Chapter - 4

Urban Economy: Continuity and Change

The emergence of an urban settlement in the form of city, town or qasba represents a new form of economic structure quite distinct from the rural surroundings. With the very existence of an urban settlement, the merchants and the artisans began to play dominating role in the urban economy through their production for wider circulation and greater consumption. Generally, urban settlements generates a complex and socially stratified society in which the elite class requires clothes, jewelries, utensils and other luxurious items for their personal use quite distinct from ordinary folk. These requirements are met by a class of specialists and better skilled artisans who concentrate on a narrow range of work. ¹ The specialized production requires mechanism to distribute what has been produced.² The growth of specialization in urban crafts results in the development of trade. The trade receives further impetus by improvement in the means of transport facilities. In economy, the transition is being made from a subsistence economy to a market and the introduction of coinage plays its part in this development. The whole phenomenon in which greater mobility accelerates the trade, commerce and facilitates intercourse over a vast area finally results in the growth of a complicated economic system which is typically urban in nature.³ In the period under reference, an important fact to be noted is that there was a constant flux amongst town and countryside. The town depended upon the cultivators for its substance and supply of agricultural raw material on the one hand and non-dietic demands of the cultivators of countryside were met by the craftsmen on the other hand. The village crafts certainly played an important role in contemporary urban economy. These crafts were generally situated near a town and might have been just an extension of specialized artisans residing within urban centre. Due to lack of a proper place for their accommodation within urban centre, these group might have shifted to a nearby outside place and continued to play an important role in the economic life of a neighboring centre.⁴

¹ Vijay Kumar, Urbanization in Ancient India, p.94.
² Ibid., p.96.
³ Ibid., p.97.
⁴ Ibid., p.96.
It has been widely accepted that after the decline of Gupta empire, there was a period of general decline in trade and commerce in northern India which resulted in economic decline in urban centres. Land holdings became the chief basis of social and political structure which resulted in increasing fragmentation and hereditirzation of local power what has variously been termed as smanta system or Indian feudalism.

With the fragmentation of the political power, the volume of internal as well as external trade diminished and highways deteriorated. The gold coins were rarely issued after the fall of the Guptas and even the silver and the copper coinage were rare and poor. The vast quantities of precious metals which entered India were either hoarded or used in the adornments of religious establishments or palaces and the persons of the dominant classes. The trade guilds which were prominent feature of ancient Indian economic structure declined or in some cases vanished from history. But the situation was not worse in the Punjab because it came first under the political domination of the Turks. The Brahanical traditions of Indian heartland were not so strong in the Punjab and it had developed good commercial relations with the Arab world in early medieval period. It is doubtful that the Punjab had ever exercised the socio-religious rigors of the caste system which was an obvious feature of the Indian society from 11th century onwards. The religious and secular grants embodied on copper plate charters were almost not in existence in the Punjab. The reason of absence may be assigned to the circulation of coins in a large quantity. The Punjab had a large variety of coined money which was an indication of the economic pattern in which trade played a significant role. Large numbers of towns existed in good and flourishing condition. As a result of developed contacts with foreign countries, people began to adopt some of their cultural trends.

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5. R.S.Sharma, Urban Decay in India, p.139.
7. Ibid., pp.46-47.
9. R.S.Sharma suggest that the absence of land grants in the Punjab was possibly due to the fact that these types of grants were not made for religious purpose and then they were recorded on such perishable material as pieces of cloth or the bark of the tree.
The establishment of Delhi Sultanate marked an influential change in economic structure of India in general and particular in the Punjab. Most of the historians accepted the views unanimously that changes did occur in economic pattern of country with the arrival of Turkish intruders. But the nature of the changes in economic structure has been viewed differently. Lallanji Gopal held the views that Sultanate marked a break in the economic structure of India through initiating a process of denudation and destruction of its material and human resources. He has concluded that the poverty in India began with the coming of Muslims.\(^\text{10}\) K.S. Lal has also made equally startling hypothesis that the Turks reduced the population of the country by over of a third\(^\text{11}\) and caused great damage to her financial resources by draining out the wealth of the country. Each invasion fetched fabulous wealth and was a direct blow to the economy of the Punjab.\(^\text{12}\) Alberuni writes that Sultan utterly ruined the prosperity of the country.\(^\text{13}\) Due to Mahmud’s continual invasions and depredations, the region of Punjab became poorer and poorer. For instance, in war against Jaipal, he obtained an indemnity of 250,000 dinars for releasing him. Even the necklaces were estimated of 200,000 dinars or even twice the value was obtained from the necks of those of his relatives who were taken as prisoners.\(^\text{14}\) From the fort of Bhimnagar (Nagarkot) at Kangra, Mahmud seized coins of value of 70,000,000 dirhams and also get 700 mans of gold and silver plates, 200 mans of pure gold in ingots, and 200 mans of pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies. There he also found a collapsible house of silver, thirty yards in length and fifteen yards in breadth and a canopy (mandepika) supported by two golden and silver poles.\(^\text{15}\) In the expeditions of Mahmud more and more wealth was drained out of the Punjab. Besides, the Ghaznavids collected in loot and tribute valuables articles of trade, which had fetched gold and silver for India like indigo, fine muslin, embroidered silk, cotton stuff, agricultural products and Indian steel. The economic effects of the losses of precious metals resulted in stabilizing of Ghaznavid currency and in the same proportion

\(^{10}\) Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic History of North India, 700-1200*, pp.257-61.
\(^{11}\) Mahmud Ghazni made frequent Invasions on the Punjab so mostly causalties to resources occurred in the Punjab.\(^\text{11}\)
\(^{13}\) Alberuni Abu Rehan, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, English translated by E.C.Schue as *Alberuni’s India*, vol.i, pp.22-23.
\(^{15}\) Ibid., pp.34-35.
debasing the Punjab. Consequently, the gold content of north Indian coin in 11th and 12th centuries went down from 120 to 60 grains. Similarly, the weight and content of the silver coin was also reduced because of debasement of coinage. Indian merchants lost their credit with foreign Muslim merchants. The economic crisis added political predicament of the Hindushahis. Such had become the situation by 1008-09 C.E, when Mahmud mounted an attack on Anandpal in the year, “Hindu women had to sell their jewels to send the money from distant parts to be used against the Muslims. Their poor sisters who had no jewels had to work feverishly as hired laborers to send something to army.” K.S.Lal points out that to enable himself for making war against Trans-Oxiana, Shihab-ud-din Ghori have ordered the muqta of Lahore and Multan in 1204 C.E. to dispatch their arrears of the revenue. Under the Ilbari Turks, there was not much control over foreign trade in the Punjab.

One does not get encouraging information regarding the sea borne trade in this period. The departments of inland shipping and waterways were of less importance and placed under amir-i-behr. The result was that there was a marked fall in the collection of ferry dues and toll. Ilututmish had no effective control over the Punjab. Tuhfatu-i-Kiran mentioned the names of seven Ranas paying tribute to Nasir-ud-din Qubacha not to Ilututmish some parts of the Punjab was in the hands of Mongols. The economic measures of Ala-ud-din Khalji were strictly enforced in the divisions of Delhi and were extended to other divisions such as Lahore, Dipalpur, Samana, Sunam, Biyana, Amroha, Khabihar, Jhair, Mewar and Nagor. But among the important areas left out were the western Punjab and Sindh. It proved that the Sultan had no control over the economy of the Punjab. The trading community especially the Multanis merchants did not extend their enterprises in those regions and thus suffered a loss in the money-making business. The Mongols sway over their regions meant total destruction of human efforts. Trading activities would certainly have suffered in this kind of environment. The entire area as far as Delhi fell under their grip which might

20 H.C. Verma, op.cit., p.249
21 Ziya-ud-din Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, Khalji Kalin Bharat, pp.283-84, 316.
have prevented the free movements of caravans and merchants. This resulted in upward trend in the prices of commodities as some of the articles of necessities became rare.\textsuperscript{22} In the early period of Muhammad Tughlaq custom duties were levied by the state. These were imposed on the merchandise crossing the frontier at a rate calculated based on \textit{zakat}.\textsuperscript{23} The duty was imposed upon non-Muslims at double rates. However, it does not give an idea of the extent of trade in frontier regions. Ghias-ud-din’s short period of rule, Muhammad Tughlaq’s involvement in suppressing rebellions and Firuz’s weak policy adversely affected trade in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{24}

But quite a different assessment of economic changes accompanied with the establishment of the Sultanate was offered by Muhammad Habib.\textsuperscript{25} He believed that the new regime was qualitatively different from that one, it had supplanted. It released social forces which created an economic organization considerably superior to existing before. He ascribed the fact that the new rulers were interested in manufactured products of artisans and not their castes.\textsuperscript{26} Therefore, they were indifferent to the imposition of caste restraints which had checked the inter-professional mobility in pre-Sultanate India. The rulers required more revenue from the village. Ala-ud-din Khalji eliminated the intermediaries who used to take a large share in the surplus and oppress the lower peasantry. M. Habib felt that the changes were so fundamental as to deserve respectively the designation of urban revolution and rural revolution.\textsuperscript{27}

Irfan Habib viewed that the Sultanate expended the urban economy and three interrelated developments appear to have occurred (a) there was a considerable growth in the size and possible number of towns, (b) there was a marked expansion in urban craft production and (c) a corresponding expansion in commerce.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid, p.253.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Ibn Battuta, \textit{The travels of Ibn Battuta}, English translated by Mehndi Husain, p.12.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} H.C. Verma, \textit{op.cit.}, p.256
  \item \textsuperscript{25} M.Habib, \textit{Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period}, pp.33-110.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid, p.82.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid, p.81.
\end{itemize}
Changes in urban crafts

There are ample evidences to show that many industries of considerable importance were developed with the advent of Turks. More important of them were textiles, metalwork, stonework, sugar, indigo, paper, etc. Some ideas of increased demand may be assess from the fact that Muhammad Tughlaq used to distribute 200,000 complete robes of the honor twice a year in the spring and autumn. He employed no less than 4,000 craftsmen of golden tissues for brocades used by the ladies of harems. The technological improvements and introduction of new urban crafts increased the craft production in the urban centers.

