CHAPTER III
We have discussed how the Haryana region was suitably placed both geomorphologically and strategically. It has also been evaluated that agriculturally it could emerge as an economically prosperous zone. The agrarian surplus, thus generated, vitally contributed to the growth of settlements; some of which acquired a larger role in collection and distribution of different commodities within and outside the region. In the process many settlements acquired the status of a qasba or a shahar. Our attempt will now be to look at the factors, other than the agrarian, that could be related with regions' economic growth and the process of urbanisation.

The sources provide limited evidence on craft-production and transit trade. In such a situation travelers account help in constructing a fairly accurate picture of non-agrarian activities within Haryana region. The European travelers and Asian merchants — Multanis, Khurasanis, Iranis etc., and others who visited the region in medieval times account for market centres, production centres, mode of production in limited manner and monetary transactions. Yet these accounts are not exhaustive and, thus, fail to provide complete information. These European travelers / merchants were interested only in few items like indigo, salt-petre, sugar, textile etc. As a consequence their accounts sometime provide information on the availability of these products, organisation of trade, price-movements, working of
financial institutions, transport system, and at times about the related people: their life conditions, wages etc. Their accounts are largely silent on the other craft production and such non-agrarian activities that did not form part of their trade interest.

Important copper mines were located adjacent to the south-western boundary of Haryana region. Presently it forms part of Rajasthan State.¹ The associated places are Toda Bhim, Bairat, Singhana, Udaipur, Raipur and Kot Putli.² For the Sultanate period it is not possible to associate them with any of the known divisions / iqta. These being outside the political control of the Sultans of Delhi is equally unknown. For pre-Mughal times, we do not come across any information on copper mining altogether, yet acceptance by Abul Fazl³ of developed mining activity could be taken to indicate that extraction and refining of copper was in progress when Mughals assumed power. In the Mughal times these formed part of Agra suba till the middle of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, these were transferred to suba Delhi.⁴ Though we do not have any data regarding the production and related benefits but it will be a fair assumption that Haryana region derived some professional and monetary advantages.

¹ National Map of India, VIII, pl. no. 275.
² Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 442 and (tr.), II, pp. 192-93.
³ Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 422 and (tr.), II, p. 192.
Two urban settlements Hissar-i-Firuza and Narnaul (both sarkar headquarters) served as mint towns in the region since the times of Akbar and remained so till the times of Aurangzeb. The existence of minting facility suggests that in the above mentioned settlements, a fair amount of population was engaged in activities associated with the minting process. The officials who occupied supervisory positions enjoyed comparatively high status in these establishments. The Mughal establishments to supervise minting of coins and use of copper in arms industry, along with attachment of ore rich areas with the central provinces, does suggest that the Mughal government exercised some kind of control over production and its use. Yet, large size of families conversant with copper utensil making in the region shows that availability of copper for domestic use was not denied. Reports about minting of silver coins at Narnaul are also available. This metal was obviously brought from elsewhere. The location of silver mint could possibly be to increase availability of silver coins in the region. We can not rule out

6 ibid., I, p. 27 and (tr.) II, p. 32. Also see C.R. Singhal, Mint Towns of Mughal Emperors of India, Bombay, 1953, pp. 33-48; R.B. Whiteland, 'Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India', JASB (New Series), vol.8, no.11, 1912 and S.P. Taylor, 'List Complimentary to Mr. Whiteland's Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India', Numismatic Supplement, XXII.
7 Denzil Ibbeston, Punjab Castes, p. 317.

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the possibility that the Mughal government utilised the facilities and minting expertise to meet the demand for both types of coins.

Iron is not found in any locality of Haryana region. However, its use in making of agricultural and other implements can not be ruled out. The nearest places from where iron could have been brought were Gwalior and Narwar in Agra suba and Suket Mandi in Lahore suba. However, information about location of iron-smiths in rural as well as urban settlements is not difficult to find. Monserrate records, for the sixteenth century, that many manufactures of armours / weapons lived at Sonepat. Panipat, another major settlement, finds mention as major knife making centre. This suggests that the iron-smiths in this part of Haryana (eastern) had excelled in iron craftsmanship.

Salt-petre/Sal-ammoniac is a significant mineral product of the Haryana region recorded during contemporary times. Though it is traceable in different pockets of Haryana region, the contemporary accounts records the sal-ammoniac pits at Thanesar / Thaneshwar in ‘proper Haryana tract’.

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10 Monserrate, The Commentary of His Journey to the Court of Akbar, (tr.), Hoyland, Oxford, 1922, p. 95.
Its manufacture has been widespread. It was used mainly for two purposes cooling of drinking water and manufacture of gunpowder.\textsuperscript{13} The European merchants showed their interest in its purchase due to its requirement for ballast in their ships.\textsuperscript{14} In search of salt-petre they visited the production centres and have thus recorded the manufacturing process. Peter Mundy has left most elaborate account of manufacturing of salt-petre at Agra and Ahamdabad.\textsuperscript{15} Pelsaert who has given the manufacturing account of \textit{suba} Agra is, however, silent for Thanesar in our region. He probably was not aware of the manufacturing process of this centre. As the process was simple, and diffusion of knowledge was common\textsuperscript{16} we can presume that manufacturing process for Thanesar was same as that of Agra or Ahamdabad.

Based on Pelsaert's and Mundy's account we can reconstruct the manufacturing process of salt-petre.\textsuperscript{17} It was manufactured from nitrogenous organic matter and Potassium nitrate (KNO\textsubscript{2}) deposits on the soil surface. According to Pelsaert, it was a sort of scum which was formed on the site of very old brick-kiln. This was dugged and purified by evaporation. It was also collected by scrapping the upper crust of the salt-earth. In order to

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}, I, p. 51 and (tr.), I, p. 58; Peter Mundy, \textit{Travels in Asia}, II, pp. 76-77 and Bernier, \textit{Travels of Mughal Empire}, pp. 356-57.
\textsuperscript{14} K.K. Trivedi, \textit{Agra: Economic and Political Profile}, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{15} Peter Mundy, \textit{Travels in Asia}, II, pp. 76-77.
\textsuperscript{16} K.K. Trivedi, \textit{Agra, Economic and Political Profile}, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{17} Pelsaert. \textit{Jhangir's India}, (tr.), p. 46 and Peter Mundy, \textit{Travels in Asia}, II, pp. 76-77.
extract salt-petre out of nitrogenous organic matter / potassium nitrate, two shallow reservoirs either *pucca* (masonry) or *kuchha* (of mud walls) were constructed. These were of different plinth levels and were located adjacent to each other. The larger reservoir at a higher plinth was filled with salt-earth and later filled with water. It was thoroughly mixed in order to obtain thin and smooth paste. It was then left undisturbed for two days in order to be free of waste which get settled at the base. The water, then, was transferred to the lower reservoir and allowed to get settled. After required waiting period water was drained out and deposits were transferred into an iron pan and heated to remove the impurities at the bottom of jars. The jars were then broken and salt-petre thus obtained was then dried in sun heat.

