"ASPECT OF URBANISATION, COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL GROWTH DURING 18TH CENTURY NORTH INDIA; A CASE STUDY OF ROHAILKHAND REGION"

ABSTRACT

of the THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

By

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ALIGARH (INDIA)
2012
Abstract
Hypothesis

The methodology of the proposed study is based on extensive field surveys and in-depth desk research work. As far as field survey is concerned all major towns included in the theme have been surveyed and data included in the work. Not only the politico-historical aspect of the theme has been made the focal point but the essential part of this study has also been the important aspect of history of Urbanisation.

Frequent visits were made to the study sites and all those towns have been visited for, on the spot survey and analysis. In addition, available primary sources and secondary sources comprising of available books, journals, periodicals specifically prepared by government and non-governmental organizations have also been consulted. The data so obtained analyzed and results drawn based on the findings of the field surveys.

The present study is therefore finally based on the following:

- By observation
- Use of tools in understanding the Historical growth of Urbanisation.
- Regional History and its components
- Use of Historical documents, books and gazetteers, Archival Materials etc.
- Occasional Field surveys

ESSENTIAL STEPS IN DESIGNING A RESEARCH

Social research is becoming increasingly an important activity and more importantly the interdisciplinary approach has become latest trend in reaching out to some conclusion. It is extremely important for any researcher who wants to undertake any research to understand the basic research procedures. The knowledge about the basic rudiments of careful and systematic enquiry is very essential for undertaking any research.

There are a number of steps or closely related activities involved in research.
All those steps follow a prescribed sequence. However, all the steps need not to follow a rigid sequence but may overlap as well. The steps in research are also very much interdependent. One step determines the nature of another. Every step of the research process is so wide that separate chapters can be written on them. However, in the present write up a very brief account of the steps is given.

**Formulation of the problem**

Formulation of the problem is one of the very important steps in research. We have to put a great deal of thought into the formulation of our questions if we hope to get anything out of an effort to answer them. In order to solve the problem, it has first to be carefully formulated. The more carefully the problem is formulated the more satisfactory is the solution we obtain. Before formulating a problem we have to first determine what a 'problem' is? Before considering the questions of research design the problem must be defined. The problem should be as clearly defined as it should give guidance in the construction of research design. By allowing design considerations to influence problem definition, the researcher tends to limit his choice to those problems about which objective data can be readily obtained. Hence, we find that formulation of the problem is a very essential step of research.

**(i) Specifying Objectives of the Theme**

The objectives of the survey must be clearly spelt out. This very important and helps in achieving and measuring the results. Both general as well as specific objectives of the survey must be clearly defined. The objectives make it clear as to why we are conducting the research and what we are trying to get out of it. Where do we look for the objectives and how do we go about formulating them? In general there are three sources to take into account before formulating objectives; these are (1) the research consumer, (2) the researcher, and (3) those that will be affected by use of the research results. All pertinent objectives are not compatible. Some conflict of interests is always to be expected. It is therefore necessary to know which objectives are the most important in order to know how to evaluate any potential solution to the problem. The objectives however should be simple and clear. They should be framed in a simple language.
(ii) Selecting an Area for exploration and study

The particular area where the survey is to be undertaken must be carefully chosen. Great care should be taken before choosing an area. Many important factors such as importance, feasibility, its use to community, organisation etc. must be taken into consideration. In this regard the area is Rohailkhand region.

(iii) Deciding the Nature and Scope of Work

Yet another essential step of research is the decision as to what is going to be the nature and scope of the survey. The decision about the type of survey will also depend upon its purpose. There are different types of studies. Broadly the surveys can be classified by purpose and (ii) approach used. Surveys of Historical settlement may be divided into several types according to purpose and scope. The surveys may not however, be classified according to some precise or rigid system. What is important is that they should be well designed and carefully done, whatever type they may be. It is also important that specific nature of the survey should be determined early particularly when time and resources available are limited.

(iv) Selecting Methods and Techniques

Great care is to be taken in the selection methods and techniques of data collection. The findings of the survey will greatly depend on how scientifically those have been selected. The methods by which data is to be collected or obtained must be devised after the problem has been formulated. Techniques are to be devised for collection of information. There are various methods of data collection namely interviewing, observation, questionnaires, projective techniques, examination of records, etc. All these methods have advantages and limitations. Selection of a particular type of method will also depend upon the type of survey for which data is to be collected.

(v) Data Collection

Data are all the relevant materials, past and present, serving as basis for study and analysis. The data must be carefully collected. Care should be taken to see that it is collected honestly and consistently. The data should be free from errors. It should
be seen that the interviews are honest and the data collected is unbiased. As data is being collected it should be checked for completeness, comprehensibility and reliability. Such checking will prevent difficulty at later stages when data is being arranged.

(vi) Analysis of Data

The collection of data however is only one step, an important step in research. The data collected is to be analyzed for meaningful interpretation. The amount of data collected may be huge and extremely varied. This has to be systematically arranged. The process of analysis includes: editing, classification and coding (placing each item in the appropriate category) and tabulating (counting the number of items in each category) and statistical computations. In order to save time at the later stages, it is necessary that the analysis be planned in detail before actual work on it is started. A simple basic outline of analysis should be prepared in advance.

(vii) Interpretation of Data

The data analyzed is to be meaningfully interpreted. The interpretation of findings is inter-related with the analysis. Both are involved in the writing of survey report. Interpretation takes the results of analysis, makes inferences pertinent to the research questions studied, and draws conclusions about these questions. Interpretation of data should be done very carefully. Results of the survey greatly depend on this. Care should be taken to see that most of the data which is analyzed should be interpreted. It is advisable that a plan should be prepared beforehand as to the manner in which the data is to be interpreted.

(viii) Writing of the Report and Reaching to conclusion

Writing of the report is the final step of research. The process of research becomes incomplete until report has been written and distributed. The report should be written in simple and meaningful language so that different consumers may not have difficulty in grasping its findings. The final report can be utilized in different ways. It can be useful for the guidance of the agency sponsoring the research in dealing with some practical problem. It may be for wider audience of people with
similar problem. Lastly, it may be for the use of administrators in formulating policy. The report should be brief and precise. At the end a summary containing the essential points should be given.

**Historiography of Urbanisation:**

It has always been a difficult proposition to work on the History of Urbanization with a micro level study of a town which was founded by the freshly arrived Rohillas during 18th century. There has been a number of scholarly studies pertaining to a urbanization from historical past but those were macro level studies e.g. Harrapan urbanization, urbanization during Gupta period, urbanization during 8th to 12th century, urbanization during Muslim period so on so forth. The present study on Rohilla kingdom is also a typical study in urbanization during the period when in India a great transformation was happening with modernization, replacing the medievalism. In this regard this hypothesis would provide the outline for working on the theme with both parochial as well as recent methods applied for studying such aspects of regional studies. The problem in studying such themes are manifolds. The quantification of data available in the sources is one such problem. The other problem is how to differentiate between the old 18th century townships of the theme earmarked for and the same overgrown township of the present times. A great care to be taken in identifying those 18th century settlements and to be used in reconstructing the history of urbanization of Rohailkhand region.

An urban area contains a settled population not directly involved in the primary production of food and other raw materials. Urbanization is the process by which urban areas increase in size and population density. A city is the biggest and most populated urban area. A large city is one with at least two million people, a megacity is one with 10 million people or more, of which there are currently twenty-four in the world. A city has various specialized land uses, and many institutions to control resource use. Throughout the vast majority of our 4.5 million year existence, humans have not lived in settled areas. Cities first arose 10,000 years ago, and were found mainly in Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean region. Since the Industrial Revolution 300 years ago, large cities grew in Europe and the United States. Currently about half of the world's population is urbanized, and this is expected to increase to 80-90% in the future. A suburb is a section of the city whose main role is
residency for workers. Sub-urbanization is the process whereby residential sections of the city expand. Three factors which encourage sub-urbanization are population growth, lifestyle values which promote large houses with gardens, and car-dependent transport. Urban sprawl is the expansion of urban areas into surrounding non-urban areas. In "developing" countries it occurs largely as a result of rapid growth of cities, which is often due to socially inequitable economic policies. Urban consolidation is being attempted in some Western cities, in order to contain urban sprawl, and to increase the population density of a city. Such consolidation could make public transport and services more efficient and affordable, provide a stronger sense of community, reduce the wastage of agricultural land, and avoid environmental damage. A range of economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental factors affect urbanization. Government policies in many developing countries promote industrialization, international capitalist economies and transnational corporations benefited from such policies. Urbanization is encouraged socially and culturally through the media, and environmental factors such as the seasonality of agricultural work, may encourage urbanization during the agricultural off-season. However, often such environmental factors are interlinked with other political and economic factors.

Rohailkhand, a small 18th century Afghan principality has variously been spelled by a number of scholars differently sometimes it has been called as Rohailkhund sometimes as Rohailkkhund but here for our convenient, we have adopted 'ROHAILKHAND' a more general nomenclature popularly found in the recent researches on the principality. The work on this theme of urbanization is in historical context with the approach of micro study for 18th century Rohailkhand region. That involves a number of parameters which requires multifarious vistas of understanding. In this context various aspect of process of urbanization commercial and cultural details are required. In this work as for as the historical environment is concerned the context of 18th century India become extremely relevant and the entire debate of decline and growth have been churned in to this work so that a meaningful contextualization of growth of urban centre could be taken in to account visa-vis the decline of political powers of the imperial Mughals. The indicators of the parameters of growth and prosperity in the regional kingdoms varied from place to place and region to region, but as we go through the details of 18th century debate on transition
from Mughal to British imperialism. We find that most of the exponents speak on continuity, prosperity and the emergence of the towns and commercial centres. Thus by that way it is limiting the scope of traditional focus on the decline theories of the Mughal empire. This work entails a comprehensive study of the 18th century Northern Indian context of urbanization commercial and cultural milieu related to urban growth. In this context some of the prominent cities of the Mughal era starting from Delhi as the capital town of the imperial Mughals to Lucknow, Gwalior and the cities of Punjab and such important towns have been taken into accounts which are important for understanding the aspect of the decline and prosperity. Commercial and cultural activities also suggestive to the processes of decline and growth and the same have been analyzed by the scholars in the context of 18th c. Northern India.

The trade routes, the network of roadways, the existence of carvan sarais and the flow of men and material, all do suggest the level of prosperity of region. The inland trade routes visa-vis its connection with the other medieval highways and its linkages with the sea routes do also make the matter more explicit. Understanding the unified entity of Hindustan under the Mughal which course was taken by the regional aspirants for carving out new regional kingdoms is an important aspect of study. The political decline of the Mughals had become reality just within a decade of Aurangzeb's death. The imperial Mughal shrunk to the environs of its capital town. The regional potentates carved out niches in their locality thus giving way to numerous kingdoms, petty, small or big ones. The emergence of independent Mughal subas of Awadh, Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore and others had provided others to prey upon the dying corpses of the imperial Mughals. Various hither to obscure nationalities of India, wherever they found any chance took to opportunism. They also staked their claim of share in the territory of the Mughals. Thus, during the eighteen century Northern India we visualize a phenomenon of internecine, conflicts among the regional powers for establishing their holds and supremacy and thus emerges the smaller kingdoms in the doab region, i.e. the Rohillas, Jats, Awadh etc. From macro to micro level study could lead to widening of our understanding. For understanding and establishing the veracity of claims by numerous scholars, theorist or exponents who worked on the decline theory of the Mughals as well as the recent theories of prosperity during the 18th century, we will examine all those claims in this work. In this regards the curious case of the emergence of
Rohailkhand as an independent small regional power in the doab region, based mainly upon the Afghans (Rohillas) as its principal component, reveals many hidden facts as far as the identity and assertion of various ethnic groups in the power share makes one to believe the communities or the ethnic group also trying to assert their claim in the regional powers. In this regard Rohillas who originally did not belong to Indian ethnic group originally belongs to the region of Roh in Afghanistan, also suggests the fact that India was open to any ethnic races to get settled in any part of the country and could carved out their own principality. Rohailkhand as a region had prosperity linked as it was predominantly fertile agricultural tract. But its transformation from agrarian based set-up to an urban set-up is again a phenomenon to be investigated upon. The reasons of prosperity of the Rohailkhand region do require serious investigation as it would reveal the factors behind the process of urbanization as how a region gets transformed from agriculture to urban setting.

This also requires the study of previous processes of urbanization in Indian historical context. We must take in to account that in India such phenomenon is not new from Indus valley urban process to first and second urbanization do suggest various many things as far as the urban centers of India are concerned. The study would also require taking in to account the cultural factors, the living standard of people, fest and festivals their luxuries and also their aesthetic sense in this regard. In regard to the living standard the houses built by the rich and monuments build by the rulers do also suggest various many things the architectural patterns of the region of Rohailkhand, is an important segment of our study about the understanding of the period. Thus, the important aspect of understanding of cultural architectural milieu has been done by survey, old and existing buildings apart from what left on the regard.

This works required peeping deep in to the sources, primary and secondary, tangible and intangible, historical or literary, manuscript or documents, as from macro level to micro level study is not simple but it requires the pinpointed focal study upon the theme mentioned above. In this regard first of all careful selection of the sources which had aspect of regional as well as local elements visa-vis it had all ingredients of process of urbanization commercial and cultural contexts. In such selection first of all care was taken to know what are those contemporary sources of
related to the theme. In this regard we have come to know that there are plenty of contemporary history books written by those who were somehow associated with the regional powers. The theme taken for research pertains to a very important aspect of Indian History and very important period of Indian History i.e. 18th century Northern India. The importance in the theme live in the fact that it would study in the aspects of Northern Indian phenomenon during a period which generally is presumed to be a period of crisis, chaos and confusion, which had set in the Northern Indian context as a result of the sudden fall of the Mughal empire with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. As it is generally believed that Mughal Empire had declined and with that all the important institutions whether it was polity, economy cultural and others had drastically faced crisis. So in that light the effort could be made to understand whether same happened or not? The modern historians working on the theme suggest a different picture altogether. They hold a view that the decline of Mughal Empire did not mean a sharp decline in economic institution commercial ventures and cultural milieu. So the same aspects need to be scrutinized in the above mentioned arguments. Thus the theme becomes extremely important and a serious research is required for reaching to a certain conclusion.

The entire work has been divided in to seven chapters, which deals various aspects of urbanization commercial and cultural activities in the 18th Century Rohailkhand region which is a very micro level study. The chapterisation has been done keeping in mind the importance of the various segments in the theme and that would be helpful in the detailed study of the theme. The focal theme being urbanization we are to provide a hypothesis of the methodology which is to be applied while dealing with the aspects of urbanization, so in the very first chapter we have tried to devise certain tools for understanding the aspects of urbanization in historical perspective, we know that there happened urbanization from time to time in the context of urban history generally known as first urbanization, second urbanization but in this regard we must understand the urbanization for better understanding the economic and commercial aspects of 18th Century Northern India.

The sources For working on this theme are in abundance and scattered all over Libraries and Archives in North India namely National Archives, New Delhi, Rampur Raza Library, Rampur, Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, Zakir Husain Library,
Thus, in these chapters we have tried to cover all the aspects under the theme:

CHAPTER-I

Introducing the Methodology on history of Urbanization

For understanding the aspects related to urbanization we have tried to understand the entire aspects related to urbanization by understanding the decline of the Mughal Empire, so the First chapter is entitled as follows:

Definition and historical context of urbanization

------meaning

Urbanization during 18th century

-----growth of urbanization in northern India

-----regional urbanization

-----Urbanization of Rohailkhand region—towns, population survey, Architecture, public buildings, urban and rural divide, roadways and other means of communication, Assessment of living standard,------

CHAPTERS –II Later Mughals and the Rohilla ;

(i) A Study in 18th century Mughal India

(ii) A study in Rohilla ethnicity

The chapter II deals with the emergence of various smaller powers, local potentates and recalcitrant’ elements that had broken away from the central Mughal control particularly in the Northern Indian context as we know that the local kingdoms had emerged and tried to established their own area of influence. Thus, they also developed various regional centers thereby giving way to the growth of urbanization, commercial and cultural aspects. This chapter has been divided into two parts one specifically dealing with study on the later Mughals whereas second portion deals with the specific study about the origin and the settlements of the Rohilla ethnic stock, their migration and their quest for a new Rohilla Kingdom.
CHAPTERS – III

The emergence of regional smaller kingdoms and the Rohilla state;

(i) Emergence of Awadh, Bengal, Mysore, Jat, Sikh and other powers

(ii) Formation of Rohilla state

In this chapter we find various pros and cons related to the emergence of various smaller kingdoms as well as the study related to the formation of Rohilla state. The issues are those of imperial authority vis-à-vis the governor and the local potentates, and the slow pull of the local independence. We will also deal with the issues related to the working of the new subedari, sometimes called the ‘successor states’, the extent of its independence from the imperial centre and its relation with the emerging system of regional powers. The period of our study appears to have witnessed an emerging sense of regional identity which buttress both political and, to a degree, economic decentralization. This sense of identity or provincial obduracy followed and accompanied economic prosperity in the regions. Different regions of the empire gained in strength in the wake of relative peace and political stability under the Mughal system in the seventeen century. Intra region as well as inter-region trade in local goods, artifacts and food grains sustained a network of towns and money markets of varying size throughout the empire, linking some of the regions together with strong ties of economic interdependence. Condition was thus generated for economic unity among these areas, irrespective of their political and military relations with each other. In a measure, the economic developments of the region took a course independent of their political detour, even though their political unification under the Mughal had a bearing on this course. The provinces of Awadh and Punjab were among such regions. Economic developments in these provinces resulted not only in a rise in the revenue figures but also in the emergence and affluence of a number of towns, with a chain of routes to link them to long-distance trade. The prosperity of these regions was to obvious advantage of the zamindars that enjoyed dominance in rural production; it also benefited the merchants who controlled and regulated the markets. In addition, the enrichment of the region generated conflict among the various local groups, as they each tried to maximize their profits at the expense of other. Conflict and absence of coordination between
the local elements enabled the Mughal nobles to establish their hegemony over them and to mobilize the regional resources to emerge as a focus of power in the region. The political formations in these areas remained within the Mughal institutional framework. Governorship during this period was consolidated at the initiative of the then incumbent; the office became hereditary ultimately and the province began to be designated as the 'home province' (suba-i-mulki and the dar-ul-mulk) of the governor. It however, remained a suba (province), part of empire, replete with imperial symbols. The governor despite his attempt was unable to shake off the Mughal centre completely. These powerful new subedars continued to seek links with one or the other group at the court. But the obvious weaknesses which the Mughal authority was holding till now was showing the sign of weaknesses and the same subedars following the example of Chin Killich Khan started breaking off from Mughal central authority's control. One by One the subedaris like Hyderabad, Bengal, Awadh, Mysore and numerous others broke off from the Mughal central authority and became semi-independent or independent states. During the course of around 100 years of time we find smaller and larger states becoming reality and one such small principality was Rohilkhand.

CHAPTERS – IV Growth of Urban Centres, Towns and Bazaars in North India during 18th Century.

In this chapter we have tried to assess the growth of urban centres and coming-up of the towns and Bazaars in North India with various other aspects of urbanization during the post Mughal period more particularly 18th century for a better understanding of the theme taken for research. As we know that any aspects related to the urbanization takes in to account the growth of commerce and commercial activities so we will examine the various aspects related to economy of the region and its relation with the urbanization.

CHAPTERS – V The Assessment of Political, Commercial and Cultural Life during 18th century in North India

In his chapter the issues related to the overall socio-economic political and cultural life of North India has been taken into account which deals with the theories of how decline happened. As we know that the contrary to the belief that Mughal
decline had also led to the decline of economy also but we find that the case was reversed one. We find that overall growth of urban centre towns and bazaars during 18th Century so this would be an important study in contrast. Various recent researches show that the Mughals had political decline but the power centre which shifted to various localities had been showing tremendous signs of growth. On the contrary, the period in question was one of great intellectual activity, as almost every branch of learning and scholarship was being pursued. It was not only poetry which lay at the heart of the cultural life of the period. Other traditional areas of learning nourished as well: historiography, the compilation of biographical dictionaries, as well as the sciences proper, like natural philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, geometry and medicine. Such a vast amount of literary works had been produced by the administrator-scholars and intelligentsia of the erstwhile ruling elite that it is almost impossible to do them all justice by providing a broad comprehensive view. Every discipline came to be cultivated by the members of displaced service' elite when necessity for maintenance turned them into historians, geographers, philologists, archaeologists and grammarians.

CHAPTERS VI----Studying Rohailkhand as an Urban, Commercial and Cultural center.

In this last chapter we have narrow down Rohailkhand as a micro study after having assessed the entire Northern India phenomenon having dealt in urbanization, commercial and cultural aspects during 18th Century. Rohailkhand, being a fairly new settlement during 18th century and with the exercise of power by the Rohilla Chiefs having built fortifications and township there was visible definite growth of commercial and business enterprises increase in trading activities and ultimately leading to the growth of Rohailkhand as an important urban centre during 18th Century. The finding of this research theme brings various interesting and hither to unknown hidden facts figures and understanding for reconstructing the missing links of 18th c. regional history. The case of Rohilkhand as an smaller antity among the various regional powers which had sprung up during the 19th c. leads us to two concluding remarks----(i)The political decline of mighty Mughals affects where as to (ii)the emergence and growth of a full grown state of Rohilkhand with all
components of a regional kingdom by a particular ethnic race is also a finding which does suggest that despite the political decline the regional state of doab had been doing tremendously good for commons as an state.

The assertion of smaller ethnic races of India during 18th c does also suggest the fact that the different minority ethnic races were trying to make hay day for themselves while the Mughals were rapidly declining as an imperial power which had kept India united for around 200 years of their rule. The comparative study among the similar kind of smaller regional states like that of Jats’ Sikhs’ Marathas’ and others had brought to our understanding that most of them were agricultural communities and were very hardly happy lot with the excessive taxation of their produce by the high-handed Mughals officials. Thus, the same led to numerous uprisings against the Mughals resulting in the weakening and later on dismemberment of the Mughal empire. The Rohillas were also linked to the agricultural set up but they were also involved in commercial activities. Their trading activities included trading of horses and trade in dry fruits which were coming from Afghanistan, leading to prosperity among them. This prosperity is also link to the urbanization of Rohilla state. The Rohillas had around 12 parganas with prosperous town like Rampur, Pilibhit, Bareilly, Bijnor, Badaun. Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Aonla, Najibabad, and Saharanpur which do suggest a set pattern of prosperity and growth among such state and thus the process of urbanization becoming faster. So we find a link between prosperity of people and process of urbanization. It is also a fact which suggest the process of cartelization happening in most of the regional kingdom more particularly in case of Rohilkhand where Rohillas chieftaincies had provided avenues for growth of market and commercial exchanges thereby proving the fact right for those theorists who believed in the fact that 18th c. phenomenon could not be studied in terms of political decline only, but it to be re-examined in terms of regional prosperity, growth and urbanization.

Another fact which comes into mind is the study of the role played by the local chieftaincies, potentates and the leaders of different communities who wanted to better the loss suffered by their people and wanted to see the flourishing of agriculture in their region, safety to the traders and a benevolent attitudes towards their subjects, as the subjects mostly belonging to the same ethnic stock or were kith
and kins of the same agricultural communities which the chieftaincies belonged to. The study of cultural milieu had brought to the various avenues of understanding about the local culture of the Rohilkhand region, in which mostly to Rohillas who were of predominantly Islamic faith. The study revealed the level of their living standard, their food habits, their custom and tradition, their dress code, their fest and festivals, their tradition of singing and dancing or any other celebrations and their social behavior in this regard. The fest and festivals also reflects the kind of tradition which they carried forward in their march towards future course of civilization.

Thus to conclude we find that Rohilkhand could be taken for the model of the study of regional power which had emerged during 18th c. and the aspect of decline and growth.
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2012
Dedicated
to
My Revered Parents
To whomsoever it may concern

This is to certify that the work entitled: "Aspects of Urbanization, Commercial and Cultural Growth During 18th Century North India: A Case Study of Ruailkhand Region" is original work of Ms. Shahequah Ahmad under my supervision. The work is based upon original and relevant source materials. It is suitable for the award of PhD Degree.

(Dr. M. Waseem Raja)
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Acknowledgements

First of all, I thank Almighty Allah, the most gracious and merciful, who gave me inspiration and insights for the compilation of this work. With a sense of utmost gratitude and indebtedness, I consider my pleasant duty to express my sincere thanks to my Supervisor Dr. M. Waseem Raja, who granted me the privilege of working under his guidance and assigned me the topic: "Aspects of Urbanization Commercial and Cultural Growth during 18th Century North India: A Case Study of Rohtakhand Region". He found time to discuss various difficult aspects of the topic and helped me in arranging the collected data in the present shape. Thus this thesis work would hardly have been possible without his learned guidance and careful supervision. I do not know how to adequately express my thanks to him.

I have great pleasure in expressing my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Tariq Ahmad, Chairman and Co-ordinator, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A. M. U., Aligarh. In this regard I should not fail in my duty of expressing special thanks to Professor Emeritus Irfan Habib, Prof. Shireen Moosavi and Dr. Ishrat Alam the Member Secretary ICHR. They have always encouraged and supported me in my career building and shaping for future academic life.

I have always been benefited from the interaction with the scholars and my learned teachers such as Prof. Muhammad Umar (Department of History, A. M. U., Aligarh), Dr. Ali Athar, Dr. M. K. Zaman, and Dr. S. L. H. Moini. I express my gratitude to all of them for their unhesitating support and encouragement till the completion of the work.