Manufacture of textile was the biggest industry of India but Turks made new technological addition in the manufacturing of textiles. A number of processes are followed before yarn is woven. Cotton was cleaned from the seeds by using a wooden instrument with double rollers called cotton gin (charkhi). The worn-gearing and crank handle made it more effective whereby one roller alone is needed to rotated with gearing taking care of other one. This technological addition was made in Indian cotton gin in late Sultanate or early Mughal time.

Then the cotton fibers were carded with the help of scutch-bow (pinja). It was usually attached to the ceiling or a tree so that the worker sitting on the floor had both hands free and its vibrating bow-string divided the cotton fiber into separate filaments. The earliest Persian references to the instrument do not go beyond the 11th century and the Arabic to the 14th century.

After bowing and loosing the cotton fiber, it could be spun into yarn. One of the most consequential of all new devices introduced during the Sultanate period in the Indian

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29. Version of it is seen as early as in sixth century in Ajanta frescoes. Here, in a scene of cave Ist., a women relates the twin parallel rollers in a rectangular frame by moving her palm down over them. Irfan Habib, *Technology in Medieval India, c.650-1750*, pp.36-37.
30. Of the crank handle, the earliest depictions in India belong to the Seventeenth century in relation to the spinning wheel and the crank handle appears on the cotton gin only in Kangra painting of c.1750. *Ibid.*, p.37.
31. The scotch-bow alluded to in the *Jatakas* and more explicitly mention in sanskrit dictionaries of the eleventh and twelfth century and Arabic to the fourteenth. Its use continues under Sultanate. The cotton carder’s bow is mentioned in the dictionary of Qawwas compiled in India 1342 as well as in *Miftahu Fuzala* written in Mandu. *Ibid.*, p.39.
technology was spinning wheel\textsuperscript{32} which increased production by six times even in its simplest form.\textsuperscript{33} Amir Khusrau at Delhi found associating women with just the needle and spindle (\textit{duk}). He visualizes spinner as working with her hand spindle. However, fifty years later, the first reference was available in \textit{Futuh-us-Salatin} where the poet Isami tells us that Sultan Raziya should have occupied herself with the spinning wheel rather than with the throne:

That woman is better who engages herself with the spinning wheel (\textit{charkha}) all the time for a place of honor will make lose her sense. Let cotton be her companion, Sorrow her cup; and in the noise of the spindle (\textit{duk}) be her music.\textsuperscript{34}

Cotton weaving has traditionally been done in India. A vital addition namely treadle was made to loom for easier working of the harness in open and close the warp-shed. The earliest evidence of this addition in India belongs to\textsuperscript{15th} century. \textit{Miftah-ul-Fuzala} defines \textit{lauh-pay} as a board which the weavers keep under his foot and then weaves. The device had been received from Iran in \textsuperscript{13th} or \textsuperscript{14th} century. The weaver’s hands were left free to handle the shuttle as the shed opened and closed by the alternating movements of his feet. This naturally enabled to get the cloth woven ten times faster. If the efficiency of the spinner increased due to the spinning wheel first attested in 1350 C.E, the weaver through his treadle was able to keep pace with the increased amount of spun yarn.\textsuperscript{35}

There was much probability of the fact that cloth printing had become an established craft in India by the \textsuperscript{14th} century. The idea of printing clothes through dye stamps was influenced by the parallel diffusion of ink stamp seals put on paper by the Mongols in \textsuperscript{13th} century. In the final stage of textile production came needle work, both embroidering and tailoring.

\textsuperscript{32} It is noteworthy that \textit{Abhidhanacinatamani} a sanskrit vocabulary by the celebrated Gujarat writer, Hemchandera \textit{gins} only terms applicable – \textit{tarka} (spindle) as an explanation, Kartana Sadhana Eugenia Vanina, \textit{op cit.}, p.31.

\textsuperscript{33} Irfan Habib, \textit{The Cambridge Economic History of India ( c.1200-c.1750)}, vol.i, p.78.


\textsuperscript{35} Irfan Habib, \textit{op.cit.}, p.42.
Amir Khusrau spoke of the needle and spindle as a woman’s spear and arrow suggesting that she was expected to be constantly occupied with both of them.\(^{36}\)

Another important craft production introduced by foreigners in which craftsmen were engaged was that of darning. Any costly damaged fiber dress might be repaired by an expert darter who could charge up to two silver coins for repairing an expensive fur cap.\(^{37}\)

The art of tailoring was performed principally by two instruments, a pair of scissors to cut the shred of woven fabric and needle to again joint in shape. Darzi, Sozonga and Khayyat were interchangeable variant for ordinary tailor.\(^{38}\) The tailor charges fluctuated greatly, for instance, under Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji a stuff cloak could be sewn for one shashgani as the labor charges in Delhi. A few decades later the tailors were not prepared to accept full or tangah for it. In Multan the making of a yakla’i used to cost there jitals near about four, decades later it mounted up to 30 jitals a piece.\(^{39}\)

These technological additions became so common that spinning of clothes find space in the folk legends of the Punjab, for example, in the legend of ‘The Marriage of Hir and Ranza’\(^{40}\)

Hir was taunted by women in the spinning party.\(^{41}\) Again, Hir was advised by a Qazi Shamshuddin to stay at home and indulge herself in spinning. No city, town, qasba or village seems to have been devoid of this industry. Some specific centers of textile industry emerged in the Punjab, for instance, Lahore city itself producing cotton fabrics, ormesins and a quantity of good cotton. Sirhind produced an assortment of cotton stuffs. The Persian and Armenian merchants frequently visited this town for its red salu and chintz, manufactured there in a very large quantity. The neighboring town of Samana was likewise noted for the manufacturing of chintzs, later on, Sultanpur also began to turn out a good quantity of chintzs.

A new important craft introduced in the Punjab was the manufacturing of paper. With the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs, Khurasani paper was first introduced in the Punjab early in the 8\(^{th}\) century but it continued to be imported for several centuries. It must have been


\(^{38}\) H.K.Naqvi, \textit{Agriculture, Industrial and urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Dehli},1205-1555., p.51


\(^{40}\) R.C.Temple, \textit{The Popular Legends of India and Pakistan}, p.

\(^{41}\) Iswar Dyal Gaur,
established in the Punjab by the time of Alberuni. During excavation at Mansura, seven sets of brunt Arabic manuscripts have been collected.42 Amir Khusrau also mentioned paper making as a contemporary craft in his verses. He alludes to the glazing of paper with a rubber or muhra.43 The Punjab had full share in the developing paper industry. Sialkot had a number of paper making concerns where the paper of different varieties were prepared. Sialkot’s paper was white in color and used throughout the Punjab. Sialkot was perhaps the only paper-making centre in the Punjab during the Sultanate period. Writing about Sialkot, Sujan Rai Bhandari observed that the paper manufactured at Sialkot was of fine quality, in which Nim, Harari and Kharagh-I-Jehang varieties are especially fine, white and clean.44 Gunpowder manufacturing became another important field of urban industry. Even prior to the adoption of firearms in 13th century,45 it was used in fireworks for many centuries. Through the Mongols, the technique of under mining fortress walls was borrowed. The gunpowder was used in hand rockets or bana, which were known in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.46 One finds references to fireworks in qasidas composed by Amir Khusrau in praise of Sultan Jal-ud-din Khalji. On each festive occasion, a display was made of fireworks that appears to have become a part of royal celebration. The fireworks mentioned by the poet in qasidas in which hawai and fatila-i-garden were important because the gunpowder was used as a main ingredient in its making.47 Khusrau has also mentioned the display of fireworks by children relating to the celebration of Shab-i-barat with the fire play the entire train has transformed into a garden of Ibrahim48

By the time of Sultan Firuz Shah, the use of fireworks seems to have become wide spread in the Sultanate. The display of fireworks was done on each night from the thirteenth to  

The Arab learnt the techniques of paper making from the Chinese captives at Samrkand and diffused it westward. Alberuni stated that paper was invented by Chinese. The Chinese captives introduced it in Samargand. it defused to other ports of the world.

Alberuni, op.cit., p171.
42 Irfan Habib, Economic History of Medieval India,1200-1500, p. 94.
43 Amir Khusrau, Qiran-ul-Suddin, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi in Khalji Kalin Bharat, p.
44 Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulsat-at-Tawarkh., pp.177, 280.
45 I.H.Siddqui, op.cit., p.89.
47 Ibid., p.86.
fifteenth Shaban. The Sultan came out in order to enjoy the display for pyrotechniques. He had tir-i-atishin (fire arrows) that burst into the air as splitting flowers. It became a three night entertaining festival and people had came from far and near to enjoy the scene. Class of professionals, called atishbajan for fireworks making had come into existence and its members met the needs of the Sultans and nobles by providing fireworks of different kinds.

Soap makers (Sabungar) were frequently mentioned in our sources as a significant group of urban population. Soap manufacturing began in India in 11th century. Soap was made from such ingredients as tallow, linseed or seasame oil, lime and aromatic herbs. The mixture was boiled in huge metal cauldron, built into masonry kelu. Apart from soap, various kinds of cosmetics and scents were produced in the cities. Ain-i-Akbari describes dozens of recipes for manufacturing scents, fragrances and other aromatic essences which had a great demand both in India and abroad.

Glass making was known in India since earlier period as archaeological excavations testify. But a new element was brought into glassware production in India as well as Punjab by the 12th century, called enameling. At Mansura, a dainty little bowl of blue glass overlaid with white or cream enamel has been found. It seems that a better transparent glass also began to be produced during this period. Indian furnaces never attained the temperatures at which large glass panes could be produced. Most wide spread among glass items were ornaments like bangles and beads. Another important and well developed sphere of glass work was manufacturing of artificial precious and semi precious stones.

