A close examination of the early history and the foundation of important towns of our period reveals that most of these towns were founded either with a view to military and strategic needs or the needs of having an administrative centre. Some of the towns grew up as commercial or industrial centres or centres of pilgrimage. Some towns were founded to commemorate some event of great significance. Military considerations were always uppermost in founding and selecting the site of a city, such as nearness to a frontier outpost, or a central position, or a site commanding the highways and facilities in regard to communications. Requirements of trade and food supply were some other considerations which determined the selection of a site for a new town.

Agra was founded by Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, who realised the strategical and administrative importance of the place. Miamatullah, the author of Makhzan-i-Afghani says "It had for a long time occurred to the Sultan to find a town on the bank of the Jammuna, which was to be the residence of the Sultan, and the headquarters of the army, and to serve to keep the rebels of that quarter in awe."

Under Babur, Humayun and Sher Shah it continued to be the seat of government. Akbar built a fort there and it was in his time that Agra enjoyed a distinguished place in the empire and became the capital of the Mughuls. The city was situated in the heart of the empire, and was easily accessible from all directions.\(^1\) Due to its location it became the most convenient base of supplies for operations against the Rajputs,\(^2\) and the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Gujrat.

Delhi served as the capital of the Pandavas and the Rajputs. In 1193, Kutub-ud-din captured Delhi, and after his death in 1210 A.D. it became the capital of the sultanate and continued to enjoy that position till the time of the Lodhis. Except for a short interval Delhi remained as the premier capital town of the Mughuls. The site of Delhi had strategic importance. The Aravalli hills and their ranges run north and south of Delhi, providing a suitable defence to it. In choosing the site security from invaders was the chief consideration. Delhi was called the 'Cockpit of India'.

Ahmadabad was founded by Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujrat in 1411 A.D. who built a fort there and made it his capital. Akbar captured it and made it the capital of the Gujrat province. Dacca existed as a small place and came into

2. Nisamat-ullah, Elliot Vol. V, p. 98. Then Sikandar Lodhi chose it for his capital it was the strategic consideration which made him do so. According to it 'to serve to keep the rebels of that quarter in check, can deprive them of further opportunity of growing refractory.'
prominence only when the capital of Bengal was transferred there from Rajmahal.

Administrative and military considerations went side by side in founding a city. Towns like Allahabad, Ajmer, Gwalior, Ranthambhor and Patna are the best illustrations of towns which owed their existence to such considerations. About Allahabad Abul Fazl says "For a long time his (Akbar) desire was to found a great city in the town of Pisag (Fryag) to .... and/build a choice fort there. His idea was to establish himself there for a time and to reduce to obedience the recalcitrant ones of that country...."\(^1\)

According to tradition Ajmer was founded by Rajput Raja Ajai, who also built a fort there in/about 145 A.D. Akbar captured it and soon it became the capital of Ajmer province. Ajmer is centrally located, being a 'point d'appu' in the midst of the Rajputana states. The fort of Ajmer is situated at the highest point in the plains of Hindustan, and is located on Taragarh hills. It is protected by the Marwar hills on one side and Aravali ridges on the other, commencing from Dihli side, where there are several parallel hill ranges. The high and almost inaccessible mountain provided a good site for the fort and city. Ajmer slopes away on every side from the circle of the hill. This is why the Mughul emperors selected it as the centre of their operations against Rajputana.

\(^1\) A.H., Vol. III, p. 616.
Some towns were founded to commemorate the name of some important saint or some important event. Fatehpur-Sikri was founded to commemorate the name of Sheikh Salim Chishti and Burhanpur by Nasir Khan, an independent prince of the Faruki dynasty of Khandesh to commemorate the name of the famous Shaikh Burhanuddin, but it came into eminence only when the Lughuls used it as their seat of government.

The medieval Indian towns were generally built on the bank of a river, as such a site offered facilities for commerce and defence. For example, the cities of north, north-western, and eastern region, as well as of western regions were laid out along the banks of rivers. Primarily the rivers may be regarded merely as an advanced circle of outer defence protecting the approaches of the interior towns. Further, a site near a river was chosen, with a view to water supply. Cities like Agra, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Dacca, Dihli, Lahore, Multan, Thatta, Ahmadabad, Surat, Baroda, Baroch and Burhanpur were all located near a river. Generally the bend of a river was chosen for laying out the city. Another advantage of choosing the site of a town along the banks of a river was the fertile land available in the neighbouring area, which assured supply of food grains to the city. In general we find medieval Indian cities in low lying plains where agriculture flourished widely and communications were easy. A detailed study of the location of minor towns, too, reveals that these cities grew up in the midst of easily irrigable regions.
A very large number of towns were founded because of their commercial importance, or because of particular trades or crafts which flourished there. In towns which owe their origin to commercial reasons foreign factories were established; caravans from different regions visited these places as they were the market centres for different commodities and became the home towns of rich and enterprising merchants. Towns like Multan, Thatta, Lahore and Dacca, apart from their strategic and administrative importance, were also important from a commercial point of view.

Multan was an old commercial centre. Here Indian and foreign merchants settled and goods were imported and stocked from distant places. The custom houses were established and duties were levied here on exports and imports. A large number of caravans used to visit this place. Similarly Lahore was an old and flourishing centre of commerce. Many merchants lived there and the place was an emporium for goods of import and export.

4. Pelsaert. p. 30, see also Monserrate p. 159, and Manucci Vol. II, p. 186. According to him the merchants were settled there.
The commercial towns were located in places which afforded facilities for the goods, were easily accessible from important places and afforded easy communications by lands and rivers.

Multan was the meeting place of all the caravans from the neighbouring countries, coming from Persia, Khorasan, and from other distant kingdoms and from here the caravans went to other parts of the country. Its location on the junction of a trade route, made it a great distributing and transport centre. It commanded the routes to Persia by way of Kandhar and to other provinces and regions of India. Multan was conveniently served by three great rivers, Ravi, Jhelum and Indus and was thus connected with Sind; its trade therefore became extensive.

Similarly the location of Lahore on the junction of trade routes made it a commercial town of great importance. It was connected by great roadways with important towns, like Agra, Dihli, Multan, Thatta, Kabul and Kashmir. Thus it became a great centre of commerce and the Indian merchants who wanted to go to foreign countries assembled there and organised the caravans for Persia and Kandhar.

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4. Pelsaert, p. 31.
5. Finch, p. 57, see also E.F.R. Vol. VI, p. 135.
6. Richard Steel and John Crowther, p. 268, see also Mannucci Vol. II, p. 186. According to him it was 'the key to the kingdom of Kabul, Balkh, Tartar, Kashmir, Persia, Baloches, Multan, Boktar and Thatta.'
connects it with Bhakkar.

i.e. the entire region of Multan and Sindh was covered by these rivers, which were navigable and the boats plied between Lahore and Thatta. As Pelsaert says, "River Ravi flows past the city, which flows by Multan, Thatta, and Buckkur, carrying a large trade in shallow draught vessels". Goods then were exported from Thatta to Ormuz and Persia by the sea.

A large number of towns were founded at places, connected with a flourishing industry. These manufacturing towns grew as a result of the following factors: availability of raw materials, mineral deposits, local skill and facilities for marketing in the neighbouring areas. Towns like Thatta, Dacca, Lahore, Ahmadabad and Burhanpur may be included in the category of manufacturing centres, which afterwards became industrial centres. In Lahore skilful craftsmen of all sorts were available. In Thatta, there were about 3,000 families of weavers, who manufactured different sorts of cloth. It had also iron mines.

In Bengal and Gujrat numerous towns grew up, where raw material, and cheap and local skilled labour was available.

1. Finch, p. 52.
2. Pelsaert, pp. 30, 31. See also Roe, p. 440.
4. Ain, Vol. II, p. 316, see also K.T., p. 81. According to it "various skilled artisans of every country and every class of the handicraftsmen of the age live here.

