CHAPTER 4

TRADE ROUTES

Mughal India, was a land of diverse geographical terrains, it contained vast portions of land consisting of plain, mountains, plateaus, desert, dense forests, and rivers and was almost surrounded by ocean on the three sides when it was on its zenith in terms of expansion. The peculiarities of the Mughal economy (as discussed in Chapter 1) necessitated presence of routes linking the villages with the towns and towns with each other and with ports. This chapter is thus dedicated to the description of the main land and river routes, also covering aspects such as types of land routes, their surface, various facilities provided such as kos-minars, avenues of trees on the sides, the halting places such as sarais (inns) on the routes and bridges and various fording places on the rivers to continue the land routes etc.; and types of rivers such as perennial and seasonal rivers.

Land Routes:

In Mughal India, land routes linked almost every corner of the empire. This network of routes had been developed partly for commercial needs and partly due to the military expeditions. Among these routes some were commercial as well as military routes whereas some were fully military i.e. due to strategic point of view or due to emergency, certain
routes developed which were not adopted by the merchants or were not used frequently.

In Mughal India, it is very difficult to stick to a single definition of the roads. In the different region of the empire due to the geographical conditions it developed differently, such as in Bengal embankments known as Al, served as roads. Some were little more than tracks. On the other hand some roads were broad avenues generally having breadth of 40 ordinary paces, as were the imperial highways.

Tavernier who travelled many times in India in the mid seventeenth century, found “the manner of travelling” in India “is not less convenient than all that they have been able to invent in order that one may be carried in comfort either in France or in Italy.” Earlier in 1615 Coryat noted about the imperial highway from Lahore to Agra, that “From the famous citie of Lahore I had twenty daies journey to another goodly citie, called Agra, through such a delicate and eeven tract of ground as I never saw before, and doubt whether the like bee to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world.” However, the lack of ability in maintaining surface of the road was a big drawback. Even the imperial highway which went to the east from Agra to Patna was not fit for travel in the rainy season due to mud and water logging on the way it no more

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1 Alangirnama, pp. 683-4, 944.
3 Tavernier, I, p. 32.
4 Coryat in Early Travels, p.244.
remained negotiable by bullock-carts which was the main means of transport for merchandise or others, on this route. The English factors have several complaints regarding the surface of the roads. In the 1620s, even by paying higher freight charges they could not send their merchandise before October.  

In the 1630s Peter Mundy, who went to Patna in the rainy season, reported his experience in these words “It being tyme of Raines....wee arrived at Puttna....not meeting all the way one laden carte either going or comeing from thence, it being not then the tyme of Travell for Laden carts.” This shows that conditions of the roads in the raining season were too bad to travel at several stretches. Passing through Bhadohi, Mundy noted that “About 10 a Clock, wee were overtaken with a tirrable gust, for there was very much winde, aboundance of rayne, thunder and lightninge, Our Carts that tyme goeinge all the way upp to Axletree in water, soe that what through the Noyse of Elements overheard, and what the water made under us, with the rowlinge of the Carts, somtymes on the one side, somtymes on the other, sometimes upp over a banck, then downe againe into a pitt, with the Outcryes of Balloaches [Baluchis] and Carmen round about in saveing some Carts from Overturninge and haileinge [hauling] others out of some hole where they stuck fast, I takeinge one for my shelter att that tyme where there was a strange savour -- I say all teis severall occurringe together strooke into my fantasie [struck my imagination with] with the greatest resemblance of a sea storme aboard a Shipp for its

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5 EFL 1618-21, pp. 268-9.
6 Mundy, II, pp.143-44.
 continuance that ever had in my life on shoare.” Again after passing Karamnasa river they had to face much trouble due to presence of much tough mire and marsh overgrown with a long kind of grass, that oxen were scarcely able to draw through, though it had not rained there for a month. He further noted that “if there had fallen any store of raine, as is usuall att this tyme of the yeare, there had beene noe passage att all, or not above one Course a day att the most.”

Tavernier noted that, the route from Agra to Surat via Sironj and Burhanpur, was not passable even after two months of the rainy season specially due to the inundated rivers which used to cover the low roads at the fording or crossing. The best description of the surface of the Indian roads came from the English Factors in 1666 that, ‘In these countries here are no beaten roads or mending of highways’. And after the rainy season, the cart which passed these roads first had to face many hardships, as it had to cut its way through the mud for making the way for other carts. On the other hand, it was also not easy to travel in the desert before the rain as wheels of carts used to stick in the sand and Mundy has to use series of oxen to draw cart out from the sand during his journey from Agra to Ahmadabad through the desert region. In the Deccan and South India roads were at several places interrupted by high mountains, tanks, rivers, and many narrow and difficult passes that was the reason that

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7 Ibid., pp.125-26.
8 Tavernier, I, pp. 31, 50.
10 Mundy, II, p. 298.
wheeled carriage were not used on large scale at least beyond Golkonda.\(^\text{11}\)
Those roads were mainly fit for oxen and pack-horses for the conveyance of men, and for the transport of goods and merchandise.\(^\text{12}\)

However, we have references of beaten roads also in the Mughal empire, but these were only at few places. In 1580s Akbar made passable the Khyber Pass for carts by cutting solid rocks.\(^\text{13}\) At Rawalpindi, on the Lahore-Attock road, where the road crosses through Margala Pass, it was cut through rock and six or seven yard broad road was strongly paved with bluish or grey lime-stone for three-quarter of a mile. A strong revetment of masonry defended each side of the work.\(^\text{14}\) In 1666 Thevenot found a route cut out of rock quite smooth since it was paved with free stones and a 1.2 meter-high wall along the edge of the road, to protect the wheeled transport between Daulatabad-Elora.\(^\text{15}\)Tavernier during his journey in Bengal, before entering the town of Rajmahal, found one or two coss of the roads leading to the town, paved with bricks.\(^\text{16}\)

One of the important aspects of Mughal routes, which had attracted the travellers very much, was the lined avenues of trees on both sides of the

\(^{11}\) Tavernier, I, 142.
\(^{12}\) Ibid.
\(^{14}\) Elphinstone, I, p. 102; Moorcroft & Trebeck, II, 314-15; Burnes, I, p. 70; Hugel, 226-7; For inscription printed and translated see \textit{Indian Antiquary}, III, 1874, pp. 205, 265. See also Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, Map. 4B and p. 12.
\(^{15}\) Thevenot, pp. 104-05.
\(^{16}\) Tavernier, I, p. 102.
roads. In 1615 A.D., Coryat noted about those avenues of trees on the imperial highway from Lahore to Agra, in these laudatory words “Another thing also in this way being no less memorable then the plaineness of the ground; a row of trees on each side of this way where people doe travell, extending it selfe from the townes end of Lahore to the townes end of Agra; the most incomparable shew of that kinde that ever my eies survaied.”\(^{17}\) Earlier in 1610, Finch noted the presence of avenues of trees on both sides of roads from Kabul to Agra planted by the order of Jahangir after the defeat of his rebelled son Khusrau. Jahangir himself noted that by the orders trees were planted from Agra as far as the river of Attock and he further ordered to make avenues in the same way from Agra to Bengal.\(^{18}\) Terry who noted about the journey of Coryat after his death, in the same period, noted for the imperial highway from Lahore to Agra, a distance of four hundred English miles, that “and the rode-way on both sides all this long distance planted with great trees, which are all the year cloathed with leaves, exceeding beneficial unto travellers for the shade they afford in those climes. This very much extended length of way twixt these two places is called by travellers the Long Walk,...”\(^{19}\) Thomas Roe, when

\(^{17}\) Coryat in *Early Travels*, p. 244. It is very surprising that Coryat who was well acquainted with the roads of Europe, praised the Mughal road from Lahore to Agra, which was later testified by Tavernier who found in general ‘the manner of travelling’ in India ‘not less convenient than all the arrangements for marching in comfort either in France or in Italy’.

\(^{18}\) *Tuzuk*, p. 277.