Early medieval sources mention as a rule three or four metal connected occupational groups like jeweler, ironsmith, coppersmith and armoire. Later sources from 14th century add to this list of professionals such as tinner (qala Igari), horse smith (giledar), grinder (sikligar),

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53. Irfan Habib, Economic History of India,1200-1500, p.97.
54. Ibid, p.97.
55. Eugenina Vanina, op.cit., p.56.
whitesmith (thathera), needle maker (sozabgar), wire drawer (tarkash), brassware maker (pitaldar), enameller (minakar), arms and armor maker. For precious metals, apart from gold and silver smith, there were inlayers (zaronishan), borers (shabakakar), specialist in gold and silver notch (koftgar), filigree (simbaat), golden relief (manabatkar) as well as gold beater (zarkob) and so on.

By the mid 10th century, Debul town had earned wide repute for its world famous sword, Tegh-i-hindi. Sultan Mahmud Ghazni when confronted with an Indian force armed with these Tegh-i-hindi, he was impressed by their deadly blows and entered into the details of its makers. On inquiry, he was informed that some ustads (masters), ahangrass (ironsmith) lived in the fortified town of Koraj on the bank of the Indus produced these swords. Besides Tegh-i-hindi, there was ten more variety of Teg produced in the city: Chini, Rusi, Ghuri, Rumi, Farangi, Yemini, Sulamani, Shami and Kashmiri. Only experts of repute in the craft used to engage the Sultans to produce arms of all varieties. Under the Sultans of Delhi, the blacksmiths came to be designated as kawah, haddad and ahangars.

A major sector of urban craft was building construction. A radical change in mode of building construction became visible in the Punjab. There were changes in materials and techniques employed in the construction of the buildings quiet distinct from exclusively trabeate resting on pillars or corbelled stones and bricks. Now this technique of construction shifted to arcuate that involved the use of arch, vault and dome. The materials that were now more extensively used than ever before were fired bricks and rubbles. It was possible by the use of lime and gypsum as mortars. These two minerals act differently. The lime mortar hardens slowly and works chemically to bind the bricks together while gypsum hardens rapidly and holds stones and bricks together by its own solidity. By that time, the lime and gypsum as mortar had become inseparable from building construction during Indo-Muslim age. At Mansura, excavators have found at below ground level a basement

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57 Abul Fazl, op.cit., vol.iv, pp.346-47.
59 Hamida Katoon Naqvi, Agriculture, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultan of Delhi, (1206-1555), p.67.
60 Irfan Habib, Economic History of India,1200-1500, p.93.
The new cementing elements were a necessary appendage to arcuate constructions. With the use of lime mortar as cementing material true arch, dome and vault provided new devices for roofing. Indian artisan tried initially to achieve arches and domes by applying corbelling technique with which they were familiar. The result was that the structure being “seriously crippled.” In the course of a century, the arcuate techniques were learnt by Indian masons. They began to erect exact arches, vaults and domes and successfully negotiated the structural thrusts encountered. The large stone blocks were required for structural safety in trabeate construction technique. Now in arcuate construction bricks, rubbles and smaller stone blocks were used. By the beginning of the 14th century, one finds dramatic expansion in building construction activities. The craftsmen engaged in construction works constituted a significant group of urban population. Our sources quite frequently refer to stonemasons, carpenters, lattice workers, roofers, diggers, clay workers, brick burners, brick layers, lime mortar makers and lacquerers, etc.

The presence of courts and camps of the Sultan and his officials was an additional factor in stimulating production at places where were they might be sustained at any given time. A class of free craftsmen and laborers was listed in Delhi Sultanate. It is significant that early in the 16th century, Babur enthusiastically speaks of availability of skilled labour in India. He writes that another pleasant thing in Hindustan is having every kind of occupations (sanf) and craftsmen (harfagar) which are unlimited and infinite. For every kind of work and article, there is a caste (jatti) fixed and established, having been hereditarily doing that work or dealing with that article…. of every kind of artisan and every kind of work, there is in a like manner, an unlimited and infinite number.

The institution of slavery also played an important role in growth of urban economy. Irfan Habib refers to abundant supply of docile trainable labour obtained through large-scale

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61. Cousens, Antiquities of Sindh, p.58.
63. Irfan Habib, Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500, pp.93-94
Technology in Medieval India, c.650-1750. pp.56-57.
64. Eugenina vanina, op.cit., p.61.
65. H. K. Naqvi, Urban Countries and Industries in Upper India ( 1556- 1803 ), p.135.
enslavement. A large number of people were enslaved in the Punjab to provide cheap resource of labour and create new craftsmen. For instance, In 1205-06 C.E., Shihab-ud-din led a campaign in northwest Punjab against the Khokhars, the booty in the form of slaves was so large that five slaves were sold for a dinar in 1334 C.E. Slaves were employed in all kinds of works. Nur Turk, a mystic living in austere life maintained himself on earning wages of his male slave who out of his earning as cotton carder gave him a jital per day.67 Sheikh Nizam-ud-din’s maternal grandfather who had migrated from Bhukhara to Lahore was a man of wealth and possessed numerous slaves. Some of them pursued the crafts (kasb) while others dealt with his money (mal) for trade on his account.68 These slaves could be employed in various crafts by their masters is also illustrated by Firuz Shah. It is said to have made about 12,000 of his slaves learnt different kinds of crafts so that they could be set to work in almost all the royal workshops and departments (karkhana-i-khas).69

Slaves in the sphere of production nearly lost economic viability from 15th century onwards. Whatever be their level of performance, the master had to provide them means of subsistence but when the free labor became available in a large number and the master gained more profit by hiring such labor and paying by results, he preferred to abandon his slaves by simple act of manumission. He started throwing them as labor in the market in order to escape himself from all the obligations of maintaining them.70 Such use of slave labor was transitional phenomenon. Once the new immigrant crafts or skills were well established and the slaves turned into free artisans by obtaining or buying their freedom and the competition of free labor would have prohibited the use of slave labor. Despite, the large size of slave labor, it was still dwarfed by the numerous mass of technically freeborn labor. Ala-ud-din Khalji possessed 50,000 slaves and Firuz Shah had 180,000. Among the later only 12,000 were put to work as craftsmen and labor. Out of these a part had been put to work at Sultan Firuz’s building projects.71 In the royal building department, slaves were

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69 Shams Siraj Afif, *op.cit.*, pp.113.
hardly more than one sixth of the total labor force but in reality were still fewer.\textsuperscript{72} A large number of skilled labor worked as self-employed persons or doing jobs for different customers. Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru quotes “a weaver wages in term of mantles or sheets woven by him apparently out of yearn supplied to him”.\textsuperscript{73}"

Barani speaks of master craftsmen in Ala-ud-din Khalji’s reign engaged in occupations such as bow making, arrow making, turban-sewing, stocking and rosary, threading and cutlery making. Such expert artisans have not been found at any time in the memory of the people of Delhi.\textsuperscript{74} It is clear from the context that they carried on their respective occupations on their own and were thus not employees of any one. Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khana also added to the above mentioned list the occupational groups such as silk weavers, paper makers, cloth printers, cloth colanders, lacquer workers, wire drawers, thatchers, pyrotechniquers, book binders, lamp makers etc. Most of them were introduced during Sultanate period.\textsuperscript{75} It is also likely that where the material used was expensive, for example, silk inter-woven with the gold or silver wires would involve too much risk therefore, artisans would have to be assembled under the roof of the employer. The use of the word \textit{karkhana} applicable to such workshops has not been traced with respect to private undertaking in Sultanate period but the word has been used for royal workshops under Fируz Shah. These establishments were classified as subsidized (\textit{ratibi}) and unsubsidized (\textit{ghar-ratibi}), among the later were workshops (\textit{karkhanas}) for rob making (\textit{jamadarkhana}), banner making (\textit{alamkhana}) and carpet weaving (\textit{farreshkhana}) supplying articles of enormous work for the court.\textsuperscript{76} It must be assumed that the artisans of different kinds were employed there. Although, the trained slave workers were put to work in such

\textsuperscript{72} Irfan Habib, \textit{Economic History of India – 1200-1500}, p.106-107.
\textsuperscript{74} Ziya-ud-din Barani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi}, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, \textit{Khali Kalin Bharat}, p.115.
\textsuperscript{75} Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khana, \textit{Rahim Ratnawati}, pp..37-48
\textsuperscript{76} Shams-i-Siraj Afif, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.137-138.
establishments. In royal embroidery workshops (dar-taraz) of Muhammad Tughlaq 40,000, silk workers and many old brocade weavers (zarphash) were reportedly employed.\(^{77}\)

A large number of unskilled labor was kept outside from regular employment and had to offer themselves for daily hire.\(^{78}\) Ibn Battuta remarks that if one did not have slave, could hire men to carry one’s palanquin, there are always a number of these men standing in the bazaars.\(^{79}\) The worker’s wages were exceptionally low in Ala-ud-din Khalji’s reign because the Sultan had instituted a system for price regulation which he succeeded in keeping steady and low. A good servant (chakar) could be employed for eight tankas or at most 10 tankas for a year and a robe (jama) could be sewn just for two jitals.\(^{80}\) This fact was also supported by Mahru who recalled wages at a lower rate as two or three jitals a day, the weaver weaving a mantle (chadar) for two jitals and a tailor sewing an unlined garment for four jitals.\(^{81}\) Qutbuddin Mubark Khalji abandoned all the measures to control the market prices therefore, the prices reached at its height. The wages of labor increased, according to Barani, near about four times. Those (chakar) servants who used to receive 10 to 12 tankas in (annual) wages began to obtain 70 to 80 or 100 tankas.\(^{82}\) The wages next reported were belonging to early years of Firuz Shah’s reign, Mahru presumably referring to the great famine of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq. He said that the prices rose in the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq had fallen greatly in the reign of Firuz Shah and so had the wages. In his reign, the times of abundance had followed and prices had greatly fallen but the wages still remained high. A weaver in Ala-ud-din Khalji’s time waving a mantle for two jitals now is paid thirty jitals. A tailor which worked for four jitals was now not satisfied even with thirty.\(^{83}\)

**Changes in trade and commercial activities**

The trading activities gained momentum with the establishment of Turkish rule in the north India. The Turkish rulers organized their conquests and gave a smooth administration to the land from Punjab to Bengal. Muhammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami have stated that


\(^{78}\) Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, p.111.