See also A.N. Vol. II, p. 80.
A large number of textile manufacturing towns developed in the eastern region, due to the fact that raw cotton and silk were available in abundance in the vicinity.

The towns of Gujrat became the textile manufacturing centres due to the fact that cotton was produced there. In the region of Sindh also cotton was available, and such textile industries flourished there. Srinagar became the centre of woollen and silk industry because raw material was available there. Iron was available in the neighbouring areas of Pattan and Gwalior and these two towns became centres of iron industry. According to the English Factory Records, in Murshidabad innumerable expert and cheap silk winders could be found, which made it a chief silk manufacturing centre. Srinagar according to Khulasatut-Twarikh, "All classes of artisans, skilled mechanics experts of every trade... live in it." The woollen stuffs of Srinagar

2. Pelsaert, pp. 8, 9. According to him Patna yielded 1,000 to 2,000 Wds. of silk, see also Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 156.
3. Mandelslo, p. 15. According to him cotton was produced in abundance in the vicinity of Baroch. See also Pelsaert, p. 9. According to him cotton was grown between Surat and Burhanpur. See also Joseph salbancke, p. 82, see also Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 8.
The layout of the medieval Indian towns depended upon their location, and the requirements of security and defence. Towns were generally built on high ground and on the bank of a river. The towns located on the bank of a river grew in an oblong and semicircular shape.¹

Most of the towns were strongly fortified by means of walls and ditches, and the ramparts and ditches constituted an integral part of the city. The walls were made of brick and stone and were usually 7 or 8 yards in height.² Not only large towns but smaller towns were also surrounded by a wall.

1. Agra was situated in a great open plain on the bank of river Jamuna winding from north to south and south east dividing the city in two parts. It made the city of a semicircular shape. Finch, p. 72. According to him Agra was lying "in a manner of a half moon." See also Manucci, Vol. I. p. 183. According to him Dihli was situated in a large plain of great circumference and it was in the shape of an imperfect half moon'. See also Bernier, p. 241, according to him it was in the 'form of a crescent' (like a waxing moon). For Patna see D'E Lact, p. 77.

2. Mirat, p. 3. According to it the height of Ahmadabad wall was 7 or 8 yards. See also Mandelslo, p. 41. According to him the height of Cambay wall was 4 fathoms which comes to about 8 yards. See also Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 134, according to him the height of Patna wall was 4 or 5 yards.
Towns like Etawah, Jalalabad, Mathura, Mahmudabad, and Longhyer, were fortified by stone walls. The side of the city opening towards the river usually remained unvalled as the river offered protection against an attack on that side.7

Agra, the capital town had no wall, though according to Agra Gazetteer and Archaeological survey reports of in 1871-72, Agra was surrounded by a stone wall/former days8. Most of the foreign travellers who visited the town at different periods during the seventeenth century declare that there was no wall outside the city. William Finch says that the city had no wall.9 Pelsaert who visited Agra in 1620 speaks of it as an unwalled city.10 Bernier, Thvenot, and Manucci who visited Agra in the second half of the seventeenth century say that the city was unwalled.11 The existence of gates,12

1. DE Lact, p. 63.
10. Pelsaert, p. 1. See also DE Lact, p.37, who too mentions that it had neither wall nor earthen rampart.
of a city is not a convincing proof of its having a wall. The gates served the purpose of check-posts for the main highways of the city, and as such they played an important part in the administration of the town from the point of security and levying of custom dues.

In addition to walls, ditches were also constructed, along the wall, for defence and were connected with rivers. According to Mirat-i-Ahmadi the wall of Ahmedabad 'contained 12 gates, 139 towers, 9 corners, and 6079 battlements'. Similarly Bernier mentions about the flanking towers of antique shape situated in Delhi at intervals of about one hundred paces. Baroda, Cambay and Patna had also towers and bastions along the wall. In some of the towns, a watch-tower of great height was built. According to Finch nine gates of Lahore opened on the land side and three gates towards the river side. Similarly the gates of Baroch and Surat opened towards land as well as the river side.

The most important feature of a capital town was the royal enclave, which included, the fort, the royal square, an open place for royal recreation and the pleasure houses. The fort was a separate entity within the city, which was constructed primarily to withstand a siege and...

1. Mendelssohn, p. 23. He mentions about a ditch in Ahmedabad of 16 fathoms breadth; see also Thevenot, p. 68 and Delcet p. 65, for the ditch in Ajmer; and John Fryer, p. 248 and Pelsaert, p. 39, for the ditch in Surat and Peter Hundy, Vol. II, p. 134. According to him Patna had an earthen rampart around it.
2. D'Arcy, p. 3.
4. Mendelssohn, p. 16.
5. Thevenot, p. 17.
8. Finch, p. 52, see also Delcet p. 51.
located on the bank of a river on raised ground, and was surrounded by high walls, gates, bastions and towers. The forts were also encircled by deep and wide ditches, which were filled with water. The ditches were spanned by bridges to the gates of the fort, which could be raised or lowered when needed. The encircling wall of the fort with towers, massive gates, beautiful and spacious buildings within it consisted of palaces, hamsas, mosques, gardens with fountains, tanks and squares; residences of officers on duty and the military guards. Adjoining the fort a large 'maidan' or square was left for official needs. This space was called the 'Royal square' or 'Maidan Shah'. According to Thevenot in Agra "Before the king's palace, there is a very large square...". According to Mandelslo in Ahmadabad the square was located in front of the fort, and was 16,000 feet long and half of it in breadth and was surrounded by trees. This square was primarily used for reviewing the royal cavalry where the grand muster-master of the cavalry examined the horses. In the capital towns it was also used for pitching the camps of Rajas and Nobles, who were deputed to mount the royal guard in the fort and to perform other duties.

2. Ibid., p. 37, see also Manucci, Vol. I, p.1. 133 and Salbancke p. 83 and Fitch p. 102 for Agra fort and ditches. See also Fitch p. 102 for Agra fort and ditches.
3. Thevenot, p. 59, for Dilli, and see also Mandelslo p. 8, for Surat. Bernier mentions a ditch around the castle of Surat. Mandelslo, p. 22. See also Thevenot, p. 13.
Between the walls of the fort and the river, a large chunk of space was left where the royal elephants fought and other activities were organised for the King's pleasure. In addition to it in some towns, this place was also used as the ground for playing chaugan. According to Peter Mundy in Agra, fire-works were displayed there. In the capital towns, especially in Agra some place was reserved on the left bank of Jamuna, where royal pleasure resorts and garden houses were built.

The residences of the upper class were generally located along the banks of the river. In Agra, Dihli, Ahmadabad and Lahore the residences of the high grandees were located along the water side.

A city was divided into different wards, 'puras' or mohallas, which were generally founded by some noble and named after him. In Ahmadabad, according to Mirat-i-Ahmadi "Nobles used to select plots for their palaces, and the houses of their attendants were built by the side of them. The whole block was called a 'pura', such as Akbarpura,

6. Tavernier, Vol. I, p.97. Who speaking in the context of upper class residences in Dihli says "The greater part of the nobles do not live in the town, but have their houses outside, so as to be near the water".
7. Mirat, p. 16.
8. K.T. p. 81, According to it "The high grandees have added to the beauty of the town by building charming houses and pleasant mansions over looking the river".
Kalupura, Tajpur and Jamalpur etc. In the course of time these puras increased in number, and the population of the city also grew. According to Abul Fazal, Ahmadabad had 360 quarters or wards, or puras each of which looked like a city. Whenever these wards fell into decay they were rebuilt by some governor or other influential noble, who renamed it after his own name. "These puras were like a city", says the author of the Tazkirat-ul-Mulk; "Usmanpur had at least one thousand shops, and in all of them were traders, artisans, craftsmen, Government servants and military people, both Hindu and Muslim. Similarly in Lahore the nobles built a lot of buildings, thus contributing much in the extension of the city. People of the same profession or caste were congregated in the same ward. In Agra, the Christian locality was called 'Padri Tola' where mostly Christians lived. Similarly 'Shah Ganj' in Agra was inhabited by Shia Sayyid families, which dated most probably from the times of Shahabuddin Ghori as the name of this locality suggests. In Ahmadabad the Khatris lived in one locality called Akbarpur. In some places mixed population was congregated in one locality i.e. the Hindus and

1. Mirat, pp. 10, 11. According to it Daryapur was founded by Darya Khan. Similarly in Agra, Wazir Khan Ka Katra was probably named after some grandee of the time of Shahjahan. See also Map of Agra.
4. Ibid, pp. 10, 11, Usmanpur was founded by Sayyid Usman, one of the successors of the saint Qutbi-Alam. See also Mirat, 16.
6. Jesuists and the Great Mughul, p. 313, see also map of Agra.
7. See Map of Agra.
and Muslims lived together in one mohalla. The Lohallas were named after the founders like Qazipur Lohalla, or after the name of the king or queen like Nurganj and Akbarpur.

