Chapter 3

Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India
CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURE OF THE TRADING TOWNS IN MEDIEVAL MUGHAL INDIA

3.1 NATURE OF MEDIEVAL MUGHAL TOWNS

Just like the other regimes in India, Medieval Mughal India also witnessed the appearance of towns and cities. But the distinction between the earlier times and in this period was that the latter had grown with much greatness. Mughal India possessed an urban population which was far beyond its size in terms of its cultural as well as economic magnitude. The cities and towns of the subcontinent fulfilled varied and overlapping roles. The largest were booming centres of manufacturing and marketing, banking and entrepreneurial activities, intersection in a network of communications by land and water which crossed and re crossed the subcontinent and extended far beyond to the south east Asia, to the Middle East, to western Europe and elsewhere.

It becomes imperative to look in to the reasons as to why there was an increase in the size of already existing towns and also what worked as an impetus for the growth and appearance of a number of new towns. The period of the Mughal Empire, or rather of the sixteenth century, seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century, appears to have been out-and-out golden age of urbanization, at least for much of the Northern and central India, there was both an spreading out of the size of the pre-existing cities and towns and a propagation of the new foundations.

The pax Mughalica added in a number of ways to the gathered pace of urbanisation during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century especially in the north. The political amalgamation of so vast an area under a single ruler unavoidably stimulated commercial and therefore urban life, not least by removing hindrances to the movement of goods and peoples across the frontiers of what had earlier been

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1 Tapan Raychaudhuri&Irfan Habib., The Cambridge Economic History of India,Vol 1 c.1200-c.,1750.,p 434
2 Ibid., pp 434-435
3 Ibid
adversary and often warning states. Because there was establishment of a centralized empire under the Mughal’s, it became easy to trade since the empire was under one ruler and that too a large area was available for traders to trade. The great expansion of commerce during the Mughal period – to be seen most strikingly in the manufacturing and marketing of textiles to meet both an internal and external demand- unavoidably brought swelled wealth to the major urban centres of the country, especially to those cities whose location made them natural entrepots whether by land or by sea. Geographical factors like immediacy to a waterbody also played a vital role. The ports of Surat and Cambay on the west coast now entered upon the period of the great prosperity. There must also have been a substantial growth in the urban population, partly as a result of the inescapable drift from the countryside in to the towns. The reason for this was not the same everywhere or at all times, but the need to meet the manpower to meet the imperative demands of the textile industry was certainly the commonest.

3.2 TYPES OF TOWNS

As far as the urban centres are concerned in the Medieval Mughal India, different types of urban centres came up. But the four distinct types of towns which can be identified are as follows.

First, there were those cities whose leading function was administrative and where other roles manufacturing or sacral were of minor importance too and were partly dependent on the primary role, of such kind were Agra and Delhi.

Secondly, there were those cities enjoying a primarily commercial and manufacturing character, to which might have been attached administrative functions which on the other hand, remained subsidiary to their economic functions. Ahmedabad fell under this category.

Thirdly, there was the case of pilgrimage centres where trade and craft activities were drawn to where there was already an assemblage of both undeviating settled and ephemeral population as in the case of Banaras, conveniently located in relation to the

\[\text{Ibid., pp.441-442}\]
major river systems of North India. Here the proximity to river assisted commercial intercourse and unvarying crowding of pilgrims fascinated crafts and service recruits from the neighbouring districts or even further off region.

And then were port towns like Cambay and Surat. Among the factors that aided to this process must be declared as the political circumstances approving to expanding economic activity which took birth from the creation of the *Pax Mughalica*, the opening out of both long distance trade within India itself and of India’s international trade with a network of Asian and European markets, and ultimately, in response to the latter, an enormous expansion of all aspects of textile manufacturing and marketing. The second point is that within a general structure of urban growth and urban opulence, the rate of growth and the degree of prosperity cannot have been the same everywhere. Some centres flourished more than others; most prominently, those which could gain from river communications and approach to the new and prominent markets of the down river and coastal ports which fed the voracious European demand for Indian goods. thus the textile industries of Banaras profited from the simplicity with which the products of those cities could be floated down the Ganges to the European factories apparently, centres of commerce and manufacturing possessed a *raison deter* far exceeding short lived political turmoil’s and uprisings, and yet just because most Indian urban centres depended for their opulence upon political circumstances encouraging to the stable chase of their scrupulous trades and of political insecurity, especially if that insecurity warned to become long specialized craft industries, they could be devastatingly affected by a climate standing or to spread itself over a far reaching area. The blossoming of an urban –based economy and of urban culture during the supremacy of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan, and for much of supremacy of Aurangzeb, derived largely from the flourishing of political circumstances highly beneficial to commerce and to the trading and artisan classes of the cities.

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5 Ibid., pp.436-438
3.3 PRODUCTION

“A city may be defined as a place where artisans (pishawar) of various kinds dwell”

This statement by Abu al–Fazl sums up the state of manufacturing in the cities of Mughal India. Non agricultural production was, for the most part, handicraft production and the artisans, craftsmen, and workmen of Shahjahanabad turned out a wide variety of goods. Urban artisans and craftsmen were divided into two groups. The first group consisted of those people who maintained control over their product until it was sold in the market and included relatively well-to-do artisans who owned their equipments and produced the luxury goods for a limited market as well as poorer artisans who produced ordinary goods for the larger market. The second group included those artisans who had no control over their goods. For these persons, the materials, in some cases, the tools, and the final product remained the property of someone else.6

Artisans who have worked under the putting – out system, for example, were not independent. The Textile industry, the largest in the subcontinent, seems to have been organised largely on this basis. Merchants and brokers advanced clothes to weavers, specifying quality, quantity and design. The finished product was collected, paid for and shipped to the consumer and, in many cases, never reached Indian markets. In Shahjahanabad artisans, craftsmen, and service workers were organized in four ways. Goods and Services were produced in Karkhanahs of emperors, Karkhanahs of princes and great amirs, merchant Karkhanahs, and house of independent craftsmen7.

3.3.1 Imperial Karkhanahs- The households of Mughal emperors contained many Karkhanahs. Abu al – Fazl wrote that Akbar maintained over one hundred and each one of them “resembled a city or rather a small state”. These were places where work was done, and those in the Imperial household can be divided into three groups. The first consisted of the workshops dedicated to the needs of the imperial family. Here were stables of horses, elephants, cows, camels, and mules storerooms, workshops

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7 Ibid., pp. 105-107
that produced gold and silver jewellery; departments that cared for widows and the harem and finally kitchen and storerooms for grain, fruit pots and utensils.\textsuperscript{8}

The second group turned out goods and services for a public beyond the household. Here were departments for record, construction and labourers. Here was also the household mint. \textit{Karkhanahs} for matchlocks, cannons, and ammunition contained weapons manufactured in the household, bought in the bazaars, and received as gifts.\textsuperscript{9}

The third group of the \textit{Karkhanahs} contained the gifts which the emperor presented in the Hall of Ordinary Audience. Princely and great \textit{Amiri Karkhanahs}. In the household of the princes and the great \textit{amirs}, as in the Imperial Household, \textit{mir samans} or \textit{diwans} exercised overall control, treasurers kept the cash, accountants watched collections and disbursements, supervisor maintained horsemen, and \textit{daroghas} managed the \textit{Karkhanahs}. These can also be divided in to two types. The first group included those workshops which provided for the immediate needs of the household. The group of \textit{Karkhanahs} produced, stored and cared for the gifts which princes and great \textit{amirs} presented in the Hall of Ordinary Audience.\textsuperscript{10}

### 3.3.2 Merchant Karkhanahs

In Mughal India there was a clear distinction between merchants and traders, on the one hand and, bankers (\textit{Sarafs}) and moneylenders (\textit{Sahukar}) on the other. Moneylenders put out small sums to peasants, soldiers and traders while bankers accepted deposits issued bills of exchange, and loaned large sums to officials and nobles. Bankers advanced money to the merchants but did not, for the most part, engage in trading activities themselves. In addition to the wealthy wholesale merchants, there seem to have been two other categories of traders in Mughal India. A group of smaller wholesale merchants, cantered in revenue circle headquarters and city suburbs, supplied cloth and grain to periodic markets in villages and neighbourhood markets in the cities. The largest group however, were the small retail merchants who worked directly from shops and stalls in towns and cities or carried

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., pp. 105-107
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., pp. 105-107
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., pp. 107-108
goods from periodic markets to periodic markets in the countryside. Merchants in Mughal India were organized on the basis of family and caste. The wholesale merchant houses maintained branches and lived together in establishment maintained by the firm, leaving wives and families at home. In towns and cities retail merchants of a particular good—grain, salt, cloth or indigo—typically belonged to a single caste. And it was the caste council that handled social, ritual, political and economic disputes. Merchants in the Mughal India did not form guilds that incorporated or established prices and conditions of trade, and negotiated with princes and kings for property rights and protection. The only organizations that were similar were the merchant councils of Ahmedabad in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries and Those of Banaras in the Eighteenth century. They were not there in Shahjahanabad or Surat during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. During the Mughal period the premier merchant group in North India seems to have been the Khattris, a Hindu caste of traders and administrators from Punjab. This caste dominated commerce in Agra and Lahore in the Seventeenth century and along with some Gujarati and Rajasthani merchants, controlled trade in Shahjahanabad as well. There is no doubt that in some parts of Mughal India merchants’ recruited artisans and organized workshops, providing material and tools, specifying design qualities, and paying daily wages. Most of this activity, however seems to have taken place in or near the commercial cities of the coast. Merchants founded *Karkhanahs* for the same reasons that they established the putting-out system, i.e, to overcome the deficiencies of the market.\(^\text{11}\)

### 3.4 TYPES OF MARKET

The pre-modern market in India released two distinct functions; it brought together commodities for the consumption of the local buyers or for distribution among consumers in far-flung markets. The two functions were not reciprocally exclusive, could coexist in the similar geographical location, and be managed by the same establishment and people. Conversely, there were places and traders concerned more,

\(^\text{11}\) Ibid., pp. 108-111
if not exclusively, with one rather than the other occurrence of total dearth of links between the two types of markets were probably rare.

A second characteristic of Indian markets was the pecking order of scales ranging from the infinitesimal rural *hat* to the emporia of international trade like Surat or Agra. Combining these two categories, the Indian markets may be classified into four main types:

- The emporia for long-distance trade, inland, overland or overseas;
- Small-scale bazaars where goods were congregated from places within a short radius predominantly for purposes of local consumption and mandis or wholesale markets;
- Intermittent fairs where ‘specialized traders met together to sell and refill their stocks ‘but consumers were not excluded
- The truly’ isolated rural market where the local surplus produce was exchanged among the producers-cum-consumers.  

The concept of “Primary nodal markets” has been applied to the major commercial emporia which acted as ‘intermediaries’ between producing and consuming markets widely speckled in space and their multilateral trade explained as ‘a secondary development of their purely bilateral trade ‘Possibly’ the multilateral trade of India’s commercial emporia is better described with reference to geographical and political factors. Inland emporia like Agra as such since they were at the interactions of interregional trade or, as centres of administration, imparted enormous markets which naturally fascinated traders from diverse quarters. The port towns developed analogous functions as entry points for the imported coastal trade goods and exit points for the produce of inland territories. Every such emporium included three types of market

- A solely local market serving the requirements of the resident population.
- A wholesale spot market which provided both the retail trade.