The product of Thanesar was from all appearances consumed locally. None of the European establishments evidenced any interest in the Thanesar product. Delhi would have definitely benefitted by it as no other salt-petre source is reported in Delhi's locality. Also Delhi by this time had generated a great demand and, therefore, the product would have traversed on the frequented trade route via Sirhind – Thanesar – Karnal – Panipat – Gharaunda – Delhi – Faridabad – Palwal – Hodal – Mathura – Agra.18

The later accounts, *Gazetteers* and *Settlement Reports*, do record the manufacturing process, price, people’s involvement, usage etc. According to

18 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 52-106.
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several palatial buildings used as residences by the nobility, gardens, market streets, mosques, madarsas, tombs etc.\textsuperscript{23}

Though both Barani and Afif had accounted for these establishments, it is Afif who gives us details of construction activity, material used and also about the engineering skills. According to Afif, ‘Hissar-i-Firuza was founded, two or three years after the return of Sultan Firuz Shah from Bengal at the site of two rural settlements -- Laras Khurd and Laras Buzurg, and when the city was constructed stone for its buildings were brought from Narasai hills and lime from Bakhor’.\textsuperscript{24} The location of these two places is not identifiable. The construction activity included the fortification, construction of a big tank around the fortified area.\textsuperscript{25} A survey of the city of Hissar-i-Firuza reveals that the location of old town was on the eastern side of present town of Hissar. The only surviving part of citadel is running on the eastern side of the Talaki gate.\textsuperscript{26} Though the plan of Firuz Shah’s streets are not clear, however, on the basis of the study of other medieval towns the following layout plans of the town had been suggested:

With a north west, south-east orientation passing by the eastern side of bazar masjid, and leading to the citadel, probably to the eastern gateway. The street was mainly flanked by shops and near the bazar masjid joined another market streets.\textsuperscript{27}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Afif, \textit{Tariikh-i-Firuz Shahi}, p.131 and (tr.), \textit{Tughlaq Kalin Bharat}, II, pp. 75-76.
\item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{ibid}.
\item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{ibid.}, p.126 and (tr.), \textit{Tughlaq Kalin Bharat}, II, p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{ibid.}, p.14.
\end{itemize}
The palace of Firuz Shah is situated on the north-western side of citadel, however only the ruins can now be observed. The surviving structures include north-western area of the palace with a gateway, the Lat ki Masjid and the four courtyards which are located in each direction.²⁸ A vivid description of the palace has been provided by Shams Siraj Afif.²⁹

...inside the fort they built a palace such that no one though he searched the world could find its like. There are several courts inside that palace. The audience hall was splendidly decorated. Innumerable innovations were used. One feature in this palace was that if someone with his wits about him came in, after passing through some of the courts, he would always end up in the centre. The central core of the palace was extremely dark, with narrow corridors, so that if the guards did not lead one, one could not find ones way out. They say that once a Chamberlain went in their alone. He was absent for several days, then the guards went in the took him out of the darkness.

Other existing grand structures of Firuz’s time include Lat ki Masjid, Gujari Mahal, Garden Complex, Jhaaz Kothi etc. These buildings find usage of both bricks and stone. It is in Lat ki Masjid, where bricks had been used.³⁰ Hissar has post-Firuz Shah’s buildings and complexes as well. The existence of large number of tombs however suggests thick muslim population besides the others.

Firuz Shah traced two pillars of Ashokan times in the Haryana region and got them transferred to Delhi. The large one was at a village

²⁸ ibid., pp. 32-38 and 22-32.
²⁹ Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p.126 and (tr.) Tughlaq Kalin Bharat, II, p. 74.
³⁰ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, p. 37.
called Nawera in the district of Salura and the other at Topra near Khizrabad in Ambala district.  

31 Afif has given the details of the transfer of these pillars:

... these pillars were wrapped with bundles of the reed known as ninerza so that during taking down and transfer no damage is caused to them. Than these were lowered on big logs after loosening the base. Forty two animals dragged the ropes made of raw hide that were tied to the pillars. A few thousand persons put all strength together to perform this job of lowering the pillars to ground and placing it on logs. Then it was rolled and taken to the river bank to be transferred to big boats. These boats took it to Delhi from the village of Topra. Sultan Firuz in person accompanied the boats all the way to Delhi. These boats were so big that these otherwise were used to transport 5000 maundswounds of grain by river to various destinations. Pillars were re-erected at Firuzabad. In order to re-erect the pillars, ropes made of silk, weighing more than 10 maunds, were used with the help of wooden wheels. One end of the rope was tied to the pillar while the other end was tied to the wheel. Each wheel was operated by a few thousand persons who put all their strength together when rotating it. As the pillar was lifted up about half a yard, wooden logs were put to support it. These logs were made out of Saindal tree. Thus putting up the logs went on till the pillar was upright and was placed in new place. The pillar was smooth (undamaged) and straight, when it was placed into the new place (Firuzabad). When the pillar was erected, on top of it there were a few pieces of black and white marble. These were joined by zinc fillings up the joints. Gold leaves covered the whole top called kalas. The length of the pillar was 30 gaz, 6

31 Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 305-09; (tr.), Tughlaq Kalin Bharat, II, pp. 126-28.
gaz of it was underground, while 24 gaz was above the ground.\textsuperscript{32}

Many more structures were erected throughout Haryana during the study period. They were scattered at Sohana, Jhajjar, Hissar, Narnaul, Hansi, Panipat, Thanesar, Karnal, Kaithal, Sadhaura, Pinjaur, Rohtak, Mahim, Rewari, Palwal, Hodal, Gharaunda etc.

Sohana, located under the shadow of Arawali hills by the Delhi-Jaipur road, has number of tombs, mosques, sarais, and other structures.\textsuperscript{33} The Sila Kund at the foot of perpendicular rock is one of the secular buildings famous for sulphur springs\textsuperscript{34} believed to have been constructed in the fourteenth century, however, it has been subjected to subsequent alterations and repairs.\textsuperscript{35} The other structures include Kala Gumbad and Lal Gumbad built sometime before 1570 A.D. and an eighteenth century fort on the brow of the hill.\textsuperscript{36} Jhajjar had numerous tombs built of Kankar stone which were obtained locally are constructed in Pathan style.\textsuperscript{37} Narnaul, a sarkar headquarters, in south Haryana has numerous tombs. One of them was of Ibrahim Khan built by Sher Shah Suri.\textsuperscript{38} This structure is massive and was constructed under the supervision of Shaykh Ahmad Niyazi. During Akbar's time Shah Kuli Khan built splendid buildings,