\(^{79}\) Ibn Battuta, *op.cit.*, pp.506-07.


India’s commercial contacts with Central Asia and Persia received a new impetus with the advent of the Turks. When the Hindu society reorganized and set in rigidity as a concrete structure about the eighth century, the intimate contacts between India and the outer Asiatic world which had been established in the early Buddhist age, were lost. Her touch with rest of the Asia and nearest parts of Africa was restored with the Muslim conquest at the end of 12th century. With the restoration of contacts with outside world and emergence of new working class, trade received a new impetus. Uniformity of the legal system, the traffic regulations and the currency system widened the merchant’s world and facilitated the movements from one place to another.

The Turks made a policy of appointing powerful governors in the region of Punjab. They not only maintained the law and order by suppressing the tribal activities and succeeded in preventing the Mongols invaders but also kept transport and communication in order so that the link between India, Central Asia, and Persia could continue. Cavalry being the backbone of the military organization of the Turkish Sultans, the necessity for obtaining horses from abroad obliged them to maintain commercial links with horse breeding countries. In addition, arms and weapons, precious metals and other items of luxury were also required. The Punjab connected Sultanate to Central Asia through its networks of interconnecting trade routes and certainly, the important trading centers were located on these routes. Towns were closely built and there were pulpits, thrones, districts, villages, market places and bazaars. No desolate place came between them. The caravans preferred to follow these tracks as these were well guarded and protected by the state. There had been a heavy traffic specially, through the frontier on account of immigration, army movements and trade and commercial activities. Delhi was well connected with Kabul, Ghazni and Kandhar and the towns of Sindh region through different routes. The contacts of Delhi with Lahore was through Narela, Sonepat, Ganaur, Samalkha, Panipat, Gharauanda, Karnal, Taraori, Thanshwar, Shahbad, Ambala, Sirhind, Khanna, Sarai Lashkar Khan, Ludhiana, Philor, Nakodar, Sultanpur, Gobindwal, Sarai Amanat-Khan and Shahganj, etc.

85 Ibid, p.182.
86 Joginder.K. Chawala, India’s Over Land Trade with Central Asia and Persia during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century, p.XI.
87 H.C.Verma, Medieval Routes to India, pp.61-62.
also described the routes between Kanauj and Ghazni through these centers. It can be inferred that while reaching Panipat, the route passed through Kawital and Sunam. From Sunam one had to march towards the northwest to reach Aditahaor and then Jajjanir and finally Mandahukur, the capital of Lauharwur (Lahore). From Sirhind a separate link was established with Lahore via Machhiwara. Delhi-Uchch route was another common route which was covered either from Lahore side or via Hansi, Marut and Sarsuti. The earlier route was preferred by the Sultans, their armies and the trading caravans because of the facilities and abundant supplies on the route. The later, though a shorter route passed through a wasteland was avoided on account of the paucity of food and fodder. On the basis of the account given by Ibn Battutta, Delhi was linked with the `Indus via Palm, Masudabad, Hansi, Sarsuti, Abu-Bakhar, Abohar, Ajodhan, Multan, Uchch, Bhakkar, Lahiri, Siwistan and Janani. Zafarnama also gave an idea of the route followed by Timur which ran from Multan to Delhi via Tulamba, Jal-shahnawaz, Janjani, Sahwal, Aswan, Jahwal, Ajodhan, Khaliskotali, Bhatner, Sarsuti, Tohana, Samana, Kaithal, Aspandi fort, Tughlaqpur and Panipat. Another important route was Lahore to Attock led to Kabul via Khairabad, Peshawar, Jamrud, Landikotal, Nangrahar and Buthak, etc. Alberuni gives different stages from Lahore to Kabul which included Chenab, Jhelum, Wahind, Peshawar and Danpur. There were numerous references of different commodities as the items of import and export during this period through the various trading routes of the Punjab. With the coming of the Turks in India, the cavalry became the backbone of the military organization of the Sultans. The number of cavalry multiplied from dynasty to dynasty and each noble had thousands of the horses under his control. The horses were the most important item of import, brought from various regions of Central Asia and Persia. This trade was very lucrative and found ready market in India. Horses were mostly brought through ships on the ports of the Punjab and were loaded at ports from where they were sent to Indian towns through land routes.

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95 Joginder K.Chawla, *op.cit.*, p.84.
Ibn Battuta refers to the thorough-bred horses of al-Yaman exported to India. He elaborates about the system of safe transportation and care of the horses on their way to the Punjab. About the arrangements, he says “these horses are exported to India in droves, each one numbering six thousand or more or less. Each trader has one or two hundred horses less or more. For every fifty of them, a drover was hired called alqashi who looks after them and their pasturage like sheep. He rides on one of them, carrying in his hand a long stick with a rope. When he wishes to catch any horse among them, he gets opposite to it on the horse that he is riding, throws the rope over its neck and draws it to him, mounts it and sets the other free to pasture. When they reach the Sindh with their horses, they feed them with forage because the vegetation of the land of the Sindh does not take the place of barley and a great part of the horses died or stolen. They are charged with the tax on the land of the Sindh (at rate of) seven silver dinars, a horse at a place called Shasnager and pay further tax at Multan, the capital of the land of Sindh.”

Ibn Battuta’s account of Muhammad Tughlaq revealed that the foreigners visiting the court of the Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq used to bring gifts including horses. He himself bought thirty horses from an Iraqi merchant to present to the Sultan. Babur also mentioned about the Afghan traders with bred horses for trade. At another place, he mentions a caravan of 10,000 horses coming to India via Kabul.

The region between Multan and Mansura was inhabited by a tribe called al-Budha who possessed a fine and agile breed of camels from which the two-humped camel was reproduced. These held the high esteem in Khurasan and rest of the Persia. The people of Makran traded in camels. When Babur was at Kabul, he received camels as presents from certain nobles of Bhera.

Another item of import was silk or silk fabrics which on several occasions was required for the Sultans of Delhi to confer different titles upon the nobles and princes. They were suitable rewarded with a robe of honor and other gifts. Muhammad Tughlaq maintained an

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100. *Ibid.*., p.205.
embroidery house in which 4,000 silk weavers were employed for this purpose and for which silk stuff was imported from China, Iraq and Alexandria. 

Silk and other fine clothes were always in demand in India. Al-Idrisi referred to Chinese boats carrying silk and other items at Dabul in Sindh. Ala-ud-din Khalji employed traders for bringing foreign goods including silken clothes for the state. Chinese silk was available in the market to the nobles and other high ranked officers only on written request. Slaves had been an item of import from foreign lands during Sultanate period. Early Turk Sultans themselves were slaves who were sold and purchased in the markets of Central Asia and Persia. The slave trade had been a flourishing business throughout these centuries and merchants were earning profits. During their military campaigns, the Sultans enslaved the thousands of prisoner in the war. However, the possession of foreign slaves was always considered as a symbol of prestige. There were numerous examples where the Sultans either deputed their agents to bring slaves from Central Asia and other countries or they purchased slaves from the foreign merchants who visited their court from Persia. Ibn Battuta when he reached Multan, offered a white slave to the governor which was considered as the greatest gift, made to a noble. The certain varieties of fruits and dry fruits which grew outside India were brought by the traders and travelers in India. The grapes did not grow in India, along with dried fruits were imported from Persia. Ibn Battuta brought with him raisins and almonds which he gave to the governor of Multan on his arrival in India. According to him, these were considered to be invaluable gifts offered to any Indian chief since these did not grow in India but were imported from Khurasan.

The sword blade prepared in the Punjab had great fame over the east and Indian steel continued to be exported to Persia. With Turkish conquest of India, the Hindus sent to jahannam with the well-watered blade of the Hindu swords or sword is personified as “a Hindu of a good family.” These blades were exported in the shape of disks from Lahore. The Arab geographers made special mention of the Indian artisans such as makers of

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104 Al-Idrisi, op.cit., p.41.
swords, bows, spears and different kinds of weapon or saddles and masters of every craft who made special things for ruling class and the common people.\textsuperscript{108}

The cotton industry of the period led to increase the export of different qualities of the clothes in the Punjab. The Mongols during their campaigns in India always indulged in plundering but on one occasion, they exhorted thirty \textit{kharwars} of the clothes from Lahore.\textsuperscript{109} Ibn Battuta speaking about the people of Zafari who were engaged in the trade with India, says that they wore the clothes made up of cotton which were brought by Indian merchants. The cotton clothes of Multan was sold in the neighboring countries.\textsuperscript{110} The author of \textit{Nuzhat-ul-Qulub} refers to stuffs of the clothes which were available in Sindh in a large quantity.\textsuperscript{111} Babur also mentioned the caravans coming from Hindustan to Kabul carrying clothes along with other commodities.\textsuperscript{112} Indigo was the most important dye-stuff produced in the Punjab in large a quantity and most sought for item of the trade. It appears that 20,000 \textit{mans} of indigo had taken to Ghazna every year.\textsuperscript{113} According to Baihaqi Sultan Mashud once sent 25,000 \textit{mans} of indigo to the caliph at Baghdad. The Sultans offered commodity for their usage and often sent it as a part of present for caliph or other rulers.\textsuperscript{114} Even during the Mughal period, Pelsert stated that the chief market of indigo was Lahore which had taken to Europe via Kandhar, Isfahan and Aleppo by caravans and it was known as Lahori.\textsuperscript{115} Ibn Battuta and Babur gave full description of mango but nowhere made the mention of export to other countries. Sugar and sugar candy were exported from various places to Multan where traders earned huge profits.\textsuperscript{116} With the introduction of canal irrigation system by Firuz Shah, there was a marked growth in agricultural production of sugarcane in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{117} Babur talks of caravans of Hindustan carrying sugar and sugars candy with other merchandise to Kabul for further exportation to Persia.\textsuperscript{118} Elephants and

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\textsuperscript{108} Al-Umari, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.313.
\textsuperscript{110} Joginder K. Chawla, \textit{op.cit.}, p.96.
\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Ibid.}, 97.
\textsuperscript{113} K.S.Lal, \textit{op.cit.}, p.13.
\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Ibid.}, p.13.
\textsuperscript{116} Ain-ul-Mahru, \textit{op.cit.}, p.392
\textsuperscript{117} Ziya-ud-din Barani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi}, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, \textit{Aadi Turk Kalin Bharat}, p.28.
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ivory products were admired and most sought for in foreign lands. The ivory market of Multan was always crowded by the foreign merchants. Uktae Khan, the ruler of Persia welcomed the traders from India for bringing ivory to his court and regarded them generously. 