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12 Ibid., pp.339-340
• The bazaar, and the inter regional commerce and finally, the latter’s offshoot, a wholesale forward market.  

Urban Geographers have found that the theory of the central place applies to the market places with in cities as well as to market towns in regions. Urban markets can be distinguished and ranked according to number of customers, size of the marketing area, and variety of goods and services In some cities three levels have been distinguished and in other four. In Shahjahanabad there seems to have been a three – fold hierarchy neighbourhood markets, regional markets, and central markets.  

In neighbourhood markets grain, cloth, salt, fruit, and vegetables were sold. The most numerous variety in the city, these markets served the smallest area, had the fewest customers, and offered a limited selection of goods. For most part, they served that portion of the population who were not clients of great men and members of the elite households.  

The petty shopkeepers in neighbourhood markets obtained their supplies from the large wholesale markets for leather goods, metal utensils, horned cattle, sheep and goats, wood, soap, fireworks, fish, cheese and building materials. In the cities of the Mughal India, urban officials controlled trade by specifying the places where goods could be bought or sold. Merchants were not allowed to sell their goods without going through the designated markets. To each market the kotwal appointed a darogah who set prices and collected the taxes. Urban markets were divided in to Mahals. Over each Mahal the kotwal set an official who supervised the darogahs and collected the revenue. Regional markets stood within or nearby the imperial palace-fortress and the great mansions. Like neighbourhood markets, regional market sold grain, fruit, vegetable and cloth but they differed in serving more people spread over a larger area and in providing a wider selection of goods. Shahjahanabad was also at the apex of the hierarchy of towns and cities in the North India. It encapsulated the entire central place hierarchy, performing the economic, administrative, police and religious functions of all the places below it as well as a set uniquely its own. The economic

13 Ibid., pp.340-341
15 Ibid., pp. 116-117
functions unique to the city were located in the central bazaars of Shahjahanabad. A contemporary account mentions traders from Turkey, Zanzibar, Syria, Yemen, Arabia, Iraq, Khorasan, China and Tibet in addition to European from England and Holland.\(^{16}\)

Various types of markets were found such as *Bazaar-I-Khas, Katra, Mandi, Ganj, Dariba, Nakhas, Peth, fair (mela) and seasonal markets*. Of the 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 organised for one day in a week or twice a week in case of *peth* (hat) for a few days in case of a fair at some holy places and for few months in case of seasonal markets.

The *Bazaar-I-Khas (or kalan)* was confined to the principal streets of the cities and contained one or more *chauks* (or *chauraha*) place where four roads met. The *chauks* occupied the central and prominent areas of the city and was always very crowded place. Both sides of the street which housed the bazaar 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 major feature of the bazaar was that all sorts of goods and commodities such as cloth, grain, food stuffs, drugs, sweets, medicine, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, betel, furniture, toys etc. were on sale. Secondly, whatever was sold there was retail and seldom wholesale. Thirdly, the bazaar was known after the name of the principal *chauk* or was simply called the *chauk* bazaar. In the evening the Bazaar had arrangements for lamp lights.\(^{17}\)

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 *pura* (or *mahalla*) and was named after its founder. In a city there could be more than a *Ganj*. The principal *ganj* was known as *Shah-ganj* (or *ganj-i-sarkari*) i.e. the *Imperial Ganj*, supervised by functionaries and tax collectors who were government officials. Other *ganjes* referred to in the sources are said to have been established by the *jagirdars*. The establishment of such marts was often at the cost of the *Imperial Ganj*. But after

\(^{16}\) Ibid., pp. 117-118

\(^{17}\) M.P. Singh., Town, Market, Mint & Port in The Mughal Empire (1556-1707), pp. 138-139
the transfer of the *jagirdar* in most cases, his *ganj* would decay, or its name would be changed by his successors, or again it would be abandoned completely if the new *jagirdar* chose to establish his own *ganj* at some other place. For the management and collection of taxes the *jagirdars* had their own agents.\(^1\)

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 shops around or within the noble’s enclosure for supplying provisions, and it was only in the course of time that it developed in to a larger mart or suburb of a town.\(^1\)

The *mandi*, according to the *Mirat*, was “a place where commodities and corn was brought from outside for sale in the city”. Usually a *mandi* was named after the chief commodity sold there, or after the *pura* of the *ganj* where it was established. Sometimes a *mandi* was also known after a particular profession or craft. There could be a number of *mandis* in a city and each a separate commodity might be sold. Another features of the *mandi* was that here the commodities were sold and purchased in bulk (*thok*) and not in retail.\(^2\)

The *dariba* was a short lane or street.\(^2\)

The *nakhas* was a daily market where elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, oxen, donkeys, goats, pigeons, hens etc.\(^2\)

The *peth* (hat) was a market held at a fixed place around the city or at the villages of note on fixed days-once a week or more frequently. It was an assemblage of petty *banias* and local manufacturers (or artisans) who gathered from the adjoining towns and the country around in the morning the *hat* (market) continued till a little before sunset. Here things of daily necessity, foodstuffs, oil, ghee, goods such as cloth,

\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 140-141
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 141-142
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 142-143
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 143-144
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 144-145
thread, cotton, indigo, sugar and rice were sold. In some peths, however the sale, purchase of cattle such as horse, camel, bullock etc is said to have taken place.\textsuperscript{23}

3.4.1 Market Days

The market was held twice a day; first in the morning after sunrise and then in the evening. At noon, the shopkeepers closed their shops and rested in the houses. Two days in a week were holidays, i.e., Thursdays for Banias and Fridays for Muslims.\textsuperscript{24}

3.4.2 Payment

Payment for goods purchased was made in three ways; Commodities were brought by payment in cash then and there; through barter and on credit. From instances referred to by the contemporaries, it appears that an on spot payment in cash was usually preferred. But at the time of transaction if per chance the buyer was short of ready cash, he could well within the mercantile laws, have recourse to barter or credit or both in a single deal. The barter signified an exchange of commodities of equal value in amount fixed in accordance with current market rates. It was very popular in petty deals in local periodical markets. But on larger scale it often had to be opted for disposing of dead and perishable stocks. Purchase on credit on the other hand, for fear of de-faultation in payment, needed an unfailing security which could be written promise executed in the presence of the Qazi and witnesses and wherein time, mode of payment and terms of interest for the money kept overdue were to be very clearly specified.\textsuperscript{25}

3.5 TRANSPORT

Transport as a means of communication occupies a singular position in the progress of urban development. Level of communication facilities could be a fair index as to the level of urban growth achieved. At the preliminary stage when the unpaved tracks, radiating from the town, end up in the adjacent villages, the towns may be interpreted to have a mere local significance, small in size and population, with a low scale of

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p.145  
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 147  
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p. 157
trade and industry involving only the local producers and consumers in its narrow range of small town activities. Here the means of transport are bound to be slow, movement infrequent and roads connect the town with other towns, it may be taken that the second stage is reached and the town has now attained a regional importance its size, population, trade, industry and all other activities making a corresponding move upwards. The streets of the town as well as the outer highways will have to be kept in good repair along with suitable arrangements for transport mediums and also for minimising the discomfort of the travellers. Long distance highways with proper arrangements for shelter, halting stations, security and freedom, from undue cesses en-route had to be made. These highways starting from the town, spread out in all directions covering all important urban centres lying on its way and eventually terminating at the export points. This extension of communication to far-off urban centres entitled the town to acquire imperial or national importance.

In the Medieval times merely building the road was not enough. They had to be secured from the highwaymen, afford protection from the climatic in clemencies, provide reasonable comfortable lodgings at every stage and make arrangements for water as frequently as possible all along the way. Accordingly, measures were taken to get these routes secured by buildings sarais at the fixed stages of journey, which were run by the state. Affording perfect safety to the itinerant travellers. These sarais were furnished with lodgings wells, mosques, muazzins, imams, separate boards for Muslims and Hindus and fodder for their animals. The charges at these sarais were nominal. The building of the Sarai was institution of Muslim rulers all over the Islamic world. Apart from the sarais built within the towns, all the highways came to be dotted with these series at regular intervals of every stage along the route.²⁶

In view of the Tropical heat water arrangement was made at shorter distances, again either by the state or by the munificence of some wealthy amirs as is borne out of by the itinerary of the contemporary travellers. For example, on the Agra-Ajmer route wells were dug at every kos. While most of these were ordinary ones, some were the step wells, which provided both shelter and water to the weary traveller. In order to

ensure free and unhindered flow of the traffic, Emperor Akbar had remitted all imports on goods in transit over land routes and carefully fixed those payable on use of watery courses and at the exit points of the Empire. Emperor Jahangir had repeated the issue of the _farman_ with an additional clause of complete abolition of duties on the Kabul–Qandahar routes similarly Aurangzeb Alamgir too had issued a _farman_ forbidding the levy of cesses on traders and merchants in the course of their journey or land routes.\(^{27}\)

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27 Ibid., pp. 68-70
### Table 3.1: Principal Highways during the Mughal Empire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Point of Origin and terminus</th>
<th>Approx. distance</th>
<th>Built by or in the reign of</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>From Sonargaon to Attock</td>
<td>1500 Karohs</td>
<td>Sher Shah Suri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>From Hindustan to Kabul leading upto Jalalabad, Khairbar, Bangash, Naghaz and Farmul</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>River Sind had to be crossed at Chauparaah ferry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Khaibar route</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Emperor Akbar</td>
<td>It was a regular road fit for wheeled traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>From Lahore to Kashmir</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Emperor Akbar</td>
<td>Was called the Imperial Road; was open for traffic for seven non- winter months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>From Multan to Delhi</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>From Multan to Qandahar</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>From Thattah to Amhadabad</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Was dangerous being infested with Baluchi marauders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>From Ahmadabad to Cambay</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>The route passed through Baroda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>From Ahmadabad to Surat</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>From Ahmadabad to Burhanpur</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>From Burhanpur to Orissa</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Probably only an unfrequented track</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>From Orissa to Bengal</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>From Bengal to Bihar</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Through Garhi as the gate to Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>From Malda in Bengal to Jaunpur</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>was only a track, it passed through Chhapara near Patna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>From Agra to Fatehpur Sikri</td>
<td>12 cos</td>
<td>Emperor Akbar</td>
<td>was shady, populous and full of shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>From Agra to Delhi Sik</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Sher Shah Suri</td>
<td>ran via Mathura and west of Jamuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>From Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Sher Shah Suri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>From Agra to Ajmer</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Emperor Akbar</td>
<td>Well- cared route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>From Agra to Sirhind</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>From Agra to Lahore</td>
<td>350 cos</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>A Khayaban i.e. shaded avenues: Jahangir had put Karoh minors to mark the distance; at every five Karohs he built a well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>From Agra to Mandu</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Sher Shah Suri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>From Agra to Burhanpur</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Extension of Agra Mandu highroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>From Agra to Surat</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Extension of Agra Mandu highroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>From Agra to Broach</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>it ran via Ajmer, Merta, Ahmadabad and Baroda. From Broach on it got linked up with Cambay and Surat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>From Agra to Attock</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Khayaban i.e. a shaded avenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>From Agra to Bengal</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Khayaban i.e. a shaded avenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>From Agra to Beneras</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Lay through Qanauj, Lucknow, Akbarpur and Jaunpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>From Agra to Allahabad</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>Covered Koil, Itamadpur and Manikpur en-route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>From Agra to Etah</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>was a metalled road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>From Ajmer to Allahabad</td>
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**Source:** Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi (1972) Vol-1, Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Mughal 1556-1707, IIAS, Shimla
Elephants, camels, horses, bullocks, bullock carts, mules, and litters were the usual mode of transportation during medieval period. The use of elephants as a means of conveyance was reserved for the sovereign, or to those whom he granted permission to use them. Often Agra goods were being sent down to Surat in huge camel caravans. The incidence of use of horses in journeys undertaken by individuals appears to have been far more common. Their use by the nobility both within and without towns are well known. Mules and asses being less expensive than horses and relatively more suited for the conveyance of goods particularly through uneven paths were well fitted for the use of lower segment of population for both purposes. In the north western and western regions they were therefore commonly employed as beasts of burden.\textsuperscript{28}