Not far off from the fort was the heart of the city, the ancient core round which the gigantic urban area developed. This consisted of commercial establishments, the residential quarters of the middle classes and commonality, offices and public buildings like mosques, baths, caravanserais. The gardens were located in different parts of the city. Thus the centre of the city became the hub of urban life, with individual trades often tending to predominate in certain quarters and this was the busiest traffic whirlpool of the city.

The main roads of the city were those which after passing through the city joined the important highways connecting/chief cities of the empire. A large number of roads radiated from the fort and joined the highways on the outskirt of the town. The city roads further branched out into a large number of streets, spreading in all directions and connecting the principal commercial and residential centres of the town. A few of the present existing roads and streets in different towns still determine to some extent the lines and the courses of the Mughul roads (Imperial roads) that gave access to all parts of the country.

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The gates gave an imposing appearance to the town. Manucci describing Agra says "Agra has great gateways in the principal streets". The important gates of the city were those which were located at the entrance of the city, where the highways coming from the important towns converged on the city. The gates were named after the towns to which the roads led. "These are " in Surat, says Mundy, "... gates belong to it, viz., Baroch gate.... This gate leadeth to Ahmudavad (obviously via Baroch).... Brampore (Burhanpur) gate leadinge to Brampore..... Nunsaree (Nausari) gate to Nunsaree etc....".

The gates were also constructed at the entrance to the market and named after it, for example, "Darwaza Nakhas" in Patna. In addition to this the gates were also named after some saint like Qadiri Darwazah, or after the name of the King like Akbari Darwaza, or the name of some mohalla or on the name of the community living there or the trade carried on there like Shahpur gate, and Hochi Gate. The gates were also named after their builders such as an official or some important noble.

Generally the custom posts or 'Chowkies' were located at the gate of a city.¹

To avoid congestion main roads and chief streets of the city were made fairly broad and spacious and well paved with bricks. Ralph Fitch, writing in 1585, speaks of the broadness of the streets of Agra.² Other contemporary travellers, who visited different towns in the 17th century bear testimony to the spaciousness of the streets of Delhi³, Ahmadabad⁴, Surat⁵, Lahore⁶, Patna⁷, Rajmahal⁸ and Cambay⁹.

Trees were generally planted on either side of the streets.¹⁰ These streets, coming from different directions generally, crossed at right angles. The open space where the streets met was called a 'chowk' and that space was used as

2. Fitch, p. 102, see also Finch, p. 72.
3. K.T. p. 5. See also Thevenot, pp. 10, 12, 60. According to him the streets were wide, straight and very long, see also Bernier, p. 245. According to him the breadth of the principal streets were 25 or 30 ordinary paces. See also Monserrate p. 97. According to him the streets were more imposing and impressive than in other town.
4. Mandelslo p. 26. According to him the streets were very broad. See also Finch, p. 63. According to him the streets were large and well paved. See also Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 423, Mundy, Vol. p. 266, Thevenot, p. 12. According to him the breadth of the street was over 30 paces. See also Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 96.
5. Thevenot, p. 23.
6. Finch, p. 52.
7. DE Laet, pp. 72, 77.
8. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 125. According to him the roads of Rajmahal were paved with the bricks in the town.
9. Mandelslo, p. 41. See also William Finch, p. 64.
10. Mandelslo, p. 22, who mentions about the streets in Ahmadabad. See also K.T. p. 53, according to it the trees were planted along the sides of the streets in Burhanpur.
the chief bazar. The streets generally terminated at the
fort or the 'Royal square' situated near the fort. Bernier
speaking of the principal streets of all says "the two
principal streets of the city, already mentioned as leading
into the square, run in a straight line ............ In
regard to houses the two streets are exactly all - - - They are
generally separated by partitions, in the space between which
are open shops, where during the day artisans etc., bankers
sit for the expatiation of their business, and merchants
exhibit their wares. Within the arch is a small door, opening
into a small house, in which these wares are deposited for
the night".

Roads spreading in all directions, connect a the
principal commercial and residential centres of the town.
According to Bernier besides the principal streets
there were smaller streets which were not so straight and
broad.

The streets were named either after name of a noble like
Burhanul-Iikul street, or the name of the locality like
Akbarpur street, or the name of a market through which it
passed as Bazar-i-Khas street, or the name of the procession
which was carried on as 'scrumivara' street. Large, spacious
and...

   Thesvnot, p.50, and Tavernier vol I, p.97, who speaking in
   this context says".....streets lead to the great square
   where the kings palace is and there is another very straight
   and wide one, which leads to the same square near another
gate of the palace...."

2. Bernier, p.245, see also Thesvnot, p.50. According to him
   on both the sides of the road there were arches which served
   the purpose of shops and the upper portion was used for lodg-
ing. See also Tavernier, vol I, p.97, who speaking in this
   context says ".....on both sides (of the streets) there are
   arches which the merchants carry on their business and over
   head there is a kind of plattform". He further refer to the
   residences of the merchants being located on the chief streets
   See also Tuzuk, vol I, with reference to Agra.

3. Mirat, p.8. A large number of streets in Ahmadabad along with
   their names, have been mentioned in Mirat-i-Ahmadi.
well built bazars were located on both the sides of the principal streets of the town.\(^1\) In Dihli for example the Chandni Chawk and Faiz Bazar were connected with the principal streets.\(^2\) Similarly Della Velle speaking about the chief bazar in Ahmadabad on the mainroad says "...a handsome street, strait, long and very broad full of shops of various trades; they call it Bezari Kelan, that is the great market, in distinction from others than which this is bigger."\(^3\)

Important markets and shops were generally located in the heart of the city. The square or chowk bazars were an attractive feature of the city. Thevenot says "Before the kings palaces, there is a very large square, and twelve others besides of less extent in the town"\(^4\). Bernier speaking of Dihli square says "Here too is held a bazar or market for an endless variety of things... (and), is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountbankers and jugglers..."\(^5\). According to Hirat-i-Ahmadi in Ahmadabad there were seventeen chaklas\(^6\) and eighty principal market streets.\(^7\) According to Pelsaert

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4. Thevenot, p. 48 (In reference to Agra).
5. Bernier, p. 243 and Thevenot, p. 59. See also, p.100 for Burhanpur, where the markets developed.
6. Chaklas a spot where four roads meet; a small market (Bolseras Gujarati dictionary).
7. Finch, p.72. In addition to it other markets like tripolia (Tikonia) and another square in slope were situated near the fort.
"After passing the fort, (Agra) there is the Nakhas, a great market where the morning horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods, and many other things were sold."

Bazaars also developed near the central mosque of the town, or an important mausoleum. In Agra for example the bazar Taj Ganj was named after the Taj.

