Chapter- VI
Bazārs
CHAPTER 6

THE BAZĀRS

In the capital city of Agra, Bazaar or Market had a great and significant role in the flourishing of trade and commerce under the Mughal rule. Being strategically and centrally located in the north India, from where different trade routes were passing in the different direction, Agra, as one have already was connected through both land and water routes.

All goods moving between different parts of the empire were required to make a halt at Agra. Thus Agra, apart from handling its own imports and export, was also acting as a transit depot which greatly added to its commercial activity.

The goods arriving at Lahore from the north, west and south were being forwarded to Agra for its local consumption as well as for further distribution. The Armenian merchants used to bring quantities of broadcloth here by the same overland route. Surat and Burhanpur sent large quantities of raw cotton, printed cloth, along with the red Salu of the latter city to Agra on their way to Bengal. The Ahmadabad (Gujarat) consignment is not similarly recorded but from stray

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1 Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India* or *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 6
2 *English Factories in India, (1642-45)*, VII, 1913, p. 18; *English Factories in India, (1646-51)*, VIII, 1914, p. 50 and *English Factories in India, (1651-54)*, IX, 1915, p. 30, here it says that it was brought from Persia.
3 Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 9
references we gather that rich silken goods,\(^4\) quality carpets\(^5\) and medium varieties of cotton goods (such as *baftah*),\(^6\) were being sent to Agra. The spices were being supplied to Agra mainly by the Indian merchants\(^7\) from the Deccan, though the Dutch too got interested in this trade for some decades in the middle of the seventeenth century.\(^8\)

It is, therefore, possible that Agra too received its share of these goods. From Bengal goods arrived usually by boats which were laden with an indescribable quantity of merchandise.\(^9\) Thus cotton fabrics\(^10\), raw silk\(^11\), slaves and eunuchs\(^12\) used to be delivered at Agra. The grass silk cloth of Bengal called *tasser* was also procurable at Agra.\(^13\)

The English traders who had installed a regular factor at Agra in 1618 used to carry overland from Surat coral\(^14\), ivory\(^15\), vermilion\(^16\), quicksilver\(^17\), porcelain\(^18\)

\(^5\) Ibid., p. 32
\(^6\) Ibid., pp. 32, 62
\(^9\) Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 6
\(^10\) Ibid., p. 4
\(^11\) *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, op. cit., p. 46; Pelsaert, op. cit., pp. 4, 7
\(^12\) *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, pp. 325, 328
\(^13\) *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 112
\(^14\) Ibid., pp. 259, 302
and broad-cloth amongst other miscellaneous goods of minor importance. As broad-cloth was also being imported from Persia by the Armenian merchants over the north-western land route, the market used to be glutted with it.\footnote{19}

H. K. Naqvi argued that:

‘Apart from handling the transit traffic, Agra had its own products to export. These commodities were either produced within the city or had been collected from its environs. Cotton stuffs including carpets, indigo, sugar and saltpeter were the principal articles of the Agra export trade. Further sizable quantities of cotton goods, sugar and indigo used to be collected here from such distant neighbours as Samana and Sirihind in the west and Lucknow, Khairabad and Benaras in the east. These additional stocks would swell the supplies in the Agra market attracting merchants from far and near to contract business.’\footnote{20}

Thus cotton fabrics occupied the leading position in the export trade of Agra. In the case of the Dutch traders at least, it was the lure of cotton goods that had drawn them to this city and prompted them to install their factory for the purpose.\footnote{21}

Even the English could not do without the Agra fabrics. Selling them abroad, they earned the money wherewith to buy indigo\footnote{22} so indispensable for their home

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\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{15} Ibid., p. 302
\item \footnote{16} English Factories in India, (1618-21), p. 47; English Factories in India, (1651-54), pp. 112-113; Pelsaert, p. 25
\item \footnote{17} English Factories in India, (1630-33), p. 206; English Factories in India, (1634-36), p. 70; Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 25
\item \footnote{18} English Factories in India, (1618-21), p. 47
\item \footnote{19} English Factories in India, (1642-45), p. 18; English Factories in India, (1651-54), p. 301
\item \footnote{20} See for H. K. Naqvi, Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, p. 53
\item \footnote{21} Dutch Records, (1629-34), Vol. IX, p. cccxviii, 2-3
\item \footnote{22} Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 183; he maintains that the English were primarily interested in its indigo; the purchase of cotton cloth here was only a side line.
\end{itemize}
industries. The actual trade in Agra cotton goods is, however, covered below under the cotton textile industry. The trade of sugar has, likewise another important exporting item from Agra, which was also produce in the sugar factories.