\subsection*{3.5.1 Bullocks}

Several factors contributed in making bullocks by far the most convenient and important means of transportation the sixteenth-seventeenth century India. Their prominent shoulders are eminently suited to carry heavy loads of drive wheeled carriages .By virtue of their adaptability to transversing long distances over paved and unpaved or uneven roads and also because of their abundance in the Empire ,they may be graded higher to other animals as a beast of burden and means of transport in the Mughal India. These bullocks could carry, on an average, four great \textit{mauds} of weight each .Riding on bullocks was common practice, and so was their employment as beast of burden by individuals, traders or merchants. Ox-driven carriages could be covered or uncovered for passenger conveyance or for transportation of goods.\textsuperscript{29}

\subsection*{3.5.2 Palanquins}

Though occasionally used by men, old and infirm, these were in the main used by ladies. Palanquins being of the bigger size was carried by six or eight men at a time while of the smaller types known as \textit{doli} or little having seat for one occupant only,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., pp. 71-72
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p.73
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
was carried by just two men. The palanquin bearers belonged to a particular caste of Hindus called Kahars. They carried their burden with such skill that the occupants inside were not troubled with any jolting.\(^{30}\)

### 3.5.3 Riverine Traffic

River routes are watery courses designed by nature. Since antiquity these courses designed by nature, since antiquity these courses have been used for traffic which is relatively much cheaper and safer though entails much longer time. In the Mughal Empire a network of navigable river existed covering the subahs of Sindh, Multan, Lahore, Kashmir, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Bengal. Agra was served by the rivers Jamuna and Chambal both of which effected their confluence at Kalpi. Chambal was navigable but the province gained much more by the navigability of Jamuna which linked it with its eastern areas. The river was navigable throughout the year to boats up to 100 tons. It flows through Agra so that the town could carry on brisk traffic through this river as far east as Sonargaon and then on to Chittagong. At times Agra dispatched flotillas of as many as 180 boats, full of indescribable merchandise. The maintenance of this facility of transportation was highly profitable to both the provinces of Agra and Bengal: Agra and its neighbouring towns had thus gained easier access to markets whether internal or foreign for their surplus goods such as salts, lead, opium, iron, cotton or finished goods such as carpets or other cotton fabrics. By availing of this watery course, Bengal in this turn, could pay for the goods received either by consigning its own surplus food grains to up country, by remitting species obtained as proceeds from the sale of Hindustani goods abroad, or by doing both.\(^{31}\)

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\(^{30}\) Ibid., p.74

\(^{31}\) Ibid., pp.75-76
3.6 DELHI

In speaking about Delhi, Bernier refers to the old and the new city. The latter included the suburbs extended for more than one and a half league. Ferishta writing sometime before Bernier and Tavernier declares Delhi to the “envy of the world” while Manucci, visiting Delhi in the middle of the 17th century, mentions the large and well built bazaars or markets within the city, “where things were sold of every kind”. On the other hand, Thevenot refers to the pulsatory character of its large population which reduces greatly with the movement of the royal court. Delhi enjoys a much greater nodality than any other centre for the convergence of the most important routes originating from the north-west across the mountains, from east stretching through the Ganga plains, from the south and west connecting the resourceful regions of Deccan, Malwa and the international trading ports of the western coast. The geographical location of Delhi has given it a marchland position, receiving the first shock of every invasion coming from the North West.\textsuperscript{32}

For the Muslims of the mid seventeenth century the Delhi area had an additional alliance, one wholly different from the political one. The area was a religious centre, a place of pilgrimage, and one of the mainly significant sites in the subcontinent for devout Muslims. Tombs and graves of saints, sheikhs, pirs, and holy men were pilgrimage centre, Delhi attained an aura of sacredness. A mid-eighteenth century historian depicted the city as one of the old holy places. And Ghulam Muhammad Khan, who visited Delhi near the end of the eighteenth century, wrote Delhi is the sentinel of religion and justice. It is a Garden of Eden that is populated. In choosing the Delhi area as the site for the new city, the Mughals worked with a composite of ideas about religious and political centrality.

\textsuperscript{32} B. Bhattacharya., Urban Development In India, pp. 177-188
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

Map 3.2: Shahjahanabad Cities of Delhi

Source: J. Burton- page, Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd edn, Dihli
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

DELHI

Suburbs of Shahjahanabad 1739

Source: J. Burton- page, Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd edn, Dihli

Map 3.3: Suburbs of Shahjahanabad 1739
The wall was crowned by twenty-seven towers and was broken in various places by gates and entryways, both large and small. While it is not possible now to differentiate all the original gates, it is quite easy to establish the major points of entry constructed by Shahjahan and his direct successors. Set at usual gap around the jagged semicircle that joined the Northern and Southern fringes of the city were seven large gates. These were found generally, at the ends of the chief urban veins and handled the bulk of mounted, vehicular and pedestrian traffic. They included the Kashmiri, Mori, Kabuli, Lahori, Ajmeri, Turkomani, and Akbarabadi gates. The wall fronting the river was also interjected with numerous gates the Rajghat, Qulaghat, Nigambodhghat. A task of these three was to offer Hindus of the city entry to the riverside platforms upon which they burned their dead. Interspersed among the large entrances, a number of smaller gates allowed pedestrians swift and easy passage to and from the city. Many of these represented the work of nobles and were located near large mansions. Other stood near places of public significance.

The most vital topographical features within the area surrounded by the great walls were two hillocks. Jhujalal Pahari (hill) near the northwest wall of the city and Bhujalal Pahari (hill) which occupied a spot near the centre of the enclosure and became the site for the great Friday mosque, the Jama Masjid. An extensive piece of low ground separated Bhujalal Pahari from the bluff along the Yamuna.

The two thoroughfares in Shahjananabad are described in the sources as bazaars, street lined on both the sides with shops of merchants, artisans and others. The largest and the richest of these commercial avenues stretched from the Lahori Gate of the fort to the Fatehpuri Mosque. Built in 1650 by Jahanara Begum, favourite daughter of Shahjahan, this street was about forty yards wide, 1520 yards long, and contained 1560 shops and porticos. A lovely canal of the Nahr-i-Bihist (canal of paradise), flowed through the centre of the bazaar. On each side of the canal a row of trees was planted which provided shade and a place to rest. In the earlier sources there was no special name for the street. It was simply the bazaar in the direction of Lahore. However, the bazaar was divided in to several sections and each of these has its own

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33 Stephen P.Blake., Shahjahanabad : The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739 (Cambridge University Press) pp. 31-32
name. The 480-yard section from the Lahori gate of the fort to the chawk (square) of the Kotwali chabutra was called the Urdu bazaar (camp market). This bazaar served the members of the imperial household_ soldiers, servants, clerks, artisans and others _ who lived in and around the palace- fortress and who accompanied the emperor when he toured the country side and resided , for the most part in the great camp.34

The section from the Kotwali Chabutra to the Chawk built by the Jahanara Begum was about 480 yards long. It was called the Ashrafi bazaar (moneychangers market) or the Jauhari Bazaar (Jewelers Bazaar) and seems to have been the financial section of the street. The Chawk was an octagon with sides one hundred yard long; a large pool occupied its centre. To the north Jahanara built a sarai (inn) and a garden, and to the south a hammam. On certain nights the moonlight reflected pale and silvery from the pool and gave to the area the name Chandani Chawk (silver or moonlight square) Over time this name slowly displaced all others until finally the entire bazaar from Lahore gate to the Fatehpuri Mosque, became as Chandani Chawk. The final section of the bazaar ran about 560 yards from Chandani Chawk to the Fatehpuri Masjid was called Fatehpuri Bazaar. In front of the mosque (built by wife of Shahjahan) was a platform and below that a pool. A sarai for scholars and travellers stood nearby.35

The 1650 shops that lined the sides of the bazaar were of single design. Each occupied a small room under one section of a long arcade. A thin partition separated one shop from another. At the back of the shop a door led to a small warehouse where surplus goods were stored. Above the warehouse at the back of the arcade lived the merchant, his family, and servants. In these shops an extraordinary variety of goods and services were available: spicy kebabs, beautifully scented flowers, and astrologers who forhold the future. An early eighteenth century visitor marvelled at the rubies, emerald and pearls; lingered over the glass huquass (waterpipes) and eyeglasses from China; and gazed longingly at the variety of sweets in the confectioners shop.36
The other major bazaar in Shahjahanabad stretched from the Akbarabadi gate of the city. With 888 compartments and porticos along a street 1050 yards long and thirty yards wide, this bazaar was smaller and less impressive than Chandani Chawk. Built in 1650 by Nawab Akbarabadi Begum, it had in its middle a branch of the Nahr-i-Bihist. The most imposing complex of structures stood at the head of the bazaar, just south of the palace gate. Here Nawab Akbarabadi Begum built a magnificent mosque of black, red, creamy white called Ashatpanahi (great protection). In the early 18th century Raushan al-Daulah, an important noble under Muhammad Shah, put up strings of lights on both the sides of the canal. The name of this bazaar also changes over time. Originally known as the bazaar in the direction of Akbarabad, it later came to be called Faiz Bazar (Bazar of Plenty).  

One other market deserves mention. Just outside the Akbarabadi gate of the fort, Sa’adullah Khan constructed a large chawk in the middle of Khas Bazaar (Special Bazar), the street which connected the Jama Masjid and the palace fortress. In this area dancing girls, physicians, story tellers and astrologers piled their trades; here also were shops that dispensed cloth, medicine, cooked food, weapons, birds, fruits, flowers, wild animals and sugar canes was available.

Although these three were the largest and richest market in the city, they were by no means the only place of commercial activity. All over the urban areas—in lanes and byways and on street corners—a variety of shops and stalls could be found.  