In the course of its preparation I have received help from a number of friends, colleagues and well-wishers. In this regard my sincere thanks goes to Ms. Faiza Nafees, whose selfless help extended to me during this period of trial and tribulation, cannot go without my deepest thanks to her. I am thankful to Ms. Nazia Praveen, Ms. Khushbu, Ms. Neema Ahmad, Ms. Farhat Jahan, Ms. Farhat Kamal, Mr. Aslam Sher, Mr. Bashir Shaikh, Mr. Shokat, Mr. Pradeep, and all those who have
helped me in various ways. Mr. Fareed Ahmad (Assistant Archivist, National Archives of India) greatly helped me in collecting the material from National Archives of India, New Delhi.

My special thank is due for my dearest brother Er. Mohd. Moazzam Ali Ahmad for his unstinted support and encouragement and he also constantly urged me to complete the work with great care. At this moment of joy I cannot forget to remember my brother Er. Mohd. Musharraf Ali Ahmad, who was equally supportive to my cause of Ph.D. Programme.

I am also grateful to the Staff members of the Seminar Library, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A. M. U., Aligarh, Staffs of Maulana Azad Library A. M. U. Aligarh, Staff members of National Archives of India, New Delhi, and Staffs of Raza Library, Rampur specially its Director, Prof. Syed Mohd. Azizuddin Hamadani, Raza Library, constantly helped me in providing books and reference materials.

Lastly, I feel greatly indebted to my very supporting in-laws, my mother-in-law Mrs. Gulrez Jahan and my brother-in-law, Shahnawaz Alam, who always encouraged me to complete my Ph.D. programme despite my pre-occupation with the household affairs. In this heat of active work related to my Ph.D. programme, how can I forget a very loving and emotional support extended to me by my dearest husband Mr. Aftab Alam, without which this PhD could not have been possible. I would be always grateful to him for spearing me for this work. On record my gratitude to my father Mr. Rizwan Ahmad my mother Mrs. Naeema Rizwan, my All brothers, and my All sisters, for all their love, care, support, encouragement, and best wishes which helped me and encouraged me to complete the work in a right way. I am thankful to all of them for bearing with me all the times while I was busy with my work.

I received help and guidance from a number of distinguished scholars, but none of them is responsible for the errors that still remain.

Aliqash

Shafeeqah Ahmad

18-06-2012
Introduction
INTRODUCTION

Rohailkhand, an small 18th century Afghan principality has variously been spelled by a number of scholars differently sometimes it has been called as Ruhelkhund sometimes as Ruhlkhund but here for our convenient, we have adopted ‘ROHAILKHAND’ a more general nomenclature popularly found in the recent researches on the principality.

The work on this theme of urbanization is in historical context with the approach of micro study for 18th century Rohailkhand region. That involves a number of parameters which requires multifarious vistas of understanding. In this context various aspect of process of urbanization commercial and cultural details are required. In this work as for the historical environment is concerned the context of 18th century India become extremely relevant and the entire debate of decline and growth have been churned in to this work so that a meaningful contextualization of growth of urban centre could be taken into account visa-vis the decline of political powers of the imperial Mughals. The indicators of the parameters of growth and prosperity in the regional kingdoms varied from place to place and region to region, but as we go through the details of 18th century debate on transition from Mughal to British imperialism we find that most of the exponents speak on a continuity, prosperity and the emergence of the towns and commercial centres. Thus by that way limiting the scope of traditional focus on the decline theories of the Mughal empire. This work entails a comprehensive study of the 18th century Northern Indian context of urbanization commercial and cultural milieu related to urban growth. In this context some of the prominent cities of the Mughal era starting from Delhi as the capital town of the imperial Mughals to Lucknow, Gwalior and the cities of Punjab and such important towns have been taken into account which are important for understanding the aspect of the decline and prosperity. Commercial and cultural activities also suggestive to the processes of decline and growth and the same have been analyzed by the scholars in the context of 18th c. Northern India.

The trade routes, the network of roadways, the existence of carvan sarais and the flow of men and material, all do suggest the level of prosperity of region.
The inland trade routes vis-a-vis its connection with the other medieval highways and its linkages with the sea routes do also make the matter more explicit. Understanding the unified entity of Hindustan under the Mughal which course was taken by the regional aspirants for carving out new regional kingdoms is an important aspect of study. The political decline of the Mughals had become reality just within a decade of Aurangzeb's death. The imperial Mughal shrunk to the environs of its capital town. The regional potentates carved out niches in their locality thus giving way to numerous kingdoms, petty, small or big ones. The emergence of independent Mughal subas of Awadh, Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore and others had provided others to prey upon the dying corpses of the imperial Mughals. Various hither to obscure nationalities of India, wherever they found any chance took to opportunism. They also staked their claim of share in the territory of the Mughals. Thus, during the eighteen century Northern India we visualize a phenomenon of internecine conflicts among the regional powers for establishing their holds and supremacy and thus emerges the smaller kingdoms in the doab region, i.e. the Rohillas, Jats, Sikhs etc. From macro to micro level study could lead to widening of our understanding.

For understanding and establishing the veracity of claims by numerous scholars, theorist or exponents who worked on the decline theory of the Mughals as well as the recent theories of prosperity during the 18th century, we will examine all those claims in this work. In this regards the curious case of the emergence of Rohailkhand as an independent small regional power in the doab region, based mainly upon the Afghans (Rohillas) as its principal component, reveals many hidden facts as far as the identity and assertion of various ethnic groups in the power share makes one to believe the communities or the ethnic group also trying to assert their claim in the regional powers. In this regard Rohillas who originally did not belong to Indian ethnic group originally belongs to the region of Roh in Afghanistan, also suggests the fact that India was open to any ethnic races to get settled in any part of the country and could carved out their own principality. Rohailkhand as a region had prosperity linked as it was predominantly fertile agricultural tract. But its transformation from agrarian based set-up to an urban set-up is again a phenomenon to be investigated upon.

The reasons of prosperity of the Rohailkhand region do require serious investigation as it would reveal the factors behind the process of urbanization as how
a region gets transformed from agriculture to urban setting. This also requires the study of previous processes of urbanization in Indian historical context. We must take in to account that in India such phenomenon is not new from Indus valley urban process to first and second urbanization do suggest various many things as far as the urban centers of India are concerned. The study would also require taking in to account the cultural factors, the living standard of people, fest and festivals their luxuries and also their aesthetic sense in this regard. In regard to the living standard the houses built by the rich and monuments build by the rulers do also suggest various many things the architectural patterns of the region of Rohailkhand, is an important segment of our study about the understanding of the period. Thus, the important aspect of understanding of cultural architectural milieu has been done by survey, old and existing buildings apart from what left on the regard.

This works required peeping deep in to the sources, both primary and secondary, tangible and intangible, historical or literary, manuscript or documents, as from macro level to micro level study is not simple but it requires the pinpointed focal study upon the theme mentioned above. In this regard first of all careful selection of the sources which had aspect of regional as well as local elements vis-à-vis it had all ingredients of process of urbanization, commercial and cultural contexts. In such selection first of all care was taken to know what are those contemporary sources of related to the theme. In this regard we have come to know that there are plenty of contemporary history books written by those who were somehow associated with the regional powers.

The theme taken for research pertains to a very important aspect and important period of Indian History i.e. 18th century Northern India. The importance in the theme lives in the fact that it would be a study in the aspects of Northern Indian phenomenon during a period which generally is presumed to be a period of crisis, chaos and confusion, which had set in the Northern Indian context as a result of the sudden fall of the Mughal empire with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. As it is generally believed that Mughal Empire had declined and with that ali the important institutions whether it was polity, economy cultural and others had drastically faced crisis. So in that light the effort could be made to understand whether same happened or not? The modern historians working on the theme
suggest a different picture altogether. They hold a view that the decline of Mughal Empire did not mean a sharp decline in economic institution commercial ventures and cultural Milieu. So the same aspects need to be scrutinized in the above mentioned arguments. Thus the theme becomes extremely important and a serious research is required for reaching to a certain conclusion.

The entire work has been divided in to seven chapters, which deals with various aspects of urbanization, commercial and cultural activities during 18th Century Rohailkhand region which is a very micro level study. The chapterisation has been done keeping in mind the importance of the various segments in the theme and that would be helpful in the detailed study of the theme.

The focal theme being urbanization we are to provide a hypothesis of the methodology which is to be applied while dealing with the aspects of urbanization, so in the very first chapter we have tried to devise certain tools for understanding the aspects of urbanization in historical perspective, we know that there happened urbanization from time to time in the context of urban history generally known as first urbanization, second urbanization but in this regard we must understand the urbanization for better understanding the economic and commercial aspects of 18th Century Northern India.

The sources For working on this theme are in abundance and scattered all over Libraries and Archives in North India namely National Archives, New Delhi, Rampur Raza Library, Rampur, Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, Zakir Husain Library, Jamial Millia Islamia, Delhi, Sher-i-Kashmir Library, Shrinagar, Jawahar Lal Nehru Library in Rohailkhand University, Darul Musannifin, Azamgarh, Lucknow State Archives, Lucknow, Maulana Azad Central Asian Institute of Advance Study, Shimla and Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
Thus, in these chapters we have tried to cover all the aspects under the theme:

CHAPTER-I

Introducing the Methodology on history of Urbanization

For understanding the aspects related to urbanization we have tried to understand the entire aspects related to urbanization by understanding the decline of the Mughal Empire, so the First chapter is entitled as follows:

Definition and historical context of urbanization

-----meaning

Urbanization during 18th century

-----growth of urbanization in northern India

-----regional urbanization

-----Urbanization of Rohailkhand region—towns, population survey, Architecture, public buildings, urban and rural divide, roadways and other means of communication, Assessment of living standard, etc.

CHAPTER-II

Later Mughals and the Rohilla:

(i) A Study in 18th century Mughal India

(ii) A study in Rohilla ethnicity

The II chapter deals with the emergence of various smaller powers, local potentates and recalcitrant elements that had broken away from the central Mughal control particularly in the Northern Indian context as we know that the local kingdoms had emerged and tried to established their own area of influence. Thus, they also developed various regional centers thereby giving way to the growth of urbanization, commercial and cultural aspects. This chapter has been divided in to two parts one specifically dealing with study on the later Mughals whereas second portion deals with the specific study about the origin and the settlements of the Rohilla ethnic stock, their migration and their quest for a new Rohilla Kingdom.
CHAPTER – III

The emergence of regional smaller kingdoms and the Rohilla state:

(i) Emergence of Awadh, Bengal, Mysore, Jat, Sikh and other powers

(ii) Formation of Rohilla state

In this chapter we find various pros and cons related to the emergence of various smaller kingdoms as well as the study related to the formation of Rohilla state. The issues are those of imperial authority vis-à-vis the governor and the local potentates, and the slow pull of the local independence. We will also deal with the issues related to the working of the new subedari, sometimes called the ‘successor states’, the extent of its independence from the imperial centre and its relation with the emerging system of regional powers.

The period of our study appears to have witnessed an emerging sense of regional identity which buttress both political and, to a degree, economic decentralization. This sense of identity or provincial obduracy followed and accompanied economic prosperity in the regions. Different regions of the empire gained in strength in the wake of relative peace and political stability under the Mughal system in the seventeen century. Intra region as well as inter-region trade in local goods, artifacts and food grains sustained a network of towns and money markets of varying size throughout the empire, linking some of the regions together with strong ties of economic interdependence. Condition was thus generated for economic unity among these areas, irrespective of their political and military relations with each other. In a measure, the economic developments of the region took a course independent of their political detour, even though their political unification under the Mughal had a bearing on this course.

The provinces of Awadh and Punjab were among such regions. Economic developments in these provinces resulted not only in a rise in the revenue figures but also in the emergence and affluence of a number of towns, with a chain of routes to link them to long-distance trade. The prosperity of these regions was to obvious advantage of the zamindars that enjoyed dominance in rural production; it also benefited the merchants who controlled and regulated the markets. In addition, the
enrichment of the region generated conflict among the various local groups, as they each tried to maximize their profits at the expense of other. Conflict and absence of coordination between the local elements enabled the Mughal nobles to establish their hegemony over them and to mobilize the regional resources to emerge as a focus of power in the region. The political formations in these areas remained within the Mughal institutional framework. Governorship during this period was consolidated at the initiative of the then incumbent; the office became hereditary ultimately and the province began to be designated as the 'home province' (suba-i-mulki and the dar-ul-mulk) of the governor. It however, remained a suba (province), part of empire, replete with imperial symbols. The governor despite his attempt was unable to shake off the Mughal centre completely. These powerful new subedars continued to seek links with one or the other group at the court. But the obvious weaknesses which the Mughal authority was holding till now was showing the sign of weaknesses and the same subedars following the example of Chin Killich Khan started breaking off from Mughal central authority's control. One by One the subedaris like Hyderabad, Bengal, Awadh, Mysore and numerous others broke off from the Mughal central authority and became semi-independent or independent states. During the course of around 100 years of time we find smaller and larger states becoming reality and one such small principality was Rohilkhand.

CHAPTER – IV

Growth of Urban Centres, Towns and Bazaars in North India during 18th Century.

In this chapter we have tried to assess the growth of urban centres and coming-up of the towns and Bazaars in North India with various other aspects of urbanization during the post Mughal period more particularly 18th century for a better understanding of the theme taken for research. As we know that any aspects related to the urbanization takes into account the growth of commerce and commercial activities so we will examine the various aspects related to economy of the region and its relation with the urbanization.
Chapter I

Introducing the Methodology on History of Urbanization
CHAPTER – V
The Assessment of Political, Commercial and Cultural Life during 18th century in North India

In his chapter the issues related to the overall socio-economic political and cultural life of North India has been taken into account which deals with the theories of how decline happened. As we know that the contrary to the belief that Mughal decline had also led to the decline of economy also but we find that the case was reversed one. We find that overall growth of urban centre towns and bazaars during 18th Century so this would be an important study in contrast. Various recent researches show that the Mughals had political decline but the power centre which shifted to various localities had been showing tremendous signs of growth. On the contrary, the period in question was one of great intellectual activity, as almost every branch of learning and scholarship was being pursued. It was not only poetry which lay at the heart of the cultural life of the period. Other traditional areas of learning nourished as well: historiography, the compilation of biographical dictionaries, as well as the sciences proper, like natural philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, geometry and medicine. Such a vast amount of literary works had been produced by the administrator-scholars and intelligentsia of the erstwhile ruling elite that it is almost impossible to do them all justice by providing a broad comprehensive view. Every discipline came to be cultivated by the members of displaced service elite when necessity for maintenance turned them into historians, geographers, philologists, archaeologists and grammarians.

CHAPTER – VI
Studying Rohailkhand as an Urban, Commercial and Cultural center.

In this last chapter we have narrow down Rohailkhand as a micro study after having assessed the entire Northern India phenomenon having dealt in urbanization, commercial and cultural aspects during 18th Century. Rohailkhand, being a fairly new settlement during 18th century and with the exercise of power by the Rohilla Chiefs having built fortifications and township there was visible definite growth of commercial and business enterprises increase in trading activities and ultimately leading to the growth of Rohailkhand as an important urban centre during 18th Century.
CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCING THE METHODOLOGY ON HISTORY OF URBANIZATION

Hypothesis

Urbanisation - Definition and History:

It has always been a difficult proposition to work on the History of Urbanization with a micro level study of a town which was founded by the freshly arrived Rohillas during 18th century. There has been a number of scholarly studies pertaining to a urbanization from historical past but those were macro level studies e.g. Harrapan urbanization, urbanization during Gupta period, urbanization during 8th to 12th century, urbanization during Muslim period so on so forth. The present study on Rohilla kingdom is also a typical study in urbanization during the period when in India a great transformation was happening with modernization replacing the medievalism. In this regard this hypothesis would provide the outline for working on the theme with both parochial as well as recent methods applied for studying such aspects of regional studies. The problems in a studying such themes are manifolds. The quantification of data available in the sources is one such problem. The other problem is how to differentiate between the old 18th century townships of the theme earmarked for and the same overgrown township of the present times. A great care to be taken in identifying those 18th century settlements and to be used in reconstructing the history of urbanization of Rohailkhand region.

An urban area contains a settled population not directly involved in the primary production of food and other raw materials.1 Urbanization is the process by which urban areas increase in size and population density. A city is the biggest and most populated urban area. A large city is one with at least two million people, a megacity is one with 10 million people or more, of which there are currently twenty-four in the world. A city has various specialized land uses, and many institutions to control resource use. Throughout the vast majority of our 4.5 million year existence,

humans have not lived in settled areas. Cities first arose 10,000 years ago, and were found mainly in Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean region. Since the Industrial Revolution 300 years ago, large cities grew in Europe and the United States. Currently about half of the world's population is urbanized, and this is expected to increase to 80-90% in the future. A suburb is a section of the city whose main role is residency for workers. Sub-urbanization is the process whereby residential sections of the city expand. Three factors which encourage sub-urbanization are population growth, lifestyle values which promote large houses with gardens, and car-dependent transport. Urban sprawl is the expansion of urban areas into surrounding non-urban areas. In "developing" countries it occurs largely as a result of rapid growth of cities, which is often due to socially inequitable economic policies. Urban consolidation is being attempted in some Western cities, in order to contain urban sprawl, and to increase the population density of a city. Such consolidation could make public transport and services more efficient and affordable, provide a stronger sense of community, reduce the wastage of agricultural land, and avoid environmental damage. A range of economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental factors affect urbanization. Government policies in many developing countries promote industrialization, international capitalist economies and transnational corporations benefited from such policies. Urbanization is encouraged socially and culturally through the media, and environmental factors such as the seasonality of agricultural work, may encourage urbanization during the agricultural off-season. However, often such environmental factors are interlinked with other political and economic factors.

The History of Urbanization

The Indian subcontinent shares, with Mesopotamia and the Nile valley, a long history of urbanization. The first phase of urbanization in the Indus valley is associated with the Harappan civilization dating back to 2350 B.C. The cities of this civilization flourished over a period of more than 600 years up to about 1700 B.C and

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3 (Hutchinson and Hirsch, Geography in Focus, Milton, Qld., Jacaranda press, 1996).
4 Cunningham and Saigo, 1990.
5 Gadgil, D.R.: Industrial evolution in India in Recent Times, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1974, pp. 134-47.
this was followed by a prolonged period of over a thousand years in which we have no evidence of urban development. From around 600 B.C, we again come across towns and cities associated with the two major, but closely related, cultural streams of India, namely the Aryan civilization of the North and the Dravidian civilization of the South. From this period onwards, for about 2500 years, India has had a more or less continuous history of urbanization. However, we know from historical evidence that there were both periods of urban growth and periods of urban decline. Thus, cities grew in number and in size during the Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods (from 300 B.C to A.D 600), both in Northern India as well as in the extreme South. Cities declined and were largely neglected during the post-Gupta period that is from AD 600 to about AD 1000 in northern India. Urbanization on a subdued scale flourished in northern India under the influence of Muslim rulers, who came to India from Afghanistan and beyond from around AD 1200, and attained a second climax during the Mughal period, when many of India's cities were established. The British came to India at a time when India was perhaps the most urbanized nation in the world, and the early part of British rule saw a decline in the level of Indian urbanization. During the latter half of British rule, Indian cities regained some of their lost importance; further, the British added several new towns and cities, in addition to generating newer urban forms in the existing cities. The earliest urban development were confined to the Indus valley and the adjoining parts of western Rajasthan, Punjab and to some extent western Uttar Pradesh. Other parts of the country remained outside the pale of urbanization. In the early historical period, urbanization took place in the middle Ganga plains and in the southern part of the Indian peninsula, while the areas in between had no known cities. During much of the historical period, vast parts of the country were untouched or only partly affected by urbanization.

The causative factors behind urbanization varied from time to time leading to not one but several urbanization processes at different points in time. In the historical periods from ancient times to the 18th century, urbanization was inextricably related to the rise and fall of kingdoms, dynasties and empires, and thus in effect urbanization during this period was essentially a political process. Many

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7 Raj Bala, Spatial perspective on Urbanization in India from the Ancient to the early Modern period', Transactions, Institute of Indian Geographers, vol. 3, 1980, pp.21-9
well known cities of prehistoric and historic times exist today. In the form of small mounds or ruins. This is true of such great cities as Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Nalanda, Taxashila and Vijaynagar. Other ancient and historical cities survive to this day among them are Pataliputra, Madurai, Kancheepuram, Varanasi and Delhi, to name only a few. The beautiful temples of southern cities belong to the 12th or 13th centuries while the monuments of the Mughal period belong to the 16th and 17th centuries. In Varanasi, which is perhaps India's oldest existing city, there is no trace of structures dating back more than 300 years.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to describe the history of Indian urbanization in any meaningful fashion, without a simplification of the time periods of analysis. On the basis of the temporal discontinuities in Indian urbanization we have, for the sake of convenience, divided the urban history of India into five time periods as follows:

1. The prehistoric period—2350 to 1800 B.C,
2. The early historical period—600 B.C to AD 500,
3. The medieval period—AD 600 to 1800 (including the Mughal period—AD 1526 to 1800),

There are, in effect, several difficulties in defining time periods for detailed study. For one thing, there are spatial discontinuities in the history of urbanization. For example, the medieval period was a period of anticlimax as far as urbanization in the Ganga plains is concerned; on the other hand, this period witnessed a very high level of urbanization in the South. Nevertheless, periodization is a necessary first step in any historical analysis. What follows is a more detailed description and analysis of urbanization in the five given time periods in which the spatial variations in urbanization in different parts of the country are also taken into account.

Urbanization during Mughal Period (AD 1526-1800)

The Mughal period stands out as a second high watermark of urbanization in India, the first occurring during the Mauryan period. The country (essentially northern India including Pakistan and Bangladesh) attained a high level of political
stability and economic prosperity under the Mughals over a period of about 300
years—a period long enough to establish cities on a sound footing. The Mughal
period saw the revival of older established cities, the addition of a few new cities
and the building of an impressive array of monumental structures in almost every
major city of northern India, whose urban landscape today bears unmistakable tes­
timony to the grandeur of Mughal architecture. Interest in urbanisation has surely
increased recently, but the pioneers of social and economic history in India did not
neglect this aspects of economic history altogether, Dr. K. M. Ashraf, for instance,
was aware of the role played by towns and cities in the growth of industries in
Northern India: 'the producers of a commodity in small towns arranged with dealers
of those goods in a big city to supply them with finished goods for distribution
inland or export outside.' Dr. Naqvi has produce another monograph, urbanisation
and urban centres under the Great Mughals, in which the approach is slightly
different, and a few more relevant aspects of the subject are brought out. In this
volume Dr. Naqvi is more explicit about the multiple roles of towns, their
independence upon the hinterland and the important of their links with one another.
Differences in the degree of urbanisation in the various regions of the Empire were
due to the differences of economic development in Medieval India to the conscious
policy of the Muslim rulers, an insistence which is a legacy of particular brand of
political history and which is quite out of place in a socio-economic study. This
concern does, however, underline the importance of state action and state policies
for urbanisation. In this volume too Dr. Naqvi makes a substantial advance upon
Moreland in terms of information on the natural resources of the Empire, the means
of communication and transportation and the chief trading centres of the Mughals
Empire: Kabul, Lahiri Bandar, Thatta, Ahmedabad, Cambay, Surat, Burhanpur,
Anjeli, Jalesar, Satgaon and Hooghly. What is clearly demonstrated by Dr. Naqvi
in her work is that industry and trade played a crucial role in the rise and decline of
cities. In the region of Rohailkhand the process of urbanization, started under the
fostering care of the Rohilla chiefs in Katehar. The beautiful monuments erected in
Aonla, the headquarters of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, were demolished by

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8 Naqui, H. K.:Urbanisation and Urban Centre Under the Great Mughals, Indian Institute of
9 Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970(2nd ed),
pp.124-25.
10 Ibid.
11 Naqvi, H. K. Urban Centres and Industries in upper India 1556-1803, Asia, Bombay 1968.
Shuja-ud-Daula after the defeat of Hafiz Rahmat Khan in 1774. Only mosques and tombs were spared. The ruins of the monuments tend to reveal that Aonla had developed into an important city under the Rohilla chief. References contained in Qayam Chandpuri's Urdu verses to the palatial buildings in different towns supplement the relevant information available in the contemporary historical works. They show how the members of the ruling elite vied with one another for having beautiful palaces constructed, the poets attached to their establishment composed chronograms about the date of their completion and in praise of their grandeur. One of the short *mathnavis* composed by Qayam Chandpuri casts light upon the hardship faced by the residents of Bisauli, a village developed into an important township under Nawab Dundey Khan (d. 1771) who held Moradabad and Bisauli as his *jaidad* (property). The nawab made Bisauli his headquarters and his officers and scholars had to take up residence here. The artisans, craftsmen, and masons came and settled down in large numbers. But the construction of roads and streets was not taken into consideration, with the result that the area got inundated during the monsoon season. The employees of Nawab Dundey Khan who went to attend his *darbar* on horseback or in palanquins got their clothes spoilt with mud or dirty water, so common everywhere in the town. In this poem we find references to the *rath* (chariot), bullock carts, horses, elephant and palanquins that were used as means of transportation.