Some localities were named after the industry or craft carried on there. For example in Agra 'Loha-Ki-Mandi', as the name implies seems to be the market of iron wares dating from the times of Lughul rulers, or Shakkar Ganj (Sugar Market), Nilkatra, and 'Phal-Hatti' (vegetable market). In port towns, the city developed round the custom office, the fort and other government offices.

Generally, the central part of the city consisted of private and public buildings of importance like mosques, temples, baths, caravanserais, offices and residences of the middle and lower classes. These buildings were generally scattered both on either sides of the streets.

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1. Pelsaert, p.4. See also Finch, p.28. According to him in Surat the 'Nakahs' was located near the castle.
5. See map of Agra.
6. Finch, p. 57.
7. See map of Agra.
Traders like Khatris resided in ‘Phal-Hatti’ i.e. in the heart of the city. The vast interior of the city was crowded with the residences of the merchants, bazars, shops and the houses of the lower classes. Jahangir speaking of Agta says ".....Many persons here erected buildings of three or four storeys in it". Similarly Edward Carlyon refers to "Divers cases the upper rooms, projecting out, on either side of the way....". The ground floor was used for shops, while the second and the third storeys were used for purposes of residence.

The offices like custom houses, and police stations were located near the fort and in the royal square. The commercial establishments, and the foreign factories were located along the main streets in the heart of the town. Religious and educational institutions like temples, madrasas and mosques were scattered in every lane, bazar and locality.

The Juma mosque was located on the main street and in the centre of the city. According to Bernier in

1. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp.218 & 78. He also mentions his residence being located in the market.
5. Thevenot, p. 12. According to him in Ahmadabad the Dutch factories were lodged in the fairest and longest street of the town.
6. Thevenot, p.13. See also E.F.R. Vol. II, pp.296, & 297. Mandelslo p. 22. According to him the English factory or lodge at Ahmadabad was in the heart of the city.
8. Ibid. p. 10. See also K.T. p. 81.
Dilhi the principal mosque was situated in the centre of the city and around it was a square from which radiated five long streets. Similarly in Agra the Juna mosque was located in the heart of the town. According to Thevenot in Ahmadabad the caravansarais were located near the square. The chief caravansarais of Dilhi built by Jehanara Begum was built in the square which was situated between the fortress and the city. The caravansarais were also located at the entrance of the chief gate of the city, in the suburbs and on the bank of the river. These caravansarais were generally situated along the main roads which entered the town from different directions.

A close study of the lay out of the towns reveals that they were not planned but grew in an haphazard way. As the city grew in size and population, new buildings completely surrounded the old. Pelsaert speaking about the growth of Agra city says, "There are; indeed many places belonging to great princes and lords, but they are hidden away in alleys and corners. This is due to the sudden growth of the city". In Agra "the gates which Akbar built for its security now stand in the middle of the city and the area of buildings outside them is fully three times greater in extent". Pelsaert also adds that the city was growing rapidly and there was no systematic plan to cope with the expansion.

Suburban towns grew up along the roads leading into the city. In Agra, for example near the tomb of Itimadudula and Taj Mahal, a large population began to settle. Bernier noticing the extent of Agra town beyond south-east of the fort says "on leaving Agra, towards the east you enter a long rise or paved street, on a gentle ascent, having on one side a high and long wall, which forms the side of a square garden of much greater extent... on the other side a line of new houses with arched, resembling those of the principal streets in Delhi...."  

The planting of gardens in the city was a very common feature, Ahmadabad was well surrounded by the gardens which looked like forests. According to Pelencort in Agra "the luxuriance of the groves all round makes them resemble a royal park rather than a city." According to Bernier "A large expense of luxuriant gardens (is) a part of the city of Agra...."  

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1. Thevenot, p. 11. See also Bernier, p. 242.  
3. Bernier, pp. 293, 296. See also Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 109, 110. See also Fitch p. 174. According to him the Fatehpur Sikri road up to a distance of five miles was a part of the city, and old buildings and monuments were traceable on them. Ralph Fitch speaking about the distance 8& between Agra and Fatehpur Sikri says "All the way is a market of victuals and other things as full as though a man were still in a town and so many people as if a man were in a market." Similarly, Agra city expanded towards Sikandra road and Gwalior road. See Map of Agra.  
4. Thevenot, p. 14, Handelslo, p. 29, Terry, p. 21. See also K.a., p. 53, for Burhanpur. See also Handelslo, p. 21. According to him in Cambay there were 15 gardens in the city, which were outside the wall. See also Bernier, p. 242 and Henrique, p. 100 for Delhi.  
The observation made by Thevenot about the city of Agra that the gardens take up a great part of it and which is true of every city is significant in so far it indicates not merely that the ruler and the ruled during the Mughul period had a high aesthetic sense but also that the gardens were an important part of town planning at that time.

Besides the gardens attached to palaces, residences, mausoleums and tombs, separate and extensive gardens were laid and were used as pleasure resorts, and some tombs and mausoleums were situated in the vicinity of the towns and were held in great veneration, where sometimes fairs were held. The foreign travellers in general have complained about the plan of the town of Agra as being haphazard and that the streets were narrow. The main reason was its geographical location. The river Jamuna left extensive ravines in the city, which made the streets narrow, secondly being the capital town it had a heavy pressure of population, and the town could not cope with it and it became very congested. The buildings and residences were constructed wherever any space was available. Examine the remark of Pelsaert in this context 'Every one acquired and purchased the plot of land which suited or pleased him best.'

The buildings of the towns were conspicuous for their massiveness and the material used was red stone and white marble. These buildings were magnificent and beautiful and were built according to the peoples' needs and tastes and were suited to the climate of the country. According

to Bernier, the buildings in the city were constructed to
suit the climate of the country and not like those of Paris,
London or Amsterdam. The town of Agra was the largest town
in the country and had good buildings. The author of the
Khulasatut-Tawarikh gives a vivid description of the general
appearance and lay out of Delhi city. "Its heart-ravishing
houses have perfect beauty and charm; its soul refreshing
pleasure houses possess grace and happiness; its streets look
like the flower beds of a garden in ornament and beauty, the
squares of every ward of this town are beautiful and heart-
 ravishing like the squares of a garden; every one of its houses
and mansions looks like flower beds of eternal springs in every
lane and street are canals filled to the brim with water of
a sweet taste; the roads of its bazars are bright and heart
attractive like the veins of Jewels; its shops are full of
happiness and beauty like the two eyebrows of beloved ones."3

"Ahmadabad" says the author of the Haft Iqlim,
"is unique in the matter of neatness, thriving population, and
beautiful buildings and it would be no exaggeration to say
that so grand and magnificent a city is to be found no
where else. Bazars are spacious and well arranged; and in
truth a city with such beauties is rare; whence it has been
called the bride of the kingdom"4. According to Finch the
buildings of Ahmadabad were comparable to any city in Asia
or Africa.5 According to Richard Steel and John Crowther

1. Bernier, p. 240
2. Bernier, p. 284. According to him "It surpasses Delhi in
extent of its buildings and residence and carvenscralis."
3. K.T., p.5.
5. Finch, p.63. See also Terry p. 31, who describes it as most
spacious and rich city.
Lahore was 'goodly great city, and one of the fairest and
ancienest of India.'

Dacca, has been described as an admirable city
According to the author of Khuasatut-Tawarikh "....Dhaka
(Dacca) or Jehangir-nagar, which is very spacious. It is
dlegantly
beautifully and diligently inhabited...." According to an
employee of the East India Company, Camboy was rich, fair
and neat city and was famous throughout the world. To
Peter Mundy, the cities of Benaras and Fatehpursikri much
resembled the European cities.