Agra, after becoming the capital of Mughal Empire, a large number of Christian and Muslim merchants, along with numerous Hindu banyas had established themselves at Agra.\textsuperscript{23} These Saudāgars and Khattris\textsuperscript{24} owned immense wealth and fortune.\textsuperscript{25} Some of these wealthy merchants had strong credit\textsuperscript{26} and not infrequently commanded influence even at court.\textsuperscript{27} The native merchants generally lived at Sikandara, a part of the town on the other side of the river and the main business centre.\textsuperscript{28} Agra too, like Delhi and Lahore, had its share of foreign merchants who resided in the city proper.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{23} Thevenot, \textit{Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri}, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 7
\textsuperscript{24} Khattri was the honorific title for the Hindu merchants of Agra.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. 157
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{English Factories in India, (1651-54)}, p. 112
\textsuperscript{28} Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet’s, op. cit., p. 41
\textsuperscript{29} ‘The existence of foreign merchants at Agra is also borne out by the extant inscriptions in the Christian cemetery where the older ones are in the Armenian characters while some of them are in the Portuguese characters, dating back to the 17\textsuperscript{th} century.’ See H. G. Keene’s, \textit{A Handbook for visitors to Agra and its Neighbourhood}, Calcutta, 1894, p. 3
Abul Fazl wrote that ‘twenty kinds of Lahore woolen stuffs were on sale in the Agra market’. The silk industry seems to have been in a flourishing state here as it turned out brocades, and velvets which again, were on sale in the Agra market.  

Agra manufacturers too turned out a variety of goods. Amongst the textiles, carpets occupy the most prominent place, though cotton goods too were produced. Silken stuffs and very fine cloth of gold and silver were woven for turbans, lace or “other adornments for women.” This evidence of Manucci coupled with the existence of a kināri bazar at Agra would indicate that silver and gold laces were being extensively manufactured here. Agra was also celebrated for its dyestuffs. White sugar was abundantly produced in and around Agra. Agra was also noted for the extraction of rose essence and perfumes.

31 Ibid., p. 65
32 Ibid., p. 66
33 *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, op. cit., p. 36; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op. cit., p. 3
34 *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 32
36 Ibid., p. 424
37 For kināri Bazar, see Mānīk Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 55
38 *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 261
39 Ibid., p. 261
40 Abul Fazl and Jahangir says sweet scented oils, see Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 84; *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, op. cit., p. 3
Stone-cutting was a developed and popular art in and around Agra. For the construction of his buildings, Babur had employed daily 1,491 stone-cutters; six hundred of them were from Agra alone, the remaining 891 belonged to Sikri, Biana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Koil.\textsuperscript{41}

Abul Fazl has in his \textit{Ā’in-i Akbari} incorporated a list of the materials used in the industry. He has also noted the quality, the price, the usage and occasionally the source of each article mentioned.\textsuperscript{42}

References to various kinds of bazars occur in the contemporary literature relating to cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra etc. The main \textit{bazar}, often known as \textit{chauk}, occupied an extensive, central and prominent area of the city, or as Manrique mentioned it, as ‘a square and open place in the centre of a town.’\textsuperscript{43} The more famous of these were the \textit{Chândani Chauk}\textsuperscript{44} and \textit{Chauk} of Sa’ad ullah Khan in Delhi\textsuperscript{45}, \textit{Chauks} of Agra\textsuperscript{46} and Lahore\textsuperscript{47}.

We hear of different types of \textit{bazars} during the Mughal period. The \textit{Nakhās} was a daily market place where cattle and slaves were sold,\textsuperscript{48} both wholesale and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} \textit{Baburnama}, tr. A. S. Beveridge, p. 520
\item \textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ain-i Akbari}, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 110-111.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Manrique, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 191, foot note- 3.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Thevenot, op. cit., p. 303, foot note- 26.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Irvine, \textit{Later Mughals}, Vol. II, p. 257.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Mānik Chand, \textit{Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād}, fol. 40a; Irvine, \textit{Later Mughals}, Vol. I, p. 17.
\item \textsuperscript{47} See Manrique, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 191.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189, Mundy, however, does not include slaves.
\end{itemize}
Pelsaert noted that 'The Nakhās of Agra used to be held every morning' when camels, horses, oxen, along with tents and cotton goods used to be sold. This Nakhās is definitely mentioned to have been housed in a covered building called 'imārat i nakhās'.