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37 Ibid., pp. 57-58
38 Ibid., p. 61
Map 3.4: Mansions and Mosques in Shahjahanabad 1739

Source: Stephen P. Blake., Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

During construction of the city Shahijahan had a garden called Khizrabad built for him on the west bank of the Yamuna about five miles south of the Akbarabadi gate of the city. Here in 1658 Aurangzeb imprisoned his brother and defeated rival, Dara Shikoh. Outside the Kabuli Gate of the city Shahijahan laid out a garden filled with neem trees called the Tis Hazari Bagh (Garden of Thirty Thousand). Zeb al-Nisah Begum, daughter of Aurangzeb, and Maka Zamani, wife of Muhammad Shah, were buried there.\(^\text{39}\)

In 1659 Raushan Ara Begum, daughter of Shahjahan constructed a large garden near the Lahori Gate of the city in the suburb now called Sabzi Mandi (Vegetable market). On her death in 1671 she was buried there within a tomb. Nawab Sirhindi Begum, wife of Shahjahan, built a garden in the same area that also served as her final resting place. In 1653-4, Nawab Akbarabadi Begum built a fine garden about six miles beyond the Lahori Gate of the city named Shalimar and modelled after the earlier gardens of that name in Lahore and Kashmir, this was the place where Aurangzeb was crowned Emperor.\(^\text{40}\)

The supreme example in Shahjahanabad of the garden builders, art, however, and the only garden of size within the city and outside the palace-fortress was the one erected by Jahanara Begum north of Chandni Chawk called Sahibabad (Abode of the Master) and constructed in 1650, this garden enclosed an enormous rectangular area of about fifty acres. The Nahr-i-Bihist provided water for an elaborate garden-paradise arrangement of canals, waterfalls, fountains and pools. Flowers and trees surrounded the baradharis. Set in the middle of the pools, these delicate structures were barely visible behind the drifting spray of the fountains. In the apartments and pavilions of the garden, women of the imperial household played with their children and rested from the heat of summer.\(^\text{41}\)

To ensure a stable, year-round supply of water, cities in Mughal India were located on or near rivers. Canals of all sizes—built by the emperors and great Amirs—channelled water for drinking, washing and irrigation to houses, gardens, shops, pools

\(^{39}\) Ibid., p. 62
\(^{40}\) Ibid., pp. 62-63
\(^{41}\) Ibid., pp.62-63
and baths. In 1615-16, for example the great Amir Abd al- Rahim, Khan – i-Khanan, constructed in Burhanpur, a canal which carried water from the Tapti river to Lal Bagh (Red Garden). The longest and largest canal, however and on the most impressive engineering feats of the entire Mughal periods was the Nahr-i-Bihist. This canal carried water from a point on the Yamuna seventy-five miles upstream to the city, by a circuitous route.

Once inside the city the canal split into two main branches. One branch met Chandni Chawk near Fathpuri Masjid and flowed down the middle of the avenue to Faiz Bazaar. The other branch entered Sahibabad, Jahanara Begums garden, at its north western end and provided an ample supply of water for the intricate arrangement of pools and water courses. According to a mid-eighteenth century observer:

“The canals brought greenness to Delhi. It ran in all of the city from lane to lanes and the wells became full from it.....it flowed in to the imperial fort and around the moat….having flowed to the mansions of the princess and amirs it flowed into the city – to Chandni Chawk, to the Chawk of Saadullah Khan, to Paharganj, to Ajmeri gate, to the grazing places, to the other mahallahs, and took all lanes and bazaars of the city.”

Ibid., pp. 63-64

The Nahr-i-Bihist was responsible for much that was fresh, green and beautiful in Shahjahanabad and was one of the most important factors for the reputations of the capital.

In Mughal India members of imperial and noble families erected caravanserais (inns for travellers and merchants) at regular intervals along major highways and cities. As walled rectangular enclosures, these structures presented to the ordinary passer by a façade quite similar to that of the garden or mansion. Travellers entered the enclosure through one of several large gateways. Rows of identical arched compartments, separated by thin partitions, lined the sides of the buildings. A pool of water, a well, a mosque, stables, trees and flowers and a katra (walled enclosure) for storing traveller's goods were found in most sarais. Constructed by the great for reasons for
In Shahjahanabad a numbers of these structures stood ready to receive merchants and travellers. Nawab Fathpuri Begum erected an inn for pilgrims near her mosque in Chandni Chawk. Nawab Fathpuri Begum provided the same structures as part of her mosque in Faiz Bazaar. The outstanding examples however of a caravanserai in Shahjahanabad was the one constructed by Jahanara Begum near the entrance to her garden in Chandni Chawk. Bernier considered it next to Jama Masjid, the most imposing structure in the entire city. It was square and had ninety rooms divided between upper and lower stories. Each room was beautifully painted and appointed. In the middle of the courtyard a garden filled with water-courses, trees, flowers and pools had been laid out. On each of the four corners was a tower. Only the richest and most eminent of Persian and Uzbek merchants were allowed to put up there. Jahanara wrote of the building:

“I will build a sarai, large and fine like no other in Hindustan. The wanderer who enters its courts will be restored in body and soul and my name will never be forgotten.”

It became the capital of the Mughal empire in 1638, just like Agra, Delhi also had proximity to river body and this geographical advantage was very beneficial in defining the commercial traffic at Delhi; several commodities were found at Delhi during that time, the popular ones are sugar, indigo, paper, jaggery, turmeric, coarse

43 Ibid., pp. 65-66
44 Ibid., pp. 66-67
45 H.Q.Naqvi, Urbanisation and Industries in upper India 1556-1803, pp.65-66
muslin etc. Various varieties of coarse muslin were found here, these were Gangajal, Calico, Chintz etc. If one looks in to the chief industries of Delhi, cotton industries but more so Chintz were well coloured, next in quality to those of Masulipatnam only, these were also produced in large quantities and several qualities with a wide range of prices to suit the pocket of high and low, this very fact shows that Delhi had material available for both the classes i.e. for the elites as well as for the common man. Delhi was well reputed for its dyeing of cotton fabrics, especially the type of dyeing called tie-dyeing, its famous quilts used to be dyed thus. The indigo industry too was in a flourishing state attracting merchants in large number good indigo used to be produced in the quantity within the environs of the city, a prosperous leather industry in Delhi is indicated by several circumstances, a multitude of shoemakers, and the existence of their wards, the Qarol bagh area, inhabited by local tanners and the Kappewalla mohalla where Muslim tanners made leather jars. All this shows that Delhi had its own place as a trading centre during the Mughal era and also it was a major centre for Chintz as well as for the leather goods. The most interesting thing comes in the shape of the economic morphology which was very apparent within one town and this was very well marked in Delhi, there were different types of markets existing, different markets for keeping different sorts of goods for ex the Nakhas was a daily market place where cotton and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. Gunges were usually the grain markets, Mandavis were markets of goods, usually provision or grains, A katra was an enclosed market, and just like a mundi, might be named after some article sold there or its founder, many katras occur in the sources. At Delhi a Nil katra, (indigo) there were still other bazaars, bearing again the names of the commodities in which they mainly traded or represented their founders, thus Delhi were the Khasbazar, Khanambazar, Chaoribazarfi, Jawhari Bazaar and Raja Bazaar, Similar quarters were found at Agra as well such as the lohagali, cheenitola, and the mochigate etc.

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46 Ibid, pp.66-67
47 Ibid, pp.75-77
3.7 AGRA

*Tavernier*, visiting India on five successive occasions between 1641 to 1665, found the summers of Agra exclusively trying. But he admits it to be the largest city of India where the houses of the nobles are beautiful and well built. There was a large market consisting of six large courts selling among other things an enormous quantity of cotton. The time however, the capital had already been shifted to Delhi. *Bernier* writing about the same time of *Tavernier*, found it larger than Delhi both in the number of buildings and stone or brick houses. Besides, it was an unwalled city and thus in his opinion was inferior to Delhi. Besides the city was not build to any settled design lacking the uniformity of street pattern that so eminently distinguished Delhi. *Ralph Fitch*, visiting both Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in 1585 calls them very great cities each being greater than London. *Palsaert* gives a very clear impression about the build of the city. The street and the houses were built without any regular plan and as a result the palaces of the great princes and the lord were hidden away in alleys and corners. The city had grown enormously within a space of few decades since Akbar made it as his capital. The entire area was closely built over and thickly inhabited, virtually leaving no space for growth of any remarkable market place as in Lahore, Burhanpur, Ahmedabad or other cities.\(^48\)

Five gates build by Akbar for the security of the capital lay in the middle of the city at that time when the built up area extending beyond them was were three times larger. In his opinion had it been the fixed residence of the Emperor, as it was at his father’s time, the city would have grown in to “one of the wonders of the world”. Beyond the fort there was a great market where, apart from different types of animals, cotton goods and many other things were sold. *Manucci* also found Agra as a large city with a circumference of twelve leagues. *Thevenot* writing a few years after, held it to be the greatest of the towns of Indies.

It emerged as a very significant town during the Mughal empire, there are many factors behind its importance but the two most important factors which play the key role are firstly, that it was the capital city and secondly, the economic importance

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\(^{48}\) B.B.Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India (Since Pre-historic times), p.172
which it had gained through the trading activity which existed in that period. Agra was also blessed with such geographical features which enhanced its potentialities in being a prosperous trading town, the proximity to the river Yamuna was one among them, Agra had become an entrepot. The seventeenth century sources characterize Agra as the most important exchange centre in the Northern India. It acted as the convergence point for routes from all the directions; it had developed in to a Sub-continental mode for regional and long distance trade and communication, also an important place for manufacture.

All along the routes Sarai (resting/halting places) were built, by local officials and nobles for use by merchants and travellers. These were constructed at a convenient interval of one day journey pack animals, cart and large boats were used as the means of transport, large herds of oxen, called “tanda” sometimes consisted of 20,000 animals.

*Tandas* were normally engaged by the Indian traders for the transport of goods like food grains, sugar and salt. Transport by cart was considered more economical and convenient each cart could carry weight equivalent of 3 camel loads or about one metric ton sometimes very large carts were used for special purposes.

River Yamuna served as the main waterways, several commodities such as salt, textile, raw cotton, carpets etc laden on large boats up to the capacity of 500 ton were sent to the eastern provinces, during the rainy season (July September) there returned with products from Bengal and Bihar during other month of the year. The flow of the commercial traffic so immense that it had turned Agra in to a great exchange centre for a large variety of products and the result of this was that several markets with specific specialization emerged in different parts of the city. Several commodities were available in Agra, of these the following were the most prominent carpets, gold and silver embroidery, sugarcane, saltpeter, indigo, quilts, sugar, shoes, turmeric, jasmine oil, silk stuffs, etc. Products of different regions were available at Agra, raw cotton and woven silk came from east, cotton goods, indigo, sugar etc from the region of Awadh.

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49 J.P.Gupta, Urban Glimpses of Mughal India: Agra the Imperial Capital, p.34
50 Ibid., pp38-40
Cotton industry came as a major industry during the Mughal Era and therefore trade in cotton stuffs and raw cotton was a common feature of the Mughal Era several varieties of cotton were available. The most popular at Agra were *Calico, Chintz, Bafia, Chautar, Ghazi, Sahan*, etc. The availability of so many commodities and specialization in production of different goods gives testimony to the grandeur and glory of Agra as a big trading centre. The initiative taken by Akbar to have carpets produced in the imperial establishments (known as *karkhanahs*) was rewarded with intense activity and they soon emerged as an important item of trade in regional markets. Silver 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 existence of *Kanaribazaar* at Agra would tell that silver and gold laces were extensively manufactured here. Raw silk for silken goods was being imported both from Bengal via Patna and Persia via Gujarat ports, Quilts too are reported to have been made here and these were frequently in demand for export Agra was also celebrated for its dyestuffs and also was noted for its extraction of rose essence and perfumes. Due to the intense political and economic activities, Agra acted as a great attraction and pull to all types of professional group of people, such activities have also led to the development of different social groups and institutions, the city thus kept expanding both in size and population. In a short span of time of about thirty years the city is reported to have grown three times in size and around 1626 covered about 60sq kms. The population stood at about 500,000 in 1609, 660,000, 1629-43 and 800,000 in 1666. The city of Agra by far was considered the largest and most popular city of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century. The geographical location of Agra made the flow centripetal and Agra stood as the proud town of the Mughal Empire. All the routes in northern India radiated to and from Agra rendering it “the heart of his empire or the navel of the whole realm”. It had facilities of banking and credit, transport and commission agents for fostering business, with the result that it was the centre to which merchants flocked from far and wide. It was correctly rated as “*Emporium of the traffic of the world*” a great trading centre of the world and a famous city of the east during 16th and 17th centuries.