Likewise, the city of Moradabad which served as the administrative headquarters of an extensive territorial unit since its foundation during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan was further beautified through the constructions of new buildings and laying out of gardens. As regards Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the chief Rohilla leader, he made Bareilly his headquarters and developed it into a mart to attract merchants. The town of Pilibhit received a more favoured treatment from him. It was not only fortified with strong walls and gates but also beautified with splendid buildings. The Jama Mosque in Pilibhit was constructed with the same architectural features as that of Shahjahan's grand mosque in Delhi. Around that beautiful gardens were laid out. Another town named Hafiz *Gunj* was founded

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12 Bisauli is now a tehsil headquarters in the district of Badaun.
between Bareilly and Pilibhit. Another Rohilla chief, Amir Khan, a subordinate of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, founded Amir Gunj now in the district of Bareilly that soon developed into an important township. The towns named with the suffix Gunj had arrangements for weekly bazaars for cattle and other commodities. They played an important role in socio-economic growth.

Of all the Rohilla rulers, Najib-ud-Daula was the most successful in leaving his mark as a great builder. Foster gives a description of Najibabad, founded by Najib-ud-Daula, on a swamp but at a point that would facilitate the commerce of Kashmir, which having been diverted from its former channel of Lahore and Delhi, by the inroads of Siques (Sikhs), Marathas, and Afghans, took a course through the mountains at the head of the Punjab, and was introduced into the Rohilla country through the Lall Dong Pass. According to Foster, merchant caravans travelled from Rohilkhand to Jammu through Srinagar town, situated in the Garhwal hills. This new route linked Rohilkhand with Kashmir, Kabul, and Central Asia for overland trade. There are also references contained in Forster’s Travels to the towns and forts constructed by Najib-ud-Daula in other districts. For instance, he mentions the famous fort of Pathargarh, built within a mile’s distance from Najibabad. The town of Gauthgarh was founded 35 miles south-east of Saharanpur, and Shukrtal Fort near an area of ravines and ridges, 17 miles east of Muzaffarnagar. Moreover, serais were built around important towns for the convenience of travellers and traders. The author of Tarikh-i-Balda-i-Nijabad adds to this information. The main bazaar constructed by Najib-ud-Daula was square, containing the beautiful Jama Mosque. Besides, several Gunj were established and named after Najib-ud-Daula’s sons, such as Zabita Gunj, Kalu Gunj, Munir Gunj, and Nawab Gunj. Najib-ud-Daula also had a beautiful tomb constructed for his burial. Lakhs of rupees were spent on its construction because its interior, particularly the ceiling, was studded with precious stones (taken out by the Marathas in 1772).

Najib-ud-Daula planted Pathan colonies at strategic places such as Basihi Kotla, 9 miles from Najibabad. His officers and relations too are credited with the

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15 Mustajab Khan, Gulistan-i-Rahmat, Aligarh MS no.180/46, ff.77a-b.
16 Ibid.,ff. 1450b.
construction of towns and beautiful buildings. For instance, Nawab Afzal Khan, his brother, founded Afzalgarh, an important town in the district of Bijnor.\(^{18}\) The relevant evidence contained in the *Kuliyat* of Qayam Chandpuri also tends to show that other civil and army officers of Najib-ud-Daula had beautiful buildings constructed in different towns. Raja Ram Prasad of Chandpur had a beautiful palace built in the midst of a garden setting in 1758. The tank and flower-beds inside the garden made the *diwan khana* so fascinating that it looked like paradise.\(^{19}\)

A word may be added about the reorganization of the extensive *sarkars* into smaller units, called *zila* for administrative convenience and economic development both in towns and the countryside in north India during this period.\(^{20}\) This reorganization was also politically necessary because a large number of military officers had to be entrusted with the charge of administration independent of each other. (So the *zila* (or district) is not the creation of British rule.

**Sources of Information:** The literary sources of information for this period are interestingly all in foreign languages including Persian (which was the official language of the Mughal administration), English and other European languages. Abul Fazl, a courtier of Akbar (1556-1605) wrote two books—*Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnama*. These form the major source of information, apart from numerous Mughal administrative records available to us. In addition to this, we have the accounts of foreign travellers and emissaries, such as Ferishta (1599), Pelsaert (1620-7), Bernier (1658-67), Tavernier (1641-65), Manucci (1656) and Thevenot (1666). The written documents are further supported by the rich archaeological remains of Mughal cities.

**Extent and Level of Urbanization.** The Mughal Empire covered the whole northern India from Assam to Gujarat, including present-day Pakistan and Bangladesh. The empire was divided in to 15 *subas* (provinces), which were further subdivided into 105 *sarkars* or districts. According to Abul Fazl, there were 2,837

\(^{18}\) Nawab Saidullah Khan, *Tarikh-i Balda-i-Najibabad*, MS, Abdul Salam Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, no. Urdu (2) 2 10/76, ff. 3b-4b, 42b. This work was written by the descendant of Najib-ud-Daula, soon after the Revolt of 1857 had been suppressed.

\(^{19}\) *Kuliyat*, pp. 43-4; also Rustam Ali Bijnori, pp. 145, 206.

towns in 1594; only the larger cities numbering around 180 are, however, actually mentioned in his works. More work is being done on urban centres and urbanisation in Mughal India than on the earlier period, notably on medieval Gujarat and the Medieval Punjab. We know something about the large cities, but very little about the average or small towns. The only exception is Batala: its growth in the 16-17th centuries, its morphology, townscape, its demographic history, the manufacture, business of the town, its intimate connection with the hinterland and its links with the towns and cities in the region, and indirectly with cities outside region, and something of its social and cultural life. All the provinces, whether in Bengal in the East, Berar, Khandesh or Malwa to the south, Gujarat in the West, or Lahore, Multan or Kashmir in the North, contained many cities of importance, besides numerous small towns and large villages of some consequence.

The overall urban system of this time was dominated by 16 large cities: Agra, Sikri, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Cambay, Ellichpur, Burhanpur, Ajmer, Ujjain, Mandu, Awadh, Lucknow, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Bihar and Cuttack. Of these, four have survived as large of today: Delhi, Ahmedabad, Lucknow and Varanasi; Jaunpur, Ujjain and Burhanpur are still one-lakh cities. Some of the mentioned above, for example, Sikri, have all but vanished, all except Sikri had existed long before the Mughals came to India. The contribution of the Mughals to urbanization in India can not be measured in terms of the number of new cities that they established—there were few of these, such as Moradabad. But, on the other hand, the Mughals contributed in a large measure to the revival of existing urban centres. At the southern fringe of the Mughal Empire, the rise of the Marathas, the Bahmani kingdoms and Vijayanagar Empire, and finally the Nizam of Hyderabad, had stimulated urban growth. Golconda, Hyderabad, Bijapur and Aurangabad are outstanding samples of urban development during this period. In addition, Pune became the centre of Maratha power and the city developed in to a metropolis of great cultural and political importance.

21 Apart from research projects on urban history of Gujarat and the Punjab by the History Departments of the M.S. University at Baroda and Guru Nanak Dev. University at Amritsar, seminars have been organized by these departments and doctoral research has been encouraged. At Delhi University, Dr. S. P. Gupta has completed doctoral research on the urban centres of Mughal Gujarat. 22 J. S. Grewal, In the by lanes of History, ‘Introduction’.
Apart from the capital and administrative towns, the smaller (owns received support from a class of feudal chiefs to whom the Mughal Emperors gave large land grants. It does appear that, at least to some extent, the Mughal emperors were aware of the yawning cultural gap between the rural masses and the city rulers. In order to bring about closer contact, the intermediate functionaries were dispersed into different parts of the empire. These petty feudal lords helped in the process of land resettlement and the building of small towns. The towns were linked not only with the immediate hinterland but also with one another. Prof. Ravinder Kumar’s hypothesis of vertical and horizontal linkages appears to find support in known evidence. From the literary evidence, it becomes clear that the smaller urban places, noted for their craftsmen, and for the large houses of the nobles and their henchmen, prospered considerably. All this led to an ever-expanding urban system, with a hierarchy of settlements, each performing a number of economic, administrative and military functions. The study of urban history becomes the study of the expansion and contraction of urban centres in dialectical relationship with economic system, the political apparatus and societal network.

The Development of Capital Cities. An integral and major aspect of urbanization, at every point of time in history and pre-history, is the scale and character of the capital cities. It is here that the maximum attention is paid and vast sums of money and labour invested. The capital city is invariably the largest and the most impressive city of the time, and the three Mughal capital cities were no exception. The capital originally established in Delhi in 1526, shifted to Agra, and then, during Akbar’s time, an entirely new city was built at Fatehpur Sikri, which lasted for barely 15 years. Later, under Shahjahan, the capital returned to Delhi with the building of Shahjahanabad—a planned city of great beauty and charm. These three capitals differ from each other in many ways. Fatehpur Sikri is unique among capital cities of the world in that its location was based on irrational considerations; the result was its abandonment within a period of 15 years mainly on account of inadequate water supply. Agra, however, was a large city even before Sikander Lodi made it his capital. When the Mughals took over, they altered the appearance of Agra by building an impressive fort city. (The Taj lies outside the city proper). A

major characteristic of Mughal cities was the building of forts in which the entire royal entourage lived. The city of the ordinary people lay outside the fort, often surrounded by a wall as in the case of Shahjahanabad in Delhi. Unlike Agra, Shahjahanabad is a well planned city with a wide central avenue leading to the main gate of the Red Fort. On one side of this avenue—the Chandni Chowk—is a mosque, the Jama Masjid, a symbol of Islamic culture. The chowk constituted the main market, while on either side of the central avenue were located the residences of nobles. The city proper is divided into mohallas or localities, where the streets are narrow. The poorest people lived near the outer wall. Shahjahanabad may be described as the urban jewel of the Mughal Empire.

The larger residences and buildings of the Mughal cities were built of brick and mortar, while the smaller ones, which constituted the larger part of the city, were made of mud, wood and thatch. The cities by and large were poor in appearance and unclean or even filthy. This is indeed to be expected, as cities such as Delhi and Agra housed nearly 5,00,000 people. The poverty of the masses was clearly in evidence in all the cities; narrow, dusty streets and the lack of basic amenities such as drainage and water supply made living conditions intolerable. Some cities, however, were relatively better off than others. Thus, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad and Broach were described as better cities, while the cities of the Ganga plains were poor and shabby in appearance. Most towns in this period looked like overgrown villages. To most European visitors of this time, Indian cities were rather unimpressive. The contrast between the rich and the poor in the cities was extreme—a phenomenon which continues to mark our urban scene even to the present day.

**Industry and Urbanization.** A major factor contributing to urbanization in the Mughal period was the growth of traditional industries\(^ {25} \) such as textiles (cotton, silk and woollen) and metal work, and various arts and crafts. North Indian cities hummed with industrial activity. Whether in Dacca, Varanasi or Ahmadabad, industry was a major urban activity and the markets of all the cities were full of goods of high quality. This is amply testified by European travellers in India during this period. The crafts and industry were patronized by the rich. The craftsmen, however, came from the poorer sections of urban society. In earlier time periods, the

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craftsmen were Hindu; but during the course of Muslim rule from AD 1000, and in particular during the Mughal period, the skilled craftsmen were converted to Islam. This occurred partly in response to the pressure from the ruling elite and partly as an escape from the low caste status assigned to craftsmen in Hindu society. However, the economic conditions of the craftsmen did not improve even after their conversion to Islam. They continued to be exploited and this state of affairs has remained unchanged to the present. Nevertheless, industrialization and urbanization proceeded simultaneously and generated a large number of small towns in addition to the many provincial and administrative capitals of the period.

External trade was another major contributing factor in urbanization during this period. Indian-made goods were much sought after in West Asian, South-east Asian and European markets. A number of trade centres emerged, particularly at the periphery of the Mughal Empire. The main centres were Cambay, Surat, Burhanpur, Satgaon, Chittagong, and Hooghly. Cambay and Surat were by far the most important trade centres of this time. The traders belonged to three communities—the Bohra Muslims, the Hindu Banyas, and the Parsis. Traders had appointed agents in other parts of the world, particularly in South-west Asia and South-east Asia. Burhanpur in Malwa was a major centre of trade between the Mughal Empire and the kingdoms of the Deccan. Trade and industry thus contributed immeasurably to urbanization during this period.

**Urbanization Processes**

The influence of cities, past and present, on our way of life, cannot by any standards be considered as a simple, uni-dimensional process. On the other hand, the emergence, spatial spread, growth and decline of cities, have meant different things at different points in time and space. There are, in fact, not one but several processes of urbanization at work at any given point in time and space. These processes are interdependent and inter-related, yet varied in terms of their underlying causes and the manifestations of their impact. The history of urbanization in India reveals, broadly, four processes of urbanization at work throughout the historical period. These are: (a) the emergence of new social relationships among people in cities and between people in cities and those in villages through a process of social change; (b) the rise and fall of cities with changes in the political order; (c) the growth of cities
based on new productive processes, which alter the economic base of the city; and
(d) the physical spread of cities with the inflow of migrants, who come in search of a
means of livelihood as well as a new way of life. All these processes have been
enriched by the influences of other world cultures, in particular those from West
Asia and Europe.

URBANIZATION AS SOCIO-CULTURAL PROCESS

Cities are social artefacts. They originated as a result of the emergence of the
ruling classes—people who controlled and regulated the distribution of goods and
services within the society as a whole. The rulers were supported in this task by the
literati—the educated upper class of people, the militia, and a host of servants and
occasionally slaves. Thus, the early tribal or folk societies were transformed into
peasant or feudal societies in which the urban foci played a crucial role. Sometimes
the change from a tribal society, in which no urban centres were present, to a peasant
or feudal society occurred as a result of invasion by people of a different ethnic
stock. In such a situation, the urban rulers were invariably outsiders, while the rural
people represented the original population. In this situation, the relations between
country and city were characterized by servitude of the rural people to the urban
dwellers. When foreigners invaded a peasant or feudal society, the existing urban
places underwent considerable social change, depending on the role played by the
foreigners. The foreigners from other cultures came as merchants, mercenaries, or as
rulers with their vassals. They brought with them their customs, dress, religion and
social values. Out of this cross-cultural interaction a new society emerged, in which
the foreigners eventually became indistinguishable from the local population. In
recent times, the mobility of people between and within countries and the flow of
information through the mass media, are all contributing towards change in urban as
well as rural society- However, in the process, the urban places act as transmitters
and interpreters of foreign influences. The city today stands apart from the
countryside, in terms of the higher degree of its acceptance of foreign and cross-
cultural influences. The city is a melting pot of people with diverse ethnic, linguistic
and religious backgrounds. Seen in this light, urbanization is a socio-cultural process
of transformation of folk, peasant or feudal village societies.
URBANIZATION AS A POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

From about the 5th century B.C to the 18th century AD, urban centres in India emerged, declined or even vanished with the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires. Pataliputra, Vijayanagar, Delhi, Bijapur, Golconda, Madurai and Kancheepuram are all examples of cities that flourished, decayed, and sometimes revived in response to changes in the political scene. Many historical Indian cities no longer exist today. Some of these were the leading cities of India in their time. The ruins of cities at Hampi in Karnataka, Malkhed and Kalyani in Maharashtra, and Achichatra,

During British rule over India, the administrative factor played an important role in the process of urbanization. The provincial capitals, the district headquarters, and the tehsil towns grew in importance and overshadowed the earlier urban centres. The administrative towns began to acquire a new urban form in the presence of the civil lines and cantonments. The national capitals and some of the provincial capitals as well, shifted to the hill stations, such as Shimla, Darjeeling, Shillong and Ootakamund during the summer, thus generating a new class of transient capital cities.

URBANIZATION AS AN ECONOMIC PROCESS

A classical view of urbanization characterizes an urban place as an economic parasite thriving on the agricultural surplus produced in its hinterland. This view, which had, perhaps, some value when considering the emergence of ancient cities from a predominantly peasant society, is no longer tenable in the post-industrial revolution period. It exists and grows on the strength of the economic activities existing within it. It does, in addition, provide services and goods to its hinterland: and to a large extent, it is the hinterland that is economically dependent on the city. Farmers have to go to the city to obtain new seed varieties, fertilizers, for the purchase of tractors, or repair of agricultural equipment. The city offers a variety of goods and services and these are sold both within and outside the city. It does not and cannot exist by itself. Its economic relations with its hinterland and other cities of the nation and the world are important to it. It is the level and nature of economic activity in the city that generates growth and, therefore, further urbanization. Looked at from this angle, urbanization in modern times is essentially an economic process.
The decline of the Mughal nobility did not, by and large, imply a reduction of demand for luxury and superior quality goods. On the other hand, a wider dispersal of the ruling class might have implied wider dispersal of the production of such goods. While it is difficult to compute the urban population of India during the 18th century, recent study tend to show that there was no marked decline. Lahore, Delhi and Agra received a setback, due to the repeated invasions and devastation after 1740, and the declining fortune and power of the Mughals. However, the growth of towns such as Faizabad, Lucknow, Banaras, Patna and Calcutta, etc. In the east compensated for their decline. Writing in 1780 Shahnawaz Khan, the author of the Maasir-ul-Umara, observed:

“Nadir Shah’s occupation resulted in a setback to the prosperity of Delhi, but in a short while it returned to normal, and in fact in everything it is now better and shows progress. A description of its decoration is not possible for the pen: its industries and manufacture are flourishing and music and convivial parties are a common feature of the life of the people.”

The nature of economic activities in a town or city, in simple terms, relates to production at three levels: primary, secondary and tertiary. The character of urbanization depends very much on the type of economic production going on in the city.

URBANIZATION AS A GEOGRAPHICAL PROCESS

The proportion of a country's total population living in urban areas has generally been considered as a measure of the level of urbanization. Since the industrial revolution, which began in the latter half of the 18th century, all western countries have experienced rapid urbanization, in the sense that the proportion of urban population to total population has increased steadily from around 10 per cent to nearly 80 per cent. This means that there has been a major shift of population to larger cities, while the smaller towns have remained virtually stagnant. Population growth in urban areas is partly a function of natural increase in population and partly

the result of migration from rural areas and smaller towns. An increase in the level of urbanization, that is, an increase in the proportion of population living in urban areas, is possible only through migration of people from rural to urban areas. Hence, migration or change of location of residence of people is a basic mechanism of urbanization. This is essentially a geographical process, in the sense that it involves the movement of people from one place to another.

This spatial movement can occur in many ways, not all of which may lead to urbanization. For example, people in India do migrate from one village to another. Such rural to rural migrations constitute nearly two-thirds of all migrations in any time period. This migration is substantially explained by the permanent and temporary movement of agricultural labourers from densely populated areas to areas of increased agricultural activity. This type of migration does not concern us at all. On the other hand, there are three major types of spatial movements of people relevant to the urbanization process. These are the migration of people in rural villages to towns and cities, the migration of people from smaller towns and cities to larger cities. The first type leads to a general process of urbanization or macro-urbanization, while the second leads to metropolization.

Macro-urbanization

Rural people in India migrate to cities in small trickles rather than large waves. An important aspect in rural-urban migration is the 'push' factor, that is, the increasing pressure of population in rural areas and the consequent poverty of the people. However, the number of people below the poverty line is only marginally higher in rural, as compared to urban, areas. Nevertheless, the rural poor are attracted to the cities, where job opportunities as perceived by them are greater. In actual fact, the slow growth of modern industry and tertiary activities in Indian cities has been inadequate to provide jobs for all migrants. The result is that the rural poor eventually end up as the urban poor, a change of status that is empty of meaning. The causes of rural-urban migration and also its consequences are still not fully understood. Not all rural-urban migrants are poor or illiterate. In fact, the rural rich migrate to the city in greater proportion to their numbers than the rural poor. There is a tendency for the better educated and skilled workers from the rural areas to migrate to the city. This drains the rural areas of their human resources and adds to
Rural-urban migration occurs over short as well as long distances. The daily commutation and eventual migration of people from the urban fringe zone is an example of short distance migration. On the other hand, rural landless labourers have migrated long distances to metropolitan cities to seek employment as domestic servants, or as unskilled workers in construction and other industries. There is no necessary correlation between distance of migration and the socio-economic status of the migrant. Long distance migrants, however, show distinct regional concentrations. The Marwaris of western Rajasthan have traditionally played an important role in urban trade and commerce from Bombay to Assam and Kashmir to Kanyakumari. Intellectuals and bureaucrats, as well as domestic servants, have migrated from Tamil Nadu in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and numerous other cities. There are fewer migrants from Bihar, Assam, Orissa or eastern Uttar Pradesh. The inter-regional migration of people constitutes an important aspect of national integration.

Europeanization and process of urbanization in India

The last, but not the least important socio-cultural influence on Indian urbanization came from the British who ruled over India for nearly 150 years. Westernization is clearly visible in various aspects of city life today—in administration, in education, and in the language of social interaction of the city people and their dress and mannerisms. A person who does not share some, at least, of the outward signs of westernization is considered as a rustic. Urbanism is clearly identified with westernization. The urban personality is a curious and variable mixture of western and Indian values and modes of behaviour. The complexity and confusion of values is largely responsible for the urban chaos in India. The scale of western cultural impact was greater than that of Islamic and Persian cultural influence; the western influence was secular rather than religious. The latter aspect led to the decline of traditional values and recognition of the equality of men, irrespective of their ethnic or religious background. Westernization has also
penetrated to the rural areas, although to a far lesser extent. The rural people who come to the city imbibe some of the values of the urban dwellers. A thorough understanding of the role of Indian in value systems in our urban society is a necessary precondition for the study of Indian urbanization processes today.
Chapter II
Later Mughals and the Rohilla:

(i) A Study in 18\textsuperscript{th} century Mughal India
(ii) A study in Rohilla ethnicity
CHAPTER -II

LATER MUGHALS AND THE ROHILLAS

PART-I

Understanding 18th Century Mughal India

The eighteenth century in India was characterized by two critical transitions which altered the structure of power and initiated important social and economic changes. The first was the transition in the first half of the century from the Mughal Empire to the regional political orders. The second was the transition in the polity, society and economy. In the 18th century English East India Company steered its way to position of political dominance. The decline of the Mughal authority gave rise to the emergence of a number of independent kingdoms. In this chapter we focus on the emergence of these independent kingdoms in different parts of the country. The aggressive British policies affected the economic situation. The agricultural and non agricultural production was altered. The commercial activities also underwent changes. These will also be discussed in this very chapter. The social and cultural scenario of 18th century will also be analysed.

Political and Economic Decline—From 1707 to 1805, from the death of Aurangzeb to the final subjugation of the bulk of India by the English East India Company forms the long period during which the Mughal Empire disintegrated and new states struggled to occupy the space it had vacated. Within this indigenous India, it is important to know the nature of the Political process its implications for the economy of India until India became Company's empire. For the purposes of the present thesis, it is mainly the economic implications that needs our serious attention however political aspect is equally important. All theories of the eighteenth century must necessarily start with the problem of the economic of Mughal Empire before its decline. The conventional concept of empire in Indian history generally has come under challenge with Romilla Thapar revisiting the Mauryas and with Gerard Fussman’s Empire. Both tend to emphasize the unevenness in depth of central

control, the empire presumably drawing smaller and smaller revenues, and so affecting the economy less and away from the centre towards its frontiers. It applies this formula of core versus periphery ---- as it moved away from the centre towards its frontiers.\textsuperscript{30} Behind the surprising degree of systematised centralisation and even spread of Mughal administration was, perhaps, not only the momentum given by Akbar's strong measures, but also the existence of a universal land-tax, which, allowing for different shares of local hereditary right-holders (styled zamindars\textsuperscript{2} in the Mughal terminology of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century corresponded to the surplus produced by the peasant. Detailed documentation from Rajasthan and Maharashtra adds specific details to the picture, without affecting however the generality of the magnitude and nature of Mughal land-tax.\textsuperscript{31} What the Empire did was to greatly systematise revenue assessment and collection, as also the shares it would allow to the various kinds of local claimants, whom it insisted on viewing as a single class of zamindars. In recent writings, there has been a tendency to overlook the major burden of the land-tax, and emphasize instead the adjustments with and concessions to the zamindars.\textsuperscript{32} But if we bear in mind the fact that, with all the concessions given,\textsuperscript{33} the land-tax was still the main external charge on the peasant, it would be hard to disagree with Moreland's dictum that "next to the weather, the administration was the dominant fact in the economic life of the country".\textsuperscript{34} Once this dominant fact is acknowledged, one can consider arguments as to whether the Mughal Empire obstructed or promoted economic growth, notably in the form of extension of cultivation. In the 1660's Francois Bernier observed a process of economic decay in India, which he attributed to the royal ownership of land, as reflected in the unrestrained authority of the Timariots (his term for jagirdars) and their unpredictably short terms set by the King.\textsuperscript{35} The increasing pressure of revenue led, on the one hand, to a flight of the peasants from land, having a negative effect upon

\textsuperscript{32} See, especially, Andre Wink, op. cit., for such a view, within the framework of what he rather quaintly designates \textit{fima}.
\textsuperscript{33} On whose size generally, see Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 130-54; S. Moosvi: Economy of the Mughal Empire, pp. 176-89; Satya Prakaha Gupta, op.cit. pp. 134-40.
\textsuperscript{34} W.H. Moreland: The Agrarian System of Moslem India. Cambridge, 1929. p.xii.
expansion of peasant settlements, and, on the other, to 'peasant uprisings, and simultaneously a breakdown in the collaboration between the jagirdars and zamindars, thereby turning 'the agrarian difficulties into a crisis of the Empire. Unluckily, neither demographic data nor other statistics (e.g. of area under cultivation) come to us in a manner which would justify a definite conclusion as the progress of the agricultural sector over the entire course of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the major administrative constraints tended to collapse, as may be seen so graphically from a rarely quoted passage from Khafi Khan (1731). The sale of tax-farms (ijara) became a more and more general practice. C.A. Bayly has given us a new perception of this institution "as one which consolidated the intermediate classes of society — townsmen, traders, service gentry — who commanded the skills of the market and the pen". Muzaffar Alam has been won over so far to this approach that he sees the increasing use of this oppressive device as an index of "growth." One example tells the story. Sayyid brothers sold away in farm the khalisa territories (treasury lands) for lakhs of rupees for their own benefit and that posts were given exclusively to the Barha Sayyids (their own clan) and the Banias (Baqqals) (Ratan Chand's caste). There could hardly have been any localization of power through such imposition of one's clan followers over the entire Empire. It is not surprisig that when Nizamu'l Mulk suggested a set of reforms to the Emperor in 1724, the first one was "the abolition of ijara of the mahals of the khalisa, which has become the source of the ruin and devastation of the country.