Bolts wrote that: 'Gunges were usually the grain Market. At Agra Mubarak Sultan gunj, Dhoria gunj and Fatehgunj are noted as the principal grain markets of the city.

Mandavis on the other hand were the markets of goods, usually provisions for grain. They were named after the chief commodity sold there or after their founders. The Hajjām mandavi of Agra was situated near the Top Khana or the

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49 Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189.
50 Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet’s, op. cit., p. 40; Mānik Chand, Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād, fol. 55
51 Ibid., fol. 55
52 W. Bolts, Considerations on Indian Affairs, London, 1772, p. xix; Also, Hoey says it is generally a private, see W. Hoey, A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India, Lucknow, 1880, p. 205. Cf. H. K. Naqvi, Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803, 1968, p. 76, footnote-154.
53 Mānik Chand, Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād, fol. 42.
54 Mānik Chand, Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād, fol. 55.
55 Ibid., fol. 56.
56 For Sultan Alauddin’s ghalla manda or grain market, see Barani, pp. 304-310; Supplement of Mi’rat i- Ahmadi also explains the term as a place where commodities and corn were brought from outside for sale in the city, p. 516. Cf. H. K. Naqvi, Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803, Bombay, 1968, p. 76, footnote-162.
57 Hajjām was one of the eunuchs of Emperor Akbar; see Mānik Chand, Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād, fol. 53.
manufactory of guns and was the bazar for arms and ammunitions. The Rajah Mandi of Agra was large enough to enclose a temple- Sadashiva Jina within its precincts. Similarly Fatehgunj Bazar was situated within the Shāhzādīs mandi (Plan 6.1).

A Katra was an enclosed market, and like a mandi, might be named either after some article sold there or its founder. Many Katras occur in the sources. Agra seems to have been full of Katras, such as Sābūn Katra (soap), Katra of Agha Baqar, Katra of I'tibār Khan, Katra of Shaista Khan and Katra of Mardān Khan. The commodities sold in these Katras are not stated, though we may deduce that the Sābūn Katra dealt mainly in soap. The Katra of Wazir Khan, however, was the bazar for the merchants dealing in goods that arrived by river at Agra.

There were still other bazars, bearing again either the names of the commodities in which they mainly traded or representing their founders.

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58 Ibid, fol. 53.
59 Ibid, fol. 59.
60 Ibid, fol. 56.
62 Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55.
63 Ibid, fol. 55.
64 Ibid, fol. 53.
65 William Hodges, Travels in India during the years 1780-1783, London, 1793, pp. 113-114.
66 Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55.
67 Akhbārāt, Newsletters of the Mughal Court, Reign of Ahmad Shah, 1751-52, Bombay, 1949, fol. 49; also see for Mānik Chand, Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād, MS. Or. 2030, fol. 47.
68 Akhbārāt, Newsletters of the Mughal Court, Reign of Ahmad Shah, 1751-52, fol. 49.
Secandara Bazar at Agra was the chief grain market. Provisions and grain reaching Agra from the east by river were disembarked at this point. The Customs Houses for checking and charging the goods as well as the houses of the grain dealers were all situated at a convenient distance from this point. 69 A later writer mentions Shahadra as serving the same purpose. 70 In addition, mīna bazar, 71 kanāri bazar, Kashmīrī bazar and naicha bandān bazar 72 are also reported at Agra.

The cities of Mughal India covered a wide range of industrial and commercial activities along with a number of craftsmen and servicemen. In other words, they constituted the most sizable part of the city population. When not attached either to an Amir 73 or royal household, they lived mostly in their separate quarters. Names of some such quarters have come down to us: for example at Agra, the Lohā gali 74 (blacksmith’s lane), the Cheeni Tola 75 (the sugar ward), the Kanāri Bazar 76, Sābun Katra 77 and Nīl Para 78 etc.