\(^{19}\) Terry in *Early Travels*, pp. 283-84.
describing about the provinces of Mughal empire, noted that "from Agra to Lahor beeing 320 Course which is not lesse then seven hundred mile. It is all a Playne and the high-way Planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke ; it is one of the great woorkes and woonders of the world." \(^{20}\)

Tavernier, the frequent traveller in India in the mid of the seventeenth century, found "nearly all the way from Lahore to Delhi, and from Delhi to Agra, is like a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides, which is very pleasant to view;" but he showed displeasure for not taking care of the trees in these words "but in some places they have been allowed to perish and the people have not taken care to plant others." \(^{21}\)

On the roads from Agra to Bengal as Jahangir himself noted in his memoir. avenues of trees were also found. \(^{22}\) Mundy who travelled in the 1630s found avenues of trees especially of trees of Neem, Pipal, Dhak, Bar, and others up to Allahabad on the road from Agra to Patna at a distance of 8 to 9 paces from each other and the distance between the two rows were 40 paces, which testifies the order given by Jahangir. \(^{23}\) As so far the roads

\[^{20}\] Roe, p. 493.

\[^{21}\] Tavernier, I, p. 78. On the map which accompanied the French edition of 1713 this avenue is represented.

\[^{22}\] Tuzuk, p. 277.

\[^{23}\] Mundy, II, pp.83-4, 86. However, Mundy during his further journey observed that there were less frequent and more spares trees on the sides of the roads, due to lake of care, some were dead, others had been felled, without having been replaced. But again he found rows of trees before entering Patna, which had disappeared so many days previously. (Ibid, p.92, 134). Manrique in 1641-2 also found trees on the routes especially near the villages on his journey from Bengal to Agra (Manrique, II, p.149).
from Agra towards Surat and Deccan were concerned, the roads passed through the mountainous and plateaus containing bushes and jungles as well as from desert, but we have no information so far, regarding organised plantating of trees on the sides of roads in Mughal period.

Another feature of the Mughal roads almost throughout the empire was the construction of resting-places best known at that time by the name of sarais (inns) on the end of an ordinary day's journey or at every 10 kos. These sarais were made by the order of emperor or sometimes by princes or by the imperial servants, or sometimes by the philanthropic personalities. These sarais were generally built of stones or of bricks or thatched huts or even of mud. Some of them were in square like cloister in monastery and even some of them were built like palaces. The sarais were mostly divided into dwelling rooms and the chambers for the attendants, especially bhatyaras and bhatyarins, who dressed the victuals for the travellers if they pleased only paying nominal charges for both men and animals. Akbar ordered to establish the kitchens in the sarais on the high roads, for free distribution of food among the empty handed travellers so that after

21 Withington in Early Travels, p. 225; Manrique, Travels, 1629-43, pp. 99-100; Bernier, p. 233; Manucci, I, pp. 114-5. For the use of wayfarers there are throughout the realms of the Mogul on every route many 'sarais' (Ibid., p. 67).

22 A'in, II, p. 197; Tuzuk, p. 7-8; Early Travels, pp. 225, 325; Steel and Crowther, p. 268; Pelseart, p. 50; Manrique, II, p. 99; Bernier, 233; Manucci, I, pp. 67, 114-5; II, pp. 96.

23 Finch in Early Travels, 179; Pelseart, p. 50; De Laet, p. 89; Mundy, II, pp. 78-79, 89, 159; Tavernier, I, p. 45; Manucci, I, p. 67; Bernier, p. 233; Hamilton, I, p. 117.

24 Withington in Early Travels, p. 225; Mundy, II, p. 121; Manrique, pp. 101-102; Marshall, p. 117-8; Manucci, I, pp. 114-5.
undergoing fatigue of journeying they might put food into their mouths without troubles.28 However the travellers had to arrange for their bedding themselves.29 These sarais not only provided the travellers and merchants resting places on the roads but also provided security to them. The gates were closed at sunset and opened only in the morning. Before closing and opening the gates the person deputed for this, cried loudly giving warnings to the travellers to look after their things. If anyone found that he had lost his things, the gate remained closed till the thing was recovered.30

In Mughal India, kos-minars were erected, especially on the highways. However we have earlier references for the existence of kos-minars in India also but the Mughal kos-minars were built on large scale with some special features.31 The kos-minars, not only indicated the distance on the major roads, but also it indicated the directions and gave shelter to the travellers in certain cases. Arif Qandahari noted that the basic motto of the erection was to guide the traveller on the route in travelling to and fro in the day and night.32 Bernier calls them 'small pyramids or turrets, erected from kosse to kosse, for the purpose of pointing out the different

28 AN, III, p. 825.
29 Terry in Early Travels, p. 311. However, Terry also says that the travellers had to bring with them cook and other necessaries wherein to dress his meal, besides bedding, but we have several examples of persons who used to reside in the sarais such as bhatyaras and bhatyarins, whose sole duty was to serve the travellers (Mundy, II, p. 121; Manrique, pp. 101-102; Tavernier, I, p. 45; Manucci, I, pp. 114-5) Bernier, pp. 233, Manucci, I, p. 67.
30 For detailed information on the milestones see Deloche, I, pp. 149-159.
31 Arif Qandahari, p. 65.
Among the Mughal emperors, Babur was the first who ordered for the measurement of the road from Agra to Kabul and ordered to erect a tower of 4 qaris high (24ft. or 36ft.) at every 9 kurohs or 13-14 miles, having a char-dara on the top. However these towers were not the kos-minars and their purpose was to facilitate the dak-chauki. Akbar was the first who ordered in actual sense for the construction of kos-minars, during his journeys from Agra to Ajmer in the 19th R.Y. On the road from Agra to Ajmer, a distance of 368 km, Archaeological Survey of India with other departments, found at least 110 kos-minars. Similarly on the road of Agra-Delhi they found 34 kos-minars and on the Delhi- Lahore road they found 78 kos-minars. On the road between Agra and Allahabad at least twenty kos-minars were found. On the road of Agra-Lahore the kos-minars were

33 Bernier, p. 284.
34 Babur-nama, II, p.629. According to A. S. Beveridge, the distance of 12 qaris is equal to 24ft. or 36ft. depending on the short or the long qari being meant. Beveridge further says that, Erskine makes 9 kos (kurohs) to be 13-14 miles, perhaps on the basis of the smaller gaz of 24 inches. Again by char-dara, he meant four-doored, open on all sides.
35 AN, III, p.156; Arif says that these minors were erected in A.H.981/1573A.D.(Arif Qandahari, p.66) . See Badaoni who laments that instead of these (kos-minars) he (Akbar) would had ordered gardens and caravansarais to be made. (Muntakhabut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, ed. Ali Ahmad and Lees, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1865, p.176);Withington in Early Travels, p. 225.
36 Annual Progress Report for the Northern Circle, for the Year ending 31st March 1914, of the Archaeological Survey of India, pp. 45-7.
37 Annual Progress Report, pp. 48-51.
constructed by the order of Jahangir in the 14\textsuperscript{th} R.Y. or in 1619-20, that the officers should erect a pillar at every \textit{kos} to be sign of a \textit{kos}.\textsuperscript{39} According to Manucci, Jahangir also ordered to construct those one on the Agra-Allahabad road.\textsuperscript{40} These \textit{minars} were made of bricks or stone covered with plaster and were of different types.\textsuperscript{41} These \textit{minars} differed in shape and size in the different regions. On the Agra-Lahore road from the surviving \textit{minars}, it appears that they were columns of cylindrical form, on octagonal bases and the height was from 6 to 10 metres.\textsuperscript{42} On the Allahabad road they were simply in the shape of truncated cones, pierced at the top to allow the passage of fire provided by a lighting device installed in the interior and of height from 3 to 8 metres.\textsuperscript{43}

Another convenience provided on the Mughal highways was the presence of wells and tanks for water for the travellers. Almost all the \textit{sarais} contained wells. Mughal emperors especially Jahangir, took great interest in this philanthropic work and ordered for the digging of wells on

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 277; \textit{Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri}, p. 127; Sir Sayid found recess on each minar near Delhi, perhaps for the stone containing serial number of the \textit{kos} (\textit{Asar-us-sanadid}, reprint, 1992, p. 342). However Irfan Habib doubts that the \textit{kos-minars} were built by the order of Jahangir on the Agra-Delhi-Lahore route, as the earliest record of their actual existence on this highway belongs to the early years of Aurangzeb’s reign and he says that it is very likely that the \textit{kos-minars} on both sides of Delhi were set up by Shahjahan while he was building his new capital of Shahjahanabad at Delhi (Bernier, p.284; Thevenot, p.57. Cf. Irfan Habib. \textit{Agrarian System}, pp.414-15).

\textsuperscript{40} Manucci, I, p.164.

\textsuperscript{41} Subhash Parihar, \textit{Land Transport in Mughal India}, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Annual Progress Report}. 1914, PI. 44, 45.