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51 Ibid., pp.39-40
52 Ibid., p.42
The central location of the city was another important factor in boosting its economy. Merchants both Indian and foreign en route from one part of the country to another had to pass through the imperial city. Agra was also directly connected to Kabul and Kandahar via Lahore, and Kabul served as a centre for caravan routes to foreign countries such as Khorasan, Iran, Turkey and China. All goods moving between any two different parts of the empire were required to make a halt here. Obviously the city besides handling its own imports and exports was also acting as a transit depot, thus adding to its own commerce. The Dutch factor Pelsaert visiting Agra in the beginning of the 17th century rightly emphasized its importance, the situation of the city at the junction of all the roads from distant countries:

“All goods must pass this way as from Gujarat, Tatta (or Sind) from Kabul, Kandahar or Multan, to the Deccan or Burhanpur to those places or to Lahore; and the Bengal and the whole east country; there are no practicable alternative routes, and the roads carry indiscernible quantities of merchandise, especially cotton goods.”

Thus the city catered to the demands of local, regional, national, and international markets and became an important collecting and distribution centre for retail as well as wholesale trade. Besides finished goods there was also a constant flow of raw materials and specialised products in and out of the city, for goods manufactured locally in neighbouring regions and those in other distant regions.  

The main commodities from the neighbouring regions for which the city was collecting centre were cash crops such as indigo and tobacco, agricultural commodities such as wheat, rice, sugar, vegetable oils and butter (ghee) and other commodities such as spices, drugs, opium, salt, walnut, asafoetida, lead, volatile oils (perfumes), lac, gum, vermilion, quicksilver and coral. Indigo was mainly produced in Hindaun, Bayana, Panchoona, Bisaur, Khanwa, Khurja, Koil and Itimadpur, Byana and Kalpi were main producers of sugar. Shawgur was the only place near Agra which supplied saltpeter while salt was dug from nearby region of Etawah. All these commodities were first brought to the markets of Agra before they were sent out Places like Gwalior, Kalpi, kotputli, and Todah Bhim which were under the jurisdiction of Agra subah were famous for mines of iron, copper and turquoise,  

53 Ibid., p.34
Agra also used the minerals and metal resources of Rajputana. Spices were supplied to Agra mainly by Indian merchants from Deccan though the Dutch also got interested in its trade during the middle of the 17th century. Armenian merchants brought quantities of broad cloth here. From stray evidence it is gathered that rich silken goods, quality carpets and an extensive variety of cotton goods were sent to Agra markets, along with luxury goods of all descriptions disembarking at various Gujarat ports for the use of royalty and nobility.\textsuperscript{54}

Cotton textiles specially fine muslins, \textit{Ambartee} calicoes and coarse cloth came from the city of Patna. \textit{Semianoes} and other textiles products from Jabalpur and \textit{Dariyabad}, and \textit{Serbandy} in thousands of \textit{maunds} and silks were brought from Bengal along with musk and civet and various other goods manufactured there and other eastern regions. Silken cloth with gold and silver work came from Benaras. The products of South India, Deccan and western India came to markets of Agra through Burhanpur, Surat and Ahmedabad. The specialised cotton and silken manufacturers of Gujarat and Khandesh were collected and sent through Ahmedabad. Cotton Printz called \textit{chintz} came from Sirong. \textit{Ormesins} from Burhanpur, raw cotton from Surat and Burhanpur and \textit{Zarbaft} from Ahmedabad. Many of these goods came to Agra to be distributed to the rest of the country specially to the eastern region, for there was no other direct route. Agra was also a great market for horses of good breed and they came in large number from Persia, Turkey, Multan, Lahore, and Surat. Products from the cities of Lahore, Multan, Thatta, Kabul and Kandhar, flooded the markets of Agra. They included \textit{Ormesins} and carpets from Lahore; \textit{calicoes}, white cotton, goods, napkins, bows and arrows and miscellaneous commodities from Multan. Leather articles from Thatta came via Lahore, Asafoetida from Kandhar and fresh and dry fruits from Kabul. Precious stones such as diamonds, rubies and pearls came from Delhi. Punjab conducted considerable trade via Kashmir with Ladakh, Yarkand and Kashgar. Amritsar and Jallandhar were important trade centres which were connected to Kangra, Palampur, and Leh. Goods from these regions were brought to Agra city via Agra-Lahore road.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p.35
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p.35
Thus Agra remained one of the biggest commercial centres under the Mughals. According to Sujan Rai author of Khulasatut-Twarikh, “... articles of the seven divisions of the globe are bought and sold here.” Monserrate mentions that every necessity of human life could be obtained in the markets of Agra, including articles which have to be imported from distant corners of Europe. Bernier describes the market well supplied with all goods and separate markets for every commodity. Agra was also a principal centre for precious stones such as pearls and rubies and gold and silver were used in making exquisite jewellery by very skilled goldsmiths. Palsaert describes a huge market where horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods, and many other things were sold in the morning.56

Agra was not merely a trading centre. Ample evidence points to its teeming with local industries and flourishing crafts. According to Abul Fazl, the masterpieces of workmanship of Agra astonished experienced travellers. In his Memoirs, Jahangir says: “Inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in the acquirement of crafts ....It was the textile industry especially on which the fame of Agra rested chiefly cotton, silken and woollen cloth of different types was manufactured in large amounts.” Manucci mentions the manufacture of cloth of extreme finesse incorporating gold and silver thread used for turbans and laces and other adornments for women. His statements can be corroborated by the existence even now of a Kenari bazaar at Agra. According to English factors, “The cloth is very even and substantially made near Agra”. This refers to a variety of fine cotton cloth manufactured here such as calicoes, Dereband and Kerebands and broad baftas, piece goods and printed quilts. In addition to textiles the manufactures of carpets was an important industry. The subsidiary industry of dyeing also flourished because of the ready availability of textiles, gumlac and indigo.57

Another important industry was Metallurgy. Besides articles of silver and gold, those of copper, iron and brass were manufactured in Imperial workshops for domestic use by talented artisans in Agra. Thevenot mentions child labour being used for metal industries. The brass rings were manufactured in Agra and chemicals were used to

56 Ibid., pp.35-36  
57 Ibid., pp.36-37
dissolve the brass. There is also reference to quick-silver mines near Agra. Fitch mentions diamonds also. The stone cutting industry blossomed from the time of Babur. Abul Fazl refers to “masterly sculptors and cutting artists of form in Agra.” The innumerable huge and beautiful buildings of Agra made in red stone clearly demonstrate how flourishing this industry must have been.

Embroidery with gold and silver thread on beautiful textiles especially silks was one of the most important crafts of Agra. The observations of Sujan Rai, author of Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh are interested in this context. He says: “Although it’s (Agra’s) excellent artisans of every art and workmen of every profession are skilful in their respective trade, gold and silver embroidery on turbans and other kinds of cloth is very nicely done.”

Another flourishing craft was inlay work and carving designs on various articles of metals and stones. Thevenot mentions about goldsmiths in Agra doing inlay work with gold and agate crystal and other brittle substances. Accounts are also available about engravings of flowers, leaves and a variety of other patterns in gold to beautify vessels, cups, and coffers.\footnote{Ibid., pp.37-38}

All the merchandise manufactured locally at Agra or brought to it from distant places was not meant just for local needs. Some was utilised here but a very large amount was collected and redistributed from here to far off places in all directions. The reason for this as given already was that goods from all directions had to pass through Agra as there were no alternative routes. The city merchants were therefore, busy receiving goods from places of their manufacture and sending them to places where they were in demand. Some of the commodities sent from Agra were spices and white cotton and coarse yarn to Multan, Cotton goods, turbans, prints and red silk to Burhanpur, spices to Bengal and Indigo, Sugar and raw silk.

The chief commodities exported from Agra textile goods. These included different kinds of cotton, silk and woollen cloth and raw silk. Cotton fabrics occupied the leading position. In addition to this indigo, sugar, saltpetre, salt, gumlac, coral, walnuts, drugs and spices and various other commodities were traded in abundance.
Indigo which was in great demand was the chief commodity of export. The best indigo was called by the name of Agra Indigo, and it was an important article of commerce throughout the whole world. According to Thomas Roe, the English company alone sent very huge quantity of indigo yearly from Agra to Persia and Turkey and many kept a buffer stock of three or four years requirement of indigo. It was destined for England, Persia and Basra via the overland route to Surat from where it was taken in ships.

Sugar was also exported in abundance from Agra both in powder and candy, and English factors depended chiefly on Agra for this commodity. Gumlac which was used for dyeing was in great demand and was quite profitable. It was exported to England and Persia.

Salt petre was another major commodity exported from here in abundance. The English factors exported 17160 maunds during 1626-1652 in six instalments. Quicksilver and vermillion and coral were also exported from Agra. Ralph Fitch, an English merchant went from Agra to Satagaon by Yamuna River with one hundred and sixty boats laden with salt, opium, asafoetida, lead, carpets and other diverse commodities for export.

The textile goods of various types in cotton and silk were the other chief attraction. These were exported by the English factors. The Dutch too made extensive purchases of cloths from Agra for export.59

Calicoes were purchased by the English Factors in plenty and the demand for Agra calicoes was ever increasing. Cotton cloths such as ekbarees, ambertes, mandeeles guzees and piece goods were exported to England. Semianos as well as the best chintz or pintadoes, and pintado quilts were also exported to England in great quantities. Semianos exported to Bantam and carpets too were a major export.

Amongst the silken stuffs shashes were the leading export material. English factors purchased Serbandy, in thousands of maunds from Agra. Raw silk too was purchased

59 Ibid., p.39
in abundance and this brought large profits to English merchants. Because of this the company always maintained a good stock of it.

A rough estimate of the exportable commodities sent from Agra, from time to time can be had from English factory records. According to English factors, on February 20 1619, the list of goods sent from Agra to Surat under the charge of John Bangham, (obviously for export) was as follows

Indigo, 278 fardles, sammanaes 14 fardles, carpets, 11 packs, ambertees 7 fardles, mandeeles 2 fardles, sugar candy 26 palnaes, total 338 fardles 169 camel loadings where of 99 camels loading are puccka. English factors giving another list of goods at other places mentions about shashes (turban cloth white and stripped) sugar in powder and candy and chintz of sundry sorts.60

Agra was also a market of imported goods from distant corners of Europe. The quantum of exports however, greatly exceeded the volume of imports which was almost negligible. The Dutch conducted a flourishing trade with Agra, in broad cloth, looking glasses, plain, gold and silver laces, ironware and spices. Similarly Agra was also a market for fine English cloth. According to Salbanke, “the English sold rich silks and velvets, but cloths of light colours were favoured.”