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69 Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet’s, op. cit., p. 41.
70 Mānik Chand, op. cit., ff. 44-45, 49.
71 Ibid, fol. 39.
72 Ibid, fol. 55.
73 For the multitude of domestics in the household establishments of some of the eminent amirs of the empire, see their biographical sketches in the Mā’asir-ul-Umara, 2 Vols. tr. by H. Beveridge, 1913, and Baini Prasad, Patna, 1979.
74 Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 58.
75 Ibid, fol. 54.
76 Ibid, fol. 55.
77 Ibid, fol. 55.
78 Ibid, fol. 39a.
The *ganj* was the term usually employed for grain market. It was a walled enclosure which was also used for storing the grain. Sometimes it represented the entire *Pūra* (or *Mahalla*) and was named after its founder. In a city there could be more than one *ganj*. The principal *ganj* was known as *Shāh-ganj* (or *ganj-i sarkārī*) i.e. the Imperial *ganj*, supervised by functionaries and tax-collectors who were government officials, and included in the *Khālisa*. Other *ganjs* referred to in the sources are said to have been established by the *jāgīrdārs*. The establishment of such marts was often at the cost of Imperial *ganj*. But after the transfer of the *jāgīrdār* in most cases, his *ganj* would decay, or its names would be changed by his successors, or, again, it would be abandoned completely if the new *jāgīrdār* chose the establish his own *ganj* at some other place. For the management and collection of taxes the *jāgīrdārs* had their own *gumāshtas* (agents).

The *katra* was the market attached to a noble’s palace or within the walls built by him. The names of many *katras* occur in the sources. Some of them were named after their founders, while others were known after the name of commodity manufactured or sold there. Since most of the *katras* were associated with the names of the principal nobles, it appears that originally a *katra* contained a few

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79 See Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 207, *For Tājganj* (near Tājmahal at Āgra) which besides being a grain market, was one of the chief places for ‘Piece-goods’ wanted by the English, see *English Factories in India, (1646-50)*, VIII, p. 220 & n-1. Also at Āgra for *Mubārak Sultānganj*, *Dhoriaganj* and *Fatehganj*, which were grain markets, see Mānik Chand, op. cit., ff. 42ab, 55ab-56ab. Cf. M. P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire 1556-1707*, Delhi, 1985, p. 140, foot note- 6.

80 See M. P. Singh, op. cit., pp. 140-141.
shops around or within the noble’s enclosure for supplying provisions, and it was only in the course of time that it developed into a larger mart or suburb of a town.\footnote{See for example M. P. Singh, ibid, pp. 141-142.}

According to the *Mir’āt*, the *mandī* was ‘a place where commodities and corn was brought from outside for sale in the city.’\footnote{*Mir’āt (Suppl.),* p. 182. Cf. M. P. Singh, op. cit., *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, p. 143, foot note- 1.} Generally a *mandī* was named after the chief commodity sold there, or after the *Pūra* of the *ganj* where it was established. Sometimes a *mandī* was also known after a particular profession or craft.\footnote{For example at Āgra, for *hajjām Mandī* or *Nāī kī mandī* (barber’s lane), see Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shāher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 53a. Cf. M. P. Singh, p. 140, foot note- 4.} There could be a number of *mandīs* in a city and in each a separate commodity might be sold. Another feature of the *mandīs* was that here the commodities were sold and purchased in bulk (*thok*) and not in retail.\footnote{*Mir’āt (Suppl.),* pp. 166-167. Cf. M. P. Singh, p. 143, foot note- 6.}

The *Nakhās* was a daily market where elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, oxen, donkeys, goats, pigeons, hen, partridges etc. as well as slaves, were sold both wholesale and retail.\footnote{Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189; Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet’s, op. cit., p. 70.} At Agra, it was held in a covered building known as ‘*imārat-i nakhās* daily in the morning,’\footnote{Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55a-b; *‘Ardha’ Kathānak*, pp. 35, 43. At Patna, the *s* was also held in an enclosed building, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, p. 82. For *s* at Lāhore, see Md. Baqar, *Lahore Past and Present*, p. 304. Cf. M. P. Singh, p. 144, foot note-7.} and according to Pelsaert, in
addition to cattle, “tents, cotton goods and many other things were sold.” The *Mir’āt* mentioned that at the *Nakhās* at Ahmadābād the government used to purchase cutch-horses.