\textsuperscript{32} ibid, pp. 309-12 and (tr.), Turk Kalin Bharat, II, pp. 127-28.
\textsuperscript{33} H.A. Phadke, Haryana: Ancient and Medieval, Delhi, 1990, p. 218.
\textsuperscript{34} Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.514 and Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1910, A volume, pp.145-47.
\textsuperscript{35} H.A. Phadke, op.cit., p. 218; 'Haryana Heritage', Marg, XXVII, no.4, September, 1974, pp. 41-42.
\textsuperscript{36} ibid., and 'Haryana Heritage', Marg, XXVII, no.4, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{37} ibid.
\textsuperscript{38} ibid, pp. 218-19; Subash Parihar, Mughal Monuments of Punjab and Haryana, Delhi, 1988, pp. 30-31.
tanks, gardens (Arman-i-Kausar) at Narnaul. These buildings include Jal Mahal, Jami mosque, Chor Gumbad, tomb of Shah Wilayat and Chatta Mukund Das. Similarly, Hansi which had a pre-Turkish fort also consists of structures like Chahar Qutub, Barsi gate, Raudah, Baradari etc. Panipat is another place where hectic construction activity was carried out. It has tombs of Abu Ali Shah, Ibrahim Lodhi, Muqarr Khan, Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan and others, mosque of Abu Ali and a water tank. An in known as Badshahi sarai is about 8 kms from the town of Panipat, which is now in ruins. Thaneshar had structures like Pathariya Masjid and the Chiniwali Masjid, tombs of Shaykh Jalaluddin and Shaykh Chehali, the Madarsa etc. Monuments at Kaithal include tombs of Shaykh Sahah-ud-din Balkhi, Abdur Rashid Shah Walayat and Shah Jamal, the Jama Masjid and the mosque of Taiyab. Pinjaur has gardens

40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid; Subhash Parihar, op. cit., p. 45.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
49 Ibid., p. 221.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
53 Ibid., pp. 221-23 and Subhash Parihar, op. cit., pp. 35-36, 41-42 and 45-46.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid., pp. 222-23 and Subash Parihar, op. cit., p. 41.
constructed during seventeenth century under the guidance of Fidai Khan, the governor of Sirhind under Aurangzeb.\(^5^9\) Other structures were: sarai at Gharaunda (located between Karnal and Panipat,\(^6^0\) baolis at Narnaul and Mahim,\(^6^1\) bridges over nallah towards north of Faridabad on Delhi-Agra route,\(^6^2\) sarai-pul near Karnal,\(^6^3\) barapul towards south of Delhi near Humayun's tomb,\(^6^4\) kos-minar at various points along the Mughal trade route from Lahore to Agra via Delhi.\(^6^5\)

Thus, we have assessed that the construction of forts, palace, mosques, tombs, secular structures, sarais, bridges, havelis, markets, streets, etc. was carried out at sarkar and pargana headquarters and sometimes elsewhere. This left a considerable scope for the growth in masonry and which constituted stone-cutting, brick-making, lime-mortar making, construction, carving etc. It involved craftsman like stone cutters and carvers, brick-makers, iron-smiths, carpenters, master mason, unskilled labour for loading, animals like bullocks, ass etc. for carrying load. All these were gathered from the region and were sometimes fetched from Delhi or other places. By fourteenth century Delhi was a special centre of building industry and had excellent master craftsman.\(^6^6\) The possibility of

\(^{5^9}\) ibid., pp.223-24 and Subhash Parihar, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 14-17.
\(^{6^0}\) Subash Parihar, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.20-21.
\(^{6^1}\) ibid., pp. 46-47.
\(^{6^3}\) ibid.
\(^{6^5}\) Subhash Parihar, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 48.
\(^{6^6}\) Irfan Habib and Tapan Ray Chaudhari, \textit{CEHI}, I, p. 81.
calling Delhi's craft master can not be ruled out for the construction purpose in the region.

Wood which was available in Haryana region can be considered of use. It was either used for construction purpose (limited), for furniture making, for wood carving for making tools in the masonry craft. *Ain-i-Akbari* records variety of wood used in masonry work, some of the varieties were brought from far off places. It would have been a costlier item and was used as luxury. Haryana region reports to have Khizrabad as a timber mart during Mughal times. Our sources are silent on the collection of wood. It can be assumed that the wood was brought from the hills and the forests of the present Himachal Pradesh. Timber mart of Khizrabad definitely served as an asset to the Mughal state. Khizrabad, located near the frequented trade route, had excess to river Yamuna as well. It is also probable that the wood was transported towards Delhi, Agra and other places, along the river way. The wood was used for making carts, *palanquins*, home furniture etc.

The other minor craftsmanship associated with masonry work was iron smithy. The products included clamps, nails, door-knockers, rings etc.

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69 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 52-106.
The manufacture of textiles was perhaps the largest craft production activity carried out during medieval period. It included the manufacture of cotton cloth, woolen stuff and silk products. *Ain-i-Akbari*\(^{71}\) records the production of cotton all over the region which suggests that the region's cotton was brought to market for sale. Besides local consumption it was sent to nearby places. Delhi, Panipat, Samana, Sirhind can be the possible centres. However, in absence of evidence nothing can be said with surety. Possibility of procuring wool existed from the adjoining settlements in the Alwar sub-region of Rajasthan Province, where sheeps were reared. Silk-production was not at all carried out, however, silk products remained the imported item and were possibly consumed only by the upper classes (nobility and rich zamindars).

Our sources record only two places in Haryana region as centre of cloth production. One was at Panipat and the other at Thanesar. Panipat during seventeenth century was a large town and manufactured white cloth of the length and width of the Samana cloth.\(^{72}\) The cloth was carried to Sirhind for sale\(^{73}\) which had access to international market. The products from Sirhind were carried to Central Asia by Persian and Armenian merchants.\(^{74}\) The other centre reported in the region is Thanesar where the fabric was woven.\(^{75}\) Owing to its location on the major trade route, it can be

\(^{71}\) *ibid.*, (tr.) II, pp. 105-07 and 115-17.

\(^{72}\) *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p.135.

\(^{73}\) *ibid.*

\(^{74}\) *ibid.*

said that it was not only fulfilling the requirements of traders, travelers enroute but was catering to the region’s demand as well.

Panipat is also reported to have calicoes, muslin and cords. The available information does not reflect whether these were manufactured or collected from other places for distribution purposes. But there is a strong possibility due to the absence of any large cloth production centre in the region that it was receiving cloth from Delhi, Samana, Sarhind, Lahore, Agra and elsewhere. The cloth of Samana was popularly known as Semianes, Samanas, Seminaoes, Symeanoes and Semijanes, Chowtar etc., in those days. It would have definitely found market within Haryana region. However, we do not find any concrete evidence regarding it, but it is definite that the cloth was available at Agra and had traversed through the Haryana region towards Agra. Similarly, according to Thevnot – ‘all sorts of chintz was manufactured at Lahore’. The Lahore cloth would have also been another type of textile product available in the region's market. Finally one can infer that though much cloth production activity was not carried out in Haryana region, its needs were catered by the products of other centres in the surroundings through the trade along its eastern boundaries.