Thus during 16 and 17 centuries Agra became a nucleus of international trade and reached its zenith in economic prosperity. Besides geographical situation and its favourable location, certain other factors also played a conspicuous role in the economic advancement of Agra. The commercial and industrial life of Agra could not have received such a momentum had there not been a constant supply of food stuff and raw materials from the fertile hinterland for the overgrowing needs of the city’s mobile and permanent population. Both were complimentary to each other, resulting in a relationship of mutual benefit. The surrounding hinterland found a ready market for their agricultural produce and the population of Agra city never felt a dearth of such articles of daily consumption.

60 Ibid., p.40
The city also had the ground work needed for providing these basic facilities. There were job opportunities for the needy, ample possibility for small and big trade, not only because of the diverse commodities available but also because of the banking and credit facilities prevalent in those days. Further there were numerous caravanserais and sarais for the accommodation of travellers merchants and other temporary populations coming from distant places.61

There was a constant movement of people from villages, towns, small and big cities to the capital cities to the capital city for temporary or permanent stay. These included merchants, traders, bankers, skilled, semiskilled and unskilled artisans, craftsman, weavers, masons and labourers. Besides religious groups of both Hindu and Muslim communities, astrologers and the Lumpkin section of society were also attracted to the city. The majority of them found bright prospects for livelihood and settled here on a permanent basis. There is no exact data available about the number and different classes who migrated to the city but the tremendous physical expansion of the city, its prosperous trade and industry, and its flourishing economy are all indicative that a very large number of people were involved in its busy life.

Evidence is found about the influx of people from faraway places in to Agra, and their settling here in different professions and business. They thronged to this place as it provided better trade opportunities and a greater margin of profit better trade opportunities and a greater margin of profit. Even if one incurred a loss in a particular business one could easily switch over to another more profitable one because there was no dearth of avenues and opportunities. However merchants settled in Agra used to visit different cities temporarily for the sake of procuring their business commodities, e.g. large number of merchants from Agra used to visit Malda for the consignments of khassa, malmal and alshash. They also used to visit Patna for similar reasons.

Soon a class of workers emerged who helped the traders and merchants in procuring manufactured goods on a commission basis. Through them orders were executed. These brokers were also engaged by foreign merchants and foreign trading

61 Ibid., p.41
companies. Mention is made of Hari Prasad and devidas, both brokers of Agra, who supplied silk to Englishman and made 25% profit.\(^{62}\)

A money market is necessary for the growth of commerce and trade. This was available in the city of Agra in the form of banking and credit facilities to both Indian and foreign merchants. Some Hindus who were amongst the richest men in Agra adopted banking as a profession and lived by money lending. There are innumerable instances of the English east India Company taking loans from Indian bankers. There is mention of the East India Company wishing to borrow money from banker Tulsidas but since a satisfactory agreement could not be reached the money was finally borrowed from banker Beni Dass who agreed to furnish Rs. 200,000 at 5/8% interest per month. Another merchant, Benarsi Dass from Jaunpur was for a short while engaged in money lending in Agra with and without security.\(^ {63}\)

The bankers had banking connections with all the important cities of India and abroad e.g. Aleppo, Persia and Constantinople. The system of cashing money in Agra was through bills of exchange issued from any city. The merchants of Burhanpur, Surat and Patna were given money in Agra on presentation of such bills.\(^ {64}\)

Throughout the Mughal period the emperors were favourable in their attitude to various European nations who wished to establish their trade with India, by giving them license for trading. The maintenance of close commercial relations with foreign companies and traders had some influence in moulding the economy of the city. But the greater impetus to the economy came from the Indian merchants and traders. It is quite probable that the city’s economic activities were enhanced initially by the presence of the imperial court at Agra. However, the comings and goings of the Royal camp from Agra did not affect the prosperity of the city once it had reached a certain level of economic stability. The uninterrupted trade and commerce of the city was a striking proof of this. There was enormous permanent population during 16 and 17 centuries which existed quite independently of the imperial camp.\(^ {65}\)

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\(^{62}\) Ibid., p.42

\(^{63}\) Ibid., p.42

\(^{64}\) Ibid., pp.42-43

\(^{65}\) Ibid., pp.43-44
3.8 AHMEDABAD

Ferishta takes Ahmedabad as the “handsomest city” in Hindustan and perhaps in the world.” With its 360 mahullahs or wards and principal streets which were sufficiently wide to allow ten carriages abreast. Pelsaert gives an impressive account of the manufacturing and trading of this great city of India. It received a large amount of Patna Silk, the latter producing annually 1000 to 2000 maunds, most of which was consumed in Ahmedabad for the manufacture of Ormesines, satins, velvets, and various kinds of curious stuffs carpets were also woven here using silk and gold threads. It was great emporium of trade, collecting goods of all descriptions and different parts of the country and exporting them to foreign lands from where a great variety of articles were imported to Ahmedabad for their onward transmission to Delhi, Agra and other inland places to Delhi, Agra and other inland places. Tavernier calls it “one of the largest town in India”- carrying on a considerable trade in a wide range of items, silk stuffs taking an important position among them. But the most disheartening comments are made by Jahangir about the city. He calls it in various names like a Dustbin, an abode of sickness, the thorn -bed, the house of hell and is amazed to think “what pleasure or goodness the founder of the city could have seen in a sport so devoid of the favour(of God) as to build a city on it”. In spite of being a dust-bowl, made by its hot and dry atmosphere, it emerged as the principal industrial and commercial-place of Western India, recorded so emphatically by widely travelled European merchantmen like Pelsaert and Tavernier visiting India at the time of Jahangir or little after his death. Thevenot also found the city as “most carefully kept in order”.

The economic importance of Ahmedabad was immense. Basically two types of trade were found in Ahmedabad that is local trade and the trade occasioned by virtue of its being and entrepot to the maritime commerce. It also acted as a major market for Indigo although the Indigo hear was of inferior quality than Biana, not only it was produced for local consumption but also it was meant for export. Saltpetre produced

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66 B.B. Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India (Since pre-historic times), pp. 181-182
around BudhNagar was exported from Ahmedabad. Silk industry was quite prominent, the raw silk imported from Bengal and the Ahmedabad weavers had become experts in manufacturing satins and velvets of all kind and colours. Carpets were also made. Beside this rupee mint Aurangzeb and rupee mint 1595 were also there at Ahmedabad. Ahmedabad when considered from the cotemporary standards would be more in nature of a super magnum rather than an ordinary town though it was just a provincial capital of the Mughal Empire; the most stricking feature of this town was its securities measures in regard to which it had outstripped even the metropolitan towns of the empire. There was a city wall, two forts, several fortress for the Faujdar, a wall encircling each Purah with a gate which was closed at night, all the forces of the Mansabdars to protect the town in the event of emergency and well guarded exists points. It seems that all the securities measures were taken because there was a rich population residing in Ahmedabad. The town was also a major entrepot; it had twenty mandavis or grain markets which paid rent to the state. The bulks of goods reaching the mandavis were collected from the neighbouring villages. Fruits conserves of Ahmedabad frequently figured amongst the exportable consignment, particularly to Arabia and Iraq. The silken stuff of Ahmedabad were highly esteemed in an around the capital, seven varieties of Silken and a dozen varieties of stuffs worked with gold were regular on sale in Agra market. These silken and golden cloths were exported abroad also the paper produced in several varieties was in great demand in other part of the empire, Arabia and Turkey, while its writing paper was exported specially to Persia. Ahmedabad from business point of view would certainly appear in the first quarter of seventeen century as the most eminent town of the empire.

Notwithstanding its extraordinary size and population, Ahmedabad was well planned. Numerous exit points through its walls connected it with its vicinity, other towns in the region and other important urban centres of the Empire. Inside the town was neat,

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67 Irfan habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire
68 Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanisation & Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals 1556-1707, pp. 89-90
had long streets which were so wide that ten carts could move abreast. These were well paved. There were several large bazaars, bazaar-i-kalan, the principal market stood in the centre of the city. These bazaars were well stocked with merchandise, infact almost unique in the choice collection of goods from the world over. The shops were built of burnt bricks, mortared and plastered. These were well arranged and tastefully decorated. The houses of the town- people were fair, built of stone and mortar. An infinite number of mosques were well diffused all over the city. Palaces, mansions, monasteries, mausoleums, madarshahs, hospitals, sarais and other public utility works were interspersed in the city. A regular department of repair of works existed. If a minor matter of repair was proposed by the darogha bearing his signature and the seal affixed, the diwan of the subah sanctioned the expanses. If it required the imperial sanction the diwan of the province forwarded the application to the centre. The same department also supervised the gardens and orchards of the city. While some of these adorned the interior of the town, the larger ones were laid outside beginning at its periphery extending up to several miles away from the town. As a matter of fact the suburban area of Ahmedabad covered by these gardens appears to have been much larger than that of the imperial capitals, Agra, Delhi and Lahore.69

Banking being a natural corollary to a prosperous trade numerous bankers flourished at Ahmedabad. The Bohra bankers are frequently mentioned in the sources. Principally a Muslim trading community with wide business ramifications maintaining vakils(agents) at all important trading centres, it was convenient and profitable for them to be engaged in money transactions as well. Thus they in all probability came to assume the character and role of bankers.70

Ahmedabad acted as the chief market for indigo grown in and around Sarkhej lying at a distance of about three karohs. In all probability this indigo was first brought to Sarkhej mandavi of the town and thence .In addition to the constant demand of the Asian merchants such as Armenians, Persians, and possibly the Gujarati Bohra

69 Ibid., pp. 102-105
70 Ibid., pp. 103-105
traders, the European traders also exerted themselves to invest in this commodity. Saltpetre produce around Budnagar was exported from Ahmedabad. Whatever their provenance, the non agricultural merchandise reaching Ahmedabad were unloaded in one of the enclosures designed with a view to assess them for duty as well as to fix their prices. Areas set aside for the purpose had palisades running around them. These were known as *katra parchah* under the Mughals.

There were separate *Katras* for separate commodities and most of them situated close to the town barriers. Ahmedabad must have manufactured numerous varieties of goods. Considering the existence of *sut mandavi* (market of cotton yarn) the weavers ward at Haripura and above all the task of clothing of the town’s population running in to several lakhs could not but have made the cotton textile a major industry of Ahmedabad. This would entail constant movements of goods to and fro even if it was merely to obtain specialised services at various points in the process of its manufacture. Thus Ahmedabad from the business point of view would certainly appear in the first quarter of the 17th century as the most eminent town of the Empire.\(^{71}\)

\(^{71}\) Ibid., pp. 94-95
INDIA

Commodities During The Mughal Era

DELHI
major Commodities in Mughal Era

AGRA
Major Commodities in Mughal Era

AHMEDABAD
Major commodities in Mughal Era

SURAT
Major Commodities in Mughal Era

KHAMBAT
Major Commodities in Mughal Era

VARANASI
Major Commodities in Mughal Era

Source: An atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 3.5: Commodities during the Mughal Empire
3.9 VARANASI (BANARAS)

Tavernier found it as “large and very well-built town where the majority of houses were made of rick or cut –stone and loftier than in other cities.” The streets however were very narrow and inconvenient. Cotton and silk stuffs and other merchandise were produced locally and sold in the market. Palsaert gives a list of articles manufactured in the city among which textiles and copperwares were important. Bernier, visiting the city on one occasion in 1665 with Tavenier as his companion, pays great tribute to this place, having a beautiful situation in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, developed in to a renowned seat of learning, He calls it the Athens of India where learners from all parts of the country used to congregate. According, to Manucci “In the city is made much cloth worked in gold and silver which is distributed hence all over the Moghul realm, and is exported to many parts of the world.”