The *peth* (*hāt*) was a market held at a fixed place around the city or at villages of note on fixed days—once a week or more frequently. It was an assemblage of petty *baniās* and local manufacturers (or artisans) who gathered from the adjoining towns and the country around in the morning; the *hāt* (market) continued till a little before sun-set. Here things of daily necessity, food-stuffs, oil, *ghi* (butter), goods such as cloth, thread, cotton, indigo, sugar and rice were sold. In some *peths*, however, the sale and purchase of cattle such as

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87 Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189; Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet’s, op. cit., p. 40; Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55a-b; ‘Arḍhā’ *Kathānak*, pp. 35, 43; Also see M. P. Singh, op. cit., p. 144, foot note-8.
89 Near Satgāon the *peth* was held once a week, see Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 114; Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 26. Around Hugli it was thrice a week, see Master, I, p. 325. At Āgra daily, ‘Arḍhā’ *Kathānak*, p. 19. At Lakhāwār (near Patna) daily, see *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 192.
90 See *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 192.
91 *Selected Waqā‘ī*, p. 86; *Selected Documents (Shāhjahān)*, p. 118.
92 At Lakhāwār the principal commodity was calicoes and diverse type of cotton cloth manufactured in the adjoining areas and brought to be sold by the weavers themselves, see E.F. (1618-21), p. 192. See also *Selected Waqā‘ī*, p. 86; *Selected Documents (Shāhjahān)*, p. 118, for cotton cloth being sold in the *peths*. 
In the *peths* all those who brought their commodities to be sold had stalls on the ground and in the open. Another type of market also mentioned in the traveller’s account, i.e. seasonal or temporary *bāzārs*, held at the port towns of Sūrat, Hūgli, Satgāon etc. Peter Mundy gives a vivid description of the one established at Swālly as follows: “Heare is a great bazar, made by Banianas of bambooes, reeds etcs., where all manner of necessaries and commodities are to be had. Also provision, especially toddy, which finds current and quick dispatch. The said bazars as soon as the shipps make way to be gon is sett on fire.” At Swālly this market was held between September and January the time for the arrival and departure of the ships. These *bāzārs* catered to the needs of those waiting for the arrival and departure of the ships. We are not expressly told as to who controlled these *bāzārs* and what or how much was realized on account of government dues.

On the other hand, the installation of a temporary market was customary, where local merchants, manufacturers and hawkers put up their stalls and sold a variety of things from victuals to curiosities.

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93 See *Waqā’i-i Ajmer*, p. 231, for the *peth* at Pahlodī-a village near Metra (*Sūba Ajmer*) where, besides victuals and commodities of general use, horses, camels and bullocks were also sold.


95 Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 312-313; Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, X, pp. 113-114; Master, I, p. 325.

96 Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 312-313.

97 See *English Factories in India, (1655-60)*, p. 315.

98 ‘For various commodities, victuals and curiosities sold in the fairs’ see Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 72.
The market was held twice a day; first in the morning after sunrise, and then in the evening. At noon, the shop-keepers closed their shops and rested in the houses. 99 Two days in a week were holidays, i.e. Thursdays for the Baniās and Fridays for the Muslims. 100 The festivals like Holī and ‘Īd was also observed as holidays. 101

There are references to merchant guilds or bāzār panchāyats also known as ‘mahager’ or ‘mahājan’ (or general council) headed by big merchants. 102 These panchāyats had a right to take important decisions with regard to the rules and regulations of the market and cooperated with the local town administration. 103

The bazārs were often known after the name of a commodity sold there. The bazārs could also be known after the name of a particular craft and profession. 104 The big markets known as bazār-i khās (or bazār-i kalān), where all kinds of commodities were on sale, were usually confined to big streets 105 or chaklas, 106

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100 Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 313.
101 *English Factories in India*, (1622-23), II, p. 93.
102 For panchāyat, see *English Factories in India*, (1670-77), pp. 80-81, 111, 130. For ‘mahager’ or ‘mahājan’ (or general council), see *English Factories in India*, (1668-69), p. 192.
103 See for M. P. Singh, op. cit., p. 148.
106 *Mir’āt* (Suppl.), pp. 8-9; The Chakla, besides being a territorial division identical with the Sarkār (mentioned in the chronicles and dastūrs, Cf. Ifran Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 277n.), The city of Ahmadābād, according to the *Mir’āt*, had 17 Chaklas and each of them contained: a
chauks\textsuperscript{107} or chaurāhas,\textsuperscript{108} or placed in front of the fort or around principal mosques, sarā‘is and temples.\textsuperscript{109} The smaller markets, viz., mandīs, ganj, darība, katra, peth-nakhās were scattered in the various wards and quarters. Along both sides of the street there used to be shops,\textsuperscript{110} opening during the day at fixed hours and keeping open to the first quarter of the night.\textsuperscript{111} Sometimes mosques and temples too were provided with bāzārs.\textsuperscript{112}