The linkages can also be drawn for urbanisation and the decline of the empire. If there is a question-mark over the ability of the Mughal Empire to allow agricultural expansion, one can, perhaps, be more positive about its contribution to

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36 Agrarian system of Mughal India. pp.317-51.
urban growth and the expansion of trade. The tendency towards cash nexus and, therefore, towards induced trade: the large transfer of rural surplus to the towns and its conversion into craft-commodities and services to meet the demands of an essentially town-based ruling class and its dependents; the provision of some degree of security and controlled taxation along the routes; and a metallic currency of uniform standard and purity uttered from mints all over the Empire - all these were factors that should have created the basis for commercial expansion.\textsuperscript{41} There could have been a real increase, in merchant-capital through its absorption of some of the resources of the Mughal ruling class by an indigenously developed system of deposit-banking, credit, brokerage and insurance. The larger availability of capital so obtained was possibly connected with the remarkable fall in interest rates about the middle of the seventeenth century, though bullion imports into India uncovered by exports of goods might also have helped.\textsuperscript{42}

If some of these factors, closely related as they were to the Mughal Empire as an all-India polity, were to weaken or even whither away with the decline of the Empire, it would be hard to argue that commerce and towns would still not have suffered. Gujarat was a province of the Empire that not only had important textile and other industries catering to the inland markets but through the Gulf of Cambay also maintained a large overseas trade. As Ashin Das Gupta has pointed out, the commercial decline of Surat mirrors fairly accurately the decline of the Empire. The story is partly told in Dutch information on arrivals of Indian ships annually at Surat: 87 in 1693; an average of 32 from 1716 to 1720, largely maintained till 1733; but the number ultimately falling to only 19 in 1741.\textsuperscript{43} DasGupta firmly attributes the decline to the conditions in the hinterland of the port consequent upon the increasing weakness of the Empire. There was no rival in the Gulf of Cambay to gain at the expense of Surat; and Bombay had a different hinterland and could hardly supplant

\textsuperscript{41} For detailed argument on these lines see Irfan Habib, 'Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India', Journal of Economic History, 29.1 (March 1969); the same with revisions pub. in Enquiry, Delhi. NS. Ill (i) (O.S. No.11 5). Winter 1971 (it may. perhaps, be clarified that, despite the title, the potentialities for true capitalistic development within Mughal India are denied): Tapan Raychaudhuri, The State and the Economy: the Mughal Empire\textsuperscript{4} in T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (ed.): Cambridge Economic History of India (CEHI). Cambridge. 1982. pp.172-93.
Surat as a base of Indian shipping. An earlier decline seems to have affected Indian shipping in Bengal.\textsuperscript{44}

Quantitative information by which the fortunes of inland trade could be traced is much harder to come by. The only way in which security costs can be measured is by way of comparing insurance. Since movements of interest rates may reflect changes in availability of capital, it is relevant to ask if the decline in the interest rates which is so marked in the mid-seventeenth century continued into the eighteenth. Insufficient as our present evidence for economy under the indigenous eighteenth century regimes is, it is enough to make us entertain doubts about their having witnessed any significant measure of economic growth. There is no strong reason to believe that their performance in terms of population increase, extension of cultivation or expansion of trade was superior to that of the Empire in the seventeenth century. A very modest compound rate of population growth of 0.14 per cent has been suggested for the period 1000-1800, given the most plausible estimates of the total population for 1600 and 1800.\textsuperscript{45} The economic effects of Tribute were not, however, confined to areas which came under the Company's government or its system of indemnities and subsidies. There was, first, the deflationary tendency stemming from net loss of silver, which affected prices and capital supply everywhere. Unfortunately, price-information for the latter half of the eighteenth century has not been properly collected. Jevon's, prices for wheat at Delhi, nonetheless, show a long-term decline (when considered on the basis of annual average by decades), beginning with the 1790's and continuing into the next century. Bayly himself notices that "a great 'want of specie' " was felt in the Delhi region and the Punjab after 1770 and that towns and trade in the area decayed between 1770 and 1800.\textsuperscript{46} The diversion of Bengal's exports in silk and textiles entirely to Europe, practically closed the traditional trade with Gujarat, whose famous textile industry depended upon Bengal silk. Under these circumstances, one

\textsuperscript{44} Ashin Das Gupta in CEHI. 1. p.432. Om Prakash : The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal. 1630-1720, pp.223-24. however, sees "no clearly discernible trend" in Bengal shipping at least until 1720.

\textsuperscript{45} Irfan Habib in Tapan Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (ed) : Cambridge Economic History of India. 1. Cambridge. 1982. p.157; S. Moosvi. Economy of the Mughal Empire, c.1595. pp.405-6, calculates a coin* pound rate of 0.21% for the longer period. 1601-1871,

\textsuperscript{46} Rulers Townsmen and Bazaars, pp.65-6. He does not rather surprisingly relate this 'money famine' to the stoppage of flow of bullion into India, to which he himself refers on p.28
cannot be sure that what now took place was a mere "redeployment of merchant capital within India, not its (partial) destruction".

The indigenous regimes that arose as the Mughal Empire weakened, retreated and splintered can be very broadly divided into two groups. The first group consisted of states that were created by Mughal officials turning into local rulers; such were the Nazimates of the Deccan, Bengal and Awadh. These also included states created or enlarged by a simple acquisition of territory in jagir and revenue-farm as in the cases of Jaipur and the Bangash principality. The second set of states were creations of opponents of the Mughal power, principality, the Marathas, Jats, Rohillas and the Sikhs. The first group of states maintained a direct continuity with imperial administration, including its personnel. But practically all of them (the Deccan, perhaps, more slowly than the others) gave up the system of jagir transfers, since this pillar of all-India centralization was no longer essential for their own existence. One can imagine, therefore, that these states could allow both a long-term policy towards land-revenue realisation and greater accommodation with the local, zamindar elements. Of the Deccan under the Nizams during the eighteenth century, there is yet to be a tolerable economic study, despite the large amount of available documentary material. For the Bengal Nazimate, James Grant's interpretation of Mughal revenue statistics, prepared in 1786, seems yet to dominate the field. Grant's major conclusion was that under the Nazimate "the whole country remained prodigiously under-rated", though this led to the imposition of the awwab or irregular exactions. The new system taking "the room of the equitable mode of Mogul administration" tended to favour "the new class of officiers denominated zemindars". Essentially, his argument was that the land revenue did not increase in correspondence with the rise in prices caused by the silver influx. The Nazims' dependence on the Jagat seths and other mercantile interests in revenue-collection could be seen as part of a rapprochement with non-bureaucratic classes to secure a moderate level of revenue-collection. The level was still high enough to sustain a considerable degree of urbanisation with the capital Murshidabad judged by Clive to be as populous as London in 1764. Muzaffar Alam offers us a picture of expanding

47 cf. S.P. Gupta : Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan. pp.5-17. for the creation of the Jaipur state under Sawai Jai Singh (d.1744).
cultivation in Awadh and adjacent regions, on the basis of eighteenth-century revenue statistics compared with those of the A’in-i Akbari (c. 1595); but un-adjusted to prices they really carry little or no message. In the second set of states the pride of place is occupied by the Peshwa’s government, with its large areas of control and enormously rich archives. Its ruling elements originated not from within the ranks of the Mughal nobility and bureaucracy, but out of the class the Mughals called zamindars or hereditary rural potentates. These origins partly explain the state-structure the Marathas built; an internal taxation system within the swarajya, supplemented by a zone of extraction of tribute out of revenue collection (chauth and sardesh-mukhi), a tribute whose origins lay in the zamindars’ shares in tax revenue. Simultaneously, there was a strong proneness to institute, hereditary ‘fiefs’ (saranjams) and officers, in contrast to the transferable jagirs and posts of the Empire. Not only was mulk-giri (lit. country-seizure, but meaning plunder) a long and self-defeating mechanism for continuous tribute-extraction, but the system of hereditary right led to difficulties in internal taxation and maintenance of soldiery. The Peshwas’ regime was thus constantly immersed in financial crises even in moments of military triumph. The impact of the Maratha regime was doubtless uneven. Within Maharashtra, the Peshwas promoted the transformation of uparis (non-hereditary or temporary peasants) into cultivators for fiscal advantage, and it is possible to argue that conditions in the Maratha homeland were fairly stable with a steady pace of increase in cultivation until the last years of the regime (1803-18), when, with British hegemony, the old system broke down under the burden of financial bankruptcy and tax-farms. Outside Maharashtra, the view of Maratha expansion as a sheer process of devastation was called into question by Stewart N. Gordon on the basis of a set of documents relating to the Maratha conquest and early

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49 Crisis of Empire In Mughal North India, pp.252-3; Richard R. Barnett: North India between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals and the British, 1720-1801. Berkeley, 1980. does not similarly give any hard evidence of economic prosperity.


administration of Malwa, 1728-60. In Gujarat, Muhammad Ali Khan gave a fairly favourable account of the Maratha administration, claiming that by 1754 it had led to a certain amount of economic recovery. The insurance rates on money and goods sent from Malwa to different parts of the Maratha dominions, in 1795 were about the same or only slightly higher than in 1820. Clearly, these testify to the maintenance of certain levels of law and order throughout Maratha-con-trolled territory. And yet one cannot altogether exclude from consideration the disorderlies which was built into the Maratha system involving not only constant plundering forays, but also the supplanting of local zamindars at the pettiest levels by outsiders, so as to make it seem to an observer in 1762-63, that the Brahmans of Konkaji wished to become "proprietors (not simply rulers) of the whole world". The significant position occupied by bankers and moneylenders in the Maratha states, notably the Brahmans of Poona, perhaps represented more the malfunctioning of the fiscal system than any positive state support to trade and commerce. The extent of net urban growth seems also to have been limited: even Poona, the capital, is not credited with a population of over 100,000 at the end of the century. The Jat power near Agra and Mathura arose out of rebellion of peasants under zamindar leadership, attaining the apex of power under Suraj Mal (d.1763), who, though a "Sage among his people, spoke the Braj dialect and wore "the dress of a zamindar." A similar result seems to have been a replacement of Rajput by Jat zamindars. A similar result was brought about, but in favour of the Rohilla, a set of immigrant soldiers, traders, and rural settlers. In the Doab but especially in the trans-Ganga tract of Katehr, now Rohilkand, they built up a network of clan chieftaincies, without attaining a possible degree of centralisation or even systematic

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54 The Slow Conquest: Administrative Integration of Malwa into the Maratha Empire. MAX. 11 (1977), pp. 1-40
55 Mir'at-i Ahmadi. ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Part II, Baroda. 1927. p.462. the author himself was the Mughal diwan of the suba.
56 See the table in Malcolm. Memoir of Central India. II. pp.366-68
57 Azad Bilgrami: Khizana-t 'Amira, Kanpur. 1871. p.47
58 The nature of this relationship has been explored provocatively by Karen Leonard. 'The Great Firm" Theory of the Decline of the Mughal Empire. Comparative Studies in Society and History (CSSH), 21 (1 979), followed by a controversy on the theme with J.F. Richards in CSSH. 23 (1981). See also Divekar. op. cit, who rightly emphasizes (esp. pp.44 1 -3) the parasitic and economically restricted nature of the usury to which the financial needs of the Maratha regime gave rise.
59 Divekar. op. cit, p.442.
61 cf. Irfan Habib. Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp.339-42. The detailed political history of the Jat kingdom has been painstakingly reconstructed by Girish Chandra Dwivedi: The Jats: their Role in the Mughal Empire. Bangalore, 1989.
administration. They seem, however, to have reclaimed land and promoted agriculture.\(^{62}\) Punjab remained for much of the latter part of the 18th century, a battleground between the Afghans and the Sikhs. Initially, in Banda Bahadur's uprising, 1710-15, the rural character of the Sikh revolt was very marked.

Contemporary historians speaks of his following as comprising "sweepers, tanners, the caste of Banjaras (migrant pastoralists and transporters) and other lowly and wretched people".\(^{63}\) Khafi Khan, who too speaks of the mass of "lowly Hindu" joining Banda's banners, says that he had counsellors also from the "respectable Hindus" like the Khatri (a mercantile and bureaucratic caste) and the "warlike Jats" (a peasant and zamindar caste).\(^{64}\) The peasant and low caste soldiery and even leadership, combined with a very deep-rooted religious millenarism, delayed the transformation of the Sikh polity into a conventional state. But zamindari aspirations became important with time, and social egalitarianism could not prevent the rise of leaders like "Nawab" Kapur Singh.\(^{65}\) Ultimately, in the nineteenth century, under Ranjit Singh, came the full-blown Raj. that was seemingly a continuance of Mughal administration with strong Rajput symbolisms and even rites. The two sets of polities we have been considering do not include a state which had a short life in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but had remarkable features of its own. This was the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu (1761-99). These rulers, transforming a traditional raj, constructed an administration closely built on Mughal lines. The pressure on zamindars inherent in the administrative tradition, was intensified to the point of Haider All's taking away the ten-percent allowance paid to them and managing the revenue-collection directly.\(^{66}\) The jagirs too were largely (not totally) abolished under Tipu.\(^{67}\) But Mysore was also the first state to shift almost entirely to European methods of warfare, depending on firearms and infantry, with cavalry and


\(^{64}\) \textit{Muntakhabu'l Lubab}. II. pp.651-52. 672. Muzaffar Alam, \textit{Crisis of Empire in North India}, pp. 139-45. tends to overemphasize the zamindar component of Banda's following. He speaks of "Jat zamindars" (p.139). when the only text he cites (\textit{Muntakhabu'l Lubab}. II. p.651) does not contain the word zamindar at all. and actually reads of his followers being "from the caste of Jats. and the Khatri of the Panjab and other lowly communities of the Hindus".


\(^{67}\) Mohibbul Hasan: \textit{History of Tipu Sultan}. Calcutta. 1971,p.344.
local militia as supporting arms. Mysore was also the first Indian state to produce modern fire-arms within its borders by importing foreign workmen as instructors. The most interesting aspect was the state's direct intervention in production and commerce. Watches began to be made, and sericulture.

**Political Decline and Cultural Decadence**

The eighteenth century saw the decline and dissolution of the Mughal Empire, simultaneously with the rise of the regional states. Geographically the Empire had reached its farthest limits in the Deccan by AD 1707. The imperial principle established almost over the entire subcontinent, was beginning to show signs of crisis in its body politic. These breaches and chasms jolted the entire imperial edifice, which collapsed within forty years after the death of Aurangzeb (AD 1707). The invasion and destruction of Delhi by Nadir Shah Afshar (1736-47), the Persian monarch in (1736-47), left the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-48), with his prestige irrevocably diminished. Muhammad Shah died in 1748 and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah Bahadur who was, imprisoned and blinded in 1754. He, in turn, was succeeded by Alamgir II, was deposed the following year and was succeeded by Shah Alam (1759-1806). None of these ruler enjoyed any real authority or power. In 1788 Ghulam Khan attacked Delhi and blinded the Emperor. The invasion irretrievably damaged the status of monarchy and ruined the imperial image as the embodiment of law and authority. The imperial governors did not formally deny their allegiance to Delhi, but one after the other they become asserting their autonomy. The Mughal governor(subedars) took advantage of the weakness and dissensions at the court, to seize the revenues in the provinces assigned to them. The result was the creation of a number of successor states, notably in Bengal, Hyderabad and Awadh. In the Gangetic delta(doab), Murshid Quli Khan(1703-27), the Diwan of Bengal successfully transformed the city which later took his name as Murshidabad, (the capital of virtually independent Bengal). In the south Mir Qamar al-Din Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk(1724-48), set himself up in the city of Hyderabad as de facto ruler of the Deccan suba of the Empire.

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69 Ibid. p.74-75. quoting Munro (1791); cf. also Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p.350. The process had begun well before 1761, with Haider All's foundry at Dindigul.
Besides Herman Goetz, who was first to detect some order in this seemingly chaotic period, there have been other serious and comprehensive studies that reassess the century’s events and cast doubts on the bleak perspective of previous historians. While suggesting that the turbulent events of the century reflected not the final dissolution of the Mughal empire, as much as the emergence of regional dynastic rulers who initiated new cycles of growth and regeneration. As a result of such studies, the debate on pre-colonial societies has received a new revival. However, as most of these studies mainly focus on the decline in terms of economic change, thus neglecting the political and cultural framework, the debate on the 18th century has been so far partial. A number of scholars focus on the 18th century in order to find the causes and explanations of various nineteenth century phenomena. The eighteenth century needs to be studied its own, not in terms of what preceded and what followed it. The political decline and the chaos that followed the loss of power by wreck of a golden age. The Indian muslims of that time searched their past, not only in an effort to comprehend the disaster, but also in order to feel that there had been a time of greatness.

Why has the eighteen century been regarded as a period of cultural decadence? There are several stands in the historiography of decadence which tend to strengthen the stereotypical view of the period. One of the reasons lay in the contemporary European perceptions of the ruling classes of India: the stereotypes of the sensual, cruel and circumspect Muslims found in the European travellers’ accounts who had not looked upon the dominant classes with a very friendly eye. Sir Thomas Herbert in A.D. 1634 found the “Indian moors saucy, proud, bloody, traitorous and cowardly”. In the second half of the eighteenth century, with the decline of the political power and when the nobility and aristocracy of the Empire was without its earlier riches, wealth and military power, such accusations of progressive decadence were more easily and frequently made. Robert Orme, an East India company official, writing in 1752 believed that ‘the Tartar (i.e., the ancestors of Mughals) are known to be honest and simple in manners, if at times fierce and cruel’ but as regards their descendants he said that a ‘licentiousness’ and luxury peculiar to

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this enervating climate have spread their corruption. Sometimes, a contemporary Indians author's views of his superior, strengthened such notions of the ruling class. Such was the impression derived from Siyar-al-muta'khkhirin, of Ghulam Husain published under the title: A character of Assof ud-Dowla, the Nawab of Awadh. Furthermore, the British who wrote the early Modern histories of India had their own interest in presenting a bleak portrayal of its immediate past. These Persian chronicles writers were invariably members of an erstwhile ruling elite who suffered as the imperial system brokedown. The decline of their fortunes has been portrayed in their own writings as the decline and decay of the entire society. The decline of the imperial edifice was tantamount to a total collapse of society. On the contrary, the period in question was one of great intellectual activity, as almost every branch of learning and scholarship was being pursued. It was not only poetry which lay at the heart of the cultural life of the period. Other traditional areas of learning nourished as well: historiography, the compilation of biographical dictionaries, as well as the sciences proper, like natural philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, geometry and medicine. Such a vast amount of literary works had been produced by the administrator-scholars and intelligentsia of the erstwhile ruling elite that it is almost impossible to do them all justice by providing a broad comprehensive view. Every discipline came to be cultivated by the members of displaced service' elite when necessity for maintenance turned them into historians, geographers, philologists, archaeologists and grammarians. Persian was the language of administration, scholarship and for the elite, as well as that of polite social intercourse. In Iran, the ornate taste in prose and poetry, characteristic of the seventeenth century, was replaced by a simple style, both innovatory and looking back to older literary models. This new style came to be known in Iranian literature as bazgasht, i.e. 'return'. On the Indian subcontinent, the seventeenth century poetical style, Sabk-i. Hindi, that originated in Persia, was cultivated and brought to perfection. It had also enjoyed favourable atmosphere in the Turkish and Tadjik literature and continued to be greatly admired and elaborated upon in the eighteenth century. The successor states which sprang up on the ruins of the Mughal Empire.

71 Robert Orme (1728 – 1801) was a British historian of India. Son of a British East India Company physician and surgeon, he entered the service of the Company in Bengal in 1743. He returned to England in 1753, and was regarded as an authority on India. Orme wrote History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from 1745 (1763-78). He also published Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, the Morattoes and English Concerns in Indostan from 1639 (1782).
such as Murshidabad, Hyderabad and Oudh, continued to work within the institutional framework of their predecessor. It was again members of the same bureaucratic families who filled various posts, high and low in the administrative set-up of these regional states. Even the British, after the grant of *Diwani* by Emperor Shah 'Alam in 1764, sought to integrate themselves within the Mughal imperial system. When the indigenous political system began to crumble— in order to give way to new political powers, it was the ideal type of the centralized Mughal slate which they wished to see reestablished. The elite tried to employ the same skills which their ancestors had learnt in their service of the empire. Therefore, it would not be simply a digression to establish a comprehensive picture of the contemporary world of bureaucracy.
PART-II

Understanding Rohilla ethnicity

When India during 18th century was experiencing the breakup of the Mighty Mughal Empire in the nook and corner of doab region, an small Afghan state was coming into being which would be called as the Rohilla Kingdom. In this chapter focus will be on Rohillas history, their origin and and their claiming a new kingdom in North India. Rohilla migration had been a part of a whole complex of a resettlement and migratory movements following the advent of Turks and Mongols in the area. Initially, they were driven to the Kabul region, probably due to increased competition with rival pastoralists for winter and summer grazing lands in the Kandahar area. This rivalry had interrupted the existing seasonal migration pattern and forced the Khashi tribes to look for new grazing lands. Towards the end of the fifteenth century they arrived near Kabul; but by the time Babar entered Kabul in 1504 they had already been ousted again by the Timurid ruler of the time, Mirza Ulugh Beg (1460-1502) and had been forced to take refuge more to the east: in the Lamghanat and near Peshawar. The Mandanr sub-tribe settled in the Samah, the relatively flat plains north of the Landai river. Most of the other Yusufzais proceeded Northwards to the more secluded hill valleys of Swat and Bajaur. The Yusufzais conquered the latter countries which were primarily, inhabited by Dardic and Tajik peasants with, only a few herding Gujars. In these places they were faced with ecological conditions which were different from those they were accustomed to in Kandahar and which were not very suitable for their pastoralist habitat.\(^{72}\) Their new lands were part of what Babar identified as Hindustan. When he approached the area for the first time from Ningnahar he exclaimed:

"...another world came to view, -other grasses, other trees, other animals, other birds, and other manners and customs of clan and horde. We were amazed, and truly there was ground for amaze."\(^{73}\)

It appears that, like Babar, the once pastoral Yusufzais had to cope with a great adaptive economic challenge. Initially, as a result of the destruction caused by

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\(^{72}\) Ibid., pp. 168-226

\(^{73}\) "Babur, Babur-Nama, p.229."
their large herds, much damage was done to the existing cultivation, but in due course a relatively sophisticated farming and herding society re-emerged.\textsuperscript{74}

Along with the newly conquered lands, the indigenous peasants or \textit{dihqans} were assigned to the landholding Yusufzai clans. Hence, they were turned into dependent peasants (\textit{faqirs}, in fee sense of poor, destitute, subdued), paying rent on the land they cultivated, or into retainers (Pl. \textit{m'la-tarr}) who performed all kinds of services to their patron (\textit{Khawand}) as herders, artisans or commercial agents, mostly in return for a small payment in grain or rice. Usually we find these dependant bondsmen indiscriminately referred to as both \textit{faqirs} and \textit{hamsayas}.\textsuperscript{75} Apart from these bondsmen there were dependants of a different category called \textit{ghulams} or slaves. They were more closely attached to the person of their patron and were frequently entrusted with all kinds of functions within their master's household. Although they were not as free as \textit{the faqirs} and \textit{hamsayas}, they generally enjoyed a higher status in society because they were more closely associated with their master and his family.\textsuperscript{76} Through this twofold client relationship of \textit{faqir} (mendicant)/\textit{hamsaya} (neighbour) and \textit{ghulam} (servant), the conquering elite of Yusufzais could incorporate both the indigenous and the other populations into their own polity. This allowed them to integrate outsiders without having to assimilate them and, internally, fee Yusufzai \textit{ulus} continued to signify the dominant stratum. For the outside world, however, ethnic distinctions were far less rigid. Most of the Roh area where the Yusufzai tribes had settled during the sixteenth century was very difficult territory for establishing imperial control from outside. Hence, the area always

\textsuperscript{74} The Swat valley has been extensively described and analyzed by numerous anthropologists, amongst the foremost are: F. Barth, \textit{Political Leadership among Swat pathan} (London, 1959); A.S. Ahmad, \textit{Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology} (London, '1976) and by the same author, \textit{Pukhtun Economy and Society} (London, 1980) (mainly on the Mohmand but with many comments on Swat); C. Lindholm, \textit{Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan} (New York, 1982).

\textsuperscript{75} Before the eighteenth century there still appears to be a distinction between the two, \textit{hamsaya} meaning a dependant tribe belonging to the Afghan \textit{ulus}; and \textit{faqir} an indigenous son- Afghan "landless" peasant but later the distinction became blurred, both meaning landless dependants or clients. Elphinstone, at the beginning of the nineteenth century is still describing them separately (Elphinstone, \textit{Account}, 1, p. 228; 2, p. 27). For treating them as identical, see e.g. Muhammad Hayat, \textit{Afghanistan}, pp. 114-29, and H.W. Bellew, \textit{An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan} (Graz, 1973), pp.88-9. See also H.G. Raverty, "An Account of Upper Kash-kar and Chitrail, or Lower Kash-kar, together with the Independent Afghan State of Panj-korah, including Tal-ash", \textit{JASB}, 33 (1864), pp. 148-9.'