\textsuperscript{43} D.G.U.P.O., Vol. XIX, Cawnpore, 86.
the routes. Jahangir after ascending the throne, ordered the *jagirdars* of neighbourhood to build *sarais* and dig wells; and if the area was under *khalisa* i.e. in the direct imperial administration, the *mutasaddis* were ordered to do this work. And in the next edict he ordered to utilise the properties of those persons who died without any heir, in digging the tanks and wells, besides in the other philanthropic works such as building of mosques, *sarais*, repairing the broken bridges etc.\(^4^4\) Again in the fourteenth regnal year, he ordered to dig wells at distance of three *kos*, on the route from Agra to Lahore.\(^4^5\) Bernier, during his journey from Agra to Delhi, met frequently with wells, which afforded drinking water to the travellers and served waters to the young trees as well.\(^4^6\)

The land route cannot be continued if there is no system of crossing the rivers. There were number of rivers which hampered transportation. To overcome the problem of crossing the rivers the travellers and merchants used several methods, which were used by earlier people also, and those were fording, ferrying and crossing by the bridges of various types. It was not easy to bridge all the rivers, therefore if any river was not bridged, then the river was crossed by fording or ferrying. Most of the route had a fording or ferrying point on the river which the regular transporters knew very well. For example the Sindh River on the Lahore-Kabul route was ferried at Attock Banares and the Narmada river on the Agra-Surat route was crossed

\(^4^4\) *Tiizak*, p. 4.
\(^4^5\) Ibid., p.277.
\(^4^6\) *Bernier*, p. 284.
at Handiya if one went via Narwar and if one went via Sarangpur, Ujjain or Malwa, it was crossed at Akbarpur. The small rivers were usually forded at the place where there was less water and the surface below used to be plain, but even those fordable rivers, used to become non-fordable in the rainy season, which ultimately hampered the transportation in that season. The administration appointed experienced men on the fording and ferrying places, who were accustomed to settle down the every problem aroused in fording or ferrying and took care that the fording places were not overcrowded, too narrow or very uneven or full of mud. He further used to regulate the number of passengers which a ferry might carry. Besides other duties he was sought to prevent the merchants or travellers, from crossing the rivers at places other then the fording or ferrying places and not to allow them to cross at night unless in case of necessity. At ferrying places merchants and travellers had to give certain fixed tolls for crossing, such as, during Akbar’s period, a laden cart was charged 4d. (dam) and empty one 2d.; a laden camel, 1d., empty camels, horses, laden cattle, ½ d. and unladen, ¼ d.; other beast of burden used to pay 1/16d., which included the tolls due by the river. Twenty people had to pay 1d. for crossing, but they were often taken gratis. One-half or one-third of amount thus collected used to go to the state and the remaining to the boatmen. In the second half of seventeenth century Tavernier also noted the presence of darogha, who allowed none to pass without order and used to take the note of the

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47 Jourdain, p. 147; Mundy, II, p. 54.
48 A’in, I, pp. 144-5.
kind of merchandise carried, each wagon was charged four rupees and a chariot was charged one rupee, without counting the boat, for which it was necessary to pay separately. However, duty was not collected on personal property and it was collected only on merchandise before embarking in the boat for crossing the river.\(^{49}\)

So far as bridges on the routes in the Mughal empire are concerned, they were designed mainly to facilitate cart-transportation and spanned besides the smaller streams, rivers like the Degh, the Gomti and Sindh (Central India). Over larger rivers like Jamuna, bridges of boats were built as the architectural technology of the time were apparently unable to attempt masonry construction on the requisite scale. However Mughal Indian masonry bridges were built very strong but had a notable fault of consistent failure to allow for a sufficiently wide passageway for water. In fact Mughal Bridges had massive piers and narrow arches, which always tended to subvert the bridges by driving the channel to a new course, out flanking the bridges. To overcome this situation bridges were subsequently extended, but this extension often met the fate of the original construction.\(^{50}\)

I have tried to present a list of some of the bridges mentioned by travellers and other accounts, found on the important routes of Mughal empire in form tables, while discussing any particular route; as a detailed study of those bridges are not possible in this study.

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\(^{49}\) Tavernier, I, pp. 96, 98, 99.

However it is not possible to give detail of each and every route running in the Mughal empire due to presence of large number of routes, therefore, here details of only those routes have been given which were used for trade and were most frequented. It is also not possible to furnish details of all the routes taking one centre as the originating point, therefore, I have taken important trading centres of Mughal period as the originating point for the convenience of understanding. Such as Agra was that town through which most of the commercial routes passed. On the western coast Surat was the main centre of trading. (See Map.3.1: ‘Trading Routes in Mughal India’ for various important routes in Mughal India).

**Agra-Surat Route:**

Among the most important land routes were the routes between Agra and Surat, which linked the vast hinterland with the major ports and the commercial capital Agra with the most commercialised region (suba of Gujarat), of the empire and further extended to Deccan.

From Agra for Surat there were mainly two routes (as shown on the accompanying Map.3.2). One of these went through the forest and mountainous regions, on which main stoppages were Gwalior and Burhanpur and other one went through the desert regions, on which the main stoppages were Ajmer and Ahmadabad.\(^5^1\) The route through forest and mountainous regions, especially through Malwa plateau and part of Bindha

\(^{51}\) Tavernier, I, p. 31.
Map 3.1. Trading Routes in Mughal India
(based on Irfan Habib *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*)
through Sunera, Ujjain, Akbarpur etc. and crossed Narmada at Akbarpur.\textsuperscript{54} However, \textit{Chahar Gulshan} has not shown Mandu and Sarangpur on the route, which earlier Finch and Jourdain had passed through.\textsuperscript{55} The branch via Narwar was shorter than the branch via Sunera, Ujjain etc.\textsuperscript{56} Between Thalner and Nimghul, main route went through Tekvada and between Dhaita and Khedka, it went through Navapur and from Vyara, it went through Valod etc.\textsuperscript{57} However earlier, Finch, Jourdain and Roe, diverged from this later route, during their visit to Agra and went through Kobad to reach Vyara and to reach Dhaita they went through Narayanpur, instead of Navapur and between Nimghul and Thalner, they went through Sindkheda, instead of Tekvada.\textsuperscript{58} This route crossed many rivers, of them at least were five bridged, and at least three of them were built by the Mughal emperors themselves. Table-4.1 provides details of these at glance.

\textbf{Table-4.1: Bridges on Agra-Surat Route, via Burhanpur.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of/built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jajau</td>
<td>Utangan</td>
<td>Stone/Jahangir</td>
<td>Jahangir</td>
<td>Mundy, II, pp.64-5; Tavemier, I, p. 53; CG, f.137a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE. of Dholpur</td>
<td>Kunwari</td>
<td>Masonry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tavemier, I, p.53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharajapur</td>
<td>Asan</td>
<td>Masonry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{Arch. Monuments in Madhya Bharat}, No.929, p.75; \textit{Atlas}, p.31.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{54} Finch in \textit{Early Travels}, pp. 139-43; Jourdain, p. 146-150; CG, f.136b.
\textsuperscript{55} CG, f.136b.
\textsuperscript{56} Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{57} Mundy, II, pp. 39-47; Tavemier, I, pp. 40-41. However, between Nimghul and Thalner, Tavemier went through Sindkheda, and not through Tekvada. Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{58} Finch in \textit{Early Travels}, pp. 133-146; Jourdain, pp.141-53; Roe, I, pp.86-89, 100-105.
The route through desert ran mainly through Bayana, Ajmer, Merta and Ahmadabad etc.\textsuperscript{59} However, leaving the route towards Ajmer, at Bander Sindri one could reach Ahmadabad without touching Ajmer. This section joined the Ajmer-Ahmadabad route at Merta passing through Kuchhel, Bharunda etc.\textsuperscript{60} The route further passing through Aravali Range, branched into two at Jalor and rejoined at Magarvada. The eastern branch through Sirohi was fit for both carts and camels.\textsuperscript{61} The western branch, which passed through Modra, Bhinmal, Dantivada etc., was a shorter route and was fit for camels only.\textsuperscript{62}

As far as conditions of routes are concerned, the route via Gwalior and Burhanpur, had to be closed almost for four months during the rainy season due impassable roads and the rivers which were mostly not bridged got excess water and created problem in fording or ferrying.\textsuperscript{63} While the

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\textsuperscript{59} Jourdain, pp. 167-71; Mundy, II, 225-98; Tavernier, I, pp. 54-73. However, Tavernier did not touch Ajmer. See also \textit{Waqai-i Ajmer}, for the Merta-Dunara section (pp. 169, 300, 331, 440)

\textsuperscript{60} Tavernier, I, pp. 72-73.

\textsuperscript{61} Mundy, II, pp. 249-50, 261; Finch in \textit{Early Travels}, pp. 170-73.

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., Tavernier, I, pp. 71-72; \textit{Mirat} (Supl.), p. 176.

\textsuperscript{63} Tavernier, I, p. 31. 'I was compelled to remain two days in this place, because there is river to cross, which instead of becoming lower, increased from hour to hour on account of the rains which had fallen during three or four days, so that I had to
route via Desert regions was generally open throughout the year, even during the rains, as the whole region was composed of sand which got consolidation after the rain. However the later route had scarcity of water at various places.

On both of these routes pack oxen, pack camels as well carts as major means of transport carried on mainly indigo, sugar, saltpetre, foodstuffs, Bengal silk etc.

**Delhi-Ajmer-Ahmadabad:** The main route from Delhi towards Ahmadabad ran through Ajmer. Main stages on this route upto Ajmer were Pataudi, Rewari, Kot Putli, Amarsar, Sambhar, Sursara, Untra etc. After Ajmer the stages were same as of the Agra-Ajmer-Ahmadabad road. However one could travel in that direction without touching Ajmer. The route without touching Ajmer, left the main route at or after Sambhar and

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64 Ibid., I, p. 31; Mundy, II, p. 298.
65 Ibid., I, p. 31; Mundy, II, pp. 249, 250, ff.
67 CG, f.139b.
from that place the route going through Bharunda, joined the main route again at Merta.  