Father Monserrate mentioned in his \textit{Commentary} about the various kinds of commodities which were produce in the city of Agra and also imported from different places not only from India but abroad also. According to him:

\textit{Chabūtra} (custom station or a platform where police officer used to sit, Cf. H. H. Wilson, \textit{A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms}, London, 1875, p. 95).

\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Mir‘āt} (Suppl.), pp. 8-9. The Chauk meant a square or an open place in a city where market was held. Cf. Wilson, p. 105.

\textsuperscript{108} A junction of four road was known as Chaurāha. Cf. M. P. Singh, op. cit., p. 19, foot note- 4.


\textsuperscript{111} Terry, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 313.

\textsuperscript{112} ‘It is the custom in India, when they built a public edifice, to make around it a large place for holding markets’, Tavernier, \textit{Travels in India, 1640-47}, tr. V. Ball, 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, p. 64. For a big bāzār around one of the mosques at Gwāliar, Tavernier, I, pp. 63-64. For Tājganj or Tāj-bāzār in front of Tāj Mahal, Tavernier, I, pp. 109-110; \textit{English Factories in India, (1646-50)}, VIII, 1914, pp. 220 & n.1, 299; \textit{English Factories in India, (1655-60)}, X, 1921, pp. 70, 413 & n.2. For mosques within the bāzār at Ahmadābād, Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 210; \textit{Iqābālnāma}, p. 108.
“All the necessaries and conveniences of human life can be obtained here, if desired. This is even true of articles which have to be imported from distant corners of Europe. There are great numbers of artisans, iron-workers and gold-smiths. Gems and pearls abound in large numbers. Gold and silver are plentiful, as also are horses from Persia and Tartary. Indeed the city is flooded with vast quantities of every type of commodity…”

Described the bazar and streets of Agra city, Finch recorded: ‘It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passé in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great Bazar and some few others, which are large and faire.’

Francisco Pelsaert is probably referring to the same “great bazar” of Finch when he writes:

‘After passing the Fort, there is the Nakhas, a great market, where in the morning horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods, and many other things are sold.’

Pelsaert also mentioned the different kind of commodities brought in the market of Agra. According to him a large market was situated on the leftbank of the river. The area on this side was known as Sikandara, which was a hub for merchants.

‘On the other side of the river is a city named Sikandra, well built and populated, but chiefly by banian merchants, for through it must pass all the merchandise brought from Porop, and Bengal en Purop and the Bhutan mountains, namely, cotton goods from Bengal, raw silk from Patna spikenard, borax, verdigris, ginger, fennel, and thousands of sorts of drugs, too numerous to detail in this place. Here the officers of Nur Jahan Begam, who built their sarai there, collect duties on all these goods before they can be shipped across the river; and also on innumerable kinds of grain, butter, and other provisions, which are produced in the Eastern

113 Commentary of Father Monserrate, ed. by S. N. Banerjee & John S. Hoyland, 1922, pp. 35-36.
114 Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 72.
115 Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4.
provinces, and imported thence. Without these supplies this country could not be provided with food, and would almost die of hunger, so that this is a place of great traffic; it is fully two kos long, but not so broad, and contains many very handsome gardens, with buildings as delightful as the groves,…"  

The contemporary Persian sources as well as travellers accounts of the Mughal period, provided references to various kinds of markets, such as bāzār-i Khās (also known as bāzār-i Chauk, Chākla or Chaurāha, the main market), katra, mandī (joba), ganj, darība, nakhās, peth, fair (melā) and seasonal markets. Out of these above, the first six were permanent markets i.e. held daily, except on public holidays. The other three were periodic i.e., weekly, occasional and seasonal, being organized for one day in a week or twice a week in case of peth (hāt) for a few days in case of a fair at some holy place and for few months in case of seasonal markets.  