76 ibid., p. 463; Steel and Crowther, Purchas His Pilgrims, IV, p.267; The English Factories in India, 1637-41, (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.
77 The English Factories in India, 1618-21, pp. xxi, 168 and 181. Also see S.P. Sangar, ‘Samana Cloth in the Seventeenth Century’, PPHC, Patiala, 174, pp.29-35.
78 ibid., pp. xxi and 168.
79 ibid.
80 Indian Travels of Thevnot and Careri, p. 85.
Other non-agrarian activities constituted gold-smith work, leather work, glass work, brass work etc. However, no evidence is available indicating these crafts of having any reputation. They were carried out for fulfilling local needs. *Ain-i-Akbari*\(^{81}\) records about glass-work being carried out in Alwar sub-region. As Alwar sub-region do not constitute the territory of present Haryana Province and moreover, we does not have any evidence showing that in any way the Haryana region was benefited, therefore this activity can not be taken into account. However, the possibility of transport of glass items to places like Sirhind, Panipat, Thanesar, Hissar, Narnaul, Rewari, Rohtak, Delhi cannot be ruled out.

Besides these, the region acquired expertise in production of agricultural and pastoral produce. The region in this area actually acquired fame and generated good amount of economic potential. The references available to us are regarding sugar and indigo. The one was the sweetening agent and the other used for dyeing the cloth in textile industry. Mahim which is located in ‘proper Haryana tract’ was the production centre of candied and refined sugar.\(^{82}\) It remained the export item.\(^{83}\) Mahim had excelled itself in this product since sixteenth century. However, the sugar-cane production is reported in fabulous quantity since mid-fourteenth century.\(^{84}\) Delhi attracted the product of Mahim largely. However, it was

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\(^{81}\) *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 442 and (tr.), II, p. 192.

\(^{82}\) *ibid.*, I, p.527 and (tr.), II, p.300; *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*; (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

\(^{83}\) *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

\(^{84}\) Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 125 ad (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 75.
available at places like Hissar, Hansi, Sirsa, Fatahabad, Rohtak, Narnaul, Rewari, Panipat, Karnal, Thanesar, Sonepat etc.

Regarding indigo dye which was obtained from Mewat sub-region\textsuperscript{85} (south Haryana), our sources are relatively silent but the existence of cloth production centres at Thanesar and Panipat suggests its usage otherwise. It mainly remained an export item. \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}\textsuperscript{86} through its \textit{dastur} rates indicates cultivation of indigo in the region and thereby, its availability throughout Haryana territory. We have reference to Mewat indigo's transport to other places by Pelsaert but as it was of inferior quality its demand in European market was limited\textsuperscript{87} in comparison to that of Bayana or Sarkhej.

The region evidenced exclusive horticulture activity. Increased horticulture potential has been reported since mid-fourteenth century. Firuz Shah laid down number of gardens which comprised of numerous plants. The places where the gardens were laid down are reported in Hissar-i-Firuza and in its \textit{shiqq} territory,\textsuperscript{88} Salura,\textsuperscript{89} Khizrabad\textsuperscript{90} etc. The tradition of establishing garden continued throughout our study period. The other places were the gardens were laid down are Panipat, Hansi, Narnaul, Kaithal, Thanesar, Sonepat, Rohtak, Sirsa, Rewari, Pinjaur etc. The gardens produced flowers and fruits however, their usage is not

\textsuperscript{85} Pelsaert, \textit{Jahangir's India} (tr.), p. 15.
\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}, (tr.), II, pp. 105-07 and 115-17.
\textsuperscript{87} Pelsaert, \textit{Jahangir's India}, (tr.), p. 15.
\textsuperscript{88} Afif, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi}, p.128 and (tr.) \textit{Tughlaq Kalin Bharat}, II, p.74.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 295-96; (tr.), \textit{Tughlaq Kalin Bharat}, II, pp.122-23.
\textsuperscript{90} \textit{ibid.}
specified except for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have reference to rose cultivation at Pinjaur laid down by Fidai Khan.\textsuperscript{91} According to Sujan Rai forty man Alamgiri (2,950 lb avdp) roses were collected daily in spring season.\textsuperscript{92} These were presumably used for extraction purpose of rose-water.\textsuperscript{93}

Our sources provide limited information on trade, trade organisation etc. related to small urban centres unlike Agra, Delhi, Ahamdabad, Bengal, Surat etc. The economic survey of the region reveals two type of transaction. One was at the horizontal level i.e. between different regions and other at vertical level between the villages, qasbas and shahars of the region. The exchange of commodities was carried out either in regular markets or in markets held at intervals in qasbas or villages. It is an established fact that the region had been traversed frequently for two purposes: military and trade. Settlements enroute benefited from the frequency of travel along these routes. Here, we are concerned more with the trade routes.

The major routes that emerged during the study period passed through Delhi and Agra which were then major trade centres beside being the political centres. The routes connected them with Kabul, Kandhar, Uchch, Multan and Lahore. The region evidenced two main routes which

\textsuperscript{91} Sujan Rai, \textit{Khulasat-ut-Twarikh}, (tr.), \textit{India of Aurangzeb}, p. XXXVIII.
\textsuperscript{92} ibid., Zafar Hasan, p.35.
\textsuperscript{93} \textit{An Atlas of the Mughal Empire}, p. 13.
remained prominent. The first route that finds frequent mention in pre-Mughal sources passed through Ajodhan, Bhatnair (present Hanumangarh), Sirsa, Hansi, Mandhauti and reached Delhi.\textsuperscript{94} Another route was from Multan to Lahore and from there to Delhi via Sirhind, Shahabad, Thaneshar, Karnal, Panipat, Sonepat, Narela. This extended towards Agra via Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal, Mathura.\textsuperscript{95} The minor and major centres along the frequented routes served as halting stages, collection and distribution centres. The small urban centres in the region were linked to larger urban centres along the primary routes through secondary and tertiary routes. We find stray references for secondary and tertiary routes. However, it should not be understood that there were no transactions between semi-nodal and minor centres. Instead it should be considered cautiously that such linkages existed but do not find reference in Persian chronicles or travelers’ accounts because the information provider was more interested either in administrative centres, centres of collection and distribution, halting places, international trade or anything peculiar. The routes reference available to us throughout the study period refers to the places which were either halting stages or important urban settlements of the region. The names which occur frequently in our sources are Ambala, Shahabad, Thanesar, Karnal, Gharaunda, Panipat, Ganaur, Sonepat,