In the whole trading activities, the role of the Banjaras was important as they carried the required items and commodities from far off lands to the markets. The caravanis and Banjaras were engaged in bringing grains, salt, rice, sugar, ghee and other provisions loaded on their animals. Barani mentioned the community of Banjaras who were acquainted with various routes and passage in the different regions of the Punjab. Giaas-ud-din Tughlaq after defeating the forces of Khusrau Shah while proceeding to Delhi also met a caravan of grain merchants on the way. His troops extracted six lacs tankas from the caravanis. According to Shams Siraj Afif the Banjaras paid a tax called dangana. The officials of the dangana department started extracting free services from their animals which made them reluctant to come to the cities and consequently grain and salt became dearer. The Sultan abolished this tax as soon as he came to know. Business in the market towns was carried on by petty shopkeepers and dealers in their regular shops. There was a class of the Muslim merchants who migrated from Persia and Arab in pursuits of trade and commerce and settled at particular places in the Punjab. For example, the maternal grandfather of Sheikh Nizam-ud-din migrated from Bukhara and settled at Lahore. The merchants from Khurasan had become famous for their dealing. Isami refers to the presence of Khurasani traders in the court of Iltutmish. Muhammad Tughlaq issued an order that only those Khurasanis should be allowed to enter the Indian territory who had decided to stay in the country. The foreign merchants seems to have gained popularity and power to such an extent that during the reign of Firuz Shah one can notice a Khursani merchant daring to kill Malik Nek Amd, a kotwal in his court. Afif informs that the foreign

119 Ibn Haukal, Kitabul Masalik Wal-Mamalik, English translated by H.M.Elliot and J.Downson , op.cit., p.35
123 Irfan Habib, Economic History of India, p.131.
merchants after committing any crime when were brought to the Sultan were never put in chains like other criminals. There was association of merchants called urtaq who were trading for ruling class in Persia, Central Asia and China. The Mongol rulers invested their fortunes in the companies of traders and were earning huge profits. Multan more than Lahore, was the seat of a large mercantile community. Barani suggests that a large amount of long distance trade was in the hands of persons called Multanis or people belonging to Multan. The Multanis had monopolized in certain items of trade specially clothes. Since Hamm-ud-din is called Multani bachaha, Hamm-ud-din from his grandfather and father had learnt nothing but taking of interest in trade was, made the chief Qazi by Alau-du-din Khalji.

It is possible that some of the Multanis were Muslims but Barani refers them in conjunction with Sahs which in that context suggests that the Multanis were Hindus who were professionally engaged in usury and commerce (sud-o-sauda). It is likely that many Hindu merchants of the Punjab were Banys. Amir Khusrau has divided the merchant class based on their function or specialization. Amir Khusrau offered an illustrative list of market components, the bazari, the ‘market operators’, stranger to honest and faith; the saudagar, the traders, intent only on profit; the bazzaz, cloth sellers, prone to lack of rectitude; the baqqal (grain merchants), sarraf (money chargers) and zar-gar (goldsmiths) all manipulating their scales of weights and the muhtakir (engrossers) or seller of rice at the rate of gold. Early in Firuz Shah’s region, Mahru describes how the engrossers (muhtakir) used to buy ghee at Multan, obtaining it from outside suppliers and then hold supply back till the prices rose from seven to nine or 10 jitals per ser. One engrosser had up sugar (gand) for some seven years. Mahru claims that he had begun buying directly

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131. It is noted that “Wilayat” India’s neighboring Islamic community a Hindu is called Multani for the reason that most Hindus residing in Iran are from the city of Multan.

As Quoted by Irfan Habib, *Economic History of India – 1200-1500*, p.133.
from the suppliers and then selling the goods in the market to keep prices low and undo the engrossar’s scheme. However, his letters shows that there were murmurs that presumably, as a monopolist he underpriced the goods he that purchased.\textsuperscript{133}

Due to the trading activities of the Punjab, major urban centers emerged along the trading routes in course of time. The capital Delhi that was an international market for trading activities was linked with these trading centers. Multan was connected with Kandahar via land and with the sea via Indus. It was well connected with Central Asia, Persia and Arab countries and played an important role as a centre of international trade and commerce. In addition, the city had frequent links with indigenous trading centers in northern India, viz., Lahore, Sarsuti, Ajodhan, Uchch, Hansi, Delhi and further to eastern, western and central parts of the country.\textsuperscript{134} Al-Istakhri and Ibn Haukal both refer Multan as a busy town with separate bazaars for various commodities and merchandise. The bazaars of ivory and copper-goods were conspicuous and crowded with customers. Prices were low and within the reach of common people.\textsuperscript{135} Multan had been a crown amongst the cities located in the frontier region. During Sultanate period, the khanqah of Suhrawardi Sufi Bahauddin Zakariya was the centre of attraction for travelers and traders from India and foreign lands. The khanqah had always been full of provisions and food was served day and night to the visitors. Though the prosperity of Multan was hampered during the Mongol invasions, it nevertheless gained its lost position soon.\textsuperscript{136} It were the traders and merchants of Multan who gave its name to the whole community of merchants in northern India. Ala-ud-din Khalji did not allow the merchants to earn huge profits, However, he depended for the implementation of his market regulations on the Multani merchants. They were made in-charge of sara-i-adal and were given by the state all financial support to trade and were asked particularly to provide the clothes for meeting the demands of the people in the geographical region in which market-control policy operated.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{133} Ain-ul-Mahuru, \textit{op.cit.}, p.391.
\textsuperscript{134} H.C.Verma, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.123-32,148,150-51,156-78.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibn Haukal, \textit{Kitabul Masalik Wal-Mamalik}, English translated by H.M.Elliot and J.Downson , \textit{op.cit.}, p.34.
\textsuperscript{136} Joginder K. Chawla, \textit{op.cit.}, p.41.
\textsuperscript{137} Ziya-ud-din Barani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firu shahi}, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi \textit{Khalji Kalin Bharat}, p.83.
Ibn Battuta unfolds the prosperity of the city where a number of foreigners had come from Tirmiz, Bukhara and Samarkand, etc. Ibn Battuta with his companions lodged himself in one of the hospices outside the city which belonged to the descendants of Bahauddin Zakariya.\(^{138}\) It was at Multan that vigorous search of traveler’s goods and their luggage was made. It was the custom that one-fourth of the commodities brought by merchants were appropriated by the state and on every horse was levied a tax of seven dinars.\(^{139}\) In course of time, a money-lending class emerged in Multan. They used to give loans in cash and kind to the foreigners proceeding to the court of the Sultan of Delhi to present the gifts. Ibn Battuta also followed this practice and took a loan from a Multani entrepreneur to buy horses, camels and slaves, etc.\(^{140}\)

A geographical treatise entitled Hudud al-Alam made a mention about Lahore as a town of numerous districts. Its government was on behalf of the chief of Multan. There were markets, idol-temples, the Jalaghuza-trees, almond-trees and coconuts in a great quantity.\(^{141}\)

The shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh at Lahore signifies the Turkish presence and interest in the city, and with a passage of time, it emerged as a place of attraction for people from far and wide. It guaranteed the city as an important place of pilgrimage which immensely contributed to the economic life of the city. According to Minhaj, most of the inhabitants of Lahore were traders who undertook journeys to Khurasan and Turkistan. They had also trade links with other regions.\(^{142}\) Amir Khurd’s grandfather Saiyyad Muhammed Kirmani regularly traded for a long time between Lahore and Kirman.\(^{143}\) In the year 1241 C.E., the Mongols captured Lahore and before leaving they plundered and destroyed the city with such intensity that it sank into insignificance and lost its glory and prosperity as a trading center.\(^{144}\)

Traders had to follow a comparative longer route via Multan to reach Central Asia and Persia. Minhaj also followed this route for dispatching certain slaves and loaded mules to

\(^{139}\) Ibid., p.12.
\(^{140}\) Ibid., p.45.
\(^{141}\) As quoted by Joginder K.Chawla, op.cit., p. 42.
\(^{142}\) Minhaj-us-Siraj, op.cit., p.1133.
\(^{143}\) Siyar-ul-Auliya as quoted by K.A.Nizami, Some Aspect of the Religion and Politics, p.319.
\(^{144}\) Minhaj-us-Siraj, op.cit., p.655.
his sister in Khurasan. Thus with the fall of Lahore, Multan gained more importance as a center of trade, only trickling of trade via Lahore continued. It could attain its full glory only under the Mughals, when made headquarter of subah.  

Mansura, a small coastal town was frequently visited by Indian as well as foreign merchants. The city has also been identified as Bhakkar in medieval chronicles. Istakhri describes it as more fertile and populous than Multan. While he describing the country of Sindh and its towns, mentions Mansura a great town (Azim) situated like an island in the middle of the river Mihran. At that time, it was a very pleasant and prosperous town and had been a resort of merchants. 

The city of Mansura was built by Al-Mansur of Abbasid dynasty and named after him as mentioned by Al-Idrisi. He also describes the city in a space of one mile square frequented by a large number of merchants. The city was full of flourishing markets, providing such profitable livelihood for its population that even the common person wore Iraqi costumes. The climate of Mansura was hot and it produced sugarcane and grains in abundance. The city was full of gardens, fishes and meat were sold in a large quantity at cheap rates. Native and imported fruits were made available and sold in the markets of Munsura. The copper and silver coins were in great circulation which suggested the flourishing trade and prosperity of the city. 