**Agra- Lahore-Kabul/Multan/Bhakkar-Qandahar route:**

Other most important land link was the route between Agra and Qandahar, which facilitated the overland foreign trade of the Mughal empire to a great extant.

From Agra to Lahore the main route went upto Delhi through two routes one via Sikandra, Mathura, Akbarpur, Hodal, Palwal, Ballabhgarh, Faridabad, etc. And other one via Sarai Nim, Sikandara Rao, Akrabad, Kol (modern Aligarh), Chandaus, Khurja, Adh, Sikandarabad, Tilbegumpur, Chhelera, Patparganj, Shahdara etc.

From Delhi the route went through Narela, Sonepat, Panipat, Karnal, Thanesar, Shahabad, Ambala, Sarhind, Doraha, Ludhiana, where it crossed Sutlej River, Nakodar, Sultanpur, Govindwal, where it crossed Beas River, Naurangabad, Sarai Amanat Khan etc.

From Lahore there emanated two important routes, one of those went directly Qandahar via Kabul (A) and other one went through suba of Sindh, which facilitated to the ports of that suba as well and from Multan (B) and Bhakkar (C) went to Qandahar also.

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69 Finch in *Early Travels*, p.155; Tavernier, I, p. 85; *Miratu-l Haqaiq*, ff.132b, 139a; CG, f. 137b.


71 CG, f. 138a; Sujan Rai, p. 76; Tavernier, pp. 77-78.
(A). Lahore – Kabul - Qandahar: The route from Lahore ran via Shahdara, Eminabad, Wazirabad, where it crossed the Chenab River, Gujrat, Khwaspur, Jhelum, where it crossed Bihat (Jhelum) River and branched into two, first one the main highway went through Ribat, Rawalpindi, Margala Pass, Hasan Abdal etc. and other one went through Rohtas, Nilab etc. and met near Attock where it crossed the Nilab or Indus, which before Akbar was generally ferried at Nilab but due to construction of fort at Attock, the ferrying place shifted to Attock. After crossing Attock, the route went via Khairabad, Nawshera, Peshawar, Jamrud, Khyber Pass, Dakka, Basawal, Jalalabad, Nimla Pass, Gandmak, Surkhab, Jagdalak, Khwurd Kabul, Butkhak etc. to reach Kabul.\textsuperscript{72} Table-4.2 gives a summary information on the bridges on this route.

Table-4.2: Bridges on the Agra-Kabul Route via Lahore

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at Subscription</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of/built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faridabad</td>
<td>Over nullah of Faridabad</td>
<td>Stone/Bhakhtawar Khan</td>
<td>Aurangzeb</td>
<td>Miratu-I Alam, f.252; Atlas, p. 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. of Delhi (near Humayun's tomb)</td>
<td>A previous arm of Jumna</td>
<td>Masonry/Miharban Agha</td>
<td>Jahangir</td>
<td>Early Travels, p. 156; Manucci, I, p.119; Carr, pp.209-10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. of Delhi Nahr-i Bihisht</td>
<td>Stone/Bhakhtawar Khan</td>
<td>Aurangzeb</td>
<td>Miratu-I Alam, f.253a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakodar White Bein</td>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>Tuzuk, p.64; A.S Report, XIV, p.57.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultanpur Black Bein</td>
<td>Two bridges</td>
<td>Jahangir/Aurangzeb</td>
<td>Steel &amp; Crowther, Purchas, IV, pp.267-8; A.S Report, XIV, p.57; Deloche, Bridges, p.47.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. of Lahore Degh Masonry/ Daula</td>
<td>Siyah Shahjahan</td>
<td>Waris, 194; Sujan Rai, p. 74, Chronicles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{72} AN, III, pp. 359-61, 367; Tuzuk, pp. 49-51, 59; Sujan Rai, pp. 77-78, 85, 88; CG. f. 138b-139a; Lahori, II, p. 603; Tavernier, I, pp.76-77.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gandmak</td>
<td>Over a rivulet</td>
<td>Masonry</td>
<td>Shahjahan</td>
<td>Moorcroft, II, p.370.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Kabul for Qandahar, the main route went through Charasia, Safed Sang, Deh-i Nau, Sujawand, Haft Asia, the Sher-dahan Pass, Gaznin, Muqur, Hala Ribat, Sar-i-Asp, Qalat, Shahr-i-Safa etc.\(^{73}\) There was an alternative route from Kabul, which joined the main route near Sujawand. Abul Fazl writes that once Humayun took this route from Qandahar to Kabul.\(^{74}\)

So far as conditions of route are concerned, between Agra and Lahore, it was the best route of the Mughal empire.\(^{75}\) Route between Lahore and Kabul passed through some troublesome passes such as Margala,

\(^{73}\) Waris, 91-92; CG, f. 140a-141b. Tavernier, gives stages for Qandahar-Kabul route upto Gaznin (?) in detail, then beyond that he did not gave stages upto Qandahar (Tavernier, I, p. 74).

\(^{74}\) *AN*, I, p. 243.

\(^{75}\) Terry in *Early Travels*, p. 244.
Khyber etc. The Khyber Pass was not suitable for carts before Akbar, who took great interest in making it passable for them by cutting the stones and paving the way.\footnote{A‘im, II, p.190.} Between Kabul and Qandahar there was scarcity of fodder for animals and in the months of July and August a hot wind prevailed, which used to suffocate and kill suddenly, being of the same kind as prevailed in certain parts of Persia and in certain seasons near Babylon and Mosul also.\footnote{Tavernier, I, pp. 74-75.}

\textbf{(B) Lahore-Multan-Qandahar:} From Lahore the main route ran almost along the southern side of Ravi River up to Sarai Sidhu and then along the river Chenab. The main stages on this route were Naushahra, Sadghara, Harappa, Chichawatni, Tulamba, Sidhu etc.\footnote{CG, f. 139b; Steel & Crowther, Purchas, IV, p. 269; De Laet copied the same stages from Steel and Crowther, between Lahore and Multan, p. 69.} From Multan two routes headed towards Qandahar. One ran through high mountains, via Sakhi Sarwar, Chacha, Chotiali, Duki, Shikota, Harnai, a narrow pass before Khost, Khost, Abdun, Fushanj or Pushing or Pishin etc.\footnote{Steel & Crowther, Purchas, IV, p. 270-72; Manrique, II, pp. 255-59; Waris, 181, 217-20.}

Other one ran via Karor, Patti Ghazi Khan, Behal, Chhina, Darya Khan, ferrying Indus before Dera Ismail Khan, Maruf etc.\footnote{CG, f. 140b-141a.} However stages between Dera Ismail Khan and Maruf have been given in \textit{Chahar Gulshan} but the places have not been traced so far.\footnote{Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, p. 12.
However, Agra- Qandahar route via Multan was shorter than the route through Kabul, but it mostly passed through barren and desert regions.\textsuperscript{82} There was scarcity of food and fodder for animals and travellers as well.\textsuperscript{83} Water on this route was generally scarce, sometimes for three or four days merchants had to travel without water and if found it was brackish and undrinkable.\textsuperscript{84} The pass near Khost was so narrow that a few could stop the passage by putting stones.\textsuperscript{85}

(C) Multan-Bhakkar-Qandahar: From Multan the Lahore route further headed towards Bhakkar which ultimately reached to Qandahar in one direction and Thatta in another direction (D). The main stages between Multan and Bhakkar were Jalalpur, Shuja‘atpur, Janpur, Ubaoro, Bela, Adalpur, Sultanpur, Dabar Wahan, Lohri or Rohri etc.\textsuperscript{86} From Bhakkar towards Qandahar the route ran via Sukkar, Siwi, Dadar, Shal (Quetta) etc. This route met after Fushanj/Pishin with the route from Multan for Qandahar. On this route travellers had to depend on for directions in the night on stars, as it passed through uninhabited areas of waste lands.\textsuperscript{87}

Major means of transport on the route from Agra to Lahore were carts whereas on the routes from Lahore to Qandahar were camels. Indigo,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{82} Tavernier, I, p. 73.
  \item \textsuperscript{83} Steel & Crowther, Purchas, IV, pp.270-272.
  \item \textsuperscript{84} Ibid., p.270; Tavernier, I, p. 73.
  \item \textsuperscript{85} Ibid., p. 271.
  \item \textsuperscript{86} CG, f. 140b.
  \item \textsuperscript{87} Mir Masum, \textit{Tarikh-i Sind}, ed. U. M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938, p.30; \textit{Mazhar}, pp. 26-27; Waris, 216.
\end{itemize}
cotton, cotton goods, yarn, sugar, etc. were major commodities to be transported on these routes.\(^88\)