Narela (Delhi), Prithala, Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal on the Delhi-Lahore route. The others on Delhi-Multan route are Sirsa, Fatahabad, Agroha, Hissar, Hansi, Mandhauti, etc., respectively. There were other secondary and tertiary routes as well in the region. However, these do not find mention in the contemporary sources but reference to them is available in the later sources. The later sources reveals that the major routes mentioned in the contemporary sources continued to exist in the later times as well. A survey study by Usha Agarwal traces these routes from c.1550- c.1850 for the Haryana region,^{96} which is summarised below:

### Table 3.1

**Table Showing the major and minor centres on the Delhi-Lahore Route lying in Haryana Territory.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Route Stages</th>
<th>Eastern Route Stages</th>
<th>Tertiary Route Stages</th>
<th>Western Route Stages</th>
<th>Tertiary Route Stages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>Badli</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>Magholpur</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Azadpur</td>
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<td>Nangloi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Alipur</td>
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<td>Mundka</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Narela</td>
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<td>Bhadurgarh</td>
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<td>Mandhauti</td>
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<td>Rohad</td>
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<td>Sampla</td>
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<td>Khirwar</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Paharwar</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sonepat</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ganaur</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rohtak</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Smalkha</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gaddikhera</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Panipat</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nizampura</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mahim</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Gharaunda</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mundahal</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Kutail</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sirkhi</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Kambhipur</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dhana</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Karnal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hansi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kalan</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Baldi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Jhunghori</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Shiamgarh</strong></td>
<td><strong>Shamgarh</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tirwari</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nilokheri</strong></td>
<td><strong>Agroha</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Batana</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fatahabad</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Raipur</strong></td>
<td><strong>Batana</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Samana</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fatahabad</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Chandra-bhanpur</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fatahabad</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Pulwai</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fatahabad</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Sunderpur</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fatahabad</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Thanesar</strong></td>
<td><strong>Raipur</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ram Tirath</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Lardi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Talawandi</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Shahabad</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lardi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kot Shamir</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Manhari</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kot Shamir</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Jandla</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kot Shamir</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ambala</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bhatinda</strong></td>
<td><strong>To</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>To</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bhatinda</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lahore</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Lahore</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bhatinda</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lahore</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Source:** Usha Agarwal, *Historical Route Network*, pp. 8-24.
One more route that finds mention in the contemporary sources joined Ajmer to Delhi and Agra and passed through southern territory of Haryana via Rewari, Pataudi etc.  

The Routes that emerged in the region were located all along cultivated lands and were flanked by trees which provided relief to the travelers. We trace the existence of sarais/rest houses along these routes through stray references of European travelers. Unfortunately Cunningham’s *Archaeological survey of India Reports* have not been of much help to us, as these have not listed any such structures for our region. The information available to us regarding the construction of the individual sarais nowhere clearly indicates that who was responsible for their construction, whether it was state or the individuals or the people in the locality or were constructed out of the need to handle the heavy traffic along the most promising trade routes. However, the comment of Manrique, in general, can give us some insight to the issue that who actually contributed to the construction of sarais. According to Manrique, ‘... the majority of caramossoras (caravan sarai) are some times constructed at the cost of surrounding villages, some times with the donation of princes or wealthy and powerful individuals who hoped thus to immortalise their name and alleviate

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97 *Chahar Gulshan*, (tr.), *India of Aurangzeb*, p.175.
their conscience. The fact remains that the sarais / rest houses were constructed for the stay of travelers who were on long journey primarily for trade purposes. These sarais not only provided them shelter but also safety.101

The places where the existence of sarais are traceable along the major trade route passing through our region are Hodal, Palwal, between Faridabad and Delhi, Gharaunda, a place between Karnal and Panipat. This small number do not rule out the possibility that in many of the settlements located on the main trade route, similar structures were constructed which were destroyed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and when Cunningham’s team surveyed the region it could find no trace of them.102 Yet, some details noticed during a survey of existing structures can help us to understand the functions of sarais in the region.103

Iqtidar Alam Khan with a team on Delhi--Lahore – Agra route104 surveyed some twenty two surviving structures. Out of these only three structures were spotted in the Haryana territory. They were Sarai Hodal,

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102 For instance Sarai Gharaunda was destroyed by the English forces during 1857. See C.J. Rodgers, Revised Lists of the objects of Archaeological Interest in Punjab, Lahore, 1891, p.58 as cited in Subhas Parihar, op.cit., p. 21.


104 ibid., p. 117.
Sarai Palwal and Mughal Sarai (between Karnal and Panipat) at Gharaunda. These were constructed some time during the reign of Akbar and Shahjahan. The area of these sarais is listed here which is based on the above field work in Table 3.2

Table 3.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caravan Sarais in Haryana Territory</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sarais</strong> along the Agra-Delhi Lahore route</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Haryana Region</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mughal Sarai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sarai Palwal</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Sarai Hodal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outside Haryana Region</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Sarai Nur Mahal</td>
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<td>2. Sarai Dakhini</td>
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<td>3. Damdama Sarai</td>
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<td>4. Sarai Chatta</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Iqtidar Alam Khan, The Karawansaray of Mughal India, IHR, XIV, nos.1-2, p.137.

The field work establishes that these sarais were either rectangular or square structures and also contained structures inside them. In a comparison of their courtyard with that of other sarais on the route, one finds that these could favourably match in size with the largest sarais located elsewhere. This study also gives us the ground plan of a few Mughal Sarais. However, the survey is silent on Sarai Hodal and Sarai Palwal. The area of the

105 ibid., p. 117.
106 ibid., p. 132.
courtyards of the Sarais of Hodal and Palwal indicates that they must have been catering to the same amount of traffic as done by the Mughal Sarai or other sarais enroute. The Mughal Sarai between Karnal and Panipat consisted of 80 ordinary rooms and two special rooms. Each ordinary room had an area of 9.42 sq mts. and the area of special room was 28.84 sq. mts. For the sarais at Hodal and Palwal, we do not have the number of rooms in either of the categories. However, in Sarai Palwal the ordinary room was measured as 9.61 sq. mts.¹⁰⁷

The existence of accommodation available and other facilities in these structures, if compared with similar buildings in all likelihood, establishes them of huge size which can provide for storage of merchandise and resting place for personnel carriers and pack animals. Now taking both informations into account, it is fair to suggest that at one given point in time, huge caravan with substantial volume of goods could obtain accommodation in these sarais. Iqtidar Alam Khan has not mentioned the dates of the construction of these Sarais.¹⁰⁸ However, Captain Mundy places the construction of Mughal Sarai at Gharaunda during Shahjahan's regime by one Feroz Khan.¹⁰⁹ This is based on an inscription which is, however, not available as it is extinct.¹¹⁰ Earlier to Iqtidar Alam Khan's survey one Lieut.

