Chandni Chowk and Faiz road. Chandni Chowk, stretched between Fort and Dariba and was known as urdu bazar or military bazar. The bazar attracted customers from all corners of the country and abroad, where almost articles of all types, were bought and sold. Stockists were rich and varieties were very many. Sometimes even nobles and people from the royalty used to visit Chandni Chowk as it was the busiest
trade centre. Through the centre of Chandni Chowk and another main road running perpendicular to it flowed two canals known as Faiz canals believed to have been built by Ali Mardan Khan. The canals served the double purpose of assuring a plentiful supply of clean and pure drinking water all around the year and irrigating gardens. The canal ran through Chandni Chowk from Fatehpuri mosque to urdu bazar (present jain temple), from where it entered the Red Fort, where the emperor enjoyed the play of water, and took delight watching the coloured fish. Another business area was located near Jama Masjid, where hundreds of things were sold and players, Jugglers and astrologers also carried their activities.

The crowded city had open recreational areas, where canals flew and fountains beautified and normalised the heat, for example Begum Bagh laid by Shahjahan's daughter Jahan Ara in 1650 and Roshan Ara Garden laid by another daughter of Shahjahan. Smaller gardens and open spaces in front of Havelis (mansions) of Oamaras (rich people) also existed.

Karkhanas, for the manufacture and sale of articles were concentrated in some streets where skilled artisans and craftsmen were engaged in commercial activities. The most important among them were embroiders, goldsmiths,
painters, varnishers in lacquer work, joiners, turners, tailors, shoe makers and manufactures of silk, brocade and muslins.  

Residential lines of the city, were either on the southern or western sector. The rich had their houses alongside the water line. There lived merchants, rich people, officers, who had migrated from their original villages to Delhi, either for employment or trade or business or industry. These houses were built with stones and bricks, and had crossventilation, courtyards and gardens. Yet, another type of smaller houses, were those built of earth and straw, for the use of cavaliers, servants, petty shopkeepers, court and army workers.  

Lahore, Surat, Banaras, Allahabad, Burhanpur and Cambay were other important towns during the medieval period.  

LAHORE  

Lahore was situated on the bank of river Ravi. Lahore was a very large city, being among the first in size and population. Emperor Jahangir refer to Lahore as one of the greatest places in Hindustan. As a seat of
government it contained many splendid buildings and
gardens. Tavernier visited India during the time of
Mughals and found Lahore as a large town, extending for
more than 2 miles in length though many of its buildings,
taller than those in Agra or Delhi, were already falling
into ruins because of excessive rains. The houses of
Lahore were well built and were 2 or 3 storeys high.
Manucci visiting Lahore, observed that the city was
inhabited by great and rich merchants and attracted even
foreigners, and was provided with all provisions. In
Lahore Akbar built a fort and a mosque.

**BANARAS**

Banaras is situated on the bank of river Ganga. Banaras was an unwalled city. There was no fort in Banaras.
Tavernier found Banaras as "a large and well built town", where the majority of houses were made of bricks or cut stone and loftier than in other Indian cities. Houses of rich class were along the river bank-side. The houses of business class were also well built and near the river. The poor people lived in a compact area in outskirts of the city. The streets were narrow and inconvenient. Banaras was also a religious town and became seat of Hindu learning and culture.
ALLAHABAD

Allahabad is situated at the confluence of the Yamuna with the Ganga. During the Akbar's time, this spot was a place of pilgrimage and known by Hindus as Prayag. In October 1583, Akbar began the building of the fort, which still exists. A great city, Allahabad grew up in the neighbourhood of the fortress. Allahabad was also a seat of government. Manucci refers to the religious importance of this city, where multitudes of Hindus assembled. Houses were made of bricks and were well built.

BURHANPUR

Burhanpur was a very large city in Felsaert's time extending for 12 kos (20 km approximately). Tavernier found this city in a rather much ruined condition. Burhanpur had a number of fine buildings. Some of the earliest buildings were the large palace and a group of tombs and mosques. The city had a spacious sarai and the Mughals made several noteworthy additions including a water works, built by Jahangir for military use. At the height of its prosperity, the city covered some five miles. Abul Fazl speaks of its many gardens and adds that sandal wood also grew there. Houses of Burhanpur were made of bricks and were well built.
The network of roads and streets compartmentalized the city and determined its layout. The Table IX shows that the distant outposts of the Empire were all connected together. Regardless of the time element and hazards of journey involved, a man starting from Sonargaon could be travelling along these roads, reach Agra, Lahore, Kashmir, Kabul, Multan, Thattah, Ahmadabad, Cambay, Surat, Burhanpur, Orissa and back to Sonargaon. Again, from Agra, as the centre of the Empire roads radiated in all directions, to Sirhind and Lahore in the west, Etah, Allahabad and Banaras in the east, to Jodhpur in the southwest the last two being extended further down terminating at Surat. Fatehpur Sikri, almost an annexe town of Agra, and the neighbouring capital town of Delhi were naturally well connected with Agra by road. Thus through Agra all important urban centres commanding the produce and markets of adjoining area as well as that of their own, had all been got linked together by roads. Also, the towns relegated far into the interior with no outlet otherwise could, again through Agra, established commercial contacts with the exit point of the Empire.\textsuperscript{50}

In the medieval times merely building of roads was not enough. They had to be secured from the highway
### TABLE IX