(D) Bhakkar-Thatta: From Bhakkar, the Lahore route in the southern direction went up to the town of Thatta. The main stages on this route were Gambat, Khandiaro, Derbelo, Halakandi, Nasarpur, etc.\(^89\) However on this section Indus river played more important role in transporting merchandise than the land route.\(^90\)

Ahmadabad-Thatta: Ahmadabad was linked to Nagarparkar and thence to Thatta. Withington in 1610-11, tried to visit Thatta, however he could not reach Thatta and was robbed and had to return to Ahmadabad. The main stages on the routes were Kalol, Kadi, Dekwada, Vanod, Radhanpur, Nagarparkar, Jun (‘Juno’) etc. However beyond Nagarparkar, the stages are not traceable, the route apparently joined the Jaisalmer-Thatta route at Jun. As the route passed through the Rann, there were scarcity of fresh water all the way and even in the two well that Withington found on the way, water was saline and could not be used for drinking. The caravan had to stay in the open field at night. The route could be traversed on camels and horses.\(^91\)

Thatta- Jaisalmer-Ajmer-Agra: The route from Thatta towards Jaisalmer, ran most probably through Jun, Umarkot etc. As the route passed through

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\(^{88}\) Steel and Crowther, pp.266-73, especially 269; Pelseart, p. 15, 30-32; Manrique, II, p. 248.

\(^{89}\) CG, f.140a.

\(^{90}\) EFl, 1634-36, pp. 130-31; 1637-41, pp. 137, 198.

\(^{91}\) Withington in Early Travels, pp. 208-17; Irfan Habib, Atlas, Maps 5B and 7B & pp.16, 25.
the desert, water was scarce and if found was mostly brackish. Further journeying on this route via Ajmer, Agra was reached. For Thatta, from Agra, the route via Jaisalmer was nearer then the route via Lahore and Multan. This route was mainly fit for camels as means of transport.

**Jaisalmer-Multan:** Manrique, in 1641, during his journey towards Qandahar, went Multan from Jaisalmer, but he does not mention the places on the route. From the Atlas it appears that the route joined the Multan-Bhakkar route, but exactly at which place, is not certain.

**Jaisalmer-Bhakkar:** Jaisalmer, was also directly linked through desert with Bhakkar.

**Lahore-Sirinagar:** The routes to Kashmir not only facilitated the links between this most frequented pleasure resort of the Mughal emperors, but it also linked the Mughal empire with the other parts such as Lesser Tibet and Great Tibet etc. (A), beyond Kashmir. According to Abul Fazl, there were at least 26 passages to Kashmir. But he himself accepts that those by Bhimbar and Pakli were the best and were generally practicable on horseback. The route through Bhimbar was the nearest and it could be traversed via several routes, of which three were good viz., (1) Hasti Bhanj, which was the former route for the march of troops; (2) Pir Panjal, through

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93 Pelsaert, p. 32; *EFI, 1634-37*, pp.137-38.
95 Manrique, II, p.243.
97 Joseph Salbancke, ‘voyage’ 1609, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, III, p. 84.
which, Akbar thrice visited Kashmir and (3) via Tangtala. 98 Route through Pakli and Bhimbar remained the favourite route of the Mughal emperors. Through Pakli, one could visit Kashmir in the beginning of the spring season, which despite being the longest route and having ups and down and troublesome passes etc. had less snow, and was warm, which accelerated the journey and through Chumak one could visit during mid spring, which had also less snow but after the rain, travelling on this route was troublesome. Through Punch one could visit during the end of the spring, which had snow in considerable quantity and via Pir Panjal, which was the shortest route, it was not possible to visit Kashmir during the spring season, because it was almost covered with snow. 99

Branched from the Lahore-Kabul route at Gujrat, the main stages on the route via Bhimbar and Pir Panjal were Daulatabad, Bhimbar, Naoshera, Chingas, Rajauri, Laha, Thana, Ratan Panjal Pass, Baramgala, Pushiana, Pir Panjal Pass, Hirapur, Khanpur, Panpur etc. 100 This was the main route for Kashmir, but was not free from troubles. When Akbar decided to visit Kashmir, he ordered Qasim Khan to level the ups and down of the roads

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98 A’in, II, p.169; AN, III, pp. 557-60.
99 Lahori, Padshahnama, I, ii, p. 15-16; Alamgirnama, p. 820-21. Jahangir also noted that route through Bhimbar and Pakli were the best and by Bhimbar the route was shorter then by Pakli. But if one wanted to see the spring in Kashmir he was confined to visit by Pakli, as other routes at that time were blocked with snow (Tuzuk, p.299).
100 This route to Kashmir has been described frequently in contemporary sources such as AN, III, pp. 537-42; Tuzuk, pp. 315-17; Lahori, I, part ii, pp.15-21; Alamgirnama, pp. 820-7; CG, f. 139a.
with the help of three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners, splitters of rock and two thousand diggers (*beldars*).\(^{101}\) Despite of these arrangements Abul Fazl complains about the troubles at several stages. Ravines of Ghazilkot between Naoshera and Serai Chingiz were traversed with difficulty. During crossing the Ratan Panjal Pass ‘which was high as heaven’ special bay horse of Akbar slipped and no trace of that could be found. Many persons climbed the pass on foot. Further he summarised the troubles during the journey towards Kashmir that, from Bhimbar to Hirapur there was continuous range of hills which for narrowness and difficulty, and for ascents and descents, was unrivalled.\(^{102}\)

Once Jahangir visited Kashmir through the route that branched from the Lahore-Kabul route at Hasan Abdal and went via Salhad (Salhar or Sarhad) and Barahmula, but not free from the tortuousness of the path. The main stages on the routes between Hasan Abdal and Barahmula were Sultanpur, Salhad, wooden bridge on Nainsukh River, Pim Drang Pass, ‘of great height, ascent being 1 kos, and the descent 1 ½ kos’, Kishan Ganga River, Bolyas, Bolyas Pass, Kuarmat or Kuarmast Pass, most difficult pass on this route etc.\(^{103}\) The route between Bolyas and Bolyas pass was almost unparalleled for difficulty, narrowness, height and hollows.\(^{104}\) Between Barahmula and crossing at Kishan Ganga, the route ran along the Bihat

\(^{101}\) AN, III, pp. 537-38, 548.

\(^{102}\) Ibid. p.541.

\(^{103}\) *Tuzuk*, p. 289-294; AN, III, p. 557-60, 564; CG, f. 139b.

\(^{104}\) AN, III, p. 559.
River. Earlier Akbar in returning from Kashmir, travelling the same route from Barahmula, left it after crossing Nainsukh River, and joined Lahore-Kabul route at Hasan Abdal by marching down Pakli proper, or the Siran valley. However places mentioned in Akbarnama of Abul Fazl for this route, cannot be identified. For travelling between Barahmula and Srinagar both Akbar and Jahangir used boats.

So far as bridges on these routes are concerned, on the Lahore-Kashmir route via Hasan Abdal, Baramula, there was one wooden bridge over the river Nainsukh and other one over the river Kishanganga. There were four stone and wood bridges over the Bihat river at Srinagar. However Lahori the official historian of Shahjahan, added that there were in all 10 such bridges over the Bihat River in Kashmir, but Bernier noticed only two such bridges. (For bridges between Lahore and Hasan Abdal, see Table-4.2).

Through the above routes Kashmir exported saffron to Agra and other parts of India and imported salt, pepper, opium, cotton and yarn, mainly upon mules, indigenous horses and upon man’s head.

(A) Srinagar- Lesser Tibet (Skardu and Shigar) and Srinagar-Greater Tibet (Leh): After a military expedition in 1638, Mughal suzerainty over

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107 Ibid., p. 298; Lahori, Padshahnama, I, ii, p. 23.
109 Tuzuk, p. 300,301, 315; Pelseart, pp. 35-36; Bernier, p. 392; Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 80.
Lesser Tibet was established. From Kashmir (Srinagar), Skardu and Shigar could be reached by two routes, one via Gurach (Gurais) and other one via Lar. On the route via Gurais, there were high mountains and narrow passes that not more then one rider could pass through it, but in comparison to route through Lar had less snow and took less time. The route through Lar was shorter and part of this route lied under snow. On this route, about 30 kos from Srinagar, there was a very elevated pass, with difficult, narrow, and sharp ascent. From Lesser Tibet one could go beyond the Mughal empire towards Yarkand and Kasghar etc.

The Greater Tibet came under the Mughal suzerainty fully in 1665. From the journey of I. Desideri (1715) it appears that the Srinagar-Leh route was quite clear, but unfortunately he did not mention name of the places on the route. Zoji-la was the principal pass on this route. From Leh, Lahasa in Central Tibet and Yarkand and Kashghar etc. could be reached.