¹⁰⁷ ibid., p. 137.
¹⁰⁸ ibid.
¹¹⁰ No mention to the said inscription is made by Iqtidar Alam Khan. Iqtidar Alam Khan prepared the ground plan for Mughal Sarai on the basis of inter dimension of revived structure. Also see Subhash Parihar, op.cit., p.21.
William Barr had visited the site on 25th June, 1839.\textsuperscript{111} The photographic reproduction of main gate of sarai,\textsuperscript{112} Lieut Barr's narrative\textsuperscript{113} and Iqtidar Alam Khan's construct of the entire structure,\textsuperscript{114} show that the Mughal Sarai was one of the largest structure of its kind and that its builder had spared no effort to provide adequate space and security for the travelers. However, the dilapidated building was completely destroyed by the British forces in 1857 as some participants in the revolt had taken shelter there.\textsuperscript{115}

Further, if one surveys the major trade route (Agra-Delhi-Lahore) it will be observed that this Mughal Sarai was the only structure of its kind between Delhi and Sirhind within Haryana territory along the Delhi-Lahore route. It covered a distance of 580 miles\textsuperscript{116} and catered traffic during seventeenth century. There were numerous sarais beyond Sirhind towards Lahore and beyond Delhi towards Agra. For instance Iqtidar Alam Khan has

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See illustration no.12 and 14 in Subhash Parihar, \textit{Mughal Monuments in the Punjab and Haryana}.
\item 'We reached [Gharaunda] Garondal at 8'o clock, where our camp was pitched in a very pretty grove of date trees and not far from the village, which though merely a collection of mud huts can boast of possessing in its environs an extremely handsome caravan sarai. A lofty gateway, flanked on either side by very peculiarly constructed towers surmounted with cuplos, points out into entrance, its area being enclosed by a high embattled walls with bastions at its angles. The whole through built of a reddish free stone, is considerably dilipated but the bastions more so than any other part,...'. William Barr, \textit{Journal of March to Delhi...}, pp. 14-15.
\item Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', \textit{IHR}, XIV, nos.1-2, p.128.
\item Charles J.Rodgers, \textit{Revised lists of the Objects of Archaeological Interests in the Punjab}, p. 58.
\item An \textit{Atlas of the Mughal Empire}, pp. xiii; Also see A.K.M. Faroque, \textit{Roads and Communications in Mughal India}, Delhi, 1977, Appendix II, pp. 216-218. (1 kos = 2½ miles).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
spotted a cluster of *sarais* near Lahore at Doraha, Phillaur, Nurmahal, Nakodar, Sultanpur etc., at an average distance of 15 to 17.5 miles towards Kabul.\textsuperscript{117} Similarly between Delhi and Agra the spotted *sarais* are 8 in number.\textsuperscript{118} They are near Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal Kosi, Chhata, Chaumukha, Azmabad and Mathura. On both directions the clusters of *sarais* is seen at an average distance of 15 to 30 miles. The question that arises out of the observations of fieldwork is that, whereas on both sides of Haryana region *sarais* were constructed at a convenient distance ranging between 15 to 30 miles.\textsuperscript{119} Same should have been the case in the route passing through Haryana. Mere absence of structure should not lead one to believe that a distance of 226 miles (between Delhi and Ambala) was covered without existence of such an important facility, especially when the trade and traffic through the region was frequent and voluminous. In some of the travelers accounts\textsuperscript{120} and sources of the eighteenth century,\textsuperscript{121} we come across mention of few *sarais* in the region on this route. However, the data or period of the construction is not given in the sources. In all likelihood, these belong to the missing structures that we have deduced on the basis of the location of *sarais* at some average distance along the frequented route. There would be some 19 or 38 *sarais* along the Delhi – Lahore route. The European

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{117} ibid., 216-17.
  \item \textsuperscript{118} Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, p.117.
  \item \textsuperscript{119} *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 7-8 and Major David Price, *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir*, Delhi, 1904, pp.9 & 157.
  \item \textsuperscript{120} De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, pp. 47-55; Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, pp. 155-60.
  \item \textsuperscript{121} Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route between Delhi and Cabul, 1797 AD', *The Punjab Past and Present*, vol.XII, I, no.23, April, 1978, pp. 15-28.
\end{itemize}
travelers accounts\textsuperscript{122} refer to the following sarais: Sarai Baoli/Badli, Sarai Narela, Sarai Sonepat, Sarai Ganaur, Sarai Azmabad, Sarai Hajam (Thanesar), Sarai Shahabad, Sarai Aluwa, Mughal Sarai at Sirhind, Sarai Kohana, Sarai Lashkar, Sarai Phillaur, Sarai Nurmahal, Sarai Dakhani, Sarai Nakodar, Khan Khana Ki Sarai and many others. Apparently many of these sarais met the same fate as that of the Mughal Sarai of Gharanuda due to the attitude of descendents of the person who had constructed them. Most of the buildings, used for all kind of purposes could not survive for want of care. Sarais were no exceptions. On this account Pelsaert's observations appear quite relevant:\textsuperscript{123}

...Nothing is permanent, yea, even the noble buildings – gardens, tombs or palaces, - which in and near every city one cannot contemplate without pity or distress, because of their ruined state. For in this they are to be despised above all the laziest nations of the world, because they build them with so many hundreds of thousands and yet keep them in repair only so long as the owners live and have the means. Once the builder is dead no one will care for the buildings; the son will neglect his fathers' work, the mother her son's, brothers and friends will take no care for each others buildings, everyone tries, as far as possible to erect a new building of his own, and establish his own reputation alongside that of his ancestors. Consequently it may be said that if all these buildings and erections were attended to and repaired for a century, the lords of every city, and even village, would be adored with monuments; but as a matter of fact the roads leading to the cities are strewn with fallen columns of stone.


\textsuperscript{123} Pelsaert, \textit{Jahangir's India}, (tr.), p. 56.
Thus, the location of *sarais* along the trade routes or in small town suggest continuous flow of traffic. In his discussion of, 'Account of the Provinces North and West of Agra', Pelsaert have observed as to how Agra was so well connected with Lahore and Multan. Agra imported ormesines and carpets from Lahore, fruits from Kabul, asofoetide from Kandhar, gall nuts, opium, sulphur, white cotton goods etc. from Multan. It exported spices, white cotton goods of Bengal and Golconda, quick silver, vermilion, coral, turbans, girdles all sort of silk goods of Ahmedabad, silk of Patna, lac, pepper, drugs etc. to Lahore. Similarly, export items towards Multan were cotton, coarse yarn, Bengal cotton goods, turbans, prints, seed saler from Burhanpur. All these items of export and import traversed through the Haryana territory. However, in the absence of any quantitative data regarding trade volume it is not possible to give the estimates of profits to the region through the long distance trade. It can be assumed that region was definitely earning some money by way of taxes called *rafadari/toll tax*, services offered to the travelers in the *sarais* by skilled and unskilled labour, supply of food, entertainment and other things.