116 Pelsaert, op. cit., pp. 4-5.  
The bāzār-i Khās (or Kalān) was confined to the principal streets of the cities and contained one or more chauks (or chaurāhas) place where four roads met. The chauks occupied the central and prominent areas of the city and was always a very crowded place, both sides of the street which housed the bāzār contained shops stretching in a big city for as long as 1520 yards. In a big city, there might be separate shops for each commodity while in small towns there could be only general grocer’s shops.

The main feature of the bāzār was that all sorts of goods and commodities such as cloth, grain, food stuffs, drugs, sweets, medicine, tobacco, fruits,

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119 For Chauk-i- Akbarābād (Āgra) and other Chauks and streets, see Vakīl Report, bundle no. 4, document no. 554, dated 29th Ramzān, 1105 A.H.; Bahār-i Sukhan, fol. 161a-b; Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 40a.

120 For chauk bāzār at Lāhore, see Manrique, p. 191 & n. 3.

121 The bāzār at Fatehpur Sīkri was half a mile long, see Fr. Monserrate, op. cit., p. 35. William Finch, op. cit., p. 149.

122 See for example M. P. Singh, op. cit., pp. 139-140.
vegetables, betel, furniture, toys etc, were on sale.\textsuperscript{123} Secondly, whatever was sold there was retail and seldom wholesale.\textsuperscript{124} Thirdly, the bāzār was known after the name of the principal chauk or was simple called the chauk bāzār.\textsuperscript{125} In the evening the bāzār had arrangements for lamp lights.\textsuperscript{126}

The Jaipur City Palace Map (Map IA) depicts two bazars, one of them quite large extending from the front of the Jami’ Masjid to a gate located near the interior first wall of the city. This was possibly the ‘Great Bazar’ referred to by Finch. A second bazar is shown located on a main road towards the south.

A much more detailed information on the markets of Mughal Agra is thrown by the 1722-23 Agra ri Gajal by Laxmi Chand.\textsuperscript{127}

Thus according to this ode the chowk in front of the Jami’ Mosque contained a big market where all kinds of merchandise was available. A variety of products like Diamonds, semi-precious stones, cloths and swords were sold there. A large number of baniyas had also opened sweetmeat shops in this area. This market also boasted of a large number of hawkers who would peddle their wares. A variety of shops were also located at the ‘Tripolia khās. According to Laxmi Chand nearby was the paper market and adjacent to it the mandi or the grain

\textsuperscript{123} For different commodities in the bāzār of Āgra, see Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{124} See English Factories in India, (1678-84), p. 270.
\textsuperscript{125} For example, the two principal markets of Delhi were called after the names of two Chauks which housed them. They were: the bazar of Chandni Chauk and Chauk Sa’dullāh Khān, see Āsār, pp. 133-134.
\textsuperscript{126} See Manrique, op. cit., pp. 186-187.
\textsuperscript{127} See the first chapter for the details of this work.
market and the cloth market. The sweetmeat sellers had an exclusive bazar nearby. Just beyond the sweetmarket sellers were the ‘Jauhri Bazar’, full op jewelers and gold smiths selling precious and semi-precious stones. It is interesting note that according to Laxmi Chand, the Imperial mint (Taksāl) was situated in this very area.

Bazars like Hing-ki Mandi and Munga Bazar were also located within the first ramparts of the city. A Nai-ki Mandi and a ‘Ganj-i Siyah’ is also mentioned western part of the city (near the so-called tomb of Jodhbai). The gardens of this Tomb, Laxmi Chand says was converted frequently into the selling grounds for the vegetable sellers who would assemble there in large numbers.

Chhipitola, Hazrat Mandi, Namak ki Mandi, Loha Mandi, Ganddhi Bazar (perfume market), Chauhatta Bazar and markets selling utensils and dairy products. A large mart is also said to have been located on the left bank of the river. As mentioned earlier, Laxmi Chand called this area (pura, suburb) as Agra:

“On the other side of the Yamuna is a pura and that area is known as Agra.”128

He also concluded by telling us that the main bazar of Akbarabad is the largest market spread over a total area of ‘12 kos’.129

128 See B. L.Bhadani, ‘Agra ki Ghazal’, Madhya Kalin Bharat, no. 4, op. cit., p. 166
129 Ibid.
Plan 6.1 Plan of Bazars at Muntazabad, Tajganj