\textsuperscript{76} Mohammad Hayat, \textit{Afghanistan}, p.4; H.W. Bellew, \textit{A General Report on Yusufzais} (Lahore, 1864), pp. 183-4.
retained the reputation of being a focus of turbulence and revolt. The southern plains of the Yusufzais in the northern Kabul valley were more easily accessible. But whenever the danger of violent incursions did arise, the inhabiting tribes could always move with their herds into the safe northern valleys and return whenever they wished. The whole area was of strategic importance since it immediately bordered on the Khyber Pass and on the northern highway which, from the sixteenth century onwards, served as a lifeline linking the imperial centres of Delhi and Agra with Kabul and its hinterlands in Iran and Central Asia. Apart from this main route, there was a secondary though not unimportant northern route splitting off to Chitral. This route entered Swat through the Malakand pass, and via the Panjkora Valley, Dir and the Lahore Pass it reached Chitral, a relatively busy commercial centre in the western Himalayas. Chitral not only had this important southern access to Peshawar and Hindustan and another one going to and Kabul, it was also located on the east-west connection of Badakhshan with Gilgit Kashmir, part of the tracks of the ancient Silk Road. Another route branched off to Sarikol and Yarkand in the north. During the 18-19th centuries the route through Badakhshan and Chitral became an alternative for merchants travelling from Bukhara to Yarkand and Kashgar in anticipation of disturbances in Kokand or Eastern Turkestan. Besides, since the Chinese authorities regularly refused permission for caravans to pass through Eastern Turkistan and Ladakh to India, Kokand merchants were often forced to be content with buying Indian goods at Sarikol. Many of these mountain routes presented difficulties for transport and during the winter most of them were considered almost impassable. On the other hand, Mastuj pass, north of Chitral, was relatively convenient and it Badakhshan and farther westwards Kunduz and Balkh within reach of Chitral. Trade caravans mostly used this route because it was most practicable for beasts of burden, mainly asses and oxen. The Chitral route was "by far the shortest way from Badakhshan to Hindustan. An additional advantage of these routes was that they were relatively peaceful and that protection costs were relatively low, whereas the passage through the Khyber and other southern passes

77 Also called Chitrrar. Babar refers to it as Katur and the Afghan sources use Qashqar (Qashqar) which is different from Kashgar (Kashghar) in Eastern Turkestan.
could sometimes be extremely hazardous. Via the Mastuj route, products from Badakhshan, mainly horses and lapis lazuli, were exchanged for Indian goods like textiles and indigo. In order to profit from these northern links several Afghan trading communities such as the Khalils and Gugyanis settled amongst the Yusufzais. Whenever the Khyber pass was blocked by one or another disturbance or excessive tolls they could turn to the north and travel, via Chitral and Badakhshan, farther on to fee oases cities of Central Asia. Besides, many non-Afghans and Hindu merchants were active in this area. Most notable were the Parancaas who, like the Powindas, had trade relations which covered, an area which stretched from Calcutta in eastern India to Orenburg in southern Russia.\(^8^0\)

Hence, as a rule, there was always some measure of accommodation reached between the imperial authorities and the local Afghan leaders. For the Mughals it was crucial that no one single tribe or group could gain the upper hand and dominate the area as this could in the end threaten access to their interests in Central Asia. So they had to engage themselves in the local affairs and to make the best possible use of the internal conflicts between the different local factions by entering and shifting alliances in order to keep the balance. Despite all the heroic stories of Afghan resistance against the Mughals, many Afghans were highly co-operative in establishing a stable imperial and commercial network. After 1530 the Yusufzais, together with most of the mercantile tribes in the Peshawar area, joined with the Mughals in order to oust the always obstreperous Dilazak Afghans along the Khyber route.\(^8^1\) Many local Afghans decided to join the Mughal ranks and in return received some important lands *jagir* across the Indus. An example is provided by the Muhammadzai-Khweshgi Afghans who in the wake of the Yusufzai migration had moved into Hashtnagar. The Khweshgis, generally known as horse-traders, had offered Babar and Humayun excellent service as suppliers of horses and mercenaries in support against their Sur co-tribesmen. Not surprisingly they received a *Jagir* in Kasur and held the post of *faujdar* of the nearby Lakh Jangle; as we have noticed already, an area traditionally associated with horse breeding and an extensive grazing area where horses from Central Asia could rest and recuperate before being

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\(^8^0\) Raverty, *Notes*, p. 196.
\(^8^1\) "Arlinghaus, "Transformation", pp.210-22.
Other Afghans were delegated with the task of controlling the many passes through the dangerous mountain ranges of the north-west. The Afridi Afghans, for example, were entrusted with guarding the Khyber pass and the Khalils with the road between Attock an Khyber. As a result they changed from highway robbers to imperial custom officials levying transit duties. This change was just nominal but it assured their incorporation into the Mughal imperial structure. Of course, there were always groups and individuals who were not able or not willing to take a share in the profits of trade and empire. One personage who has become famous for opposing Mughal rule was Bayazid Ansari, who tried to appeal to a supra-tribal following and thereby undermined the Afghan political establishment and its traditional balance of power. Bayazid was a champion of religion and the founder of the millenarian Raushaniyya movement. He was not an Afghan himself but a Barki whose parents had moved from Waziristan to the Punjab. He and his father had been engaged in horse trade between India and Central Asia and as a merchant he had become frustrated by what he considered to be the oppression and excessive tolls of the Mughal government. During his many trading missions he had frequently visited khanaqahs of darwishes and yogis in order to direct his attention to other worldly matters. In due course he launched a fiercely anti-Mughal and anti-orthodox campaign and he sent missionaries to far off places like Delhi, Badakhshan, Balkh and Bukhara - all of which had been within his former commercial range as a horse-trader. Bayazid's successor Shaykh Umar even dared to call himself the badskah-i-afghanan and began to demand the appropriate tributes from the Afghan tribal leaders. Although Bayazid had a substantial Yusufzai following, the elite of Yusufzai landholders were not involved with him because his teachings undermined their traditional tribal leadership and their thriving business with the outside Mughal world. In general, Afghan tradition credits two Yusufzai orthodox 'ulama', Saiyid

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84 In Afghan tradition darwishes are frequently associated with horses as they act as breeders and traders and their khanaqas had sometimes fine stables, see Ni'matullah, Makhzan, Dora trans., 1. pp. 16-7,20,27,30-1.
Ali Tirmizi and his pupil Akhund Darweza, for opposing the Raushaniyya sect. The writings of Akhund Darweza became the canon of faith for the Yusufzais and were still influential in shaping the religious ideas of the later Rohilla leaders. Not the heterodoxy of Bayazid Ansari but the Sunni orthodoxy of Akhund Darweza developed into an indispensable ingredient of eighteenth-century Indo-Afghan identity.\footnote{See for example W. Irvine, "The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad: A Chronicle (1713-1857)", \textit{JASB}, 48, 1 (1879) p.84; Hafiz Rafiamat Khan based his \textit{Khulasat ul-ansab} partly on the work of the \textit{Tazkira} of the Akhund Darweza and in 1767 a transcription of the work was made in his capital of Pilibhit (Hafiz Rehmat, \textit{Khulasat}, ff.18a,100b).} In the end, the Raushaniyya movement was fully absorbed in the system which it had aimed to overthrow. In the first half of the seventeenth century its leaders were encouraged to take service with the Mughals and were turned into Mughal \textit{mansabairs} endowed with several \textit{jagirs} in northern India. Still on the basis of their charismatic leadership and spiritual guidance, they drew many recruits from their tribal Raushaniyya following in Roh. Many of these recruits were Bangash Pathaans who some years later succeeded in establishing their own principality at Farrukhabad. It appears that, although during the late seventeenth century the Raushaniyya movement had lost much of its mujadidi (thousand years of prophesied millenium) and mystical appeal. It had retained much of its vigour as a recruitment network for Afghan mercenaries.\footnote{Muhammad Waliullah, \textit{Turikh-i Farrukhabad}, BM.Or. 1718, f.10b; Elphinstone, \textit{Account}, 2, p.51. For more details, see W. Irvine, "The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad: A Chronicle (1713-1857)", \textit{JASB}, 47, 1 (1878), pp.357-64.}

During the first half of the seventeenth century the Mughals were deepening their involvement in the affairs of their north-western frontier. They were drawn into hotly contested issues, with the Safavids for the possession of Kandahar and with the Tuqay-Timurids for Balkh and Badakhshan. As a consequence of intensified Mughal campaigning, Afghans, both in India and elsewhere, became even more involved in Mughal politics. Because of their regional know how, their co-operation became of considerable weight, both as mercenaries and as guardians of the long-drawn supply lines. In 1648 the Mughals finally lost Kandahar to the Safavids and by this time Balkh and Badakhshan also. As one of the consequences of declining Mughal power the other Yusufzai and other Afghan tribes enjoyed more and more latitude in their movements and patterns of migration.\footnote{McChesney, \textit{Waqf}, p116.} All too frequently, new waves of Yusufzai
migration have been linked to increased impoverishment of the Peshawar area.\textsuperscript{89}

As we have noticed above, in the wake of Yusufzai migration to the Peshawar area numerous other Afghans moved from Kandahar to Peshawar. Most of them were rather small groups of nomads with an interest in extending their trading connections. This was a fairly gradual process and a follow up of the more massive movements of the sixteenth century. One of these mercantile groups was the Baraich sub-tribe who inhabited the area around Shorawak in eastern Kandahar. From the sixteenth century onwards the majority of them had settled in and around Peshawar, more specifically in \textit{Chachh Hazara} and \textit{Samah}. Those Baraichs who stayed behind in Kandahar progressively merged more numerous and dominant tribes in the area. During the eighteenth century, of all 11 Baraich subdivisions who had once existed in Shorawak, only three had retained their former identity.\textsuperscript{90}

One of the many Baraichs who had moved to the Peshawar area and settled amongst the Yusufzais was Shihsb-ud-Din. Although as a Baraich he could not boast Yusufzai descent he gained acceptance within their society as a great saint and \textit{pir}. As an itinerant mendicant he was reported to have wandered through the wilds and mountains around Aitock and Langarkot spending his time in prayer and meditation. In due course he became known as Shaikh Kola Bate (i.e., God's dog) and his descendants adopted the name of Kotakhail. As so many of the Afghan saints, he was buried on the main road from Peshawar to Kabul. His third son Shaikh Muti continued his father's profession and settled, down as a \textit{pirzada} (\textit{sajjada-nishin}) in the village of Turn Shahamatpur.\textsuperscript{91}

With family connections with Shorawak and Piston (famous for its excellent cavalry horses), the Baraichs were particularly well placed to deal in horses. Peshawar they could extend their trading network to Badakhshan and India by their relatives to far-off horse fairs. One example of such practice is presented by of Shaikh Muti, Shah Alam Khan. At the beginning of the eighteenth century he used his contacts with his adopted son (\textit{farzand-i lutfi}) Daud Khan who had left his

\textsuperscript{89} For the Himalayan slave trade, see the works of Muller-Stellrecht: \textit{Hunza und China} and "Menschenhandel"; also Grevemeyer, \textit{Herrschaft}.
\textsuperscript{90} "Hafiz Rahmat, \textit{Khan khulasat}, ff.59b-61a
\textsuperscript{91} Muhammad Mustajab, \textit{Gulistan}, pp.5-8; Hafiz Rahmat, \textit{Khulasat}, ff.19b-29a; Abroad CAli, \textit{Nazahat uz-zamair}, CUL, Oo.6.85, ff.4a-9a
adoptive father's village in Roh and settled near the north-Indian town of Haridwar, which, as we have mentioned already, was well known for its annual horse-fairs. have also seen in chapter three how Da'ud Khan managed to embezzle the money from his adopted father which was remitted to him by bill of exchange, and now, equipped with the horses purchased at Haridwar, started a career as a highway-robber.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{92} See p.110
Chapter III

The emergence of regional powers and smaller kingdoms;

(i) Emergence of Awadh, Bengal, Mysore, Jat, Sikh and other powers

(ii) Formation of Rohilla state
CHAPTER-III

THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL POWERS AND SMALLER KINGDOMS DURING 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY;

(i) Awadh, Bengal, Mysore, Jat, Sikh, Afghan and other powers

(ii) Formation of Rohilla state

PART-I

Awadh, Bengal, Mysore, Marathas, Jat, Sikh and other powers;

GROWTH OF REGIONAL POWERS

The collapse of central authority led to the declaration of independence by the Subahdars of several provinces. But all these states were primarily regional political entities interested in promoting their own growth. They had no political or national outlook. Some of these states like Bengal, Hyderabad and Awadh—became for all practical purposes independent owning a nominal allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. The Sikhs and the Jats made successful bids for political power. The Marathas profited more than any other people of India with the fall of the Mughal Empire. They established a mighty empire extending from the Punjab to Mysore.

Hyderabad

Hyderabad or the Deccan, became independent of Mughal rule under Chin Qilich Khan, better known in history as Nizam-ul-Mulk. Chin Qilich Khan was Governor of Bijapur at the time of Aurangzeb’s death. Bahadur Shah removed him from the Deccan and made him Governor of Oudh in December 1707. In 1713 Farrukhsiyar appointed him Governor of the Six Subahs of the Deccan with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. But intrigues at the Delhi Court led to his recall from the Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk was transferred to Muradabad. Later on he became Governor of Malwa in 1719. In 1720 he showed his military power against the Saiyyids by defeating the two generals, Dilawar Ali Khan and Alam Ali Khan.

After the fall of the Saiyyids, Nizam-ul-Mulk made himself master of the Six Subahs of the Deccan. In February he was appointed Wazir by Emperor Muhammad Shah. But Nizam-ul-Mulk could not adjust himself with the intriguing politics of Delhi and left for the Deccan in disgust (Dec, 1723). Under secret instruction from the Emperor, Mubarick Khan, Deputy Governor of the Deccan resisted him. Securing the support of the Marathas, Nizam-ul-Mulk defeated and killed Mubarik Khan at Shakarkheda in Berar in October 1724. “From this period may be dated Nizam-ul-Mulk’s virtual independence and the foundation of the Hyderabad State.” In 1725 Emperor Muhammad Shah recognised him as the viceroy of the south. Soon afterwards, Nizam-ul-Mulk came into conflict with the Marathas. In 1728 he suffered a severe defeat at Palkhed near Bhopal in a battle with Peshwa Bajirao I. In 1737 he was summoned by Muhammad Shah to save the Mughal Empire from the Maratha menace. But he was unable to fulfil imperial expectations. He suffered defeat at Bhopal and made a humiliating peace with the Peshwa Bajirao I in January 1738. After securing the Subahdar of Malwa from the Marathas, the Nizam gave up the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal. The Nizam again came to the protection of the Mughal Emperor during Nadir’s Shah’s invasion. But he could do nothing against Nadir’s supreme military power. In 1741 he returned to the Deccan and suppressed the rebellion of his second son, Nasir Jang. In 1743 he established his supremacy over the principality of Arcot as also over Trichinopoly. He died on 21 May 1748 at the age of 77. He founded a dynasty which continued to rule over the Deccan for two centuries. After his death, the question of succession gave opportunities to the Marathas, the French and the English to play a vital role in the Deccan.

Bengal.

Bengal became a virtually independent Kingdom after Aurangzeb’s death in 1707 under Murshid Quli Khan. At the time of Aurangzeb’s death Murshid Quli Khan was Deputy Governor of Bengal and Governor of Orissa. He became Deputy Subahdar of Bengal in 1713 and full Subahdar in 1717. He transferred the capital of Bengal from Dacca to Murshidabad, which was named after him. Murshid Quli Khan established an efficient administration. His important

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94 Ishwari Prasad, India in the 18th Century, Allahabad, 1973, p. 86.
95 J. N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Calcutta, 1932, vol. I, p.70.
achievement was in the field of revenue administration. He introduced *Ijara* system by which contracts were given for collection of revenue. In the second or third generation, these contractors or *Ijaradars* came to be called *Zamindars*. He thus created a landed aristocracy in Bengal whose position was confirmed by Cornwallis. For collection of revenue he divided the whole of Bengal into 13 circles, which were subdivided into 13 tracts under the supervision of *Jagirdars* and 25 areas as crown-land farmed out to contractors. To improve economic prosperity he showed favours to traders of all categories—both Indian and European.

After Murshid Quli Khan's death in 1727, his son-in-law Shujaud-din Muhammad Khan (1727-39) who had been Deputy Governor of Orissa, succeeded him in the Government of Bengal and Orissa. Bihar was added to his dominion in 1733. In the early part of his regime, Shuja-ud-din was efficient, but later on the administration grew corrupt owing to his vices. For the administration of the Bengal *Subah*, Shuja-ud-din created four divisions, each being placed under a Deputy Governor. He dealt firmly with the European trading companies in Bengal like the English, the Dutch, the French, the Portuguese and the Danish. The English described him as a "rash and powerful subahdar." Shuja-ud-din died on 13th March, 1739 and was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan 96 (1739-40). Lacking the essential qualities of a ruler, Sarfaraz was defeated and killed in the battle of Giria 97 (10 April 1740) by one of his officers, Alivardi Khan, Deputy Governor of Bihar. Alivardi (1740-56) ascended the *masnad* and secured imperial confirmation by remitting huge sums of money to Delhi. Alivardi had some good qualities which enabled him to govern the province ably. He never forcibly realized money from the people. His attitude towards the European trading companies in Bengal was strict and impartial. But he had been denied peace during his long reign. The Maratha invaders from Nagpur and the rebellions of his Afghan General in Bihar disturbed him very much. In 1748 Alivardi suppressed the Afghan rebellion in Bihar. In 1751 he secured peace with the Marathas by agreeing to cede Orissa and to pay Rs. 12 lakhs as *Chauth*. The river *Subarnarekha* was fixed as the boundary of the Bengal *Subah*. The Maratha rule in Orissa survived till 1802 when the East

96 Ibid., p.71.
97 Ibid.
India Company conquered the province from the Bhonsle Raja. Alivardi died on 10 April 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daula, a youth of twenty.

**Awadh (Oudh)***

As the Mughal Empire tottered and the British Empire laid own its foundation, the province of Awadh proved crucial in the political formulation of the day. Although bonds of loyalty to the Mughal Emperor weakened dramatically and the provinces of his empire seemed to break away during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, not until the upheaval of 1857-8 did the Mughal edifice finally collapse. The English East India Company sought to hasten this Mughal decline prior to its own erection of a colonial political structure. Awadh, as a keystone of the vital north Indian plain, proved centre to Mughal plans for repair as well as to British plans for demolition and then reconstruction. The Mughal *Subah* of Awadh included not only Awadh but also extended to Banaras in the east. The founder of the Kingdom of Awadh was Sadat Khan. Sa’adat Ali Khan still maintained a level of pomp and state he considered appropriate to his position as Nawab Wazir of the Empire and the ruler of Awadh. For the nobles and officials of Lucknow, attendance at the court of the Nawab-Wazir remained the highest honor. Under Sa’dat Ali Khan, Lucknow was further expanded and beautified. Roads were widened and markets established in several parts of the city. City palace Complexes and country houses were constructed and elaborated by the ruler and by the officials and courtiers who enjoyed his favour. He rose to prominence in the imperial politics and was appointed first as Governor of Agra (1720-22) and then of Awadh. He was a successful soldier and a wise ruler. He suppressed the refractory *zamindars* and carried out a revenue settlement in 1723 which protected the interests of the *ryots*. He extended Awadh’s jurisdiction over Banaras, Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Chunar. In the battle of Karnal (1739), he was taken prisoner by Nadir Shah. He committed suicide to save himself from dishonour.

On a larger scale, Ather Ali perceives a universal decay in Islamic

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99 Ibid., p.107.
civilization in the face of European social, economic and technological advances, noting the decline in the Four Muslim Empires of Asia (the Ottoman of Turkey, the Safavids of Iran, The Uzbegs of Central Asia, as well as the Mughals) during this period.\textsuperscript{101} Sadat Khan's nephew and son-in-law Safdar Jang (1739-54) became the next Governor of Awadh. He became the \textit{Wazir} of the Emperor Ahmed Shah. His position was one of unusual difficulty. Apart from his contests with the Afghans, he had to carry on war against the Rohillas. In April 1752, Safdar Jang entered into an agreement with the Marathas against Ahmed Shah Abdali. In return the Marathas were to be paid Rs 50 lakhs, granted the \textit{Chauth} of the Punjab, Sind and the Doab in addition to the \textit{Subahdari} of Ajmer and Agra. The agreement, however, failed, as the Peshwa went over to Safdar Jang's enemies at Delhi. He organized an equitable system of justice and adopted a policy of impartiality in the employment of Hindus and Muslims.

After Safdar Jang's death in 1754, his son Shuja-ud-Daula (1754-75) became \textit{Subahdar} of Awadh. Shuja-ud-Daula played an important role in the changing political drama at Delhi. In 1762 he became the \textit{Wazir} of Emperor Shah Alam II. He entered into alliance with the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Qasim as well as with the Emperor Shah Alam II against the Company. He suffered a crushing defeat in the battle of Buxar (October 1764). By the Treaty of Allahabad (August 1765) all the territories with the exception of Kora and Allahabad were restored to him. This treaty made the Nawab of Awadh a dependent and subordinate ally of the company.

\textbf{Mysore}

Mysore was ruled in the name of a nominal Hindu King by two brothers, Devraj and Nanjaraj. Nizam-ul-Mulk regarded Mysore as Mughal territory and his successors also considered that Mysore was a part of their Kingdom. The Marathas also repeatedly invaded Mysore. In the Anglo-French conflict Mysore involved itself but failed to make any political or territorial gain. It was Haidar Ali, a military adventurer of humble origin, who made Mysore powerful.\textsuperscript{102} He entered the service of Nanjaraj and was appointed \textit{faujdar} of Dindigul\textsuperscript{103} in 1755. Taking advantage of

\textsuperscript{102} Mir Husain Ali Khan, History of Hyder Naik, p.476.
\textsuperscript{103} Ishwari Prasad, India in the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century, Allahabad, 1973, p.121.
the prevailing anarchy in the south, Haidar overthrew his former patron in 1758 and seized the political power. The Marathas were too busy in the north. By 1761 Haidar was unchallenged ruler of the State although he did not abolish the puppet Hindu monarchy.

In the years following the battle of Panipat Haidar conquered important places such as Sira, Bidnur\(^\text{104}\) and Sunda. But Peshwa Madhavao I adopted an aggressive policy; Haidar Ali was defeated at Ratehalli in May 1764. A treaty was concluded by which Haidar paid 28 lakhs as tribute and restored territories between the Krishna and Tungabhadra. Again in November 1766 the Peshwa marched against Haidar. Nizam Ali joined the Peshwa in this conflict. But Nizam Ali soon after concluded an alliance with the British. The Peshwa marched alone and compelled Haidar to submit. Haidar agreed to pay a tribute of Rs 33 lakhs to the Peshwa and got back most of his territory including Sira, Chik Balapur and Kolar, but the Marathas retained Hoskote and some other places. Nizam Ali thought it proper to come to terms with Haidar.

In the beginning, Haidar looked upon the British power as hostile to him. He along with his cavalry made a sudden dash on Madras in March 1769. The English made peace in the next month providing for mutual restoration of conquest and a defensive alliance. As a realist, Haidar felt that the defensive alliance of 1769 must be the basis of his foreign policy. The Nizam was his traditional enemy and the Marathas a dangerous neighbour. But he was sadly disappointed. The English gave him no aid during the Maratha invasion of 1769-72. As he once said ‘I have wasted several years of my life by the supposition that England was a great nation.’ During the First Anglo-Maratha War, Haidar joined the Peshwa, the Nizam and Bhonsle in a common struggle against the English. Haidar died in December 1782.\(^\text{105}\) But his son, Tipu Sultan, continued the war. The Madras Governor, Lord Macartney, who was anxious for peace, concluded the Treaty of Mangalore (March 1784) on the basis of mutual restoration of conquests and release of prisoners. Warren Hastings regarded the treaty as ‘humiliating pacification.’ Mysore under Tipu continued to grow as a formidable power. He sent envoys to France and Turkey (1787) and received some vague encouragement. The new Governor General, Lord Cornwallis.

\(^{104}\) Ibid., p. 121.

\(^{105}\) Ibid., p. 131.
from the moment of his arrival, considered that a war with Tipu was inevitable. Tipu's attack on the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the Company, freed the Governor-General from the strict policy of neutrality laid down by Pitt's India Act of 1784. Lord Cornwallis found no difficulty in securing the alliance of the Peshwa and the Nizam. In this war (Third Anglo-Mysore War, 1790-92), the Mysore ruler was defeated. The Treaty of Seringapatam (March 1792) deprived Tipu half of his territories. After the treaty, Tipu paid a visit to the Maratha general Haripant and warned him in prophetic words: "You must realise that your real enemy is the English. I am not at all your enemy." Instead of being crippled by the British, Tipu showed unexpected signs of recovery. He strengthened the fortifications of Seringapatam, reorganised the army and tried to establish contact with France. Wellessley thereupon called Tipu to sever his connections with the French and enter into a subsidiary alliance with the British. Tipu was not prepared to accept these stern conditions. The war was brief but decisive. Seringapatam was taken by assault on May 4, 1799. Tipu himself was killed in action and his son surrendered. A chief of the old Hindu dynasty was made King of Mysore with Purnia, Tipu's Brahmin minister, as the de facto ruler. The new Mysore state entered into a subsidiary treaty (July 1799) with the British which reduced it to the position of a dependency of the Company.