The travel and transport along the trade routes would have been in bullock carts, camels, horses, *palanquis*, etc. People preferred to travel in

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124 *ibid.*, pp. 30-32.
125 *ibid.*, p.31.
126 *ibid.*
127 *ibid.*
129 Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, p. 121.
groups during the day time and halted in *sarais* at night. Absence of any big river in the region rules out the possibility of river transport. However, access to river Yamuna existed as it was not located at a far distance. The land transport was generally preferred. Loading and transport of goods was carried out through pack animals, bullock carts, horses, camels etc. The bullock carts were more convenient and economical as they did not require loading and unloading of goods at every major halt.\textsuperscript{131}

Market centres have been the common and significant features of the urban settlements.\textsuperscript{132} Large urban settlements were marked by both permanent and temporary market centres. These centres remained the points of exchange through sale and purchase of agrarian and craft products and other items. At these centres general and specialised both types of items of trade were put to sale. The medieval sources provide various nomenclature to the market centres depending on their size, nature and location. According to the author of *Ardha-Kathanak* there were *bazaars*, \textsuperscript{133} *mandis*, \textsuperscript{134} *nakhasa*, \textsuperscript{135} *katra*, \textsuperscript{136} *hat*, \textsuperscript{137} *peth*. \textsuperscript{138}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{131} For details on bullock carts, their usage during medieval times in north India see, Jean Deloche, *Transport and Communication in India, Prior to Steam Locomotion*, I, pp. 255-273 and K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p.148.
\item \textsuperscript{132} M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, 1550-1707, pp.1-2 & 138-47.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Ibid., (mandi was a whole sale market, usually for grains / gallah mandi).
\item \textsuperscript{135} ibid., (daily market).
\item \textsuperscript{136} ibid., (an enclosed market).
\item \textsuperscript{137} ibid., p.278.
\item \textsuperscript{138} M.P. singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, p. 145.
\end{itemize}
The existence of regular market centres has been traced and discussed by scholars in case of larger urban centres/shahars like Agra, \(^{140}\) Lahore, \(^{141}\) Delhi, \(^{142}\) Ahemdabad, \(^{143}\) Surat, \(^{144}\) etc. The possibility of similar market centres can not be ruled out in case of small urban centres in the Haryana region in the light of Tavernier's statement\(^{145}\): '... even in smallest villages rice, flour, butter, milk, beans and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid, can be procured in abundance'. Haryana region had both small and medium size urban settlements and they had market centres, however, they were not as large as that of larger urban settlements.

In case of Haryana region it appears that the internal trade was more prominent, especially in agricultural commodities. Many of the settlements like Sirsa, Hansi, Rewari, Rohtak, Narnaul were important grain market centres. As stated above these centres were called as mandis.\(^{146}\) These were the centres where commodities like corn, vegetables, rice, sugar, salt, etc. were sold. These mandis were named either after the founders name or the

\(^{139}\) R.C. Sharma, 'Aspects of Business in Northern India', p. 278.
\(^{140}\) K.K. Trivedi, Agra: Economic and Political Profile, pp. 150-51.
\(^{145}\) For instance during 14th century Sirsa produced good quality rice and it was sent towards Delhi; Ibn Batuta, The Rehla, (tr.) p. 3.
\(^{146}\) R.C. Sharma, 'Aspect of Business in Northern India', PIHC, 33rd session, p.277.
chief commodity sold there. Few scholars\textsuperscript{147} have attempted to understand
the nature and functioning of grain markets in case of eastern Rajasthan and
southern Haryana.

Madhvi Bajelkal\textsuperscript{148} explores the 'local rural trade', and how the
commodities moved out of locality (from rural settlements) to the 'hierarchy
of markets', which in turn linked by chains of intermediaries and the flow of
commodities and credit'. Her study makes us understand that how the state
was dealing with the agricultural produce, how it was carried to the various
markets, how the state was benefiting out of it and what was the attitude of
grain merchants in the entire process. Similarly, Abha Singh\textsuperscript{149} explores for
three \textit{parganas} of southern Haryana: Rewari, Bawal and Kotla regarding the
state intervention in rural grain market, role of \textit{jagridars} as grain traders,
nature of price fixation and sales etc. Both the studies look at the benefits
and limitations of the rural trade. There findings are somewhat similar in
case of both the regions that the grains were largely sold within the \textit{pargana}
i.e. at the market centres of \textit{pargana} headquarters which were centres of
collection and distribution. The second possibility of selling of grain outside

\textsuperscript{147} Madhvi Bajelkal, 'The State and the rural grain, market in the Eighteenth century
eastern Rajasthan' in Sanjay Subramanyam, (ed.), Delhi, 1990, pp.91-120; Abha Singh,
'Joginder And the Rural Market in Haryana 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries', Indian History
\textsuperscript{148} Madhvi Bajelkal, The state and the rural grain market in eighteenth century eastern
Rajasthan, pp. 90-91 & 99-117. Also see Dilbagh Singh, 'The Role of Mahajans with
Rural Economy of Eastern Rajasthan During the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century', \textit{Social Scientist}, May,
\textsuperscript{149} Abha Singh, 'Jagirdar And The Rural Market in Haryana: 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} Centuries',
pargana Kotla and pargana Bawal is studied by Abha Singh. In this way the intra local trade was a special feature between rural settlements and pargana headquarters and between two different pargana headquarters or two urban settlements. It is, therefore, worth mentioning here that the pargana headquarters were the settlements of small or medium size and they played a vital role in collection and distribution of grains within Haryana region and outside, towards the imperial or provincial capitals. The possibility of such grain movement and specially ghee from Sirsa, Hansi and Hissar-i-Firuza surrounding towards Delhi, Agra and Multan finds mention in the Ain-i-Akbari.

These studies also show that the sale of grains and other agricultural commodities were a seasonal feature and the medium size town/qasba market centres played a significant role. The agency to make the entire process of sale and purchase successful were the grain dealer-cum-merchants. The qasba market centres had grain merchants financiers and money changers. In other words they were the permanent features of these settlements. When the economy received impetus from various sectors many of such grain dealer-cum-merchants developed into moneylenders and shroffs (money changers). They not only maintained their hold on qasbas / townships but also started participating in larger activities i.e. trading to

150 ibid., p.5. 
152 Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.34 and (tr.), I, p.60. 
larger urban centres and getting settled in the *shahar*. One such reference is available to us in case of Banarsidas's ancestors\(^{154}\) who originally belonged to the district of Rohtak in Haryana. From village Biholi they shifted to Rohtak and thereafter to other larger town of northern India.

So far we have discussed the non-agricultural production, trade routes, *sarais* and markets in the region. The region comprised of both rural markets and urban markets in various settlements along the frequented trade routes, secondary routes and tertiary routes. The trade activity in the region was multi-dimensional. The one was horizontal i.e. intra local by nature\(^{155}\) and the other was vertical which connected one region to the other or a *qasba* was connected in turn with large town which further had linkages with provincial and imperial capital. The vertical trade movement was part of external trade / international trade and the Haryana region contributed significantly though it could not make any separate identity as in case of Bengal, Gujarat etc.