**Principal Highways in the Mughal Empire**

(1550–1650)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Point of the origin and terminus</th>
<th>Approx. distance</th>
<th>Built by or in the reign of</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>From Sonargaon to Attock</td>
<td>4800 km</td>
<td>Sher Shah Suri</td>
<td>Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 11, p.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>From Multan to Delhi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehlah, pp.15,16,24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>From Thattah to Ahmadabad</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Withington Foster, p.225.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contd....
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Emperor/Leader</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>From Agra to Fatehpur Sikri</td>
<td>224 km</td>
<td>Emperor Akbar</td>
<td>R.Fitch, Ryley, p.98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>From Agra to Delhi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sher Shah Suri</td>
<td>Nural Haq in Elliot and Dowson, Vol.IV, p.417.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>From Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sher Shah Suri</td>
<td>Abbas Sherwani in Elliot and Dowson, Vol.IV, p.417.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>From Agra to Burhanpur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Abbas Sherwani, p.417.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>From Agra to Surat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>R.Fitch, Ryley, pp.96-97, W.Finch, Foster, p.133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>From Agra to Attock</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.227.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>From Agra to Bengal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.227.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>From Agra to Varanasi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>U.Uffet, Foster, pp.175-176.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>From Agra to Allahabad</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>W.Finch, Foster, p.179.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>From Agra to Etah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>D.Sen, Vaishnava Literature, p.107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>From Ajmer to Allahabad</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Khatima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
men, afford protection from climatic inclemencies, provide reasonably comfortable lodging at every stage and make arrangements for water as frequently as possible all along the way. Accordingly, measures were taken to get these routes secured by building sarais at the fixed stages of journey,\textsuperscript{51} which were run by the state,\textsuperscript{52} affording perfect safety to the itinerant travellers.\textsuperscript{53} These sarais were furnished with lodging, wells, mosques, mauzzins, imams,\textsuperscript{54} separate boards for Muslims and Hindus\textsuperscript{55} and fodder for their animals. The charges of these sarais were nominal.\textsuperscript{56} The building of sarais was an old institution of Muslim rulers all over the Islamic World.\textsuperscript{57} Following the tradition, but perhaps actuated more by the local demands, the muslim monarchs of India were in no way less enthusiastic in this respect of building caravan-sarais for the comfort of travellers both within the towns and along the highways. Sultan Firoz Shah had instructed his governor Fathe Khan to build sarais in his province.\textsuperscript{58} Indeed, the sultan himself had built sarais in his twenty khanqahs in Delhi in order to provide accommodation for those visiting; the visitors lodging in sarais were to be regarded as royal guests in khanqahs; every day of the year visiting travellers were to be treated at the royal expenses. The keeper and the other staff of the monasteries were paid salaries from
Other Sultans also repaired and built sarais. Sher Shah Suri had built and repaired 1700 sarais. Under Emperor Akbar the Kotwals were enjoined to undertake the construction of sarais. His successors also emphasised the construction and maintenance of sarais as one of the chief duties of the provincial governors. Thus, apart from the sarais built within the towns, all the highways came to be dotted with these sarais at regular intervals of every stage along the route.

The highways were sometimes lined with shady trees on both the sides - planted no doubt either directly by the state or else by some wealthy philanthropists. Such shady roads were known as Khayaban or avenues. Thus the twelve miles long road running between Agra and Fatehpur Sikri was lined on both sides with shady trees and market of victuals and other things, indeed the whole area appeared so thriving and populous as though one were still in a town. Similarly, the 350 miles long Agra-Lahore road was a long avenue full of verdant trees so that while covering the route one felt more like a pleasant long walk rather than an arduous journey of the medieval times. Here also were sarais erected at convenient intervals. The entire way was full of busy and well habited villages (at every few miles). Emperor Jahangir
had likewise planted shady trees on the Agra-Bengal and Agra-Attock routes in order to provide some shelter to the tired travellers from the blazing sun.68

In view of the tropical heat, water arrangement was made at shorter distances, again, either by the state or by the munificence of some wealthy amirs. For example, on the Agra-Ajmer route wells were dug at every 2 miles.69 While most of these were ordinary ones, some were the step wells, which provided both shelter and water to the weary travellers.

Occasionally, rivers intercepted the straight progress of roads so in some cases the kings got bridges built in order to facilitate movement. Thus during the reign of Emperor Akbar, Munim-Khan-i-Khanan constructed a bridge over river Gomti at Jaunpur,70 the Emperor himself had ordered the construction of another bridge over river Sind at Attock.71 These projects proved to be of great convenience to the overland travellers passing through these points.

It is obvious from the Table IX that all regions of the Empire were not uniformly developed in respect of means of communication. For example, the area lying between Gwalior and Kalinjir, Patna and Burhanpur, Ahmadabad and
Thattah or again vast sparsely populated area between Thattah and Qandahar-Kabul appear to have been lagging far behind. In all these cases there certainly must have existed some age old primitive tracks between most pairs of towns; Qasbahs and villages which seem to have still continued in the same state.

There were segments of the Empire where more than one road existed between some pairs of towns. For example, the Banaras-Kabul belt, the Agra-Ahmadabad region and Agra-Burhanpur-Surat zones. These regions appear to have enjoyed the best communication facilities that the period could offer. These were also the areas where the urban growth was more marked than elsewhere in the Empire. Moreover, these very regions constituted the principal producing and consuming areas (whether internally or abroad) in the imperial dominion. It would, therefore, follow that the level of development of communication corresponded with the level of urban growth, which in turn was determined by the level achieved by the production-consumption complex.
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