Thus the English had to fight four wars with Mysore in order to reduce it to complete subjection. This task was made easy by the resources of the Company, and by the narrow policy of the Marathas and the Nizam who became the allies of the Company. Moreover, Tipu was also responsible for driving the Indian powers to the arms of the Company. His military policy was also defective. He depended too much on defensive strategy and neglected cavalry which had rendered signal service in the campaign of his father.

Kerala

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Kerala was divided into a number of feudal chiefs and Rajas. Among the important states were those of Calicut under the Zamorin, Cochin, Chirakkal and Travancore. Under King Martanda Varma, Tranvancore leapt into prominence. Combining rare foresight and indomitable courage, the king subdued the feudatories, conquered Quilon and
Elayadam and defeated the Dutch. He organized and disciplined his army on the western model and extended the boundaries of Travancore from Kanyakumari to Cochin. He undertook many irrigation works and encouraged trade and commerce.

The 18th century witnessed a remarkable revival of language and literature. Apart from Malayalam literature, Sanskrit was liberally patronised and Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, became a famous centre of culture. Rama Varma, successor of Martanda Varma, was himself a great scholar and being conversant with English language, took keen interest in European affairs.

AREAS AROUND DELHI

The Rajput States

Taking advantage of the weakness of the Mughal Empire, the principal Rajput states virtually freed themselves from central control. The late Mughal Emperors like Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah had to appoint the rulers of Amber and Marwar as governors of Agra, Gujarat, and Malwa. The Rajput States were often divided among themselves and engaged in petty quarrels and civil wars. Thus Ajit Singh of Marwar was killed by his own son. The most outstanding Rajput ruler of the eighteenth century was Raja Jai Singh of Amber (1699-1743). He was a great reformer and made Jaipur a veritable museum of intellectual activities. He founded the city of Jaipur on strict architectural principle. Himself a great astronomer, he erected observatories with sophisticated instruments at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Varanasi, and Mathura. He drew up a set of tables to enable people to make astronomical observations. He prompted the translation of Euclid’s ‘Elements of Geometry’ into Sanskrit as also several works on trigonometry and Napier’s work on logarithmic. However, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Rajput States were subjugated by the Marathas. The British looked with regret, the weakness of the Rajput Chiefs.

Marathas:

The rise of the Marathas was both a regional and a class cum caste phenomenon. There is little doubt that the region inhabited by the Marathas was economically under-developed as compare of adjacent Malwa and Gujarath in the
North, and Andhra and Karnataka region in the south. Their attitude in this regard was not far different from the Jat peasants of the north who were hardly cultivators and notorious raiders and plunderers. The dominant castes in different regions not only had the ownership (milkiyat) rights over the bulk of the cultivable land available in the area but they were prepared to defend by force their position against outside interlopers and encroachment of rival caste groups. Thus, the spread of the Marathas movement in the 18th century gave a powerful fillip to the process of “refeudalization”. Simultaneously, the weakening of imperial authority and the crises of jagirdari system tended to weaken the transferability of jagirs. The Mughal system of checks and balance, with the faujdar holding administrative power and the jagirdar merely collecting the land revenue officially determined and decided upon, gradually collapsed.

The Jats, the Afghans and the Sikhs:

Descendants of the older Pathan ruling caste of the 15th and 16th centuries were now settled as peaceful landholders or captain of mercenaries in Orissa, Sylhet, Darbhanga and Allahabad. But fresh bodies of immigrants from their mountain homeland streamed into India in the 17th century and created a large and compact new centre of Afghan population much closer to Delhi than these places. Unlike the Marathas, the state of the Jats, the Afghans, and later the Sikhs were regional in character, and did not have an impact on the country as a whole. However, they operated in the north and north western parts of the country, areas which on account of their natural and human resources and their strategic location, have sometimes played a crucial role in the political fortune of the country. The social background to the rise of jat movements in the Agra-Mathura region was not very dissimilar to that of Marathas. Like the Marathas, the jats formed the dominant cultivating caste of the area. From the beginning, Rajputs zamindars, and the Mughal administrative apparatus were the twin objectives of attacks. The failure of the Rajputs to effectively subjugate the jats, and the growing feebleness of the Mughal central government enabled the jats under Churaman and Badan Singh to carve out a

108 J. N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, vol. I, p.43.
separate state. Under Badan Singh and his successors, the Rajputs and Gujar zamindars of the area were largely ousted and replaced by jats. First and foremost in the jat dominated area, the zamindar seems to have exercised both revenue and administrative powers. However, the jat clans and the village bodies could not be lightly disregarded. The army remained predominantly jat, but the induction of Afghan and Sikh mercenaries under Surajmal showed that a purely clan or caste dominated state was not viable in the condition of 18th century India.

The sikh state

It arose under Banda Bahadur in 1710 based on the support of the jat pesantry which formed the dominant caste, and owned the land it cultivated. However, it had some interesting differences with the Jat kingdom of Bharatpur. From the beginning, the leadership of the sikh movement was provided by the Khatris who were traders and administrators. The khatris owned their position to the fact that the Punjab lay athwart important trade routes to Central Asia. Simultaneous to the rise of the Jats, the Afghans carved out two principalities: the first dominated by Bangesh Afghans in the neighbourhood of Farrukhabad included the modern distric of Etah, Manipuri bordering Bundelkhand and parts of Badaun and Shahjahanpur (south and north U.P). The other included modern Rohilkhand from the Ganges on the west to the Garra river on the east, with the Ramganga running almost midway between the two. We have little idea about the causes of the large scale Afghan immigration into India during the 18th century. It is possible that it was connected with the virtual drying up of the traffic on the Asian routes during the 18th century as also the growing anarchy following the disintegration of the Safawid Empire. Regarding administration, we are told that the "Rohilla chieftains kept the revenue collection in the hand of Hindu Ministers (diwans) and their household account and correspondence in charge of Hindu secretaries (munshi)." This was by no means a new policy but continuation of the Mughal policy. The economic and political role of the Afghan to some extent contradictory. There is no evidence that the Afghan extended, or tried to improve cultivation in the area under their control. However, it appears that the Afghans put down the lawless elements. Both Moradabad and Sambhal sarkars had traditionally been classified as zor talab, i.e.

Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, i, p.32
areas difficult to control and collect land revenue. The Afghans protected the peasants and traders in their lands from unauthorized oppression and were eager to drive away robbers from their own preserve.\textsuperscript{110} The Afghan adopted the use of the flint-guns from the Iranians, and by a skillful use of them, he Afghan foot soldiers virtually signaled the end of the domination of the cavalry which had started during the 8\textsuperscript{th}-9\textsuperscript{th} centuries with the coming of the iron stirrup. This was a major reason why the Maratha cavalrymen failed against the Afghans in the battle of Shukartal before the third battle of Panipat. However, the rule of Afghans in spreading the use of the flintgun is not clear.\textsuperscript{111} One was the impressive agriculture following the Jat settlements in the areas which combined regular rainfall, rich soil and extensive fields of river basins. These Jat settlements were connected with the great route which carried the trade of the country east and south of Delhi with the Punjab and beyond with Persia and Central Asia. The region also had an opening through the Indus to Lahari Bandar. The second process was the emergence in the Punjab on and around the trade routes of a number of towns with the merchants who specialized both in inland and foreign trade. All this resulted in the prosperity of the province in the seventeenth century which the contemporary Punjab historians speak of so boastfully and which is reflected in the fantastic increase in revenue, in particular, from the bazaar levies and tolls. The growth in these regions led to a dislocation of existing agrarian relationships. In some cases, the dominant \textit{aamindm} and the peasant castes emerged from their original settlements and began to make encroachments into the \textit{zamindari} areas of the others, while in the others a ommrfar-peasant clan struggled to bring under their control the entire territory around their area of residence. Their resistance in such cases was not necessarily directed against the state, but certainly against the rule, the order and the class positions the state protected and promoted.

The problems in Awadh emanated from the movement and uprisings of the regional and wtf regional magnates to secure, at least, a greater share in political power and revenues. The governors in Awadh made use of their weaknesses and planned to take over the leadership of the resistance against the centre. In this they were helped a great deal by the continued growth in and around Awadh from the

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., p.32.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., Vols., ii, p.207-8. Sarkars refers here to the massed use of flint guns by the Rohilla infantry.
seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Not only did the revenues of the province almost double in our period, but the governor was also able to augment his strength by adding to his domain a large rich area of the neighbouring provinces of Allahabad and Agra. Indeed, the entire region of Awadh and the adjoining districts experienced remarkable growth in the eighteenth century. In the Benaras region, Benaras city was particularly noted for its wealth and money. In the early 1730's, Burhan-ul-Mulk collected twenty-five to thirty lakh rupees in sarkar Kora which had earlier seen one of the severest rural uprisings in the Gangetic plain under Bhagwant Udaru. No governor or faujdar could subjugate Bhagwant Udaru and realize state dues from the zamindars. In 1745 the Mughal emperor demanded one crore rupees from Ali Muhammad Khan, an ijaradar-cum-zamindar of a few parganas in the Moradabad-Bareilly region. Ali Muhammad Khan did not pay the amount on the strength of the wazir's support to him, but the sum demanded of him indicated his capacity and the riches he had accumulated from ijara and his military adventures in the region. The rise in jama(collection) in this region was almost incredible—over 247 per cent. In 1745 when Amir Khan, the erstwhile governor of Allahabad, died his assets were assessed at fifty to sixty lakh rupees. In the same year, Safdar Jang is reported to have spent forty lakh rupees on the marriage of his son, Shuja-ud-Daulah, while according to one report he paid more than three crore rupees to Nadir Shah from the Awadh treasury to obtain the subadari in 1739-40 and to prevent him from attacking Lucknow. In a measure, the problems in Awadh represented administrative breakdown and a dislocation of the political and social balance at the local level. The chiefs of the Punjab also looked for an opportunity, which they seized in the wake of foreign invasions, to totally throw off their obeisance to Mughal authority. The new subadar in the Punjab was, thus, unable to make any arrangements with the zamindars, nor there is any evidence to suggest that he could effect any changes in the administrative set-up of the province. Zakariya Khan did try to build a base for the new subadari by associating the Khatris, a dominant trading community of the Punjab, with the provincial government. The Khatris and the Turanis, the faction to which the governor of the Punjab belonged, seem to have been in association with each other even at the centre. But the Khatris themselves suffered heavily in the wake of the decline of trade and urban centres in the Punjab by the middle of the eighteenth century. Trade had contributed a great deal to the prosperity of the Punjab in the seventeenth century. The trading centres
and towns concentrated on and around the great land route which linked the Mughal empire through Kabul and Qandahar with Persia and Central Asia. These towns were, in turn, connected with the rich agricultural settlements in the Indo-Gangetic plains and the sub-Himalayan zones of the province. The trade of the Punjab also had an opening through the Indus to Lahari Bandar. The trade with the countries beyond the north-western frontiers was brisk and made up for the loss of what may have accrued to the economy of the region due to the silting of the Indus in the seventeenth century. Punjab appears to be in a flourishing state even in the early 18th century. Banda's concentration on the townsfolk showed the wealth in the cities for which our sources contain incontrovertible evidence. The Sikhs under Banda could plunder Rs 60,000 from Garhi Pathanan. In 1714, the deputy faujdar of Jammu misappropriated Rs 33,000 of the collection of the mahals of the walisahis in the chakla. In 1716, the rabi collection of pargana Sialkot amounted to Rs 6,00,000 out of which Rs 2,50,000 were reportedly misappropriated by the faujdar. The Shalharias of the pargana readily offered to pay Rs 5,000 for the release of two of their zamindars who had been imprisoned by the local amil for non-payment of revenue. Mirza Muhammad's evidence for the end of Farrukh Siyar's reign clearly shows that the office of the amini faujdari in Jalandhar was keenly sought and was still profitable, but, of course, only for those who could muster sufficient strength to collect the revenue. However, political developments beyond the north-west frontiers, as well as the Maradia inroads into western and upper India, disturbed this trade. The revenues of the province fell sharply in Muhammad Shah's reign, the decline being the heaviest in the income from the bazaar levies and tolls. The dislocation of the economy led to great sufferings to the urban communities including the Khatri and thus shattered one source of social support for the new subadari in the Punjab. The governor did not possess enough resources to make arrangements with any other groups of local magnates. The Sikh movement continued to challenge the Mughal power, now, greatly reinforced by the dispossessed zamindars, impoverished peasants and the pauperized lower urban classes. There were variations in the regions of our study in the nature and growth of the conditions in which set in the process of the formation of the new subadari in the early-eighteenth century. Conditions emerged in Awadh favouring the foundation and consolidation of a regional state under the aegis of a Mughal noble. On the other hand, the dislocation of the economy of the Punjab led to a change in the character
of popular uprisings against the Mughals in the province, with the liquidation of all prospects, whatsoever, of accommodation between the provincial government and the Sikhs. One can speculate that the narrow religious and caste bond of the Sikh movement, absence of a positive political programme and hostility to urban communities must have also had their own share in the political chaos in the Punjab in the mid-eighteenth-century. It is therefore difficult to find a single explanation commonly applicable to the problems of the Mughal empire in all its regions and provinces. It is also difficult to accept the view that by the end of the seventeenth century the Mughal empire was faced with an insurmountable crisis owing to the very nature the Mughal mechanism of administration. We may perhaps look more profitably to the conditions in the early eighteenth century in which the empire disintegrated into the region; principalities in north India. In some regions the land yielded riches if it was collected either by show of strength, tactful dealings with the intermediaries. The growing tendency among the nobles and officials to hold jagirs on a permanent basis, the struggle to convert the ma’ash holding into milkyat, the emergence of the to alluqa ta’ahhud and ijara contract as the most acceptable forms of government, and the consensus among the regional powers maintain the Mughal imperial symbols to obtain legitimacy and thus stability and security of their spoils—all indicated he eighteenth-century Endeavour to make use of the possibilities for growth within existing social structures.

PART II

Formation of Rohilla state

ROHILLA HOMELAND

It is to trace Rohilla's tribal antecedents and outline the historical context in which they migrated eastward, first in Roh, from about 1400 to 1550, later towards northern India, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The great majority of Rohilla immigrants who during the seventeenth and eighteenth century settled in the area called Kateher, which later came to be known Rohailkhand or "land of the

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112 With the defeat of Lodhi's the Afghan power in India had been crushed by the Mughals. The Afghans only could emerged as power during Sur dynasty under Sher Shah. Later during 18th century Afghans again managed to carved out an independent state known as Rohillas state, See for details, J. N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 41-45.
Rohillas", originated from the Peshawar area and belonged to the Yusufzai tribe, mostly of the Mandanr sub-section. The Yusufzais were numerically the dominant tribe amongst a mixture of other Afghan tribes, which were called Khashi khail after the name of their common eponymous ancestor. During the fifteenth century this composite of tribal groups moved from their extensive pastures around Kandahar in the south-west, to the more sedentary society along the Kabul river valley, first to the vicinity of Kabul city and later to the Peshawar area, where they arrived somewhere during the early sixteenth century. As the new Islamic sultanates on the subcontinent opened new prospects of employment and trading opportunities, more and more Afghans, most nobility in a capacity of merchants or mercenaries, left their homeland in Roh and tried their luck in the promised land of India.114 The Yusufzais were late arrivals on the Indian scene. The outside world used the name Yusufzai only collectively, referring to both the Yusufzai elite and their non-Yusufzai clients.115 In general we can say that the more they were in contact with the outside world, for example as a result of increased trade or migration, the more the internal ethnic boundaries also tended to become blurred and the more they became known as Rohillas.

The Yusufzai territories of Swat and Bajaur exchanged their food products for all kinds of woollen products, from the northern hills like shawls and blankets. From Yarkand they imported mainly Chinese tea, silk, horses and silver ingots.116 Especially because of its strategic and commercial importance the Mughal authorities always tried to gain a firm foothold in the Swat and Bajaur area. The mountainous conditions made this however extremely difficult. The limits of the empire in this area were extremely narrow, and only a few yards left or right of the main road the hukumat of the Mughals came to an end and shifted into the yaghistan, the "land of sedition". The local population, however, had a keen interest in keeping the routes open to commercial traffic as these provided them with important sources of income. This was a principle in which Mughals and Afghans could find common ground.

114 For an interesting recent study of early Afghans migrations, see J. Arlinghaus, "Transformation", pp.126-68
116 MGller Stellrecht, "Menschenhandel", pp.395,409,417, 466,467; Raverty, Notes, pp. 151-2; Raverty, "Account of Kash-kar", pp. 139-40
The Raushaniyya was in essence an emancipatory movement wrapped up in Pashto garb. It gained much support amongst the poorer classes but it failed to bridge the gap with the local Afghan leadership. Elphinstoae, for instance, writes in 1808: "whosoever is without land must quit the country". ¹¹⁷ Obviously there were many individuals opted to leave their homeland and searched for better opportunities in India. However, the available material does not suggest that the Peshawar area was going through an economic depression. On the contrary, during the late seventeenth century extended trade relations seem to have widened the opportunities for Afghan merchants and mercenaries for supplying a booming military horse and labour market in India. In particular enterprising and adventurous people were motivated to leave their dull Afghan homeland for the bustling world of India. Here their talents, especially their handling of horses and weaponry, were richly rewarded and their increased wealth could be more easily enjoyed without much restriction and without alarming their jealous neighbours. As a result, Afghan trade profits could find a safe outlet in their new colonies in India. Once migrated, only very few were prepared to return permanently. This persisting depletion of latent and wealth also partly explains the continued lack of state building activities in Swat and adjacent valleys during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Actually, as we will see in the following pages, Yusufzai¹¹⁸ state-formation came into its own in Katehr in northern India.

Katehr (Rohailkhand)

Katehr was the area east of the Ramganga which was dominated by rivaling Rajput (Katehriya), Jat and Banjara zamindars. Most probably, the area derived its name from the land of soil that dominated this area. Katehr is a soft well-aerated loam which is extremely suitable for cultivation. Less ideal in this respect were the strips of swampy soil (khadar) and loose sand (bhur) which stretched parallel to the numerous rivers in Katehr.

This was also true of the long strip of marshy and moist jungles along the foothills of the Himalayas, generally referred to as "Terai". These lands could,

¹¹⁷ Elphinstone,Account, 2, p.34
¹¹⁸ A smaller place, Umarpur, about 10 miles North-West of Shahjahanpur, was founded by a Yusufzai Pathan. See for settlement, J. N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Calcutta, 1932. P.45.
however, be used as grazing land for cattle: horses along the rivers, bullocks along the hillskirts. In Kheri and Pilibhit, Banjara herders kept their bullocks for almost eight months of the dry season, returning to the plains after the monsoon when grass had become abundant again. These seasonal north-south movements facilitated the rice and grain trade conducted through the Banjara herdsmen with the northern hillstates of Garhwal and Kumaun. Here it linked up well with the Himalayan trade of the Bhotiya nomads as they descended with their sheep and goats from the higher hills of western Tibet. The zamindars in the area set up weekly village fairs (penthi) where goods from the plains could be exchanged with those of the hills. As a consequence of this natural rhythm the Katehr foothills (Daman Koh) were closely linked to the northern Himalayas and only loosely integrated into the Mughal provincial structure which was centred at Moradabad (sarlsar Sambhal) and Bareilly (sarkar Budaun). Besides, the impregnable jungles of the Terai made control from the plains hardly feasible as turbulent zamindars could always find a safe refuge out there, protected by forests and swamps, while being provisioned by their, mostly allied, northern hill rajas. No wonder, the Katehr zamindars had always been reputed for their turbulence and rebelliousness. In this respect the Rohillas were only following in their footsteps. West of Katehr were located the still extensive grazing areas and wastes of Haryana and the northern Punjab. Despite widespread agricultural expansion in this area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was still a large pastoral-nomadic population of Gujars and Banjaras. Together with the Terai at its north and the grazing daras along the Indus river at its west, this whole territory should be regarded a semi-pastoral transit area which connected the more sedentary Afghan population of the Peshawar valleys with that of Katehr. It also made Mughal power in these areas extremely precarious and the best it could hope for was to exercise effective control along the major roads and its large metropolitan centres like Lahore and Sirhind. The sources of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century suggest that the symbiosis between pastoralism and sedentary cultivation was still intact although the relationship grew more and more complicated. New wealth from raiding and trading still looked for safe outlets in

120 E.g. the anonymous account (Tankh-i Ra'is-iMoradabad), BM.Or. 1639, ff.53a-b and S.N. Moens, Report on the Settlement of the Bareilly District, NWP(Allahabad1874),p.29. See also wink,Al-Hind, vol.2(forthcoming).
production. Widespread agrarian uprisings in the eighteenth century, however, necessarily a sign of overall crisis but could also be a consequence of real economic and political resources. For example, the imperial highways increasingly their monopoly of long-distance trade. Alternative routes emerged along the fringes of the old empire to and fro the new centres in the Punjab, Katehr and the Himalayas. Indeed, the economic expansion of the former periphery was expressed in increased local resistance against imperial control. In the Punjab, Sikh rebels made common cause with the hill rajas. The zamindars in Katehr, Kumaun and Garhwal, already notorious for their turbulent leanings, also began to 'translate their increased wealth in ever more assertive behaviour. It is against this background of commercial expansion in the former peripheries, causing new political imbalances, that we should situate the large migration of Afghans in to Katehr. One of these mobile Afghan was Daud khan, a small horse-trader from Roh who became a founding father of the Rohilla riyasat in Rohilkhand.

The son of Shah 'Alam Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan was also involved in the horse trade. The latter did not move definitely to Katehr before the late 1730's after he had travelled some time through Buner and Hashtnagar, visiting several madrasas and khanqahs for his religious and scholarly education. Some time after his father's death he decided to settle in Hindustan. The Indian possessions he inherited from his father were remitted to him in Shahamatpur. With the proceeds of these he purchased horses in Badakhshan and disposed of them in Delhi en route to his new home in Aonla. His example suggests another way in how the horse trade and migration could interrelate with each other. Whenever a particular individual or family decided to leave their home in Roh Hindustan the safest and most efficient way of taking their wealth with them invest it in horses which could find an easy and profitable sale in India. It was cheaper than bills of exchange and both cheaper and more convenient than cash or precious stones. Thus, as long as the flourishing conditions of the horse trade prevailed, migration from Roh to Hindustan remained a relatively easy enterprise.

At the beginning of the 18th century, Mughal rule in Katehr was restricted to the immediate vicinity of the larger cities of Bareilly, Moradabad and Budaun. The

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121 Conclusion derived from Alam, Crises of empire, and Bayly, Rulers.
122 Muhammad Mustajab, Gulistan, p. 13; Cf. Shiv Parshad, Relation, p.33.
imperial *faujdar* depended on the co-operation of the local *zemindars* - which could only maintain himself through constant negotiations and intrigues, intimately linked to the court politics at Delhi. The imperial nobility held large *jagirs* in the area, but for the revenue collection. They had become entirely dependent on the local elites of landholders and revenue farmers. Revenue farming (*ijara*) became widespread in Katehr because it facilitated the balancing of local power by employing the revenue farmer and his following in a certain *zamindari* without having to invest him with permanent powers and vested interests. Da'ud Khan was one of the Afghans who knew how to profit from this fluid situation. By frequently switching his allegiance to one or another local magnate he managed to increase his power significantly from a following of only tens at the beginning of his career, to hundreds a few years later. In his band he recruited both Afghans and various Hindustanis, people generally referred to as *mardoman-i hamrahi*, "fellow travellers", or *qaum* or *jamaiyat*, broadly meaning "people" or "bans", indicating the heterogeneous and open identity of this group, still different from the equally vague but more ethnic and tribal idiom of *ulus* (kinsfolk) or *khail* (clan). In return for his services as *jam-dar*, both to the Mughals and to the local Rajputs, he got hold of several villages, in a variety of capacities which made him responsible for the collection of the revenue. During his service to the Banjara *zamindar* Tarpat Singh of Pipli he was entrusted with villages which were earmarked for the collection of horses, elephants and cattle. Slave raids could also be part of his duties as he was to quell the revolts of disobedient and hostile villages. These activities occurred mainly along the skirts of the hills as there was a demand for young boys and girls who could serve as slaves (*ghulam, kanizak, ashyaling* at the local courts and households. Because manpower was scarce in the hills, the rajas frequently required slaves, not only for domestic services but also for working the expanding domain of cultivation.

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124 Even at a much later stage, at Panipat (1761), the majority of the Rohilla army consisted of various non-Afghan recruits (*IOL&R*, Elphinstone Miss.Eur.F.38, Box 13,H, "Sketch of the Dooranaee History" f.566). Gupta mentions one "Qutb Khan Rohilla" who "was not a Rohilla by caste, but as he was in service of the Rohillas he came to be known as a Rohilla himself" (Gupta, *Studies*, p.81).