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110 Ibid., pp., 281-8.
111 Ibid., pp. 286-7; Bernier, pp. 426-7.
112 Ibid.; Atlas says that the elevated pass must be Zoji-la (Atlas, p.7).
113 Bernier, p. 426-7.
114 Alamgirnama, pp.920-2; Atlas, p. 6.
115 Desideri, pp. 74-8.
ROUTES TOWARDS EAST

Towards East there led many routes from Agra and Delhi. These routes carried brisk trade in raw silk, sugar, calicos and even in foodstuffs such as rice, wheat and butter etc. Agra-Patna route via Allahabad, Banaras, Buxer, etc. was almost closed in the rains due to mud and pits on the road. On these routes oxen as pack animal as well as cart-drawer, formed the major means of transport. (See Map 3.3)

Following were the routes which contributed much to flourish trade and communications.

Agra-Allahabad-Patna: From Agra, after crossing Jumna, the main route passed through Itimadpur, Firozabad, Etawa, Sikandra, Chapparghata, Kora, Allahabad, Banaras etc. From Allahabad the main route went through Banaras, which diverged into two independent routes at Banaras and met just before Patna. One of these branches went northward through Saidpur, Ghazipur, crossed Ganga River before Buxer, Buxer, Ranisagar, crossed Son River before Bishambharpur, Bishambharpur etc. and reached Patna.

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117 EFl, 1618-21, p. 192-93, ff.1637-41, pp.93, 278; 1646-50, pp.56, 78, 189; Pelseart, 4-5, 9; Mundy, II, 95-6, 98-9; Bernier, p. 292.


119 Mundy, II, pp.78-135; Tavernier, I, pp. 92-99; CG, f. 141. Finch described this route upto Allahabad as an alternative route from Agra to Jaunpur.

120 CG, f. 141b.
Map. 3.3 : Trade Routes Towards East

The other one went through Bahadurpur, crossed Karamnasa River, Kudra River by a masonry bridge, Khurramabad now Jahanabad, Sasaram, Son River, Daudnagar, Arwal, Naubatpur etc. and joined the Banaras-Ghazipur branch before Patna.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{121} Mundy, II, pp. 122-35; Tavernier, I, pp. 98-99.
Table- 4.3: Bridges on Agra-Patna Route via Allahabad, Banares, Sasaram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of/built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaparghata</td>
<td>Sengar</td>
<td>Masonry</td>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>Early Travels, p. 179; Mundy, p. 89; Tavernier, I, p. 93; Ajaib al Afaq, Or.1776, f.22b; Miratu-I Haqaiq, f.137b; Cawnpore Dist. Gaz. 85; Cf. Atlas, p.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kora</td>
<td>Rind</td>
<td>Masonry, stone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mundy, II, p.91; Miratu-I Haqaiq, f.137b; Fuhrer, 163; Atlas, p. 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurramabad</td>
<td>Kudra</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mundy, II, p. 129; Tavernier, I, p. 98.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Boat-bridge at Agra facilitated the routes emanated from Agra in the East direction.

Agra-Kanauj-Lucknow-Awadh-Jaunpur: Route from Agra to Jaunpur, via Kanauj, ran mainly through Itimadpur, Kanauj, Mallawa, Lucknow, Awadh, Akbarpur, Surharpur, etc. This route joined the Delhi-Patna route via Bareilly, and Lucknow at Mallawa and left it at Lucknow.

The Agra-Allahabad-Patna route also could be traversed through Jaunpur. However Finch noted the route from Agra to Allahabad as section of alternative route to Agra-Jaunpur.(See Table-4.4 for bridges on Agra-Kanauj- Lucknow-Awadh-Jaunpur-Patna route.)

Table- 4.4: Bridges on Agra-Patna Route via Kannauj, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Ghazipur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of/built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akbarpur</td>
<td>Ton</td>
<td>Masonry/Akbar, under the supervision of Muhammad Hashim</td>
<td>Akbar/1568-9</td>
<td>Inscription; Fuhrer, p. 300; Fyzabad Dist. Gaz. 186.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Bhitari was also on the Agra-Patna route via Banares, Bhitari, Gazipur, Buxer etc.

122 Finch in Early Travels, pp. 175-176.
123 Irfan Habib, Atlas, Map 8 B.
124 Mundy, II, p. 118.
125 Finch in Early Travels, p. 177.
Delhi-Patna via Bareilly: from Delhi, towards Patna, the route mainly passed through Dasna, Hapur, Garhmuktesar, Kachh, Amroha, Muradabad, Milak, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Barwan, Sandi, Bilgram, Mallawa, Lucknow, Nighan, Rae Bareli, Salon, Katra, Brahimgan on etc. and meeting with Agra-Patna route at Banaras, ultimately reached Patna.\textsuperscript{126}

Table- 4.5: Bridges on Delhi- Garhmukteswar Route.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at Delhi*</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East of Hapur</td>
<td>Kali</td>
<td>A nanak-panth saint—Dargahi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mukhli, Safarnama, CG, f.141a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Boat bridge on Jumna at Delhi, also facilitated the Delhi-Kol route

Delhi-Allahabad: Delhi-Allahabad route followed the Delhi-Patna route upto Sandi and then joined the Agra-Allahabad route at Khajua.\textsuperscript{127}

Patna-Bengal: However, from Patna, towards Bengal, Ganga River facilitated as the main means of conveyance and there was little use of roads but there led land routes also towards that direction.\textsuperscript{128} The main stages on the Patna- Rajmahal- Maksudabad- Hugli route, which almost ran along the southern bank of the main channel of Ganga River upto Rajmahal and then along the Bagirathi River, were Fatwa, Barh, Monghyr, Kalyanpur, Ghorghat, Khalgaon, Garhi, Rangamati, Rajmahal, Dugachhi, Dunapur, Aurangabad, Suti, where the route crossed the Bhagirathi River.

\textsuperscript{126} CG, f. 141a-b. Author of \textit{Miratu-l Haqaiq}, followed the same route from Delhi to Sandi, but between Garhmuktesar and Bareilly, he went through Sambhal instead of Muradabad and Shahjahanpur (\textit{Miratu-l Haqaiq}, f. 134a-b).

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Miratu-l Haqaiq}, ff. 134a-135a.

\textsuperscript{128} Manrique, II, pp. 120, 145; Tavernier, I, p. 101.
and ran along the eastern bank of this river, then passed through Comrah, Nasirpur, Maksudabad or Murshidabad, Qasimbazar, Burrua, Plassey, then again the route crossed the Bhagirathi River and ran along the western bank, and reached Ghazipur and at last the route ran along Ganga-Hugli River from Summudgar below Nadia and passed Mirzapur, Amboa, Tribeni, Satgaon etc. and finally reached Hugli.  

Table-4.6: Bridges on Patna-Murshidabad Route.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of/built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatawa</td>
<td>Arm of Punpun</td>
<td>Masonry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Marshall, p. 77; Buchanan, Patna-Gaya Report, p. 76.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. of Munghyr</td>
<td>A channel, Dhakmamala</td>
<td>Shah Shuja</td>
<td>Shahjahan</td>
<td>Buchanan, Bhagalpur Report, p.102; Deloche, Bridges, p. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalyanpur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Stone bridge of three arches</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Marshall, p.123,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghorhath</td>
<td>Over a ditch</td>
<td>Stone bridge of seven arches</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Marshall, p. 74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Garhi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Marshall, p.120.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunapur</td>
<td>Arm of Ganga</td>
<td>Masonry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Alamgir Nama, p. 529-30. #</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The bridge is considered as contemporary to the Jami Masjid of Raja Man Singh, but the style of architecture points to a later date and it is probable that it may have been constructed during the viceroyalty of Sultan Shuja, about 1650 A.D.

# Alamgir Nama further says that a bridge near the Ganga was destroyed by Shuja.

From Hugli one could go to Decca, through Jesar, Bhusna etc.

which joined the Qasimbazar-Decca route at Fatehabad and reached Decca.  

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From Qasimbazar to Decca, via Fatehabad the route ran through Belgachhi, Fatehabad, Qazisala etc. At Fatehabad it joined the Hugli-Decca route. This route was very bad and full of jungles and swamps.

**Qasimbazar-Bardwan-Midnapore-Balasore-Cuttack-Ganjam:** From Qasimbazar, one could go up to Bardwan by two routes one via Bakresvar and other one via Ghazipur. The route via Ghazipur was actually a section of the Qasimbazar - Hugli route and at Ghzipur one had to leave this route to go towards Bardwan. From Bardwan the main stages on this route up to Midnapore were Goghat, Chandrakona etc. At or above Midnapur the route from Hugli also met. From Midnapur the main stages up to Balasore were Kharagpur, Benapur, Narayanpur (Narayangarh), Bakhrabad, Dantan, Jalesar, Basta, Ramchandpur etc. From Balasore onwards the stages were Soro, Bhadrakh, Jajpur, Cuttack, Barang, Jagannathpur, Manikpatan etc. and finally reached Ganjam. This route passed mostly through forests and over many small and big rivers. Small rivers were mostly crossed by stone bridges.