1. Richard Steel and John Crowther, p. 268.
2. K.T., p. 40. See also Bowrey, pp. 149, & 150, who mentions
it to be an admirable and very spacious city.
3. Nicholas Downton, p. 150.
4. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 122, "of all the cities and towns
that I have seen in India none of which resembles so much those
of Europe as this."
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 227. He particularly refers to
Fatehpursikri which in his opinion resembled the Gothic
buildings of European cities.
In the 17th century urbanisation went apace and a large number of new towns sprang up, and continued to expand and flourish. Villages expanded into towns and numerous small towns grew into centres of trade, of industries and, in some cases, of administration. The provinces of Bengal, Gujrat, Punjab and Dihli could boast of large cities - from Kabul to Lahore, and from Lahore to Multan, and Thatta, and to Agra, then to the entire eastern region and down to the provinces of Gujrat and Malwa, one comes across large towns and cities. A large number of towns of trace Bengal and Gujrat with their origin to this period. According to Pelsaert the eastern part of the country extending to which Jagannathpuri, covering a distance of 600 Kos, contained many large cities. Similarly Ralph Fitch passed many fair towns on his way from Benaras to Patna. According to Manrique the route from Benaras to Patna was... "studded with habitations of large towns," while, according to Thevenot, the country of Bengal was full of towns. The province of Agra had many flourishing cities. According to Thevenot the province of Gujrat had quite a large number of important towns.

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1. Pelsaert, p.7.
4. Thevenot, p. 96.
5. Pelsaert, p.44. See also Thevenot, p.46, who mentions that the province of Agra had above 40 towns within its limits.
6. Thevenot, p.44.
Most of these towns were large and prosperous and had considerably in size, extent, population, trade, commerce and industries. Foreign travellers, compare favourably Indian cities with London, Paris, Constantinople or Amsterdam, the greatest cities known to them. The most flourishing cities according to them were Agra, Dihli, Lahore, Srinagar, Multan, Thatta, Benaras, Jaunpur, Allahabad, Bahraich, Ajodya, Patna, Dacca, Hugli, Chittagong, Kasimbazar, Murshidabad, Ujjain, Sironj, Burhanpur, Ahmadabad, Surat, Cambay, Baroch and Pattan. Ralph Fitch writing in 1585 A.D. observed, "Agra and Fatehpore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous."¹ Agra in the early 17th century according to Salbancke was "as great as London, and very populous."² Dihli was as great as Paris.³ Ahmadabad was 'near as great as London'⁴. Lahore was a very large and populous city, and second to none, either in Asia or Europe with regard to size, population and wealth.⁵ Shahzadpur, a great and populous place which was compared with Constantinople.⁶ Fatehpursikri, according to Ralph Fitch was

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1. Fitch, p. 103.
2. Salbancke, p. 84. According to him, besides Fatehpur, Agra and Lahore, there were many other important cities in the kingdom.
4. Nicholas Withington, p.167, and DB Last, p.19. See also Letters from the servants, Vol.I, p.305. According to it Ahmadabad was 'as big as the city of London.'
5. Monserrate, p.159.
much bigger than London. Agra, was "a town of unparalleled spaciousness and extent... Travellers have been few such strong forts or large towns... and men of every race and country live it." It was "spacious large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly pass in the streets."  

The growth of the cities resulted in overcrowding and ill planned suburban expansion. During the course of expansion in earlier years there was no clear differentiation between industrial, commercial or residential areas. Afterwards commercial quarters were laid out separately and swallowed while villages in the vicinity: a new suburban area was established on the outskirts of the city. The expanded city grew outside the city walls and gates. During the reign of Jehangir, says Pelsaert, "the gates which Akbar built for its security now stand in the middle of the city and the area of the buildings outside them is fully three times greater in extent." Similarly residences of nobles, which were situated outside the main city in the time of Akbar, were merged into the city in the time of Jehangir. He says further, "There are indeed many places belonging to great princes and lords, but they are hidden away in alleys and corners. This is due to the sudden growth of the city."

1. Fitch, p.103. See also Monserrate, p.31. See also Ain, Vol. II, pl 191. According to Abul Fazal, "It rose to be a city of the first importance."
2. K.T., p. 23.
3. Finch, p. 72. See also DB Laet, p.37.
In the case of Agra the expansion of the city at the close of the 16th century can be well estimated from the accounts of Ralph Fitch, who says, "Between Agra and Fatehpur are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things as full as though a man were still in a town and so many people as if a man were in a market..." Similarly, the Sikandra road was thickly crowded with all sorts of buildings on both sides from Agra to Sikandra a distance of about 5 miles. In fact during Akbar's time it became a part of the city. Even at the close of the 17th century, when it ceased to be the capital of the empire, there was no sign of its decline. Foreign travellers like Thevenot, in the latter part, who visited it at the close of the 17th century were struck by its size and prosperity.

Under Jahangir the city expanded further. Jahangir observes, "In the number of its buildings it is equal to several cities of Iraq, Khurasan, and Mawarannahr (Transoxonia) put together. Many persons have erected buildings of three or four storeys in it. The mass of the people is so great that moving about in the lanes and bazars is difficult..."

The growth and prosperity of Dihli is clearly depicted by Sujanrai. According to him, "It is a city of perfect spaciousness and extent, a capital city and the centre of the kingdom. Travellers of the seven climates and tourists of the habitable world cannot point out any other town on the surface.

1. Fitch, p. 103 (First English man in India)
2. Tuzuk, Vol. I, p.3. He further mentions that 'it was closely built and inhabited'.

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of the earth so spacious or so largely populated. The city of Stamboul (Constantinople) the capital of the Sultan of Roum, which is famous for its largeness and extent, is not a tenth part of a tenth part of this city. The cities of Kazwin and Isfahan, the capitals of the Shah of Persia, which are famous for excellence and beauty, do not come up to even a single quarter of this city. The author speaking about the size and population of the city says, "A wall of stone and mortar encloses the city. Its circumference is more than the imagination can comprehend; and the number of the population within and around it is beyond the range of description. The men of the Turks (Turkey) Zanzibar, and Syria, the English, the Dutch, the men of Yemen, Arabia, Iraq, Khorasan, Khwarizm, Turkistan, Kabul, Zabulistan, Cathay, Khotan, China, Machin, Kashghar, Qalmaqistan, Tibet and Kashmir and other provinces of Hindustan have chosen their abode in this large city...."

Dihli too as it expanded encroached upon the fort and the royal square. Its population was cosmopolitan. Trade, prospect of employment, pleasure, and curiosity alike drew to it vast crowds from remote regions. A large number of extensive suburbs, and buildings on both sides of the roads were developing rapidly. Johannaband like Dihli says Bernier "is a great straggling town...."

1. K.T., p.9. On the same page the text breaks into poetry in praise of the city. "It is a great city, exactly like heaven - The centre of India, and the Capital of Kings."
2. Ibid. p.5
3. Bernier, p.243, see also Thovenot
Ahmadabad, according to Abul Fazal was "a noble city in a high state of prosperity..." while Edward Terry calls it as one of the "most spacious and rich citie." According to Mandelslo it was "a great and populous city." According to the author of the Haft Iqlim, "Ahmadabad is unique in the matter of neatness, thriving population, and beautiful buildings and it would be no exaggeration to say that so grand and magnificent a city is to be found nowhere else. Bazars are spacious and well arranged.... And in truth a city with such beauties is rare; whence it has been called the Bride of the kingdom.

Sultan Mahmud II, built Mahmudabad, about 12 koss from Ahmadabad, but with the growth of commerce and industries the road was covered by markets and houses on both the sides, and the city became one. Ain-i-Akbari and Mirat-i-Ahmadi mentions about 360 or 380 quarters or wards of the city. Mandelslo mentions large suburbs in the city. Mosques and markets in large number expanded the city. Ahmadabad developed so much that it had 25 great towns under its jurisdiction.