At one of these raids Da'ud Khan (1720-25) decided to select two boys from among the captive slaves (bandagan) and to adopt them as his own sons. Both were converted to Islam and received a proper religious education. In addition they were introduced to adab and learned both reading and writing. One of them was styled Path Khan and because the steward (khansaman) of Da'ud Khan's household. The other, named 'Ali Muhammad, was thoroughly trained in the art of horsemanship (suwari) and was put at the head of a part of the veteran Afghan following of Da'ud Khan. He was generally regarded as an adopted son (pesan-i khwanda) of Da'ud Khan but some sources also refer to him as a military slave or ghulam. During the nineteenth century, circles around the still ruling nawabi descendants of 'Ali Muhammad started their claim that he had originally been a Saiyid, i.e., a descendant of the Prophet. Most of the contemporary sources, however, call him a Jat or an Ahir. Although his descent is thus strongly contested by both the contemporary and later sources, it appears that he was of local extraction and was made a slave (ghulam) but, thanks to his adoption by Da'ud Khan, was generally considered an Afghan Rohilla. Notwithstanding his lack of a proper pedigree, at the death of Da'ud Khan in 1724/5 the leaders of his following unanimously elected 'Ali Muhammad as their new leader (malik, sardar) as he was regarded as by far the most able (salah) man amongst them. Even Mahmud Khan, the only natural son of Da'ud Khan, was passed over without further consideration.

Ali Muhammad Khan (1725-1749)

Like his late master and adoptive father, 'Ali Muhammad Khan continued his activities as a local war jobber and as such he became increasingly involved in Mughal politics. By now his local star had risen to a level where it was clearly visible to the imperial nobles in Delhi who appealed to him for his cooperation in collecting the revenue from their jagirs in the area. The acting imperial official

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127 Ahmad 'Ali, Nazahat, ff.13b-14a.
128 According to an anonymous nineteenth-century manuscript his position as a ghulam hindered his claims to Rohilla leadership. (Akhbar-i Ra'is-i Rampur-Rohilkhand), f.86a).See also Ghulam 'Alikhann, 'Imad, p.41 and Sa'adat Yar Khan, Bunyad-i Afghanan, CUL, Trinity College, Brown Suppl. 1462, f.15a. In these sources Da'ud Khan is called a ghulam. For the claims of various other sources, see B. Prasad, "Ali Muhammad Khan Rohelah", Allahabad University Studies. 5 (1929), pp. 153-5.
129 See the Urdu work by Najm-ul-Ghani Khan, Akhbar-ul-sanadid (Lucknow, 1919).
130 J. N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Calcutta, 1932, vol. I, p. 57.
(faujdar) at the time in Moradabad was Azmatullah Khan who governed as deputy (na‘ib) of the imperial wazir Qamar ud-Din Khan. "Azmat had managed to lure 'Ali Muhammad into the imperial service, pitting him against some of the rivalling factions at the Delhi court where many held one or another landed interest in the area. The main rival of Qamar ud-Din in the Delhi of the late 1730's was the mir-bakhshi Amir Khan who had some Jagir holdings in Manona and Aonla. With the tacit consent of "Azmat and the imperial wazir, 'Ali Muhammad wrested these villages from Amir Khan's agents and made them the centre from which he started to organize his own Rohilla state. The Delhi court rewarded Ali Mohammad by giving him the title of Nawab and the right to play the band(naubat). In 1737, due to closeness with Qamar ud-Din, he was invited to join in an imperial expedition against the Barha Saiyids. In the ensuing battle near Jansath the Rohilla was reported to have performed bravely and thus he was abundantly rewarded with a rank (mansab) of 5000 and the privilege to play the naubat (kettledrum) in camp. He also received new assignments out of the imperial crown. After this first success in the service of the Mughal emperor, it was clear to everyone that he had become a power to be reckoned with, not only in the immediate vicinity of Katehr, but also on the imperial stage. From this time onward he started to style himself nawab, a title which was later acknowledged by the emperor, and began to set up a truly princely court at his new capital of Aonla.

At this stage, Ali Muhammad was able to absorb even more immigrants from Roh. In the wake of Nadir Shah's invasion (1739) massive new waves of Afghans, most of them Yusufzais and other Afghans from the Peshawar area, began to swell the Rohilla ranks to about 100,000. One of the immigrants was Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the one who, from a petty horse-dealer and mulla, was to become the foremost ideologist of Rohilladom and Durrani sovereignty in India. Among the Yusufzais he and his father had a high reputation as pirzadas but were also reputed for their thorough knowledge of the sharia. Being, at the same time, the natural

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131 Ibid., p.64
132 For a survey of the entanglement with the Mughal court, see Harsukh Rai, Majma-ul-Akhbar, BM.Or.1624, ff.696a-697b. Cf. Husain, "Socio-Economic Background".
133 Siyar, II, 92;G-i-R. 12 N. W. P. Gaz., iii, 605
134 For this privilege, see p. 52.
135 Nur ud-Din, Tawarikh, f.60a.
136 Ahmad 'Ali, Nazahat, f.8b
son of Shah 'Alam Khan, the late master and adoptive father of Da'ud Khan, his arrival in Katehr was warmly welcomed by 'Ali Muhammad who, obviously, was aware that Hafiz's presence at the Aonla court could further strengthen his status vis-a-vis the other Rohillas.\textsuperscript{137}

By 1740 Ali Muhammad had succeeded in gathering a territory which was made up of a mixture of legal rights ranging from zamindari, jagir, and ijara to inam. In practice, however, all these variable landholdings were more and more considered as his own homeland (watan), where he was the sole ruler and where he could appoint his own collectors and officials.\textsuperscript{138} He also began to round off his territory by ousting all the remaining imperial agents and the larger supra-local rajas along the northern foothills. At around this time, as a result of increased inside and outside Afghan penetration, the whole western area between the Himalayas and the Ganges, including Katehr and the Mughal districts of Sambhal and Budaun, became generally known as Rohilkhand.

For the Delhi court officials, Ali Muhammad turned from a petty bandit into a regional warlord, became more and more of a threat. He not only drain off off the imperial revenues from his territories around Aonla, but he also commanded the main road which led from Delhi, via Bareilly, to the eastern provinces of Awadh, Bihar and Bengal. In the 1730's, as a consequence of widespread Bundela and Jat unrest, the transport of the treasury of the latter provinces was diverted from the central trunk road passing through Benaras, Chunar and Jaunpur, to the northern territory of Awadh and from there through Bareilly to Delhi.\textsuperscript{139} There was a general concern about possible Rohilla encroachments along this road. The ruler of Awadh, Safdar Jang, for example, was very much depended on this connection with the capital and it is no surprise that he saw the Rohillas as "serpents in his path to Delhi".\textsuperscript{140} Thus, gradually, the conditions were created for a broad imperial coalition which intended to expel the Rohilla "brigand" from his newly acquired territories.

In 1741 Raja Hamand Arora was sent on a punitive expedition to Rohilkhand, but in the ensuing confrontation with the Rohillas he was killed in his

\textsuperscript{137} Muhammad Mustajab, \textit{Gulistan}, pp. 14-5.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{139} Alam, \textit{Crisis of Empire}, pp.261-2.
hauda by an arrow-shot and the imperial army was easily defeated. Meanwhile, at
the Delhi court, 'Ali Muhammad's patron, Qamar ud-Din and his "Turani" faction,
had tried to prevent the from intervening in Rohilkhand, also because he wanted to
frustrate the plans of his "Irani" rival at court, Safdar Jang. Through his mediation
the Rohillas could again to favourable terms with the Mughals. As the imperial
wazir, Qamar-ud-Din accepted 'Ali Muhammad's promise of an annual tribute and,
as a mark of his friendship, he arranged the marriage of his eldest son with the
Rohilla leader's daughter. What was more important, the wazir secured for him the
imperial recognition of all the newlly territories.

Although the Rohilla conquests were now fully legitimized by Mughal
sanction; it been clear from the outset that real authority in Rohailkhand could not
be properly established without bringing all the powerful landholders along the
Himalayan hill skirts., in particular the raja of the flourishing hill state of Kumaun,
to permanent subjection. With this in mind, the Rohillas started, in 1742, a large
campaign into the Terai and the northern hills. Although the Rohillas had to leave
their horses behind in the Terai, they succeeded in taking the Kumaun capital
Almora on foot and, as a result, both Kumaun and Garhwal were reduced to
tributary states. Reportedly, the plunder brought down from the Kumaun hills was
vast. Rohilla plundering was facilitated by their iconoclastic zeal to melt down all
the silver and golden idols they could grasp.141 Nonetheless, until the end of Rohilla
rule, relations with the Kumaun raja were very amicable and both powers needed
each other in maintaining the flourishing conditions of Himalayan trade and
pilgrimage.

In 1745 Safdar Jang, looking at these events with great envy, tried
successfully to instigate the emperor to set out in person on a punitive expedition
against the Rohillas. He accused 'Ali Muhammad of claiming an independent
sultanate of his own as he was reported to camp in red coloured tents, which was
regarded as a prerogative of the Mughal emperor. Ali Muhammad, hearing the news
that Muhammad Shah, the Mughal padshah, in person accompanied by a huge traia
of followers, including his allies Qamar ud-Din and Qa'im Khan Bangash, was
slowly heading for Rohilldiand, decided aot to flee into the Terai, but to entrench

141 Muhammad Mustajib, Gulistan, p. 19.
himself at Bangarh: a mud fortress in the heart of a thick forest not far from Aonla. At the time the imperial train arrived everything was prepared for a long siege but, at the same time, Qamar ud-Din again entered into secret consultations with the Rohillas in order to come to a convenient settlement of the conflict. Meanwhile, every morning a cannonade was fired and assaults were staged but without much effect.

Rohillas were also bombarded with fatwas of the imperial ulama which condemned the Rohillas for fighting their lawful sovereign. While these ritual attacks were going on, negotiations brought new divisions within the imperial camp. Feeling that he lost out to the secret "Turani-Afghan" coalition, safdar Jang brought in his own troops from Awadhand ordered them to begin with the siege in earnest. For the other parties involved, this meant that as soon as possible a peaceful settlement was to be concluded and it was resolved that in return for ʻAli Muhammad's public surrender, he was to be pardoned and his life to be saved. According to another version as told by an anonymous source, Ali Muhammad Khan, after a huge imperial cannonade which had forced him to come out of his fort, accused the emperor's forces of unchivalrous fighting and acting contrary to the law of Islam (khalf-i shar). In practice, however, it appears that the imperial artillery proved itself quite ineffective against the Rohilla mud fort since it was hard to hit the fort through the thick screen of bamboos surrounding it. More important in the long run, as with all long sieges, was the growing lack of supplies in the Rohilla camp. In the end, however, intrigue and negotiations played a major part in the final outcome of the conflict. Indeed, Mughal siege tactics where always characterized by such "a combination of coercion and incentives". In this respect the siege of Bangash was not a failure but should be considered as one of the last great successes of a Mughal army in the field. It was not so much the lack of coercion, but the increasing inability to offer lucrative incentives, which seems to have decided the declining fate of Mughal arms during the eighteenth century.

In the aftermath of the Bangash siege, ʻAli Muhammad had to leave

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142 For siege at Bangarh, see Khushhal Chand, Tarikh-i Muhammad Shahi, BM.Gr.1844, ff.164a-181b; also: Irvine, Army, pp.291-5; Sartor, Fall, 1, pp.29-31; Muhammad Mustajab, Gulistan, pp.20-1; Shiv Parshad, Relation, pp.62-5
143 Anonymous, (Ahwal), ff.87a-b.
144 D.E. Streusand, The Formation of the Mughal Empire (Delhi, 1989), p.65
Rohailkhand in due course, was appointed as *faujdar* in Sirhind while his two elder sons were detained as hostages in Delhi. In the absence of the Rohilla nawab, the newly established imperial officers in Rohilkhand, however, could not get hold of the area because the remaining Rohillas were already too much entrenched in the local management. Besides, in 1748, at the first news of the Durrani invasion, 'Ali Muhammad Khan left his post in Sirhind and returned to Rohilkhand, despite the fact that the Durrani emperor had offered him the post of *wazir* in the event he would decide to join him. Not surprisingly, the Rohilla chose to remain within the Mughal fold because at this time the fortunes of Durrani sovereignty were as yet very uncertain. In Rohilldiand, he was simple welcomed back by his fellow Rohillas and he recovered his former territories without any show of force. At the time of his death in 1749, he had definitely succeeded in warding off all Mughal imperial influence in Rohilkhand.

**Hafiz Rahmat Khan (1749-1774);**

At the death of 'Ali Muhammad Khan in 1749 there was the problem of his succession. He had six sons, four of them still minors. The two oldest sons had been taken captive, first in Delhi by the Mughals, and were then taken away by the Durranis to Kandahar. The most influential Rohilla sardars were the close relatives of Shah *'Alam Khan: Hafiz Rahmat Khan his son, Dundi Khan his cousin and also 'Ali Muhammad's fellow brothers in arms: Fath Khan Khansaman and Sardar Khan Bakhshi. According to the later sources which are favourably inclined towards Hafiz, 'Ali Muhammad had already, shortly before his death, appointed Hafiz as his successor. After some sardars had put forward the claims of the old nawab's third son, Sa'dallah Khan, 'Ali Muhammad was reported to have answered:

"that neither Abdoolla nor Fyzoolla [his eldest sons, 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan] were calculated for the situation, and that such a boy as Sadoolla was quite out of the question; adding, that the only person whom he knew capable of governing the Afghans was Hafiz Refamut Khan; and accordingly he laid his turban at the feet of Hafiz, and nominated him his successor. Hafiz took up the turban and placed it on the head of Saadoolla Khan[Sa'dullafa Khan], saying that he was his sardar, to whom he would at all times afford such aid as his youth might render necessary."145

145 Mohammad Mustajab, Gulistan, p.28.
Other sources, however, claim he had preferred Sa'idullah Khan until the return of his eldest sons from the Durrani court. But because his sons were still considered too young for the task he proposed a settlement which could meanwhile balance the other parties involved. Leaving aside the intricacies of later imagination, at the critical moment the leading sardars resolved that Sa'idullahi Khan would be the nominal nawab and that Hafiz and Dundi would serve as his regents. Meanwhile, Qa'im Khan, the Bangasfa nawab of the adjacent Afghan principality of Farrukhabad, being the senior member of the Afghan nobility at the Delhi court, had claimed the whole Rohilla territory. The claim was supported by an imperial order issued by the new wazir Safdar Jang. Qa'im Khan was, however, slain in a pitched battle with the Rohillas and as a follow up of his victory Hafiz Rahmat Khan annexed all the Farrukhabad territories north of the Ganges.

In 1752 the two elder sons of 'Ali Muhammad Khan returned from Kandahar with recommendations of the Durrani emperor and with his "orders" to faithfully enact the will of "Ali Muhammad. After a short while, however, Hafiz and Duadi managed to play off the sons against each other and most of them were deprived of all real Influence. Instead they were given only some small assignments in land or pensions in cash. The largest part of the territory was divided in estates (alaqa). To Dundi Khan went some 23% of the total Rohilkhand revenue mainly in the district of Moradabad, to Hafiz Rahmat Khan, some 37% mainly in Bareilly, and the remainder to some of the other sardars. All of them retired to their new territories, building their own courts, each with an array of palaces, stables, mosques, khanaqahs and madrasas. Besides, by erecting new ghasbas and ganjies all these local princes tried to encourage trade and to bring more lands under the plough. This decentralization in the aftermath of 'Ali Muhammad's death, made Rohilkhand in fact a kind of confederacy of small independent principalities based on a finely-woven network of flourishing urban centres.

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146 E.g. Shiv Prasad, Relation, pp.89-93.
147 E.g. the anonymous source Tarikh-i Ra'is, ff.59b-60a.
148 Shiv Parshad, Relation, p. 115.
Najib ud-Daulah (1753-1770);

One of the flourishing local Rohilla centres was Najibabad, located in the north-western part of Rohilkhand, founded by a break-away Rohilla parvenu, once jam-dar, Najib khan, later styled Najib ud-Daulah. He was the main Indian ally of Ahmad Shah Durrani. He was a member of the Umr Khail of the Yusufzai tribe. In the 1740's he had taken military service with one of his relatives who was an officer in 'Ali Muhammad's army but, in due course, he was enlisted by Dundi Khan. The latter assigned him some small estates (Jay-dad) (Duranghur, Chandpur) along the left bank of the upper Ganges and gave him his daughter in marriage.

In 1753 Najib made the decisive jump towards independence by deserting the Rohilla ranks under the command of Hafiz Rahmat Kjhan, in favour of the then acting wazir in Delhi, Imad ul-Mulk, who had asked for his assistance in one of his many straggles against the "Irani" faction of Safdar Jang. According to Najib's biographer Nur ud-Din, he had been greatly moved by the speech of an Islamic jurist (maulawi) who urged him to fight for the honour of his rightful emperor and, above all, for the Sunni faith against the heretic Shia Iranis of Safdar Jang. After Najib had assessed the mansab and Jagirs which would follow in the event he was prepared to support the wazir's cause, he made up his mind and, accompanied by 10,000 other eager Rohillas, joined the wazir. He was rewarded with an imperial mansab of 5000 and, in addition to his lands in Rohailkhand, he received Jalalabad and Saharanpur in jagir and became a principal noble of the Delhi court.

Thus, in a few years, Najib ud-Daulah had become master of the entire upper Mian Doab and held the key to the western gate of Delhi. His new capital Najibabad became an important commercial centre from which he could control the hill trade with Garhwal and Tibet, and the east-west trade routes along the hill fringes to Kashmir and Peshawar. He extended his territory deeply into the Terai and towards the Himalayan hillstates. The Durrani interventions further added to his prestige and power. After the battle of Panipat, he became the sole ruler of Delhi and integrated the Mughal capital with his territories large trading network to the north-west. This

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151 Later Najib was also linked to the Nawabi family as his sons married a daughter and a granddaughter of 'Ali Muhammad Khan.
152 Nur ud-Din, Tawarikh, ff.6b-9a.
meteoric but not unusual career Najib ud Daulah from a petty jam-dar into one of the great nobles of bofli Mughal and Durrani empires.

The official sources of both the Mughal and British authorities speak with much regret about the rude Afghan penetration into the Upper Ganges area. The Afghan riyasat is represented as, respectively, a zamindari revolt or just another variety of petty Islamic despotism. For both the Mughal and the British the new state posed a serious threat. For the Mughals the nascent Rohilla state was extremely dangerous, not only because, just a few miles from their capital, it siphoned off the revenues of agriculture and trade, but also because it became part of the alternative Durrani shahanshahi. The British were not very happy with the situation either and were afraid that Rohilhand would become a springboard for further Afghan or Maratha inroads into the newly created buffer slate of Awadh. Apart from these rather negative perspectives, we have some equally prejudiced positive statements from a somewhat unexpected corner. In the aftermath of the famous Hastings trial, in which the Rohilla War was one of the issues, the Rohillas found a range of Utilitarian admirers who sung praises of the achievements of Rohilla rule. Amongst them were James Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay, who wrote about the Rohillas: "While anarchy raged from Lahore to Cape Comorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of valour. Agriculture flourished among them; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Afghan princes ruled in the vail of Rohilkhand."\(^{153}\)

Obviously, we should be on our guard against such assertions, but the Utilitarian assessment is more or less corroborated by more neutral observers like Wendel, thaler, Francklin, Forster and Hardwicke, all of whom speak of the flourishing conditions of the Rohilla cities and their improvement of the surrounding countryside.

The eighteenth-century rise of Indo-Afghan successor states engendered a renewed interest in the history and identity of the Afghans. Hand in hand with the process of Indo-Afghan state-formation, local chiefs tried to reanimate latent

feelings of common identity or group feelings amongst their often heterogeneous following. With this in mind, these chiefs could gratefully fall back on earlier panegyrics of Afghan history and genealogy. Thus, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, under the patronage of new urban elite of Afghan colonists, northern India experienced a genuine renaissance of Indo-Afghan literature in both Persian and Pashto. The foremost example of this revival was the Khulasat ul-Ansab, a general work on Afghan history and genealogy composed by the Rohilla nawab Hafiz Rahmat Khan. It largely elaborated on the earlier classics of Afghan literature, mainly the Makhzan-i Afghani and, to a lesser extent, the Tazkirat ul-Abrar of the Akhund Darweza of Swat.

The Makhzan-i Afghani or "the Storehouse of the Afghans", was produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the patronage of Khan Jahan Lodi, who had become one of the most powerful and influential Afghan nobles at the Mughal court. At the beginning of Shahjahan's reign, Khan Jahan Lodi - incited by his Afghan followers to reclaim Afghan sovereignty and supported by the Nizam Shahi sultan of Ahmadnagar - rose in rebellion against his former Mughal master. Although crashed in the end, the Lodi uprising posed a very serious challenge to Mughal rule as it appealed to widespread Afghan resentment, not only in the interior of the empire but also among the tribal leaders on the north-west frontier.154

Even before his defection, Khan Jahan Lodi had started a kind of research project into the genealogy of the Afghan tribe. As reported by Muhammad Hayat Khan, he had been instigated by an Irani ambassador who had amused the Mughal emperor with the story of Afghan descent:

"Books of authority, he [the Irani ambassador] said, recounted that once king Zunnak, hearing of a race of beautiful women that lived in some far-off western countries, sent an army thither; which army was defeated by the beautiful women, but afterwards, a stronger expedition being sent under Madman, they were reduced to see for peace and gave tribute of a thousand virgins when, on its return march, the army was one night encamped close to a wild mountainous country, there suddenly came down upon it a phantom of terrific aspect, smote and scattered the troops in all directions, and then, in one night, ravished all the thousand virgins. In due time all became pregnant, and when Zuhak learned

154 R. Joshi, The Afghan Nobility and the Mughals (1526-1707) (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 115-27
this, he gave orders that the women should be kept in the remote
deserts and plains, lest the unnatural offspring should breed strife
and tumult in the cities. This offspring was the race of the
Afghans. \(^{155}\)

Determined to rectify this rather embarrassing picture, Khan Jahan Lodi sent
four of his servants to Roh in order to investigate the Afghans' origins. \(^{156}\)

Although the authorship of the *Makhzan* is still under debate, it apparently is
the outcome of a compilation and a selection, and certainly not the product of a
single imagination. After its initial composition, Khan Jahan commissioned a re-
issue of the *Makhzan* under one Ni'matullah, who added a biography of his master
and renamed it: *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani wa Makkzan-i Afghani*. \(^{157}\) It provided the
Afghans with a prototype and major work of reference for later, similar attempts to
make sense of their complicated past. It contains a full record of Afghan history
from the ancient times of Ya'qub Isra'il to the reign of the Lodi and Sur sultans in
Hindustan. In addition, it presents a full and systematic ordering of all Afghan tribes
and sub-tribes. \(^{158}\)

Not unlike the *Makhzan* in the seventh century, the *Khulasat ul-Ansab*
demonstrates an eighteenth-century effort to record and fix earlier Afghan oral
traditions, to adjust them to new conditions and to sanction the new Rohilla *riyasat*
in Rohilkhand. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was motivated to write such a general history as
he felt that his fellow Rohilla Afghans were too indifferent to their *nasab* or


\(^{156}\) It appears that the spurious claim of Afghan descent from the Bani Israel was already current
in Roh as it is also recorded by the Akhund Darweza - who lived in the Peshawar area at the end of
the sixteenth century (Tazkirat ul-Abrar, BM.Or.222, ff.68a-73b).

\(^{157}\) Nimatullah ul-Harawi had first been a court historian of the emperors Akbar and Jahangir but in
1608-9 he entered the service of the Khan Jahin Lodi whose name he gave to the book which
appeared in 1613.