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132 Tavernier, I, p. 106.
137 Hamilton, I, p. 387.
### Table 4.7: Bridges on Bardwan-Cuttack- Puri-Ganjam Route.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of/built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naraingarh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Marshall, p. 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhubaneswr (near)</td>
<td>Genguti</td>
<td>Stone/ Varaha Kesari</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibid., p. 532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hamilton has mentioned numerous stone bridges over ‘the little rivers’ of Orissa (Hamilton, I, p. 387).

From Cuttack there led one route towards Harishpur, a port capable of receiving vessels not above 200 ‘tunns’.  

**ROUTES TOWARDS THE DECCAN AND THE SOUTH:**

The Deccan and South was full of mountain ranges, plateaus and large number of rivers. Therefore routes were too much interrupted by high mountains, tanks, rivers and many narrow and difficult passes; most of the routes were tortuous and troublesome. However, we have evidences for use of carts also in the Deccan but only upto Golkonda. In the extreme South India, carts were not utilised on large scale for carrying merchandise, being utilised for agricultural purposes such as for carrying harvest and manures only. Beyond Golkonda either in the direction of Masulipatnam or in the

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139 DFI, 1624-27, pp.342-43. Tavernier, I, pp. 119, 142; Thevenot, p.102.

direction of further South, routes were mainly fit for pack oxen and horses for carrying merchandise and travellers.\footnote{Tavernier, I, pp. 142; Master, p. 178.}

Spices and indigo were major commodities carried on these routes.\footnote{DFI, Vol. II, p. 342-43; EFI, 1646-50, p. 255; 1661-64, p. 344.}

In the Deccan and the South following were the important routes which facilitated trade and conveyance on large scale.

**Burhanpur-Aurangabad-Bijapur:** From Burhanpur, the route went through Anturli, Adilabad, Vaghad, Sarai Hatim Beg, Fardapur, Ghatifardapur, Golegaon, Sarai Kaman (Sillod), Allong, Pathari, Phulambri etc. and finally reached Aurangabad and from Aurangabad for Bijapur, the route ran through Ahmadnagar, Chamargonda, Pedgaon (Bahadurgarh)
etc.\textsuperscript{143} This route passed through many mountain ranges and plateau, such as Bindha Range, Sahya-chal Range, Balaghat Plateau, Ahmadnagar Range etc.\textsuperscript{144}

**Burhanpur-Hyderabad via Udgir and Bidar:** From Burhanpur towards Hyderabad, the route via Udgir and Bidar ran mainly through Anturli, Malkapur, Rohankhed, Deulgaon, Zafarnagar, Sindkhed, Shivni, Ner, Partur, Gahegaon, Pathri, Rampuri, Sawargaon, Rajaura, Udgir, Bidar, Didgi, Kohir, Panchnigal, Momanpet, Eniketala, Shankardeh, Chilkur, Golkonda, etc.\textsuperscript{145}

**Surat-Aurangabad-Hyderabad-Masulipatnam:** For Aurangabad from Surat, the route branched at Navapur from the Agra-Burhanpur-Surat route and ran via Khanapur Pass, Pimpalpur and from that place one could travel on two routes one via Nampur, Patane, Sakora, Vakle, Daulatabad etc.\textsuperscript{146} and other one via Tahirabad, Satana, Umbarane, Ankai-Tankai, Devthan, Lasur etc to reach Aurangabad.\textsuperscript{147} Then from Aurangabad, the route went through Chikalthan, Pipri, Ambad, Ashti etc. At Ashti the route divided into two parts one via Nander, Indur etc. and other one via Pathri. The route via Nander went through Manwat, Parbhani, Lasina, Nander, Patoda, Kondalwadi, Satepur, Indur, Indalvai, Kalvaral, Mallareddi, Biknur.

\textsuperscript{143} CG, f. 136a; Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, Map-14 B and p. 58.
\textsuperscript{144} Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, Map-14 B.
\textsuperscript{145} Thevenot, pp. 150-51.
\textsuperscript{146} Tavernier, i, pp.116.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., i, p.120; Thevenot, pp. 102-04.
Masaipet, etc. to reach Hyderabad. The route from Nander to Hyderabad has been described by Tavernier with different stages also, which passed through Sitanaga and Mallareddi. The route via Pathri ran through Palam, Kandahar etc. and met with the route via Nander near Indur. From Hyderabad the main route to Masulipatam went through Malkapur, Pangal, Gurglur, Anantagiri, Penuganchiprolu, Nandigam, Bezwada, Wuyyur, Nidumolu etc. and reached Masulipatnam. Tavernier followed the same route, but to see the Diamond mines at Ghani or Kollur, he left the main route at Almaskipenth beyond Pangal and rejoined the main route at Bezwada via Kakani. See Table- for some of the bridges on this route.

**Table-4.8: Bridges on Surat-Aurangabad-Hyderabad-Masulipatnam Route**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places at</th>
<th>River</th>
<th>Bridges of/built by</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>Musi</td>
<td>Two Stone bridges</td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>Peter Floris, pp. 128-9; Tavernier, I, pp. 122-23; <em>Landmarks of the Deccan</em>, pp. 10-12;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masulipatnam</td>
<td>Over a marsh</td>
<td>Wooden /Mir Abdulla Bakir</td>
<td>c. 1672</td>
<td>Marshall, p. 52; Master, II, pp. 116,159; Bowrey, pp. 62-63; Hamilton, I, p. 370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hyderabad-Ramallakota:** From Hyderabad, towards Ramallakota, where diamond mines were situated, the route ran through Shamsabad.

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148 Tavernier, I, pp.119-120; Thevenot, pp. 108-112.
149 Ibid., p.119.
150 Ibid., p. 120.
151 Thevenot, pp. 146-7; Tavernier, I, pp. 139.
152 Tavernier, I, pp. 139-142; II, p. 73.
Farrukhnagar, Raikal, Rajapur, Jedcherla, Badepalli, Kottur, Ghanpur, Kondur, Alampur, Kurnool (Qamamagar) etc.\(^{153}\)

**Hyderabad-Gandikota-Madras:** From Hyderabad, route towards Gandikota or Ganjikot, passed mainly through Macherla, Murrivemula, Tripurantakam, Dupad, Vemulakota, Cumbum, Gudimitta, Sancherla, Poraimamilla, etc.\(^{154}\) On this route, baskets (coracles) were used for crossing the rivers.\(^{155}\) Route from Ganjikot to Madras, mainly passed through Ontimitta, Utukuru, Tirupati, Gazulamandiyam, Narayanvannam, Uttukkotal, Cholavaram, etc.\(^ {156}\) This route passed through mountainous tracts having grooves of bamboo, wild elephants, etc.\(^ {157}\) The way was traversed on ox or horse.\(^ {158}\)

**Hyderabad-Malkapur-Nellore-Pulicat-Madras:** This route branched from the Hyderabad-Masulipatam route, at or beyond Malkapur, followed the Hyderabad-Gandikot route, and left this one at Murrivemula, and finally ran towards Madras. Main stages on this route were Malkapur, Krishna River, Macherla, Murrivemula, Nellore, Kottapatnam, Armagon or

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\(^{154}\) Tavernier, I, pp. 235-41. However Tavernier has given the stages between Hyderabad and Macherla but identification of those places is not possible. (Cf. Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, p. 62)  

\(^{155}\) Ibid., pp. 235-6, 239.  

\(^{156}\) Ibid., I, pp. 216-227.  

\(^{157}\) Ibid., pp 216-227.  

\(^{158}\) Ibid., p. 218.
Duraspatam (Durgarajupatnam), Sriharikota, Pulicat, Vallur, Tiruvottiyur etc.\textsuperscript{159}

**Masulipatam-Nizampattam-Madras:** The major stages on the Masulipatnam-Madras route via Nizapattam were Pulivarru, Nizampattam, Bapatla, Chinna (Ganjam); Allur, Karedu, Ramayapatnam, Tummalapenta, Zuvvaladinne, Udkor (Utakuru), Krisnapatnam, and met with the Hyderabad-Madras route via Malkapur and Nellore at Kottapatnam.\textsuperscript{160}

**Bezwada-Madras:** From Bezwada, on the Hyderabad-Machhlapatam route, towards Madras there were two routes upto Mangalagiri. One of those ran through Mangalagiri, Kakoni, Guntur, Kodavid, Addanki, Kandukur Nellore and then joined the Hyderabad-Madras route via Malkapur, Murrivemula, etc.\textsuperscript{161} The other one ran through Mangalagiri, Pannur, Ventapallem where it joined Masulipatam-Nizampattam-Madras route, which further joined the Hyderabad-Madras route via Malkapur, Murrivemula, etc. at Kottapatnam.\textsuperscript{162} On both of these routes there were several small and big rivers which the travellers had to wait for low tide for fording or had to cross in raft or boats. The route was hilly and mountainous and there were scarcity of fodder for horses at many places also.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{159} Abbe Carre, II, pp.353-77. He followed the same route upto Murrivemula, as Tavernier followed during his journey towards Gandikota (Tavernier, I, pp.235-41)


\textsuperscript{161} Tavernier, I, pp. 208-214; Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, Maps 15 B and 16 B.