The people who contributed to this vertical movement were the caravan traders (*banjaras*), merchants/traders from Khurasan, Multan, Central Asia, etc. Their movements have been recorded since twelfth century. The Caravan traders transacted in food grains (wheat, rice, millets, pulses), *ghee*, *jaggery* etc. They also carried along with them articles of daily need like salt and exercised considerable influence on the lives of rural and


\(^{155}\) For ‘intra-local trade’ see TapanRay Chaudhari and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, pp. 325-27.
urban settlers. The *banjaras* were the itinerant merchants, who moved in large caravans/tandas and carried the goods on the back of their bullocks. In case of Haryana enroute distribution of products like rice and *ghee* by these traders can not be denied. Ibn Batutta has recorded Sirsa and its surroundings producing superior quality rice which was exported towards Delhi. Similarly *Insha-i-Mahru* records the export of *ghee* towards Multan and *Ain-i-Akbari* records its export towards Delhi and Agra. This *ghee* was reportedly produced in Hansi-Hissar-i-Firuza sub region. Similarly Afif records about the Khurasani traders who were traveling along the Ajodhan-Sirsa-Hansi route between Multan and Delhi in fourteenth century. Since fifteenth century with the prominence acquired by Lahore-Delhi-Agra route via Sirhind – Ambala – Thanesar – Panipat, the region was frequented by merchants. However, these merchants showed much of their trading interest in the provincial and imperial capital or manufacturing centres. We lack specific reference in case of Haryana region for Khurasani, Multani or other Central Asian traders regarding the commodities in which they were interested. Specific informations are available regarding the settlements in which some kind of trading activities were carried out by

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156 For details on the banjara/caravan traders see Syed Aslam Ali, 'The Role of Banjaras in Indian Trade During the Seventeenth Century', History Seminar Series, no.2, Aligarh, 1984, pp.1-25.
157 ibid., p. 2.
160 *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 34 and (tr.), I, p. 60.
161 *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.
162 Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 124
European merchants. The European merchants showed their interest in indigo and saltpetre, coarse cloth, calicoes and Knives from Panipat, armours from Sonepat and few other things which are being discussed.

As stated earlier, the Mewat region in Southern Haryana produced indigo. The Dutch Factor, Pelsaert, who was an expert indigo buyer has reported about Mewat indigo. Though he does not account for the volume of Mewat indigo trade, he informs about significant aspects. He informs us about comparative inferiority of Mewat-indigo to that of Bayana-indigo and also about its lower rate which was 20 rupees per maund. He informs about the trade of indigo all over Hindustan; its export which was not much and also the purchase of Mewat-indigo by the Dutch for trial purposes. A comparative study of the yield estimates provided by Palseart for three significant-indigo tracts is given below in the table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favourable Years</th>
<th>Unfavourable Years</th>
<th>Average bales</th>
<th>Average in metric tons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bayana tract</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol Khurja tract</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewat tract</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The weight of one bale for Mewat tract was 4 maunds (man-i-Akbari) and one man-i-Akbari was 55.32 lb. avdp. The product of Mewat tract would be 221280 lb or 100.4 metric tons. This must have accounted for the value of 80,000 rupees approximately. The period for which Pelsaert was accounting,

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163 Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, (tr.), p.15.
evidenced growth in indigo trade. Every European merchant, Armenians, etc. showed their interest in it and according to his estimates the trend of positive growth was to continue.\textsuperscript{164} Therefore, one can speculate that through indigo trade this part of Haryana would have definitely benefited.

Salt-petre was another significant product of the Haryana region. Both European and Persian accounts throw significant light on it. Salt-petre was manufactured at Thanesar and it was sold for 7 or 7½ rupees for maund.\textsuperscript{165} Beside Dutch Factors, the English Factors also showed their interest into it. However, we do not have any account of them trading in Thanesar's salt-petre but the mention of Thanesar salt-petre in the records of English Factories satisfactorily proves that it remained a significant product for them.\textsuperscript{166} However, the rate given by Henry Borford is less than the rate given by Pelsaert for March, 1639 which was 6½ rupee per maund.\textsuperscript{167}

Haryana region had also excelled in textile products; our sources indicate about the coarse variety of cloth produced at Panipat,\textsuperscript{168} calicoes, Muslin etc. available from Panipat,\textsuperscript{169} woven fabrics from Thanesar etc. The \textit{English Factories} in India record about white cloth of Panipat which was same in length and breadth of the Samana cloth.\textsuperscript{170} This cloth was sent to

\textsuperscript{164} ibid., p. 17.
\textsuperscript{165} ibid., p.46.
\textsuperscript{166} \textit{The English Factories in India, 1637-41}, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{167} ibid.
\textsuperscript{168} ibid.
\textsuperscript{169} \textit{An Atlas of the Mughal Empire}, Sheet 4B and p.13.
\textsuperscript{170} \textit{The English Factories in India, 1637-41}, p.134; For details on Samana cloth see \textit{The English Factories in India, 1618-21}, pp. 135 and 1624-29, p.149.
Sirhind and Lahore for sale.\textsuperscript{171} In fact, Panipat has acquired the status of a textile centre in Haryana region during the medieval period. The other settlements discussed, however, also remained important production or distribution centres. These incurred good amount of wealth to artisans, traders and the state.

Horse-trade remained another significant activity. During pre-Turkish period Prithudaka/Pehowa remained chief centre of horse trade.\textsuperscript{172} However it is not recorded as horse trading centre in Sultanate or Mughal regime. But Haryana region remained significantly active in horse trade. Good quality of horses were brought from Multan to Delhi via Ajodhan-Sirsahans-Mandhauti till fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{173} Later, Sunam (outside Haryana territory) and Mewat developed as horse breeding centres. It is not clear whether the region in any way benefited from horse trade. However it can be observed that there was a demand for the horses among the officials in the urban settlements and forces in the imperial contingents. The pockets of Haryana region also remained famous for cattles. Hissar-i-Firuza was enormously rich in that. However, the transactions in cattles are not recorded anywhere. It can be therefore presumed on the basis of ghee export

\textsuperscript{171} ibid., p.134.
\textsuperscript{172} For details see G. Buhler, 'The Peheva Inscriptions from the temple of Garibnath', EI, I, pp.184-90. This is a ninth Century inscription (882-83) which provides detail of a fair at Pehowa. The different animals especially horse were brought and sold. Also see B.D. Chattopadhyya, 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India' in IHR, I, 1974. Delhi.
\textsuperscript{173} Insha-i-Mahru, pp. 111 and 175 as cited in H.K. Naqvi, Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi, p.113.
from this part to the capitals that this pocket was enormously rich and benefited as well.

The whole of the discussion infers that the present Haryana territory remained generative and contributed to the economic growth of the region during medieval times.