2. Terry, p. 21.
5. Ibid, p. 7, & 16. See also Mandelslo, p.22. who refers to the expansions of the city. See also Thevenot, p.11.
Lahore was "beyond measure remarkable in populousness and extent."\(^1\) According to Jahangir, it was "one of the greatest places in Hindustan ..\(^2\). Father Monserrate, speaking about its population says, "The population is so large that men jostle each other in the streets."\(^3\) William Finch calls it as 'one of the greatest cities of the east';\(^4\) and according to Richard Steel and John Crowther, "Lahore is a goodly great citie, and one of the fairest and ancienest of India"\(^5\). According to Khulasat-ut-Twarikh, "It is undoubtedly a large city and a big town. Few towns can be pointed out that resemble it in extent of habitation and largeness of population.\(^6\) Manrique, who visited Lahore in the reign of Shah Jahan, calls it as the second famous city\(^7\) of the Mughul empire. According to Sujan Rai "Jahangir built lofty mansions which are still extant; and his good fortune became for a time the means of its increase of splendour. Its habitations were increased by the abodes of the princes and high grandees. In the time of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the population increased daily..."\(^8\)

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1. Ain, Vol. II, p. 317. He also mentions it to be the first city in size and population see also A.N. Vol. II, p. 80.
4. Finch, p. 52.
5. Richard Steel, and John Crowther, p. 268.
Patna was a very large and great town.\textsuperscript{1} Manrique calls it as one of the biggest towns in the whole of Mughul empire.\textsuperscript{2} The foreign travellers like Peter Mundy,\textsuperscript{3} Tavernier\textsuperscript{4}, Thevenot,\textsuperscript{5} and Manucci\textsuperscript{6}, who visited it in the second half of the 17th century speak of it as a prosperous, growing and a very large city.

Dacca was the 'largest town in Bengal'.\textsuperscript{7} According to Thomas Bowrey it was "an admirable city for its greatness, for its magnificent buildings and multitudes of inhabitants."\textsuperscript{8} Sujan Rai, says "Dhaka (Dacca) or Jahangir-nagar, which is very spacious. It is beautifully and elegantly inhabited for some Kos...Men of every race and country live in it."\textsuperscript{9}

Surat grew up rapidly as it became an emporium of foreign trade. According to the English Factors its, 3,000 houses were burnt by Shivaji\textsuperscript{10}. According to Thevenot, the rush of people was so much that, "lodgings can hardly be had, and the three suburbs are all full."\textsuperscript{11} According to Della Valle, "'Tis very populous, as all other cities and places are in India; which every where abounds with people."\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{itemize}
  \item [1.] Fitch p. 113, see also K.T., p. 35.
  \item [4.] Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 121.
  \item [5.] Thevenot, p. 96.
  \item [6.] Manucci, Vol. II, p. 83, See also Bowrey, p. 221. According to him it was a very large and spacious city.
  \item [8.] Bowrey, p. 150.
  \item [9.] K.T., p. 40.
  \item [11.] Thevenot, p. 21.
\end{itemize}
Hugly was large and populous town. According to Bowrey, it was a famous town adorned with many fine structures and very populous. It had a large Christian population. Chanderni according to Abul Fazal was one of the largest ancient towns. It had 384 bazars, 360 sarais and 12,000 mosques. Ghornaghat in Bengal was a large sprawling city, which has been described as a number of towns joined together.

In addition to the above mentioned towns, Thatta, Multan, Srinagar, Surat, Cambay, Broach, Ajmer, Burhanpur, Mandu, Ujjain, Gwalior, Allahabad, Benaras

5. Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 10. According to him it was one of the largest towns of India.
6. Thevenot, p. 77.
7. Ain, Vol. II, p. 356. See also A.N. Vol. III, p. 827. See also K.T. p. 111. According to it Srinagar was "inhabited for a long time, and its habitations extent over four leagues."
11. DE Laet, p. 65. See also Thevenot, p. 69. Though according to these authorities, it was a moderate-sized town it was also a flourishing town in the 17th century.
14. Ain, Vol. II, p. 207. According to Abul Fazal it was large city. See also Tuzuk Vol.I, p. 354. According to Jehangir, it was most celebrated cities of Malwa province.
seem to have been Ajodya, \(^1\) Jaumpur\(^2\), Cuttak, \(^3\) and Jagannathpur\(^4\), large and populous towns enjoying great prosperity.

In the north-west and western region, Nasarpur, Bhakkar, Sialkot, Sehwan, Sirhind, Samanah, Panipat, Rantipur, Baroda, Nausari, Swally, Mahmudabad, Merta, Antri, Harwar, Sirong, Chanderi; and towns such as Biana, Banda, Kalpi, Kol, Ferozabad, Sikandrabad, Bahraich, Lucknow, Shahzadpur, Angrezabad, Ghoreghat, Sultan Ganj, Jaleswar, Jahangira, Burdwan, Raj Mahal, Hugli, Kasimbazar, Murshidabad, Wasumabazar, Chittagaon, etc. were prosperous and big towns.

As has been mentioned earlier, medieval Indian towns were growing in their size and population. However it is difficult to estimate the exact size and population and the extent of growth at different stages during this period, for there are no records which could give us an idea of the pace of development and the population of the various towns. The Government did not maintain a census department, and, therefore, we have to depend on the observations made by some contemporary foreign travellers, who at times have compared the Indian towns in extent and population with the European towns. The population of London at the close of the 16th century and in the 17th century has been estimated at 152,479 in 1593-95, and 4,60,000 in 1666.\(^5\) Similarly the population of Paris in 1590 and in the 17th century has been estimated at 2,00,000 and under Louis XIV (1643-1715) at 4,92,600 respectively.\(^6\)

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2. Finch, p.66. See also \(\text{ref.}\) Peter Mundy, Vol.II, p.118.
Some idea of the population of the bigger cities may be had on the basis of the area of these towns and the estimates of foreign travellers. Agra was one of the largest cities in the empire. The city along the west bank was seven to twelve miles long including the suburbs and two to three miles broad. The total circumference was approximately twenty miles. In the second half of the 17th century, the city had further expanded having a circumference of over 30 miles. According to Father Monserrate, it was 4 miles long and two miles broad.\(^1\) According to Abul Fazl, Jamuna, flowed through the town for 5 kos,\(^2\) i.e. the extent of the town along the bank of the river was about 8 miles. The town in the time of Jahangir, had a circumference of seven kos and its breadth was one kos. The circumference of the inhabited part on the other side of the water the side towards the east, is 2½ kos, its length being one kos and its breadth half a kos.\(^3\) The "city and suburbs are one way seven miles in length, three in breadth\(^4\), says Finch. According to Pelsaert the city along the bank of the river extended for 6 kos or 3½ Holland miles,\(^5\) i.e. about 12 miles.

In the second half of the 17th century, the circumference of the city, as recorded by Manucci, was twelve leagues,\(^6\) which comes to about 36 miles.

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1. Monserrate, p. 35.
5. Pelsaert, p. 3. See also F. Iset p. 37.
On the basis of Ralph Fitch's statement we can reasonably assume that the population of Agra at the end of the 16th century, when visited the town, was more than 2 lakhs.\(^1\) In 1640 when Manrique visited the town, he estimated the population of the town "as 6 lakhs and 60 thousand inhabitants, besides the large number of strangers who continually fill ninety caravansarais and other private houses."\(^2\)

Th venot, who visited Agra in 1666, says that "The town of Agra is populous as a great town ought to be, but not so as to be able to send out two hundred thousand fighting men into the field."\(^3\)

In medieval ages, the imperial court and camp influenced public activities, and determined the movements of population. Besides the permanent population there was the mobile population which moved in and out of Agra with the King: the princes, the tributary chiefs, mansabdars and foreign traders and merchants. It is difficult to form an estimate of the number of such people but judging from the Sarais and hostelries, which were always crowded, the number must have been enormous. According to Manrique there were ninety caravansarais.\(^4\)

Bernier's observation that the capital city such as Dihly or Agra derives its chief support from the presence of the army, and that the population is reduced to the necessity

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1. Fitch p. 100. He has described Agra as much greater than London and very populous. London's population then was less than 2 lakhs.
3. Thevenot, p. 49.
of following the Mogal, whenever he undertakes a journey of
long continuance, is only partially true. The presence of
the king and the army did certainly affect trade and commerce
as well as artisans and craftsmen, but the fact that the king
and his army were very often on the move did not upset the
normal life of the city or its importance as the capital town.
The strength of the camp which went along with the king was not
very substantial. According to Bernier the camp consisted of 3 to 4
thousand persons. Thus a close analysis of towns in northern
India during the 17th century reveals that this statement of
Bernier that 'town is a camp' is a sweeping generalisation,
and does not reveal the true position of towns. It is
certainly true that the establishment of imperial quarters
in any town would greatly increased its population, and
would bring in the various services required for the imperial
camp, but at the same time Bernier's remarks would be true
only if a particular town did not posses a considerable
permanent population independent of the imperial camp.