\textsuperscript{162} Master, II, pp. 175-83; Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, Maps 15 B and 16 B.

\textsuperscript{163} Tavernier, I, pp. 208-14; Master, II, pp. 175-83.
NAvigable River Systems:

Two major river systems namely Ganga River System and Indus River System were mainly used for commercial purposes.\textsuperscript{164}

Ganga River System:

The Ganga, with Jumna, and other rivers formed the biggest navigation system in Mughal India between the capital Agra and Bengal. According to Sujan Rai, source of Jamna officially Yamuna, was not known but it was said to be in China and it flowed through the Himalayan country of Bashahar.\textsuperscript{165} Irfan Habib inferred from it that Sujan Rai took Pabar-Tons to represent the Jamna, and not the stream which originates at Jamnotri. No important change has been found in its course since 16\textsuperscript{th} -17\textsuperscript{th} century. From Agra it ran through Etawah, Chaparghata, etc. and its confluence with river Ganga took place at Allahabad.\textsuperscript{166} Source of Ganga was also not known, both Abul Fazl in the sixteenth century and Sujan Rai in the late seventeenth century were of the same opinion about source of the Ganga. Whereas Abul Fazl simply noted that its sources could not be traced and it raised in the mountains towards the north, and passed through the suba of Delhi, imperial Agra, Allahabad and Bihar into the suba of Bangal, Sujan Rai noted that its source is not known and coming out of China, it flowed under the range of Badrinath Range and then flowed past Srinager.\textsuperscript{167} Irfan

\textsuperscript{164} See previous (Chapter-3), section ‘River Navigation’.

\textsuperscript{165} Sujan Rai, pp. 36-7.

\textsuperscript{166} Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, pp. 11, 30.

\textsuperscript{167} \textit{A' in}, II, p.49; Sujan Rai, p. 37.
Habib, in his Atlas inferred from Sujan Rai’s observation that Sujan Rai took the Vishnuganga-Alaknanda to represent the main stream of the Ganga.\textsuperscript{168} He further noted that after coming into plains the Ganga shifted Eastwards in two long sections since that time. Below Allahabad he found no evidence of any great change in the course of the Ganga.\textsuperscript{169} After passing Monghyr, the river made a wider curve so as to flow past Gogri and Jamalpur. A divergence occurred, when the river passed Khalgaan, where after passing Kosdi, turned to run southeast by east and had Painti on its south bank.\textsuperscript{170} At a place called Dudha, 4 kurohs north of Pir Pahar, itself on the limits of Akbarnagar-Rajmahal, the river divided into three branches.\textsuperscript{171} The main navigation channel in this section upto Suti, were in part eastern branch of Ganga and in another part middle branch.\textsuperscript{172} Near Qazihattah in the sarkar of Barbakabad, the Ganga divided into two streams. One of those arms flowed eastwards, to fall into the sea at the port of Chattigong and other pursued a southern course.\textsuperscript{173} However Akbarnama, placed the division beyond (below) Tanda, one branch running towards Satgaon and


\textsuperscript{169} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{170} Marshall, pp.72, 75, 96; Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{171} *Alamgirnama*, p. 553-4; Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{172} Tavernier, pp. 102-103; Marshall, pp. 69-71, 97-9; Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, p. 46. An arm of Ganga passing by south of Gaur was also active and used as a navigation channel (Manrique, II, pp. 123-4, Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, p. 46).

\textsuperscript{173} One of those arms was Paddhavati of Abul Fazl and Padmavat of *Bahrastan-i Ghaibi* and modern Padda or Padma, flowed eastwards, to fallen into the sea at the port of Chattigong and other pursued a southern course. (*A’Im*, I p.49; *Bahrastan-i Ghaibi*, tr. pp. 56, 60; Irfan Habib, *Atlas*, p. 46).
other towards Mahmudabad, Fathabad, Sonargaon and Chatgaon.\textsuperscript{174} The southern branch of Ganga at Qazihatti, was called ‘Coreah Gonga’ (Kauriya Ganga) and also known as Jellinghy River (‘Jalangi’ in modern map), was actually the main navigation channel by which boats normally went from Patna to Hugli as it was navigable for throughout the year.\textsuperscript{175} 

The branch emerged at Suti called Bhagirthi, and ‘Sutee river’ by Marshall due to its emergence at Suti and also ‘Cossumbazar River’ by him, as Qasimbazar was on its bank, was narrow and of about 2 yard deep and was dangerous to travel the ‘Patelloes’ with saltpeter in September near Suti and it was fordable in winter at Nasirpir and at Qasimbazar, Marshall found this river ‘almost quite dry’ in the early May.\textsuperscript{176} This branch further passed through Ghazipur and met Ganga-Hugli at Summudar below Nadia.\textsuperscript{177} This branch was navigable only seasonally.

However in \textit{suba} of Bengal rivers provided the main means of transportation. In 1595, Abul Fazl noted that people in \textit{suba} of Bengal due to presence of numerous rivers used to travel in different kinds of boats made for the purpose of war, carriage or swift sailing etc. especially in the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{AN}, III, p. 109; Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{175} Rannell, Map, I, and II, see also his map of inland navigation on opp.364 (\textit{memoir of a map...}); Marshall, pp. 65-68, 112; Tavernier, II, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Alamgirnama}, pp. 519, 524-27; Marshall, pp. 98-99, 114; Tavernier, I, p.103; Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{177} Marshall, pp.66, 112; Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, p. 47.
\end{flushright}
rainy season. He has also noted in suba of Bihar that boats were procurable in plenty.

**INDUS RIVER SYSTEM:**

Other important river system which provided very good means for carrying trade on boats was Indus River system which comprised besides others, of five important rivers namely Indus, Ravi, Jhelum (Bihat), Sutlej and Chenab. These rivers served as an important means of transport in their region. Similar to disputes over source of Ganga and Jamna, there were disputes about the source of Sindh or Sind (Indus) river also. Some traced it to a point between Kashmir and Kasghar and others to Khita (China: presumably Central Tibet). Irfan Habib has observed that the real dispute was whether the Shyok River or the Indus River proper was the main source of combined river. Hugel in his map has shown Shyok river as northern branch of Indus and Indus as eastern branch. Lahori used term of ‘Nilab’ for the combined river (Shyok and Indus rivers) after its passing through Skardu. Ravi river rising near Chamba, in the Bhadral range, and passing through Chamba, Shahpur, etc. reached Lahore. According to Abul Fazl confluence of Ravi with Chenab (Chenab, earlier had merged Behat River

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180 Ibid., II, p.152; Sujan, pp. 78-9.
182 Ibid.
184 *A'ln*, II, p. 152; Sujan Rai, pp. 76-77.
in itself near Shor), took place near Zafarpur but Sujan Rai placed the confluence near Sarai Sidhu.\textsuperscript{185} The combined river of Behat, Chenab and Ravi flowed into Sind near Uchh.\textsuperscript{186}

Indus was navigable for whole year between Multan and Thatta.\textsuperscript{187} Between Lahore and Multan due to shallowness at various places, Ravi had mainly seasonal navigation.\textsuperscript{188}

In this river system generally flat-bottomed vessels were used.\textsuperscript{189}

Commercial navigation is also reported in Suttaner river, a branch of Indus, however, navigation was seasonal.\textsuperscript{190}

In Kashmir the carriage of goods was effected by boat besides loads carried by human in the difficult tracts.\textsuperscript{191} Originating in Vernag, Bihat river entered Kashmir valley and passing through Wular Lake, re-entered the hills at Barahmula. In Kashmir the Bihat river was navigable from Kahnabal to Barahmula.\textsuperscript{192}

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., Sujan Rai, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid., p. 77.
\textsuperscript{187} EFI, 1637-41, pp. 135-37.
\textsuperscript{188} Finch in \textit{Early Travels}, p. 161; EFI, 1634-36, pp.130, 192; 1637-41, pp.135,198.
\textsuperscript{189} Pelseart, pp.30-31; EFI, 1637-41, p. 135-37.
\textsuperscript{190} EFI, 1646-50, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{191} \textit{A' in}, II, p. 170; \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 298; \textit{Iqbalnama}, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{192} \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 294 (Jahangir during his visit to Kashmir through the Pakli, Barahmula route, took boats at Barahmula to reach Srinagar); \textit{Iqbalnama}, pp.141,148; Lahori, I, part ii, p. 22, 24; Lawrence, 18; Irfan Habib, \textit{Atlas}, Map 3B, p.7;