It was popular not only for its commercial significance but it was a famous pilgrim of Hindus. Silk stuff, gold and silver embroidery, sugar, calico, chintz, were among the commodities which were traded. It emerges as a significant trading centre regarding cotton textiles. The variety of cotton goods produced at Benaras were excellent, some of them were bordered with gold and silver threads, in view of Abul Fazal and Palesaert, there seems to have been an advance in the cities manufacturer as all the subsequent writers agree to the excellent quality of its stuff.

Several varieties were produced were Chautar, Doriya, Khasa, Gazi, Khairabadi, Calico and Amertees. The famous silk textile which was available was Kamkhawab. Other industries flourishing at Banaras were sugar and in the 18th century opium. Not only temples, mosques were also found in the city. The constant pouring in of the multitudes of devotees within the city must have occasioned considerable commercial traffic which further enhanced the commercial activities of the cities.

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72 B.B. Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India(Since pre-historic times), Pp. 182-183
73 Opcit pp-123.
74 Ibid pp-123.
75 Ibid pp -124
76 Opcit pp-124
Table 3.2: Important varieties of cotton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Variety Produced</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>Cotton Cloth</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>large quantities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton fabrics</td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chautar</td>
<td>Rs.10/- a piece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sahran</td>
<td>431 mahmudi for 50 pieces</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chhant</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>for exports</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chokaroe</td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton goods</td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton goods and tents</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>their sale in the everyday <em>nakhas</em> is noticed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton fabrics</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>best variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 2 to 12 a piece</td>
<td>for exports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazi</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 1/2 or 11 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazi bafta</td>
<td></td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bairamis</td>
<td></td>
<td>........</td>
<td>for exports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white fabrics</td>
<td></td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafta</td>
<td></td>
<td>........</td>
<td>for exports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White cotton goods</td>
<td></td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benaras</td>
<td>Mindili (defined as a handkerchief, turban, or turban cloth woven with silk and gold threads)</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>for exports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thona and Mhirkul</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>beautifully woven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shashes for the Moor and other cotton goods</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>vast quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gangajal, girdles, turbans and sari</td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White cotton goods</td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White fabrics, fine cotton goods</td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton goods</td>
<td>........</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malomal</td>
<td>Rs.20 per score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doria</td>
<td>Rs. 50 per score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chintz</td>
<td>Rs. 22, 20, 27 and 16 per score</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gazi (Sultahatty Silhati)</td>
<td>Rs. 7, 6 to 4, and 5/8 annas per 100 yards</td>
<td>........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garah</td>
<td>Rs. 40, 35, 30 and 27 per score</td>
<td>........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kharwarah</td>
<td>Rs. 17, 20 and 25 per score</td>
<td>........</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanzeb -i-Jahangiri</td>
<td>Rs. 225 per score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rezooee</td>
<td>Rs. 13, 15, 20, 25 and 30 per score</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheet Sharand-perry</td>
<td>Rs. 12, 15, 20, 25 and 30 per score</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cafayd cheet (closely woven)</td>
<td>Rs. 22, 20, 17 and 16 per score</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shubnam</td>
<td>Rs. 50/- per piece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dastan</td>
<td>Rs. 1 to 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shohangee sooti</td>
<td>Rs. 1/12 yard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi (1972) Vol-1,. Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Mughal 1556-1707, IIAS, Shimla*
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

Map 3.6: Variety of cotton textiles during the Mughal Era

Source: H.Q. Naqvi, Urbanisation and Industries in upper India 1556-1803
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

Map 3.7: Location of mint during the Mughal Era

Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire
3.10 CAMBAY (KHAMBAT)

In Jahangir’s memoirs Cambay appears as “one of the largest port’s in Hindustan”. It was a walled city with fine houses where many merchants of distant origin came and settled. There was a mint for gold and silver coins. But signs of decline were already visible, as noted by Pelsaert, largely due to increasing trade which was nearly or almost wholly at an end. A few caravans arrived at the time and that too carried goods for small value. Tavernier making similar statement holds the receding sea responsible for vast erosion in trade. In fact this is also mentioned indirectly by Jahangir, stating that the ships could not come directly to Cambay but had to anchor at the port of Goga, lying opposite on Kathiawar coast, from where cargo were carried in small boats to the former. Loss in trade was however was largely made-up by its industrial activities centred mainly on cutting of beautiful Agates and shaping them in to various prize objects, demonstrating high workmanship these along with a superior quality of Indigo had a wide market. Thevenot recorded his impression about a decade or so after Tavernier, notes that “the shops are full of aromatic perfumes, spices, silken stuffs. There are vast no of ivory bracelets agate cups, chaplets and rings made in towns.77

In the Medieval period, Cambay developed and established direct trade links with the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. But geography also imposed a certain disadvantages on Cambay, as it was situated at the extreme end of the gulf, and the presence of large sand banks deterred sea going ships from coming to its directly and there was also a dread of tidal bore owing to the narrowing of the gulf at that point. Cambay could only hold its ground by developing Gandhar and later Gogha as its outer ports, where the large ships could anchor and receive and deliver cargoes from and to Cambay by flat-bottomed light boats called as Tauris.78

It appears from the testimony of Ibn Batuta and from the Portuguese sources that during the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Gandhar situated to the north of the Narmada River served as the main outer port of Cambay. But during the

77 B.B. Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India(Since pre-historic times), p.182
78 Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanisation & Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals 1556-1707, pp. 106-110
first half of the sixteenth century Gandhar seems to have silted so much that it became unsuitable for anchoring ships. Cambay (with Gogha as its outer port) was thus the main port of Gujarat at the time of final conquest of Gujarat by Akbar in 1572. Because of the conquest not only political and administrative integration of Gujarat with the Mughal Empire took place but also major economic consequences followed it, notably in terms of enlargement of the hinterland of the Gujarat ports and from now onwards, the Gujarat oversees trade had to respond to the needs of Mughal Empire or at least of its inland core i.e. Agra-Delhi area where the court mainly resided along with the great nobility.

The Gujarat ports became increasingly the emporia of exports from the inner zone of the empire and perhaps still more of imports like treasure and horses intended for that zone. The exports too now included goods from the inner zone such as Bayana indigo, raised near Agra, textiles (Daryabadis and Khayrabadis) from Awadh, and even Bengal silk. The inventories of cargoes of English ships sailed from Gujarat ports bear testimony to how important these exports had become.

Earlier the major route connecting the inner core with the Gulf of Cambay was running through Ahmedabad to Agra via Ajmer. Though it was of shorter distance on the map but the intervening desert and the interference of Chiefs through where territories it had to pass imposed difficulties. An alternative route offering greater advantage became possible when Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1601. The route ran south of Agra through Gwalior and Malwa to Burhanpur and then turned west crossing the Khandesh plains in the southern Gujarat. Once it became available, the rapid growth of Surat at the cost of Cambay in the seventeen century can be seen to be inevitable. The cargo embarked at Cambay for higher sea destination was comprised of three types of goods; one was the local goods, then were the goods collected within the province and goods reaching here from distant and other provinces. Apparently a large variety of goods were exported annually from Cambay and the vessels on their return collected and brought various special goods and commodities of different places. These piece goods were of all varieties these were, white stamped and painted silk stuffs, quilts, carpets too were exported from Cambay indigo, paper, leather goods, dressed hide, opium ,other drugs, iron, large
quantities of sugar, dried ginger, raw cotton, asafoetida, precious stones were enlisted amongst the cargo consigned from Cambay\textsuperscript{79}.

The vessels reaching Cambay from east delivered silk from China, quicksilver, vermillion, large quantities of spices, sandal woods, Pearls from extreme south of peninsula, Cordge Coconut in large quantity, Oil, Honey from Maldives, Slaves from Zeila\textsuperscript{80}. Besides these Rupee mint Aurangzeb was also there at Cambay.

\textbf{Map 3.8: Imported Stuff to Khambat}

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., p.110.  
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p.110
3.11 SURAT

It was already a port of some importance for pilgrim traffic since the Tapti River offered a harbour, while within small discharge silting was not too great a threat. Its advantage as a port was improved by the discovery of a hole, or a natural under sea though opposite the village of Swally, offering excellent anchorage for large ships. The rise of Surat as a major port at the expense of Cambay is reflected in a dramatic shift of silver minting from Ahmedabad (supplied with silver via cambay) to Surat, to which the silver streams from Europe (via the Red sea and the Cape of good hope) were now diverted. Clearly by the early 1610s, Surat had attained the prominence which remained with it for the rest of the century.

In Gujarat paid revenue in the form of its manufacturers, more particularly Ahmedabad manufacturers the connections would have remained a purely inland one. But if the tax flow was in part in money or in imported commodities like horses, copper, broad cloth or even slaves, the Gujarat port would become involved in the exchanges; and a triangular relationship could develop between Ahmedabad, Surat and Agra, for instance bullion and other imports received at Surat might be transported directly to Agra, while Ahmedabad and inland Gujarat might supply indigo, cotton textiles and other manufacturers to Surat for export. The resulting claims of Ahmedabad on Agra would then be cancelled by the latter’s tax claims on the former. This relationship would explain why Surat became the principal Gujarat mint in the seventeen century and began to account for a surprisingly large share in the total mintage of the empire.

In return for bullion transferred inland, Surat might in parts receive manufacturers and goods from its immediate hinterland but additionally exports of inland regions might develop. In this case of course Ahmedabad would have no more significance than a station on one of the two routes connecting Surat and Agra. The connection between the major Gujarat port and the capital city of the empire would be direct.

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81 Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanisation & Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals 1556-1707, pp. 112-113
Undoubtedly Bayana indigo played a major part in sustaining this relationship till the 1650s; so also textiles from production centre in the upper Ganga basin. However partly because Bengal silk rose to be such an important commodity of world trade after the 1650s, European companies developed direct sea borne commerce with Bengal thereafter. At the same time, Bayana indigo began losing out to the West Indian competition. In the latter half the seventeenth century, Agra and the Imperial heartland would therefore have little for export through European companies via Gujarat and yet Surat continued to inject large amount of bullion into the empire. The only explanation for this would seem to be that export of inland textiles and other commodities to west Asia followed a different pattern and that therefore much of Surat mintage was of bullion received through the Red sea and the Gulf, by and large, the role of Mughal empire in sustaining the briskness of commerce though Gujarat seems to have been significant conversely its decline beginning in Aurangzeb later years initiated a process of construction of the hinterland of Surat. The Hindustani consignment destined for south reached Surat by way of Burhanpur. The goods included Poppy, Indigo, Opium, Iron, Ship building, Pineapple, Gumlac, Spices, Sugar. Sandal etc. While returning to Surat ships brought musk from China, Horses from Arabia, Slaves and Ivory from Ethiopia. 

After studying the Medieval structure of the towns and trading centres, it would be interesting to know the present status of these towns. All these have evolved over a period of time and have acquired different status, some of them becoming Megacities, Metropolitans, class 2 towns as per the 2001 Census. To have a further idea about these towns their occupational structure as per 2001 census has been taken into account. Regarding the occupational structure, workforce of each and every town has been studied, emphasizing on the share of the Total workers, Main workers, Marginal workers and Nonworkers and also the share of male and female in each and every category has also been taken into account.