Thus the population of Agra rose from over 7 lakhs in the middle of the
17th century, even when the Emperor was not in Agra, and it
did not affect the prosperity and population of the town adversely.

Finch mentions the length of Dihli town as 2 kos (about 4 miles). In the second half of the 17th century it

2. Ibid. p. 381.
3. Finch, p. 48. According to him, the city was two kos in
between the gates.
became more than 5 miles, including the suburbs.\footnote{Bernier, pp. 241 & 242. According to him, the city had large suburbs, and so much increased that a straight line of more than a league and a half could be traced through it.} Delhi was also a populous town. Bernier expressed the opinion that its population was as great as 500,000, i.e. about 5 lakhs. We can further form an idea of its population by the number of 60 thousand\footnote{Ibid, p. 246.} thatched cottages, located in the city.

Della Valle, who visited Ahmadabad in 1623, remarks it as "competently large, with great suburbs."\footnote{Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 95.} According to Handelslo, Ahmadabad had a circumference of seven leagues,\footnote{Landelslo, p. 26. See De Laet, p. 19. He describes the circumference of the city as 6 Dutch miles i.e. (about 20 miles) as Litrat, pp. 4 & 5. According to it the length of the city was 10,125. Ilahi yards, breadth 2,500 yards and the total area was of 2,229 Bighas and 13 Biswas.} i.e. about 20 miles, but by the time of Peter Mundy it was about 30 miles, including the suburbs.\footnote{Peter Mundy. Vol. II, p. 266. According to him the compass of the wall with the suburbs was 16 coss. See also Thévenot, p. 11. He describes the length of the city 1½ leagues i.e. about 5 miles.}

The population of Ahmadabad, was near as great as London,\footnote{Withington, p. 167. See also Letters from servants, Vol. I, p. 305.} or over 2 lakhs towards the beginning of the 17th century, and as the city was growing in size, so the population too increased in the same proportion. Lahore in the beginning of the 17th century, was 12 miles in length with a circumference of 48 miles including the suburbs.\footnote{Finch, p. 52. According to him its length was about 6 coss and 24 Dos in circumference, with the suburbs.} Tavernier in the middle of the century estimated the length of the town.
at only about two miles.\textsuperscript{1} It may be that Lahore had declined somewhat in size. However it still remained one of the biggest towns in India. Thevenot who visited Lahore after Tavernier mentions its length as nine miles, including the suburbs,\textsuperscript{2} and on the basis of its size in the beginning of the 17th century, the population must have been over 8 Lakhs.

Very few towns of northern India were in decline. Some towns declined temporarily later due to some natural calamity. For example Lahore in the beginning of the 17th century was very large but by the time of the visit of Tavernier, there was an immediate fall in the size of the town and its houses were in a ruinous condition.\textsuperscript{3} This was due to heavy rains and floods. According to Tavernier "The town is large and extends more than a coss in length, but the greater part of the houses which are higher than those of Agra and Delhi, are falling into ruins, the excessive rains having overthrown a large number."\textsuperscript{4} According to the author of Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, "In the reign of the emperor Aurangzib, when the river Ravi encroached upon the town and by its violence destroyed many houses and gardens in the fourth year from the emperor's accession..."\textsuperscript{5} Soon after this Lahore began to grow. According to Thevenot, "It (Lahore) increased so in a short time, that with the suburbs it made three leagues in length."\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 94. The decline of the town, has been discussed separately in the section 'Decline of Towns'.

\textsuperscript{2} Thevenot, p. 85. Referring to it he says "it increased so much in a short time, that with the suburbs it made three leagues in length".

\textsuperscript{3} Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 95. See also Thevenot, p. 85. They mention the decline of the town on the basis of the ruinous conditions of houses.

\textsuperscript{4} Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 95; See also Thevenot, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{5} K.T. p. 81.

\textsuperscript{6} Thevenot, p. 85.
Some towns declined as a result of natural calamities like earthquakes, heavy rains, famines, diseases. Amanabad declined due to the spread of diseases\(^1\); Fatehpursikri due to the scarcity of water;\(^2\) and Samaji, a town near Thatta, was destroyed by an earthquake; thirty-thousand houses having been destroyed.\(^3\)

The trade and commerce of some of the towns declined due to topographic changes, which ultimately hampered the growth of the towns. However in such circumstances, the decline of the town was of a temporary nature, and as soon as, the proper measures were taken, it again began to prosper.

Cambay was a declining town, in the 17th century mainly due to the difficulties in berthing ships as a result of silting up of the river bed,\(^4\) and as such it lost a part of her commerce.\(^5\)

In Thatta,\(^6\) and Multan\(^7\) with the obstructions in the carriage of goods in the river, the traffic decreased and ultimately resulted in the decline of these towns.

Towns like Fatehpursikri, Raj Mahal, Gaur, Mandu, Biana, Kannauj and Badaun declined because they no/longer administrative centres.

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2. Finch, p. 42.
5. Pelsaert, p. 19. See also Careri, p.164. According to him Cambay lost much of its splendour due to it.
7. Thevenot. 1, & 77.
Under Akbar, Faizabad was a great and flourishing city, but in the beginning of the 17th century it declined. Even then it remained as an important town because of the presence of carpet manufacturers. Rajmahal retained its importance due to its position on the river and commercial facilities. But it definitely declined, when it was no longer the capital of Bengal. Biana declined, but it retained its importance, with the flourishing of commerce and industries there. Handa still retained its strategic importance. Towns like Qannauj, Badaun, Gaur could not develop any commerce and industry and as such they declined considerably. Some of the towns declined, due to the growth of others in their vicinity.

2. Finch, p. 42.
SECTION IV: TRADE ROUTES

Trade routes and facilities of communication greatly contributed to the growth of towns, as means of inter-regional circulation of surplus commodities and access to foreign markets. These trade routes, besides were essential for administration, and maintenance of law and order.

The medieval Indian towns were connected by a network of cross-country roads spread all over the country, branching off in many directions. Commercial goods were carried from Burhanpur to Lahore, from Lahore to Agra, Dihli and thence to Patna and Dacca, or from there to Ahmadabad, Surat and to Sindh, along these roads.

Most of the large towns in the 17th century were situated on the junction of trade routes or near major trade routes. Agra was connected by trade routes with the towns of Punjab, Sindh and Afghanistan in the north west, with Rajputana and Gujrat in the west, with Jalwa, and the Deccan in the south, and with the towns of eastern provinces. It thus lay at the conjunction of most of the cross-country trade routes, and a good deal of foreign trade of the hinterland passed through it. It became the clearing house.

1. I have not mentioned the relevant pages of the authorities in this connection in order to avoid unnecessary repetition.
for agricultural produce of the areas as well as a distributing
the
centre for some. Pelsaert speaking in this context says,
"The situation of the city is at the junction of all the
roads from distant countries. All goods must pass this way,
and from Gujarat, Tatta (or Sinah) from Kabul, Kandhar or
Multan to the Deccan, from the Deccan or Burhanpur to these
route to
places on the Lahore and from Bengal and the whole east country,
There are no practicable alternative routes, and the roads
carry indescribable quantities of merchandise..."1

Similarly, Dihli was linked by a network of roads2
to the important cities in various parts of the empire; like
Lahore, Ajmer, Agra, Kol and Benaras (via Moradabad).