Ibn Battuta found Mansura (Bhakkar) a fine city intersected by a channel from the Indus. In the middle, there was a fine hospice where food was supplied to all travelers. It was built by Kishlu Khan during his governorship of Sindh. The city was linked with the towns of Central Asia and Persia through sea and land and acquired a distinct position as a trading centre in this region.

Ajodhan continued to remain a centre of economic activities. It got popularity being the seat of Sheikh Farid, the famous Chishti saint of his times. There is a legend that once the

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145 Joginder K.Chawla, op.cit., p.43.
147 H.M.Elliot and J.Downson, op.cit., p.373.
150 H.C.Verma, Medieval Routes to India, p.148-51
merchants carrying sugar bags passed through Ajodhan avoiding to visit the Sheikh. It is believed that those bags turned into salt. Thus the caravan came back to Ajodhan to seek the blessings of the saint and the salt got transformed into sugar. That day onwards, Shaeikh Farid began to be called as Ganj-i-Shakar.\textsuperscript{151} At the time of Ibn Battuta’s visit, Ajodhan was a small town. He went and paid a visit to the Sheikh to receive his blessings. The road between Ajodhan and Multan was once blocked by the Khokhars and the governor of Multan directed the muqta of Ajodhan to clear the passage and also provide protection to the merchants.\textsuperscript{152}

Debal has been mentioned by all Arab geographers as a famous and big seaport of Sindh which stood at the site of modern Karachi and from here various articles were exported. It as an abode of merchants where products of various regions were brought in a large quantity.\textsuperscript{153}

Ibn Haukal also mentions it as a large mart and the port not only of Sindh but also of neighboring regions. It was remarkable for its richness of green cultivation but not abundant in large trees or the date trees. It was famous for the manufacturing of swords and its inhabitants generally maintained themselves by commerce.\textsuperscript{154} Al-Idrisi describes Debal as a large town with a thick population. It was a famous commercial city where boats of China and India with Chinese clothes and Indian aromatics and perfumes reached. The commodities were stocked and exported to different countries through the merchants for a share in the profit.\textsuperscript{155}

It seems that the city sank into unimportance and when Ibn Battuta reached Sindh he did not notice Debal which according to modern historians, had been superseded entirely by Lahiri-Bandar. Though one of the sources asserted ‘what is now Bandar Lahori was called Bandar-Debal,’ but the authority had not been rated high by H.M Elliot and J. Dowson because Lahiri was situated 15 miles from the shore of the sea.\textsuperscript{156}

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\textsuperscript{151} Ibn Battuta, \textit{The Kitab-ul-Rehla}, English translated by Mehndi Husain.,p.11.
\textsuperscript{152} Ain-ul-Mahru, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.397-98.
\textsuperscript{153} H.M.Elliot and J.Downson, \textit{op. cit.}, vol.i, pp.376-77.
\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Ibid.}, p.37.
\textsuperscript{155} Al-Idrisi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.41.
\textsuperscript{156} H.M.Elliot and J.Downson, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.377-78.
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The city of Uchch was well connected with other towns in the northwest frontier region. The shorter route from Uchch to Delhi was via Sarsuti and Hansi. The city flourished under Nasir-ud-din Qubacha and subsequently remained an important center of learning. It seems that despite the Mongol invasions, the city continued to maintain its glory and when Ibn Battuta arrived, he found Uchch a big city with fine bazaars and good buildings. The city had also been the seat of Suhrawardi saint Saiyyad Jalaluddin Bukhari.

Cities such as Sarsuti, Hansi, Sumana, Dipalpur, and Sirhind were located on busy routes and also contributed to some extent to the commercial activities. Al-Umari considers Sarsuti as one of the chief provinces in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq. Ibn Battuta found Sarsuti as a big city producing fine rice in great quantity which was exported to Delhi. The city fetched enormous revenues. The people of Sarsuti were rich and prosperous. Firuz Shah once sought financial loan from the bankers and grocers of the city for recruiting armies. Ain-ul-Mulk Mahrus in one of his letters mentions the traders of Sarsuti who earned good profits in trading of different items including ghee and clothes which were very cheap. At the time of Timur’s invasion, the inhabitants of the city of Sarsuti were found engaged in animal husbandry especially, in breeding pigs.

Hansi was situated in Delhi-Sarsuti-Ajodhan route and was held by important nobles including Balban. Hansi had been the seat of Sheikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar. Ibn Battuta describes Hansi as one of the finest and perfectly built cities which had thick population and surrounded by a great wall. The city contributed equally with other towns in the commercial activities. With the foundation of Hissar-i-Firuza in Firuz Shah’s reign Hansi could not maintain its old prestige and Babur did not make mention of Hansi thought he made a notice of Hissar-i-Firuza.

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159. Al-Umari, *op.cit.*, p.11.
162. S.A.A.Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, p.146.
Changes in currency system

The coinage system besides being an indicator of growing trade and commerce and of increased money economy, the coinage of money and its standardization as a media of exchange had twofold influence on economy of the Sultanate. First, it fostered urban concentration by furnishing a device of measuring with accuracy the value of articles of exchange and trade. Secondly, it provided a permanent and imperishable form of wealth other than land. The increase in metal money which led to increase in commodity production, became the major component of urban economy of the Punjab during the period under study. Money lending and cash purchase became an acceptable form of economic transaction among urban population.\textsuperscript{166} There was almost complete absence of gold coins and “the paucity of coins” in general\textsuperscript{167} in the north India between the post Gupta period to the 10\textsuperscript{th} century but in the Punjab and Sindh, there was continuity of coinage in the same period. This region reflected almost an uninterrupted tradition of continuous trade and commerce there. Arabs entered first in the Punjab by peaceful means of trade and commerce.

Silver coins known as \textit{dirham} were in use in Mansura and other parts of the Punjab right up to the Turkish rule in India. The people of Qandabul having been pressed hard agreed to pay Chach, the ruler of Sindh, an annual tribute of one \textit{lac dirhams} along with one hundred houses. It also appears that silver bullion was also sometimes used in transaction. Muhammad Qasim asked the rich Hindus of Sindh to pay \textit{jaziya} in silver equal to forty eight \textit{dirhams} in weight.

The sufficient quantity of silver coins of Hindushahi rulers was collected from foreign countries. The bull and horsemen types of coins of the Punjab have been found in Baghdad. The bull on the reverse of the \textit{Sahi} type coin was extensively copied by almost all the successors of Mahmud Ghazni while the horsemen obverse type coins by Shiha-bu-din Ghor and some of his successors.\textsuperscript{168} The Sultans of Ghazni also issued purely Indian

\textsuperscript{166} H.C.Verma, \textit{Dynamics of urban Life in Pre Mughal India}, p.115.
\textsuperscript{168} H.C.Verma, \textit{Dynamics of Urban Life in Pre-Mughal India}, p.124.
currency for their southeast domain (Punjab) along with semi Islamic and Islamic ones. Although a gold coin of Mahmud Ghazni weighting one tola and dated 1006 C.E. is found, it was probably “a medal not for use in public transaction”. His other gold dinars weighting 179 grains and dirham (gold coins) were also popular outside India. The coins of Ohind (probably referring to the Hindusahi coins) were found in Eastern Europe along with the dirham of the middle Asia. The device of the bull with trishul on the same was returned on the bullion and copper issued by Shihab-ud-din Ghori. The savite device of bull representing Nandi of Shiv was continued on early Muslim coinage of Delhi until Nasir-ud-din Muhammad discarded it for the gold issues. Shihab-ud-din seems to have allowed the effigy of goddess Lakshmi to be stamped on the obverse of these, while his own name on the reverse in the twelfth-thirteenth century nagari of northern India. The title of Hamira was used with reference to Mahmud Ghazni and continued to be used in almost unbroken succession either alone or along with Sultans till came to the time of Balban, who struck to the term Sultani alone in his billion coins and was followed by Muizuddin Kaikubad, Jalal-ud-din Khalji, Ala-ud-din Khalji, Muhammad Tughlaq and others. The influence of new reign acted soon upon the urban economy of the Punjab through its own coinage system. Although Qutb-ud-din Aibak is said to have issued coins in his own name but no specimen of them has been discovered. It is however, certain considering the circulation of dinars and dirhams and other bullion coins were widely in circulation during Aibak’s reign.

Dehliwal coins of the bull and horsemen were popular in Delhi Sultanate. Edward Thomas also pointed out that dehliwal or jital currency sufficed for all wants of the Indian population at least up to the death of Shihab-ud-din Ghori. The prevalent coins of northwestern India in the late 12th and early 13th centuries were debased widely of bull and

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169. Permeshwari Lal Gupta Coins, p.106.
170. Ibid., p.10.
172. Ibid., p. 133.
horsemen issues of the Hindushahi Kings of the Punjab which was in current in later Ghaznavid kingdom of Lahore and had spread southeast and west Rajasthan and northern Central India. In the inscription, recording the construction of the mosque at Delhi, the cost of its construction is reckoned at 12 millions of dehliwal.\textsuperscript{174}

After the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, the Sultans of Delhi issued the new coins according to their requirements. To Ilutmish goes the credit of introducing an orderly monetary system of Delhi Sultanate by issuing the silver tanka and the copper jital, these two basic coins of Sultanate period became the precursor of solid currency system in India. Ilutmish might also be credited to the trans-frontier practice of putting the name of the mint on the tanka. A silver tanka of Ilutmish minted at Delhi was found at Sonepat whose size is 1.11 and weight 167 grains. The silver tanka and its fraction (half a tanka) were used either as cash or as money of account in higher value transactions such as purchase of horses, slaves concubines, textiles, payments of servants, animals wages, wages of craftsmen and money given out in Futuh or offering to religious devines.\textsuperscript{175} The monetization of economy of the Punjab occurred on a large scale in the middle of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century. For instance, in this period the Suhrawardi Sheikh of Multan left lacs of tanka. By the first decade of the 14\textsuperscript{th} century, the salary of troops with one horse was calculated as 234 tankas per annum with the increment of 78 tankas, if he maintained a second warhorse. The existence of smaller money of accounts in the Sultanate is started by Barani’s numerous references to dangs (quarters) and dirhams. From a comparison of prices quoted in the different recessions of his work, it is possible to establish the equation. One silver tanka is equal to 48 jitals, to 192 dangs to 480 dirhams.\textsuperscript{176} The dang called fil by the Arab geographer Al-Umari might be identified with the 40 ratis weight pure copper coin which persistently appeared in the coinage of Delhi Sultanate and dirhams, single or multiple with smaller copper issues. Similarly, multiple jitals or fractions of the tanka were represented by tiny silver issues. Those denominations could be distinguished by their silvery