3.12 PRESENT STATUS OF THE MEDIEVAL TOWNS

After studying the Medieval structure of the towns and seeing their potential as trading centres, it would be interesting to know the present status of these towns. All these have evolved over a period of time and have acquired different status, some of them becoming Megacities, Metropolitans, class 2 towns as per the 2001 Census. To have a further idea about these towns their occupational structure as per 2001 census has been taken into account. Regarding the occupational structure, workforce of each and every town has been studied, emphasizing on the share of the Total workers, Main workers, Marginal workers and Nonworkers and also the share of male and female in each and every category has also been taken into account.
3.12.1 Agra

Agra is one of the most populous cities in Uttar Pradesh and 19th most populous in India. Agra was the commercial centre of Mughal Empire. According to 2001 India census, the area in sq km which it covers is 140.99. The total population is 1,331,339 out of which 720,707 are males and 610,632 are females. The variation in population since the preceding census is 40.43%.

Source: Census of India

Map 3.10: Agra Tehsil Divisions in 2001
Agra was a prominent town of the Mughal Era. It was the capital at that time and was also an entrepot. Earlier cotton industries, Leather making and carpet industries were of prime significance at Agra. Today several industries are there in Agra. The important ones are:

- Iron & Steel (Small)
- Copper and Brass
- Food Processing
- Agricultural Machinery
- Cotton
- Glass work
- Wool
- Leather Goods
- Matches

Cotton & Leather goods were very popular during the Mughal Period and they are still a part of the Industrial structure of Agra.

### 3.12.1.1 Occupational Structure of Agra

In Agra if one looks at the total number of workers it is 340039, out of which two other categories of workers is derived i.e. main workers and marginal workers i.e. 297921 and 42118 respectively. Male and female both are contributing to main workers as well as marginal workers, however not in equal percentage; rather there is a lot of gap between the contributions of the two sections. Among the total workers 90 percent are males and only 10 percent are females, similarly among the main workers 92 percent are males and only 8 percent are females (see Table 3.3). Under the category of marginal workers 76 percent are male workers and 24 percent are female.
The percentage of female workers is less in all the categories i.e. Total workers, Main workers, Marginal workers, however the percentage of female worker is relatively higher when it comes to the category of marginal workers i.e. (those persons who worked less than six months) it is showing that there is relatively a higher number of women who are working for a shorter span of time i.e. less than six months. Overall their percentage is low but when it comes to a work structure which is for a shorter duration their number shows some increment. Regarding the share of male workers it is high in all categories. 90, 92 and 76 percent respectively. When it comes to non-workers, the percentage of female is higher i.e. 58 percent in comparison to the male percentage i.e. 42 percent (see Table 3.5) The less percentage of female workers in all the categories i.e. Total workers, Main workers, and Marginal workers gives testimony to their high percentage when it comes to Non-workers.

3.12.2 Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad is the largest city and former capital of the Indian state of Gujarat. With a city population of more than 5.5 million and an extended population of 6.3 million it is the fifth largest city and seventh largest metropolitan area of India. During the British rule, this city established itself as the home of a developing textile industry and was nicknamed Manchester of the East. In the post liberalization period the city’s economic performance in tertiary sector activities like commerce, communication and construction has been commendable. According to census of India, 2001 the area it comprises is 438.40 sq. km. The total population is 4,525,013 out of which 2,401,422 are males and 2,123,591 are females. The variation since the preceding census is 34.50%.
Basically it acted as an entrepot during the Mughal Era. But today it is one of the most industrialized cities of India. Which is very famous for cotton, the other industries which are there are:

- Agricultural Machinery
- Brass & Copper
- Cement
- Chemicals
- Pharmaceuticals
- Vegetable Oils
- Silk
- Plastic Goods
- Synthetic
- Glass Work
- Leather Goods
- Paper
- Rubber Goods
- Plywood Boards
- Matches

3.12.2.1 Occupational Structure of Ahmedabad

The number of Total workers in Ahmedabad is 1130686, out of which 1077011 are the main workers and 53675 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 87 percent are male and 13 percent are females. Among the main workers 89 percent are male and 11 percent are female (see table no.3.3), among the marginal workers 50 percent are female and 50 percent are male (see table no.3.4). The number of Nonworkers in Ahmedabad is 2404105 out of which 63 percent are female and 37 percent are male (see table no. 3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 68 percent are the Nonworkers and 30 percent are the main workers and 2 percent are the marginal workers.
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

Map 3.11: Ahmedabad Tehsil divisions in 2001

Source: Census of India
3.12.3 Delhi

Delhi, officially the national capital territory (NCT) that includes the Indian capital New Delhi is the second most populous metropolis in India after Mumbai with a population of 16.3 million in 2011. The city is also the eighth most populous metropolis in the world. The NCT and its urban region have been given the special status of National Capital Region under the Constitution of India’s 69th amendment act of 1991. According to the 2001 census, the Delhi Urban Agglomeration comprises an area of 888.74 sq. km.

Delhi being the capital, has a lot of industries almost all the industries are located here, no matter big or small. Regarding the industries Delhi has a wide range from:

- Iron & Steel (small)
- Aircraft Building
- Food processing
- Radio & Electronic
- Vegetable Oils
- Chemicals
- Plastic Goods
- Plywood Boards
- Glass Work.
- Automobiles
- Agricultural Machinery
- Copper and Brass
- Cement
- Pharmaceuticals
- Synthetic
- Rubber Goods
- Paper
- Leather Goods
Map 3.12: Delhi Zone Map 2001

Source: Census of India
3.12.3.1 Occupational Structure of Delhi

According to the census of India 2001 the total number of workers is quite high when compared to the other towns it is 4244170, Delhi being the capital city of the country comes as the main reason with offering a lot of opportunities regarding economic activities, out of this huge numbers 4043839 are the Main workers and 200331 are Marginal workers. The share of female workers in total workers is 13 percent and male is 87 percent. Among the Main workers 12 percent are female and 88 percent are male (see table no.3.3). Among the Marginal workers 26 percent are female and 74 percent are male (see table no. 3.4). In the capital city also similar trend is being found where we see that the share of female is low but higher when compared to the other towns, Also it is only under the Marginal workers that the percentage of female is relatively higher. When it comes to Non-workers the number of total workers is 866160 out of which 61 percent are female and male accounts for 39 percent (see table no. 3.5). The higher percentage of female in non-workers shows that there is a higher number of female which comes as dependent population overall workforce if we see 58 percent come as Non-workers, 41 percent as Main workers and only 2 percent as Marginal workers.

3.12.4 Khambat(Cambay)

Khambat, formerly known as Cambay is a city in Anand district of Gujarat. It was formerly an important trading centre for silk, chintz and gold items but because its harbour has gradually silted up, the maritime trade has moved elsewhere. No concrete steps have been taken by the local government to revive the business in the town. As of 2001 India census, the area covered in sq km is 80.24. Khambat has a population of 93,194 out of which males constitute 47,960 are males and 45,234 are females. The variation in the population since the preceding census is 3.74%. Not many industries are found at khambhat. Only few industries like cotton, textiles, paper, etc. are a part of khambat's industrial structure.
3.12.4.1 Occupational Structure of Khambat (Cambay)

The number of Total workers in Khambat is 26857, out of which 24636 are the main workers and 2221 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 83 percent are male and 17 percent are females. Among the main workers 87 percent are male and 13 percent are female (see table no. 3.3), among the marginal workers 58 percent are female and 42 percent are males (see table no. 3.4). The number of Non-workers in Khambat is 53595 out of which 65 percent are female and 35 percent are male (see table no. 3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 67 percent are the Non-workers and 31 percent are the main workers and 3 percent are the marginal workers.

3.12.5 Varanasi (Banaras)

Varanasi which is the spiritual and religious centre of India is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world and the oldest in India. Varanasi’s economy is primarily dependent on manufacturing and tourism. Varanasi’s manufacturing industry is dominated by small-scale industries and household production, primarily silk weaving. According to the 2001 census, the area it covers in sq km is 111.31. The total population is 1,203,961 out of which 643,043 are males and 560,918 are females. The variation in the population since the preceding census is 16.79%.

It was the most significant centre of cotton during the Mughal Era. Different varieties of cotton were available in Varanasi. The contemporary structure of Varanasi still has cotton as an important part, besides that it includes:

- Locomotive's
- Automobiles
- Agricultural Machinery
- Food Processing
- Silk
- Vegetable Oils
- Fertilizers
- Chemicals
- DDT & Insecticides
VARANASI

DISTRICT MAP (2001)

Source: Census of India

Map 3.13: Varanasi District Map
3.12.5.1 Occupational Structure of Varanasi (Banaras)

The number of Total workers in Varanasi is 319832, out of which 284712 are the main workers and 35120 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 85 percent are male and 15 percent are females. Among the main workers 89 percent are male and 11 percent are female (see table no.3.3), among the marginal workers 47 percent are female and 53 percent are males (see table no.3.4). The number of Non-workers in Varanasi is 789345 out of which 59 percent are female and 41 percent are male (see table no.3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 71 percent are the Non-workers and 26 percent are the main workers and 3 percent are the marginal workers.

3.12.6 Surat

Surat is a well-developed metropolis and second largest city of the Indian state of Gujarat. It is one of the fastest growing cities of the world specially so when it comes to economic prosperity. The city is known for its textile and diamond businesses. 92% of the world’s diamonds are cut and polished in Gujarat. According to the 2001 India census, the area in sq km is 236.91, the total population of Surat’s urban agglomeration is 2,811,614 out of which 1,597,156 are males and 1,214,458 are females. The variation in the population since the preceding census is 85.64%. The major industries of Surat are as following:

- Cotton
- Paper
- Plastic Goods
- Silk
- Chemicals
- Rubber Goods
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

Source: Census of India

Map 3.14: Surat Tehsil Divisions in 2001
3.12.6.1 Occupational Structure of Surat

The number of Total workers in Surat is 929275, out of which 909694 are the main workers and 19581 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 90 percent are male and 10 percent are females. Among the main workers 91 percent are male and 9 percent are female (see Table no.3.3), among the marginal workers 59 percent are female and 41 percent are males (see Table no. 3.4). The number of Non-workers in Surat is 1504560 out of which 65 percent are female and 35 percent are male (see Table no. 3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 62 percent are the Non-workers and 37 percent are the main workers and 1 percent are the marginal workers.
Chapter 3: Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

Map 3.15: Industries in the Mughal Towns

Source: Encyclopedia of Industries
Table 3.3: Share of Main Workers in 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambay</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varanasi</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India 2001

Figure 3.1: Share of Main Worker in 2001

Source: Census of India, 2001
Table 3.4: Share of Marginal Workers in 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Ahmedabad</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>Delhi</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Varanasi</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Sources: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.2: Share of Marginal Workers in 2001

Source: Census of India, 2001
Table 3.5: Share of Non Workers in 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
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<th>Female (%)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambay</td>
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<td>Delhi</td>
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<td>Surat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Varanasi</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Sources: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.3: Share of Non-Workers in 2001

Source: Census of India, 2001
Table 3.6: Share of Total Workers in 2001

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
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<td>Varanasi</td>
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<td>15</td>
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Source: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.4: Share of Total Workers in 2001

Source: Census of India, 2001
### Table 3.7: Workforce in 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Main Workers (%)</th>
<th>Marginal Workers (%)</th>
<th>Non Workers (%)</th>
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<td>Agra</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambay</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varanasi</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 2001

### Figure 3.5: Workforce in 2001

Source: Census of India, 2001