Lahore was connected by great roads3 with Dihli, Agra,
Multan, Thatta and Kashmir and was also connected by roads
with Kabul and Kandhar. Multan was the terminal for caravans
from Persia via Kandhar, and other towns of different provinces
and regions of India.4

Thatta was linked by roads5 with Ahmadabad, Lahore,
Multan and Kandhar. Ahmadabad was connected by trade routes
with every part
from north of the country6. The important towns, like Lahore,

1. Pelsaert, p. 6.
Crowther, E.F.R. Vol. VI, Tavernier, C.G.
Crowther, Menrique, E.F.R. Vol. VI.
4. D'E Laet, E.F.R. Vol. VI, Richard Steel, & John Crowther,
and Tavernier. See also Pelsaert.
5. D'E Laet, Fitch, Withington, Menrique and E.F.R. Vol. VI.
6. Pelsaert, p. 19. According to him it was connected with
Lahore, Kashmir, Bengal and Agra or say from all sides of
the country. See also Fitch, De Laet, Withington, Peter Sandby,
Thatta, Dihli, Ajmer, Agra, Surat, Burhanpur and towns of Bengal region were all directly connected with it.

Surat was connected by roads,\(^1\) with the towns of Deccan through Burhanpur, Northern India, and Sindh via Ahmadabad, and served as a centre of various commodities which formed major centres of Indian exports. Burhanpur was situated at the junction of the trade routes,\(^2\) from Agra, Surat, Ahmadabad, Bijapur and Golconda. Mandu\(^3\) and Ajmir\(^4\) were situated, on one of the main highways from Agra to Burhanpur and were also linked with Ahmadabad and Ajmer. Ajmer stood on the Agra-Ahmadabad and Dihli-Ahmadabad routes.\(^5\)

Similarly, the towns of eastern provinces were well connected with different regions by trade routes. Allahabad was located on the main highway\(^6\) from Agra to Dacca and was connected by road with Jaunpur. Patna was located on the main commercial highway\(^7\) of northern India. It has been rightly called "The great gate that opened into Bengal."\(^8\) Dacca was connected by road with different parts of Bengal and with Sylhet. Rajmahal was linked by

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1. Finch, De Laet, Salbancke, Withington, Peter Mundy, Tavernier, Thevenot.
2. Fitch, De Laet, Salbancke, Peter Mundy, C.G.
3. Fitch & Finch, Tavernier & C.G.
4. Fitch, Finch, De Laet, Peter Mundy, Tavernier, C.G.
6. Finch, De Laet, Peter Mundy, Tavernier, Manrique, C.G.
7. Bowrey, p.221.
road, with Saccu and Ratna, and other towns of the eastern
region like Huli, Salasore, Gorignat, and Murshidabad, which
were all located on important trade routes.

The contemporary travellers' accounts give a vivid
description of the facilities available for easy travel on
the trade routes. The highways were kept in good condition
and were safe from robbers. Trees were planted along the
roads and sarais and rest houses were built for the travellers.

The royal highway or the Grand Trunk road was adorned
with a double line of trees like a pleasant promenade.
Tavernier observed.... "That throughout India the greater part
of the roads are like avenues of trees, and those which have
not trees planted, have at every 500 paces small pieces of
stone which the inhabitants of the nearest villages are
bound to whiten from time to time...."1.

Between Agra and Lahore, sarais were situated at every
five or six kos2. On this road Jahangir built mile-
posts at every kos and wells at every three kos, so that
way-farers might travel in ease and contentment and not
endure hardships from thirst and the heat of the sun3.

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1. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 29c. See also De Laet, p. 11.
2. De Laet, p. 11, see also Rich, p. 75, nos, p. 432, who
was so much struck with wonder to see these arrangements
that he mentions it as one of the great works and wonders
of the world, and Richard Steel & John Crowther p. 26c.
3. Tuzuk, Vol. II, p. 100. See also Terry, p. 15, and De Laet,
p. 11 and Tavernier, p. 9c.
The road from Agra to Lahore extended towards Kabul. Jahangir mentions another road from Agra to Attock and one from Agra towards Bengal *with similar arrangements.* Similar arrangements were made on the road from Agra to Ajmer. Manucci too corroborates the accounts of all these authorities.

Besides other facilities, caravansarais at short intervals along the trade routes were provided. These spacious and fortified caravansarais were located on every route throughout the country. A large number of foreign travellers, who visited the country at different periods mention these arrangements and the location of the caravansarais on the high roads. According to Manucci, "...For the use of way-fares there are throughout the realms of the Mogul on every route many 'Sarais' (Sare). They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates, most of them are built of stone or of brick... Those sarais are only intended for travellers (soldiers do not go into them); each one of them might hold, more or less from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels carriages and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, and verandas, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provison shops, also separate abodes for the women and men who arrange the

1. Finch, p. 51.
3. Pelsaert, p. 70, See also Finch, p. 41, and De Laet, p. 44.
rooms and the beds for travellers. There used to be a great rush in those caravanserais, Manrique describing his journey from Agra to Lahore, speaks highly of the caravanserais and expresses surprise at the great volume of commerce and number of travellers, and mentions about the rush, due to which they (Manrique and his party) could not sometimes find room there.

"We found this route" says Manrique with reference to the Agra-Patna route, "studded with habitations large towns and small villages, and much frequented by travellers. On this account it was well supplied with Caramossoras.

For ensuring the security of life and property of the travellers on the highways, proper supervision of roads was made. The local Faujdars and governors were responsible for preserving peace and order in their territories and for the policing of the highways; and the protection of travellers. The officers took very active measures against highwaymen, and for the security of the routes of communication.

Instances are not lacking, when the travellers were robbed but compensation was given to them. Manucci rightly summing up the administration of the highways, says, "These Faujdars have to supervise the roads, and should any

1. Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 68, 69. See also Withington, p. 174. See also Richard Steel and John Crowther, p. 268. According to him on every 10 or 12 miles then used to be a sarai.
merchant or traveller be robbed in daylight, they are obliged to pay compensation, if robbed at night it is the traveller's fault for not having halted earlier, and he loses all, without his complaint being heard. Generally the rulers were very strict in preventing thefts and robberies, and to keep the highways safe. Tavernier speaking in the context of Shah 'Qan's reign says "...the police was so strict...and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft".

According to Tavernier, "The great heats of India compel travellers, who are not accustomed to it to travel by night in order to rest by day. When they enter towns which are closed, they must leave by sunset; if they wish to take the roads."

In cases, where particular routes, used to be dangerous, an alternative route was available. For example, English Factors complained of insecurity on Agra-Burhanpur road which passed via Handia, as their merchants were plundered. But it mentions another route via Mandu, which was safe, which they took. Similarly Dihli and Ajmer were inter-linked by many routes. Agra and Surat were connected

1. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 451. See also Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 47. According to Tavernier, "...For night being come, and the gates closed, the governor of the place, who has to answer for thefts which occur within his jurisdiction, does not allow anyone to go out and (in the night) says that it is king's order, which he must obey."

by alternative routes, one via Burhanpur and the other via Ajmer and Ahmadabad. Ahmadabad and Ajmer were connected by many routes.  

Various transport facilities were available and transport was cheap. The cost of carriage from Agra to Surat was only one and a half rupee per maund. Generally camels, horses, carts and mules, were engaged for carrying commercial goods from one town to the other.

1. Fitch, De Laet, Tavernier, Finch & Peter Mundy.
2. C.G., See Also Mizamuddin, Elliot, Vol. Vp, p. 362. According to these authorities Ahmadabad to Ajmer were three alternative routes.