\textsuperscript{174} Permeshwari Lal Gupta, op.cit., p.86.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., p.88.
\textsuperscript{176} Tapan Rai Chaudhary and Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.97.
appearance at the time of minting.\textsuperscript{177} From Barani’s statement, there appears to be a dearth in gold and silver coins in the last decade of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century but with the successive plunder of the Deccan kingdoms, a quantity of precious metals came into hands of the Delhi Sultans. Ala-ud-din Khalji extracted the indemnity amounting to roughly 7.7 metric tons of gold and 12.8 metric tons of silver from Ramdeva of Deogiri in his raiding expedition when he was the governor of Kara and Manikpur.\textsuperscript{178} Malik Kafur’s from his plundering expedition to Pandya kingdom brought back 96,000 mans of gold which had been correspondence to 241 metric tons. It is likely that this is an exaggeration.\textsuperscript{179} Subsequent expeditions in the reign of Qutab-ud-din Mubark Khalji, Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq and Muhammad Tughlaq extracted the remaining available surplus.\textsuperscript{180} The consequence of the acquisition of wealth is visible in the coinage of the Delhi Sultanate. Both the gold and silver coins of Ala-ud-din Khalji were plentiful. The Alai tanka was so stable that people used to hoard it as a precious item. The cash in the form of Alai tanka collected by the forces of Timur in his expedition of Delhi was beyond computation.\textsuperscript{181}

All contemporary accounts speak of huge gold reserved in time of Muhammad Tughlaq which is evident from his inclination in distributing huge precious metals to all and sundry as salary, gift and nazrana. This may also be evident from the fact that there were 247 mints in 1325 C.E., when Muhammad Tughlaq ascended the throne. Its number increased to 404 in 1328 C.E.\textsuperscript{182} This indicates not only growing momentary system but also a flourishing image of trade and commerce. Muhammad Tughlaq nick named by Edward Thomas as “prince of moneyers” had credit of issuing a variety of coins of very fine execution. The dirham coins in circulation during his reign were shanjdehgni, dwazdehgani, hashtgani, shashtgani, Sultani and egani. The Sultani was of the smallest denomination. One Sultani dirham was equal to one third of shashtgani and three-fourth of the hashtgani dirham. Half of a Sultani dirham was called a jital. One Sultani dirham was

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{177} Ibid, p 97.
\bibitem{178} Ferishta, op.cit., p.175.
\bibitem{179} Ziya-ud-din Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi Khalji Kalin Bharat.,p.96.
\bibitem{180} Tapan Rai Chaudry Irfan Habib, op.cit., 97.
\bibitem{181} H.C.Verma, Dynamics of Urban Life in Pre-Mughal India, p.136.
\bibitem{182} S.A.A. Rizvi, Tughlaq Kalin Bharat, vol.i, p. Appendix- C.
\end{thebibliography}
equal to eight fulus or two jitals. Each jital contained four fulus, dwazdehgani was equal to one and half of hashtgani and shanjdhgani equaled to two dirhams.\(^{183}\) Muhammad Tughlaq also issued token coins of brass and copper to replace the silver coins. It is clear from Barani’s account that he was led to this by accounts of Chinese token currency (chao) in the form of silk or paper notes of credit. Barani says, “the third design of Sultan Muhammad…..was the issue of the bronze coins (muhr-i-misi)….. to be made current in buying and selling in place of the gold and silver coins. As the result of this measure the house of every Hindu\(^{184}\) became a mint and the Hindus of the empire had lacs and crores of bronze coin minted, they used them for their expenses. Every goldsmith (zardar) struck bronze coins in his house and the royal was filled with bronze coins.\(^{185}\) The disruption of commerce, which this token currency caused, let to its withdrawal two years later. It was as Barani has remarked, one of the greaestt disasters that overtook the treasury because the Sultan had to take back all issued bronze coins and replaced them with the silver coins. Consequently, many thousands of people of various groups took the token coins to the treasury, and took the gold and silver tankas or shashtgani and dugani of silver coins, and returned to their houses.\(^{186}\) It resulted in almost total loss of these precise metals to the state.\(^{187}\) It is clear from Mahmmud Tughlaq’s subsequent military operations from plentiful gold coins issued later in his reign and accounts of his largesse to foreign visitors as well as from evidence cited elsewhere that the accumulated treasure of Delhi Sultanate was not exhausted but the problem was related to the scarcity of silver in cash economy with urban inflation. This was soon accentuated by the loss of political control of Bengal under the reign of Firuz Shah.\(^{188}\) But in the Punjab, there are references to the circulation of silver coins in public life which give the impression that this metal was not all lost to be used in currency. Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, under Firuz Shah makes it clear that it was he who ordered the assignments of the soldiers to be paid half in silver and half in kinds.\(^{189}\) 

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\(^{183}\) H.C.Verma, *Dynamics of Urban Life in Pre-Mughal Indiap*.140.

\(^{184}\) Obviously goldsmiths or zohaoris who were both Hindu and Muslim.

\(^{185}\) Ziya-ud-din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, vol.i., pp.43-44.

\(^{186}\) Ibid.,p. 44

\(^{187}\) Ibid., p.45.

\(^{188}\) Tapan Rai Choudry and Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

\(^{189}\) Ain-ul-Mahru, *op.cit.*, pp.75-76.
associates of the Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya who had been receiving 150 silver tankas annually in addition to free food were allowed to enjoy these perks even under Firuz Shah. A very interesting piece of information is available in 15th century account which threw an implied linkage of the coinage of the Lodhis with the grain price during the same period. There was a short supply of coins under Lodhis. Lack of currency led to the lowering of the prices of grains. To meet their daily requirements the people probably resorted to the barter system. Coins being in short supply had the tendency of accumulation in hands of rich people. The nobles in order to get gold and silver began dumping grains from their iqta’s in heaps and bounds into the market causing fall in prices. The market was flooded with food grains “countless quantities of grain accumulated in several Iqtas under Ibrahim Lodhi. As money was urgently required by these nobles to maintain their personal expenses, they were eager to sell their grain stock at any price”.190 But the life style of the Lodhi nobles required a new system of coinage in their period and almost unaccountable wealth deposited. Babur’s captured of the vast treasury of the Lodhi Sultans presented a different story of stable economy and a perfect balance between demand and supply.191 Bahlol Lodhi introduced copper coins known as Bahloli. It was equal to five copper jital of the Turkish period of the Sultanate. The old jital no longer remained in operation after these Bahloli copper coins. Sikander Lodhi struck a new issue called the sikandari, which was double to Bahloli coin in value. At the Begram (Peshawar) Babur noticed silver misqals in 1504-05 C.E..192 The Gold ashrafis and tankas were popular in Lahore. They were sent to Babur in 1525 C.E., the amount was estimated to the value of 20,000 Shahrukhis.193 From Bhira in 1519 C.E. Babur extracted a very heavy amount of four lac Shahrukhis from the people which he distributed among his soldiers.194 Daulat Khan Lodhi offered ten thousands of asharfis and twenty elephants to Babur. After the defeat of Rana Sanga (Sangram Singh), the Raja of Khiwar of Sirhind, offered three mounds of gold to Babur.195

190 Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, vol.iv, p.476.
191 H.C.Verma, op.cit., p.146.
192 Babur, op.cit., p.394.
193 Ibid., p.446.
194 Gulbadan Begam, Humayun Nama, English translated by A.C.Bevridge as The History of Humayun, p.10.
195 Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i- Shahi, or Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, edited by M.Hidayat Husain, p.91.

As quoted by H.C.Verma, Dynamics of Urban Life in Pre-Mughal India, p.149.

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Sher Shah had embarked upon minting new coins to mark his reign. His marriages with widowed women lad Malika, Gauhar Gossin and Bibi Fath Malka were meant to fill his coffer with gold and other precious metals. Sher Shah period was known for the circulation of the rupiya of 180 grains which succeeded the tankas for the Turkish Sultans of Delhi. Sher Shah’s coins of all metals gold, silver and copper were free from any elements of debasement. In the Punjab silver coins were minted at Bakkar, Fatehbad and copper coins were at Hisar and Narnaul. The coins of his successor, Islam Shah followed the style of his father’s coins, silver coin mints was added at Narnaul in the Punjab. Likewise the copper coins was paisa but their weight vary to such an extent that it is difficult to say what the actual standard weight was, for example, coins from Narnaul mint were known to be of 328-329, grains such heavy coins were unknown in the earlier period.

**Changes in agriculture sector**

Craft (kasabakari) together with agriculture constituted the entire spectrum of production activities of urban economy under the Sultanate. The flourishing crafts were generated only by flourishing agriculture for their inter-dependent nature. The craftsmen were dependent on agriculturists for their subsistence and agricultural raw material but non-dietic demands of cultivators were met by the craftsmen. In addition to the supply of raw materials for agriculture-based crafts, the cultivators at the same time engaged themselves in part

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196. The wife of deceased Taj Khan Sarang Khani or Chaunar presented as Peshkash to her need husband Sher Shah one hundred and fifty pieces of very rare jewels and fifty maunds of gold. Abbas Khan Serwani, Tarikh-i-SherShahi, p.346.
197. From the Gauhar Gossain, the wife of deceased Nasir Khan Lahani of Ghazipur, Sher Shah Got three hundred maunds of gold. Ibid., p.347.
198. Bibi Fath Malik, the daughter of Kala Pahar Farmulii took with her six hundred mounds of go to her husband’s house main Muhammad Farmulin, Sher Shah managed to take from her three hundred mounds of gold as a loan. Ibid., p.355.
199. Fermeshewar Lal Gupta, op.cit., p.119.
200. Sher Shah’s silver coins bears the qalma and names of fair pions Kalefes on the obverse and his name Furid-Ud-dinia-wa-din abu al Muzzaffar. Sher Shah the mint name and date aley with kings name Sri Sersahi in Najri letters ar the revers. Mehesibari Lal Gupta OP at 118.
201. Fermeshewar Lal Gupta, op.cit., p.118.
202. Ibid., pp.118-119.
203. Ibid., p.119.
processing of some crafts as sideline such as spinning of yarn, initial processing of indigo making or of oil and sugar processing.\(^{204}\)

Agricultural prosperity would naturally account for the emergence of cheerful set of cultivators on the one hand and with its chain-effects it would go to be a catalytic agent to push forward the urban economy in general on the other.\(^{205}\) Therefore, the state made efforts to extract more and more of surplus of agricultural production to sustain the urban economy. Irfan Habib states, “while immigration and enslavement made the growth of urban crafts possible, the basis on which these could subsist was provided by increasing the land revenue which the Sultanate ruling class extracted from country side.\(^{206}\)

This share took pre-eminently in the form of kharaj as land revenue. The sovereigns claimed to the bulk of the surplus which the peasant produced above the minimum needed for his subsistence. In the Iqtas, assignees collected the kharaj and other taxes to maintain themselves and their troops and sent the surplus to the Sultan’s treasury. In the remaining areas (khalisa), the Sultan’s officials directly collected the kharaj and other taxes. The enormous revenue supported the existence of their large numerous urban centers and its economy.\(^{207}\) On the western Punjab which had been the part of Ghaznavid rule for two centuries, this taxation system was imposed. By the end of 13\(^{th}\) century, it might have been imposed on neighborhood of Delhi.\(^{208}\) The first reference in khalisa in India was of Tabarhinda. Iltutmish is said to have appointed a slave as his sahna of the khalisa of Tabarhinda (Bhatinda).\(^{209}\) The agriculture was the base of urban economy, therefore, Sultans of Delhi envisaged a policy aiming at extension of land under cultivation and improvement in irrigation facilities in the Punjab. For the administrative part, the institute of amir-i-kohi was created under Iltutmish and was placed under malik Iktekhar-ud-din.\(^{210}\) Its function reorganized under the Muhammad Tughlaq was with obvious exaggeration, not to leave an inch of land uncultivated. Further, a fresh set of incumbents called mafrunziyan

\(^{204}\) H.K.Naqvi, Agriculture, Industrial and urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Dehli,1205-1555., p.40.

\(^{205}\) Ibid., p.12.


\(^{207}\) Ibid., p.295.

\(^{208}\) Irfan Habib and Tapan Rai Chaudhary, op cit., p.61.


\(^{210}\) pp.177, 178.
appears amongst the rural officials. The urban-based amir-i-kohi and rural functionary mafrunziyan supplemented each other’s work in order to achieve the same objective of extending land under crop. Rooted in the same policy of reclamation of land consistently followed the practice of assigning some part cultivated and some part uncultivated or idle land (a khal) as gift or endowment grant to a mashaik, divines and ulema or the learned, was adopted. The recipients were expected to undertake agrarian expansion because such potentiality for further growth was always present in every kind of the grant. Mahru’s arrangements in this direction was appreciated by them. On the first instance, they were placed in properly settled villages where some land was cultivated and other was not. The grants had been delineated in such a manner that during the years of famine (salha-i-qehat) they did not suffer owing to rise in grain prices. They were expected to meet their household needs from the income (mahsul) yielded by cultivated land where as the remaining lands were supposed to utilize for effecting improvement in total grants. The provincial administrations headed by Mahru desired to provide incentives to those grantees who contributed to agrarian expansions for example, with the reclamation of barren lands by the grantees, if the respective claims of waqf and diwani come under dispute. Mahru recommended that the share of diwani would be merged with that of waqf because the existing income from the later was not enough. Mahru implemented the project of the agrarian expansion, on assuming charge as the governor of Multan. He found that the region was facing an unprecedented economic crisis. He alleged that during the governorship of his predecessor Imad-ul-Mulk, a large number of inhabitants had left for other places so that the cultivated area had been reduced to one tenth. Despite the measures of economic reconstructions undertaken by Firuz Shah, few people had returned. A large number of taxes, madwah, tarkah, mal-i-mainjud, chakar, bazar, zaraib, gujarah and kharaj-i-muhtraffat-i-msalian which were bringing in considerable revenue, had been abolished. The amount of the revenue being alienated as a grant (Inam and Idrar) for the

213. Ibid., p.32.
religious class had been increased to three *lacs tankas*. Owing to a tremendous increase in expenditure, the provincial treasury did not possess a balance of even 500 *tankas*.\(^{215}\)

It was felt that crisis could be mitigated by increasing the area under cultivation with the help of artificial irrigation. During the second half of the 14\(^{th}\) century, a number of canals, Nasirwah, Qutbwah, Khizarwah, Qabulwal, Hamruah were excavated in Multan region, most probably by Firuz Shah.\(^{216}\)\(^{217}\) The cost of construction and maintenance was bound to be borne by local beneficiaries including peasants and chiefs. Mahr disqualified that the obligation should be shared equally between the two classes so that the burden of the one would not shift to the others. He condemned the refusal of land controlling elements—*masahaikhs, ulema, sadurs* and *malik*—to contribute in the repair work of Nasirwah in spite of the fact, he excavated a canal passing through the villages where land grants had been assigned to them. He also warned of a fall in the agriculture production, if both the state treasury as well as the local beneficiaries failed to provide financial support for the maintenance of canals.\(^{218}\)

Firuz Shah decided to develop agriculture by making a provision of canals. It was his uncle, Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq who had done a ground work even before the formal establishment of Tughlaq dynasty. Amir Khusrau stated that Ghazi Malik, while serving as the governor of Multan, excavated a canal from the Ravi to Jhelum\(^{219}\) but it was under Firuz Shah that the biggest network of canals not only in the Punjab but in India until the 19\(^{th}\) century was created.\(^{220}\) Owing the paucity of rainfall only the coarse grains of the *kharif* season could be grown in the *iqta* of Hissar and near about. The wheat of *rabi* crop required more water than was available.\(^{221}\) In view of scarcity of water in Hissar-i-Firuza, the Sultan excavated


\(^{217}\) We know only the names of these canal but do not know the rivers from where were cut and the specific area that they irrigated. It is probable that two rivers the Chenab after uniting with Jehlem at Shorkot and Ravi which flowed to the south of Multan offered ample scope for the development of an irrigation networks.


\(^{218}\) *Ain-ul-Mahru*, *op.cit.*, p.177.


\(^{220}\) Tapan Rai Chaudhary and Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, p.49.

\(^{221}\) M. Habib and K.M. Nizami; *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol.v, p.587.
rajabwa and ullughkhani from the Sutlej and Yamuna respectively. Afif describes the impact of the canal in the following manner, before excavation only the land of Hisar-i-Firuza produced only the mansoon crops (kharif) with the availability of artificial irrigation, the winter crops (rabi) including wheat and different verities of sugarcane. Such as the black nishkar siyah and paundu began to be cultivated as they could not be produced without water before the reign of Firuz Shah. The arrival of the canals raised the level of sub soil water. It became possible to dig wells and find water at a depth of four yards only. Especially the technological change occurred in water lifting water system in the Punjab during Sultanate period which increased the surplus production inevitable for urban population to meet their dietic demands. The most crucial addition of Persian wheel was made before sixteenth century. Babur offers the classic description of complete machine.

“The kharif crops ripens of itself owing to the rains of the rainy season and the rabi crops can grow too without rain. The trees of ‘one or two years’ growth are watered by bringing up water either through (Persian) wheel (charkh) or by the (leathern) water-bucket (dalv). In Lahore, Dipapur and Sirhind region, they irrigate by means of (Persian) wheel. They make circles (halqa) out of two long ropes, equal to the depth of the well. They tie up pieces of wood, each attached to both the ropes, with earthen Jars (Kuza) tied to (each) piece of wood. This (double) rope to which the jars are thus attached, is put over a wheel (chrakh) that is placed over the well. At the other end of the axle (tir) of this wheel, another wheel is set on. One side of the later wheel another wheel is placed whose axle is set upright. When the ox rotates this wheel, its cogs (parra), engaging with the cogs of the second wheel in turn rotates that wheel which carries the pots. Where the water pours out a cistern is provided and water is then taken from that cistern in every direction as desired.

A fresh dynamism had been introduced by aiming at producing for the market instead of the traditional system of production for the immediate local consumption. This was achieved by pushing up the production of cash crops like cotton, poppy, indigo, henna, sugarcane, etc. The progress in weaving craft stimulated the auxiliary crafts of spinning,

\[\text{222. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, op.cit.p.75.}\]

\[\text{223. Babur , op.cit., p. 486.}\]
dyeing, printing and painting proportionally which taken together resulting in augmentation of the employment potential of the country. The finished woven cloth which constituted an item of leading export consignment enabled the country to earn foreign exchange as the proceeds of its sale in the markets abroad.²²⁴ Indigo was an important cash crop was indigo. Baihaqi writes the correct Indian word nil for the dyestuff, it appears that 20,000 man of indigo was taken to Ghazni every year.²²⁵

As a conclusion one may say that with the advent of Turks new technological changes occurred in the urban crafts such as cotton gin, charkha, treadle, darning, enameling on glass, and lime mortar in building construction. Some new crafts like paper and gunpowder making were introduced in India as well as in Punjab. Major changes also occurred in trading activities. India’s trading relations were restored with Central Asia and other foreign countries through trading routes of the Punjab. As a result, new centers along the trading routes, Multan, Lahore, Ajodhan Lahri Bandhar, Sarsuti Mansura and Uchch emerged as big clearing centers. New coinage system was introduced. New advancements in agricultural field were made by digging of the canals in the southeast Punjab introduction of Persian wheel and new commercial crops like Henna. All these developments went a long way changing the nature of rural economy and fostered a closer link with the neighboring urban settlements.

²²⁴ H.K. Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p.29.