\(^{158}\) Recording to Roy and Ambashthiya the *Makhzan* itself, as translated by Born, was a later
compilation of Ibrahim Batani who also revised Sarwani's *Tarikh-i Sher Shah*. Following in the
footsteps of Elliot, this is disputed by Imamuddin who believes the work was compiled by an
anonymous author. All agree, however, that the genealogical information of the *Makhzan* is
identical to Ni'matullah's edition of the *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani wa Makkzan-i Afghani*. It appears,
however, that the latter work was again revised some time between 1612 and 1670. This time the
part on Khan Jahan Lodi was skipped and replaced by Batani's revision of Sarwani's *Tarikh-i Sher
Shahi*. This version of the *Makhzan* was translated by Born (Ambashthiya's introduction to "Abbas
Khan Sarwani; N. Roy, *Nimatu'llah's History of the Afghans* (Santinflceton, 1958); H.M. Elliot &
J. Dowson (eds.) *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, 5, p.68; Imamuddin edition
"descent". Since they had left their homeland (\textit{watan}) in Roh they had mingled with each other and with foreign people in Hindustan. Hence they had lost all knowledge of their \textit{nasab} and \textit{turr} (origin) and could not distinguish any more between relatives and foreigners. It was important for them that they knew at least four generations of ancestors. For Hafiz, consciousness of \textit{nasab} was not only a requisite from the religious-moralistic point of view,\footnote{Cf. Rizvi, \textit{Shah Abd al-Aziz}, pp. 176-7: "The Prophet prohibited attacks on the real or imaginary defects of people's ancestors and also forbade boasting concerning \textit{nasab}. The Prophet, however, urged believers to study genealogies to the extent that they were essential for knowledge of their collective worth (\textit{ahsab}) and for the fulfilment of family obligation."} but it was of major importance for political government as well. As he saw it, the loss of \textit{nasab} would automatically result in the decline of government. \textit{Nasab} had been the cornerstone of Persian rule (\textit{walayat lubb fi'l 'ajam}) but, unfortunately, at the present the majority of the Persian people had forgotten their \textit{nasab}. From all this it becomes clear that Hafiz was deeply concerned about the melting-pot that was India and the resulting lack, of moral commitment on the part of his Rohilla following. Therefore, he wanted to preserve and stimulate Rohilla-Afghan consciousness of their \textit{nasab}, as he thought this would contribute to the stability of the Rohilla \textit{riyasat} in northern India. The Rohilla's political arguments are reminiscent of the writings of Ibn Khaldun. In Ibn Khaldun's words, the exceptionally strong group feeling ("\textit{asabiya}") among the Arab Tribes was the result of the intensity of their feelings of \textit{ansab} (plural of \textit{nasab}) freshness of their religion (\textit{din}). These "\textit{asabiya} ingredients gave the tribe its firmness and vigour and united all its members in their goal towards might and glory. Unfortunately, all this would come to a bitter end when the tribe became a \textit{dynasty} and was \textit{immersed} in the luxury and decadence of sedentary culture. Only through the importation of Turkish military slaves (\textit{mamluks}) from Central Asia, who had retained their tribal qualities and were undefiled by the softening habits of civilization, the Islamic states could continue to flourish.\footnote{9"Based on a passage from Ibn Khaldun's \textit{Kitab al-'Ibar} and translated by D. Ayalon in "Mamlukiyyat", \textit{JSAI}, 2 (1980), pp.340-9. Cf. Ibn Khaldun, \textit{The Muqaddimah}, trans. F. Rosenthal, ed. N.J. Dawood (London, 1987).}

Although \textit{Hafiz} was probably not familiar with Ibn Khaldun's writings, it is nonetheless clear that they address the same phenomenon of tribal conquest of the civilized and urbanized world. It is equally clear that the Rohilla nawab tried to enhance the stability of the Rohilla state, not by the option of military slaves, but by
stimulating the "asabiya of his "tribal" Rohilla following and by creating an awareness of their illustrious nasab. Let us, then, take a brief look at the contents of this Afghan nasab as laid down by the Makhzan-i Afghani and the khulasat ul-Ansab.161

ROHILLA NASAB (ancestry)162

According to their own tradition, the Afghans are descended from the Israelites (bani isra'il) whose history goes back to the early Jewish past.163 Hence, we are confronted with the legend of an Egyptian exile in which the Israelites resisted the forceful attempts of the Farao to lead them astray of the right religion. Angry about their stubbornness, the Farao captured some of their infants to raise them at his own court. Thus they lost all contact with their co-tribals and became intermixed with the local Coptic community. All this suggests that even before the advent of Islam, the Afghans had been monotheists and ahl-i kitab who had successfully defied the idolatry of the Egyptian despot. At the same time the story tried to respond to the widespread legend that the Afghans were related to the "apostate" Copts and had left their homeland for the Sulaiman mountains because they had declined to convert to Judaism.164 The Afghan sources, however, are silent

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161 During Rohilla rule, and continuing into the nineteenth century a myriad of other Indo-Afghan works such as genealogies and dictionaries were produced which further elaborated on these two works and purported to record and fix a common Afghan past, ancestry, and language. Especially the sons and grandsons of Hafiz Rahmat Khan were active in this respect, e.g. the Hindustani-Pashto dictionary by Ilahyar ('Aja'ib ul-Lughat), a Pashto grammar with a Persian dictionary by Mahabbat Khan (Riyaz, ul-Mahabbat), a treatise on the alleged Jewish origin of the Afghans by Sa'adat Yar Khan (Bunyad-i Afghanan), and a Persian translation of a Pashto history on the early Yusufzai by Allah Yar Khan (Khulasat ul-Ajab).

162 The following is mainly based on Dom's version and translation of the Makkzan and the British Museum Manuscript of the Khutngat. For an early nineteenth-century continuation of this genre, see the Cambridge manuscript of Sa'adat Yar Khan, Bunyad.

163 The obscure origin, of this claim seems to be subject to an endless discussion (for a survey, see Caroe, Pathans, pp.5ff.) but it appears that between 1000 and 1200 A.D. the Jewish Bani Israel (in Ghur) and the Afghans (in Ghaznin) were separate groups who both resided in the area of present-day Afghanistan. The Bani Israel are portrayed as a cosmopolitan and polyglot trading community, oriented towards the high culture of Baghdad, whereas the Afghans are still enveloped in local obscurity and at best act in a military capacity (Juzjani, Tabakat-i Nasiri, trans. H.G. Raverty (Calcutta, 1873-6) pp.313-6;582). Studies of Fishel and recently Andre' Wink have shown that during the thirteenth century the Jewish community completely disappeared from the area and mainly left for Central Asia and India (see W.J. Fishel, "The Rediscovery of the Medieval Jewish Community at FiruzScuh in Central Afghanistan", JAOE, 85 (1965), pp. 149-53; Wink, Al-Hind, 1, pp.86-104). In my opinion, this and the overall tribal restructuring following Mongol invasions makes it plausible that the Afghans adopted the literary tradition of the Israelites and adjusted it to their own local folklore.

164 "Reported by Farishita, History, 1, p.6. The information on the Afghans in Briggs' translation should be handled with great care as he equates the Lawis with Lodis, calls Ghurids and Delhi
about this tradition and the mass migration to the Sulaiman is fitted in much later.

To evade Egyptian oppression the Israelites were led by Musi (Mozes) to their promised land and in due course one of them, Taint (Saul), was bestowed by "God with the kingship of all Israelites. Thus by tracing their ancestry to the first Israelite king, the Afghans could not only claim to be early monotheists but they could also boast a divinely instituted royal lineage. As such it played a role in later Afghan claims to government. As late as the nineteenth century, an arriviste Indo-Afghan nawab of Tonk - an off-shoot Rohilla principality in central India - found it useful to compare his position with Talut as he stated in his Amir-Nama:

"And their prophet said unto them, 'God has sent Taloot (Talut) to be Icing over you'. And they said, 'Verily the dominion over us cannot be to him, for we are more worthy to reign than he, and he hath not the substance wherewith to reign over us.' and their prophet said, 'Hath not the Lord chosen him to rale over you, and augmented his capacity in knowledge and in all kingly qualities, and know ye not that the Lord givith dominion to whomso he willeth, and is all powerful and omniscient."

In the continuation of the legendary account, we read that after his death Talut left two wives and two sons, Barakhia and Iramia, to his successor Da'ud (David) who took care of them. After they had grown up, Da'ud delegated the responsibility for the civil government (wazirat) to Barakhia and for the military (bakhshi) to Iramia. In due course Iramia had a son whom he called Afghana and henceforth all his descendants were styled Afghans. Like his father, Afghana served the Israelite king, in casu Sulaiman (Salomo), as bakhshi by whom he was also commissioned with the building of the great temple of Jerusalem. Only much later, at the time of the Babylonian exile, it is reported that the descendants of Afghans were deported to Ghur, Ghaznin, Kabul, Kandahar and Kofa Finizkufa. The latter place was the capital of the later Ghurid dynasty and its mention here is a prelude to the connection which was fitted in at a later stage. After fierce fighting with the

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sultans Afghans, and 'the Bani Israel are mixed up with Afghans; see the introduction of Raverty in his translation of Juzjaai, p.xiii. Abu'l Fazl also mentions the alleged story of Coptic descent but as might be expected, he finds both this and the Afghan version of no great interest (A 'in, 2, pp.406-7).

** Basawan Lai Shadan, Memoirs,p.2.

165 This is the view in Ni'matullah, Makhzan, Dorn trans., 1, p.25. According to the &khulasat the Afghans settled first in Kuh-i Sulaiman in Syria and later moved to and Kandahar (Hafiz Rahmat, Khulasat, ff.46a-b).
local idolaters the Afghans decided to make these places their permanent abode. Meanwhile, another group of the Israelites-Afghans had found refuge in Arabia and it is claimed that one amongst their off-spring was Khalid bin Walid, the famous early companion of Prophet Muhammad(PBUH). He invited all his brother Afghans to Medina where all of them turned Muslims and took service In the army of the Prophet. The chief of the Afghans was called Qais but was restyled 'Abd al-Rashid by Muhammad. All Afghan tribes, one way or another, trace their nasab to this Qais, whom they consider as one of the earliest Muslims. After he had performed some heroic services, Muhammad sent him and his compatriots back to Ghur where they set out to proclaim the message of Islam to the local population. A few centuries later, at the orders of the Ghurid sultan Shihab ud-Din (1203-1206), the Afghans moved en masse from the mountains of Ghur to the mountains of Gnaznin: in Koh Sulaiman, Hashtoagar and Bajaur. According to the Khulasat the Afghans must have settled there some time before as we find the Afghans of Gnaznin and Kandahar making up the van of the Ghaznavid army of sultan Mahmud (998-1030), invading India, plundering the Idol temples and slaughtering the kuffar. Whatever may be the truth of both claims, It is clear that they served to explain the historical connection of the Afghans with the Koh Sulaiman and Roh, the territory which was widely known to be their original homeland and where they are for the first time noticed by the early Muslim geographers and historians.

Not surprisingly the latter references fail to justify the idealized picture of the Afghan tradition. Whenever they mention the Afghans, it is only as a common denominator for either rustic highway robbers from the Sulaiman mountains or, at best, a contingent of mercenary troops Incorporated in the huge armies of Ghaznavids, Ghurids, Chingizids or even of one of their Hindu counterparts in India. It seems plausible that in the turbulent.

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167 "Nimatullah, Makkzan, Dom trans., 1, p. 40. According to the Akhund Darweza It was Kandahar which was the traditional homeland of the Afghans (Tazkirat, ff.75a-76a).
168 17Hafiz Rahmat, Khulasat, ff.46b-47b.
Climate of large-scale thirteenth-century Mongol invasions the Afghans succeeded in extending their territories from the Koh-i Sulaiman towards the east to India and, to a lesser extent, also to the north towards the Khyber and Peshawar and to the south-west towards Kandahar. Speaking of Kashmir, Yazdi relates how it was in all directions confined by mountains, in the south by those of India, in the north by those of Badakhshan and Khorasan, in the east by those of Tibet, and in the west by those inhabited by the Afghan people (yurt-i aqwam-i aughani).\textsuperscript{170} As a follow up of these Afghan migrations there emerged a distinct Afghan territory and "homeland" which only in the fifteenth century became known as Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{171}

From the earliest Islamic sources it appears that there did exist a more or less recognizable ethnic category called "Afghans".\textsuperscript{172} The term only slowly emerged as a rather fluid freebooter identity, relatively open to outsiders. Thanks to the inexact character of their identity, Afghans could constantly assimilate with other groups they encountered. As stressed by Schurmann and Kolff, the Afghans did not represent a fixed or ascribed ethnic or genealogical category but merely a "soldiers' identity" in which many diverse ethnic elements took part.\textsuperscript{173} Except for this ethnic vagueness, all sources seem to agree on the observation that the Afghans were "barbarous" pastoralists, mountain dwellers and highway robbers who only gradually converted to Islam.


\textsuperscript{171} At this time it denotes an area which is still limited in extent and which is roughly situated outside the main settled areas, south of the Safed Koh Range, in between the provinces of Kandahar and Sind (ʻAbd-al Razzaq Samarqandi, "Notice de l'ouvrage persan qui a pour titre Matla as-sa°dain", trans. E.M. Quatremere, \textit{Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi et autres bibliotheques}, 14, 1 (Paris, 1843), pp. 162,296; Babar, \textit{Babur-Nama}, p.2CO).

\textsuperscript{172} See the forthcoming second volume of Wink, \textit{Al-Hind}. For a clarifying definition of "ethnic", see Golden, \textit{Turkic Peoples}, pp. 1-2.

Obviously, the legendary stories of Afghan history were meant to rectify this negative image and to add prestige to the Afghan *nasab*. Therefore the Afghan past had to be coupled with the glorious traditions of Ghaznavid and Ghurid dynasties and their holy wars against the infidels of India. The *Makhzan* even fabricated a direct genealogical link between the Lodis and "the Ghurid sultans and thence to Zahhak, the ancient tyrant of Persian mythology as recorded by Firdausi. In this legend Lodi was considered the son of Batan's daughter Mato, i.e. an Afghan granddaughter of Qais, and one Shah Husain Ghori". It seems clear that this Ghurid *nasab* served to give the Lodis an aura of royalty distinct from the Chagatai-Timurid ancestry of the Mughals. The Khulasat is also keen on stressing the distinction between Turks and Afghans as it insists that all Muslim sultans in Delhi preceding Bahlul Lodi (1451-1489) should be considered as Turks. Hafiz wanted to rectify the general tendency amongst Indian "idolaters" to equate all Muslims with Turks as they had served under Turkish sultans. He made it clear that various other Muslims had entered India during the preceding centuries, amongst which were Saiyids, Mughals, Afghans, Shaykhs and others.174

Hafiz repeatedly mentions the *jihad* as the prime motive which brought the Afghans to India. Being Muslims from the very beginning, he boasts of the Afghans' traditional role as mujahidin of the Ghaznavids, Ghurids, Delhi Sultans, Timurids and, finally in his own age, the Durrans.175 It is evident that this picture is also an idealized projection of an 18th century image. It is true that at a time when, in the direct vicinity of the Mughal capital Shi'ism (in Awadh), Sikhism (in the Punjab) and Hinduism (in the Jat and Maratha territories) had clearly gained momentum, the Rohillas were generally regarded as the champions of Sunai revivalism. Najib ud-Daulah became known as a patron of the famous orthodox theologian Shah Waliullah (1703-62) and founded and sponsored a religious school in this tradition (*madrasa Rahimiya*) in Daranagar near Amroha and in Najibabad.176 In Shahjahanpur, Hafiz Rahmat Khan established a small intellectual centre for Sunni theologians from Farangi Mahal, the prominent Muslim school in Lucknow, who had left the place under increased pressure by Shi'a "comunalists"

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174 Hafiz Rahmat, Khulasat, ff.47b-49b.
175 "Ibid., ff.49b-52b.
176 "Rizvi, Shah Abdul al-Aziz, p.71.
backed by the local nawab. Like Najib, he also invited disciples of Shah Waliullah to settle at his court. In general, we can say that Rohilkhand was turned into a nursery of Indian Sunni Islam and as such it was the ideological counterpart of Shi‘a Awadh.

Not surprisingly for someone who is concerned with the problem of nasab, Hafiz also addressed the question of Rohilla identity: who is a Rohilla? As we have mentioned already in the introduction, the appellation Rohilla developed during the seventeenth century as a fairly broad notion of the people coming from Roh. Only in the seventeenth-century Indian and Indo-Afghan works, Roll is frequently used as a more specific geographical term which corresponded with the territory stretching from Swat and Bajaur in the north to Sibi and Bhakkar in Sind, and from Hasan Abdal in the east to Kabul and Kandahar in the west. In the Khulasat, we are faced with a definition which exceeds these limits as it comes close to the demarcation of present-day Afghanistan. It situates Roh simply in between Iran, Turan, Hind and Sind or more specifically: between Kashmir in the east, the Ilman river (Hilmand) bordering on Herat in the west, Kashqar (Chitral) in the north and Bakar (Bhakkar) and Baluchistan in the south. Similarly, while it prefers to speak of Afghans (qaum-i afghanan), it makes no clearcut distinction between Afghans and the people from Roh or Rohillas, the latter merely signifying the name given in India to the Afghan people in general (mardom-i afghanan). The equation of Rohilla with

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177 Hafiz Rahmat Khan wrote a short treatise on Sunni doctrine, especially directed against Shi‘ism (Khjulasat, ff.91b-129a); for increasing Sunni-Shi‘i disputes and Rohilla relations with Farangi Mahal, see J.I. Cole, Roots of

178 M.A. Ghazi, "The Role of Shah Wali Allah in Muslim Revivalism in the Subcontinent of India and Pakistan" (PhD thesis, University of the Punjab, Lahore, n.d), pp.297-8,308-9. One of them was Haji Muhammad Sa‘id Afghani who was appointed teacher of Hafiz’s son Inayat Khan. Previously 'Ali Muhammad Khan had invited theologians from Central Asia, e.g. Maulana Jalal ud-Din Khan from Kabul and Saiyid 'Ali Shah from Tirmiz (Rizvi, Shah Wali Allah, p. 184).

179 K.A. Nizami has edited a collection of the political letters of Shah Wali Allah in Shah Wali Allah Ke Siyasi Maktubat (Aligarh, 1950), addressed, among others, to Ahmad Shah Durrani and Najib ud-Daulah. In these letters he appears as the principal propagandist of the Durrani invasions and the jihad against Marathas, Jats and Sikhs. Some scholars, however, doubt the authenticity of the entire collection (Muhammad Ikram and J.M.S. Baljon, cf. Baljon, Religion and Thought, p. 15). Although I do not want to take part in the discussion of authenticity, fee intimate relationship between the Rohilla courts and the Shah Wali Allah movement is beyond doubt. The letters (Found in Rampur) appear to be a clear reflection of Indo-Afghan ideas which were current at the court of North Indian Shi‘ism in Iran and Iraq. Religion and State in Awadh 1722-1859 (Berkeley, 1988), pp.45-50.

180 Cf. W.H. McLeod, Who is a Sikh? The Problem of Sikh Identity (Oxford, 1989). As a comparative case the studies of McLeod on Sikh identity are illuminating.

181 In the Makhzan Kandahar, Koh Sulaiman and Ashnagar (Hashtnagar) are included (Ni’matullah, Makhzan, Dora trans., 1, p.40). Cf. Nizam al Din, Tabaqat-i-Akhbar and Firishta, History, 1, p.4.
Afghan served to counter the view that Rohillas were merely Indo-Afghan renegades and slaves of mixed origin. Besides, the extension of the term Roh opened up the Rohilla ranks for various new immigrants who claimed their origin from Roh. As such it created the idea of a new Afghan enclave which was entirely detached from the once adjacent bordering territories of Hind, Sind, Iran, and Turan. It shows again that terms like Rohilla or Afghan are not rigid ethnic categories but denote a fluid Indo-Afghan category open to repeated accommodation.

One example of this are the Bangash Pathans. Although they are not included in the enumeration of tribes in the Makhzan, the Khutasat depicts Bangash as the generic name of various Karrani-Afghan tribes who inhabit the area called Bangash. Similar procedures were applied to other tribal groups which are not mentioned by the Makhzan but are introduced as Afghans in the Khulasat. It appears that the key point was not to demonstrate authentic descent but merely to adopt Afghan customs, language or patronage. But in spite of the lack of early references, the Bangash Pathans of Farrukhabad considered themselves superior in nasab to the Rohillas. For example, the latter were not allowed to marry Bangash daughters, they were offered Bangash khilats and had to accept Bangash precedence in protocol. The Rohillas were generally looked down upon as parvenu slaves and horse merchants, whereas, the Bangash, seated on their elephants, regarded themselves as real Pathans entrusted with high mansabs earned through their gallant service to the imperial throne. Therefore, the following will take a short look at the way the Bangash Pathans expressed their nasab in the wake of their migration and settlement in Farrukhabad.

The Durranis succeeded in establishing their empire precisely in the area which during the "Great Game" was reduced to the frontier zone between British


183 In the early nineteenth century, we are again confronted with a more restrictive delineation as the Indian use of the term Rohilla is linked to the eastern Bardurani tribes. The Bardurranis, or upper mountain Durranis, were an artificial creation of Ahmad Shah Durran, which comprised most of the eastern tribes. These tribes, in particular the Yusufzai, Khattak, Bunerwal, Muhammadzai and Afridi, comprised indeed the bulk of the Afghan population of Rohilkhand. The Afghan sub-tribes in the Ahwal are not ordered according to their ethnic qualities but are mostly grouped according to their geographical location. Most probably, the widespread Indian application of "Rohilla" was now re-imposed on the tribes who inhabited the territories from where most of the Indian Rohillas claimed their origin (Mahmud ul-Musawi, *Ahwal-i Firqa-yi Afghani*, BM.Or.1861, ff.32b-33a; 43a-b; Elphinstone, *Account*, 2, p.1).
and Russian spheres of influence. Thanks to their Rohilla outposts in India, the Afghans had controlled longdistance trade with Central Asia. From their urban market centres they had maintained their stakes in both the pastoralist and agrarian economies. Thus what had happened was not so much a shift from urban to tribal forms - as is suggested by the term "tribal breakout" - but merely a change from Mughal to Afghan hegemony. This had been paralleled by a shift of the imperial centre from the Mughal capitals of Delhi and Agra to the Afghan heartlands around Kandahar and Kabul. This, of course, was also tamed to profit by the other rising powers in India like the Marathas, Sikhs and British.

Only about two centuries ago the Mughals had played the same trick with the Lodi and Sur Afghans. The Mughals under Babar had started out as a particularly effective warrior band coming down from their stronghold of Kabul in regular raids to collect their dues from the areas they held in ransom. Both the Mughals and the Afghans very well knew that the key to Indian sovereignty lay in the control of the north-western territories around Kabul, Balkh and Kandahar. This area did not only give access to the markets of Central Asia and Iran but it also supplied the empire with the most important instrument of pre-modern war: the horse and its most valuable finished article, cavalry. After the Mughals, by force of arms, had established their dominion in India, the Afghans became once again increasingly involved in the military and fiscal apparatus of the empire. We have seen how the Rohillas gradually could rise from horse-traders and mercenaries to regional princes. In a similar way, the Durranis had traded off Safavid and Mughal patronage, after which their imperial career definitely took off through their military services to Nadk Shah. For the imperial rulers of the time the crux of the tribal problem was not to get rid of these free-wheeling "trifoals", but instead to make maximum use of them. In other words, to coopt their warlike services and to channel them in a proper direction. This policy of incorporation, to which there was no viable alternative, could easily get out of hand and, in fact, it got out of hand during the early eighteenth century. Therefore, the whole phenomenon of eighteenth-century Afghan expansion should not be interpreted as a sudden tribal breaks?, but rather as the result of a long-term Afghan venture to "break" into the existing imperial structure. More often than not, the Mughals themselves had Ida invited them to do so.
Thus, in many ways, Durrani imperialism was a repetition of the earlier Mughal experience. Like the Mughals, the Durranis formulated an imperial mandate of their own, this time embracing both Hind, Iran and Turan, being a reflection of the north-western shift of the Indo-Islamic epicentre. But there were also some major differences between the two. The Mughal success story was one of agrarian expansion in a sedentary empire. Instead, the Afghans attempted to combine the latter with various forms of pastoral nomadism. Theirs was a "dual economy" based both on irregular ransoming and routinized tax collection. Hence, their political organization stood somewhere midway between a nomadic and a sedentary empire. Only through their constant campaigning and trading could they combine the management of both their lands and herds. Obviously, the balance between all these elements was always an extremely precarious one, which explains the empire's instability as well as the Afghans' unpopularity in the historical traditions of the more orderly, sedentary world.

Another major difference with the Mughals was the circumstance that Afghan imperialism ran short of time and was nipped in the bud by the rapid buildup of the Pax Britannica. Although a full description of this would certainly require another volume, in the following we will take a short look at the way the British expansion caused the decline and fall of the Rohilla outposts of the empire after 1770.

**ROHILLA DECLINE**

During the second half of the eighteenth century British interests were rapidly expanding westward. In the 1770's Awadh and Benares became virtually British satellites. Simultaneously, Durrani power slowly faded away and Maratha incursions into Rohilkhand became more frequent. In 1770 and 1771 both Najib Khan and DundlKhan died. Under these circumstances Hafiz Rahmat Khan sought a new alliance with Awadh and the East India Company in order to keep the Marathas out of Rohilkhand. As his own share in the rice of defence against the Marathas, he signed an agreement with Shuja ud-Daulah of Awadh in which he "bound himself to pay on behalf of the Rohillas 4,000,000 Rs. In fact Hafiz Rahmat Khan did not share the soldatesque outlook of his fellow Rohillas such as Ali Muhammad Khan or Najib Khan. Instead, he prided himself on his religious
knowledge and his role as a political mediator. He was a roaster of political intrigue and abhorred unnecessary violence. Not surprisingly, with a large monetary incentive, he hoped Shuja ud-Daulah and the EIC would be prepared to defend his territory against the Marathas. Shuja and the British were, however, primarily interested in the large revenues of the Rohilla countries and in protecting the western borders of Awadh against possible Maratha, Sindh or Afghan incursions. From the British point of view, this required a shift of the borders to the Ganges. In 1774 Hafiz declined to pay the previously agreed sum because he felt that his allies had defaulted in repelling the Maratha inroads. Shuja ud-Daulah and British Governor-General Warren Hastings interpreted this as a violation of the signed agreement. In the same year their troops entered Rohilkhand and after a short campaign and a battle in which Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed, the Rohilla country was annexed to Awadh. In the wake of the Rohilla War large quantities of plunder were brought into the Awadh treasury. According to one British officer, Awadh’s later wealth was entirely the result of the loot taken from the Rohillas in 1774:

"such were the sources from which Shooja od Dowlah derived that enormous wealth for which Oude has been so long celebrated, and which is not yet quite exhausted - no portion of it was ever derived from the successful government of the country." 185

Thus, in 1774 the Rohilla state came to an abrupt end. The single remaining son of ‘Ali Muhammad Khan, Faizallah Khan, was allowed to preserve his personal jagir in and around Rampur which continued as a Native State until 1947. Under his rule Rampur remained a relatively thriving area as it became the new centre of Afghan trade relations with the Deccan. Within a few years, he also managed to double Kampur’s revenue and population. Meanwhile, political interference and cultural influence from Awadh increased, notably in 1794-5 when it supported its own Shi‘a candidate to succeed to the throne. Rampur remained a Shi‘a centre, however, until the end of the nineteenth century when e government fell to the Shi‘a nawab Hamid Khan (1894-1930).

Apart from Rampur, the remainder of Rohilkhand experienced a marked decline in revenue and trade. Afghan migrations to Rampur left large parts

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underpopulated. Adding the general misery was also the policy of the Awadh ruler who tried as much as possible to ward off the penetration of British commercial and political interests in Midland. Hence, with this restrictive policy of the Awadh government and the tiering away of the Afghan trading network, Rohilkhand was cut off from the long-trade negotiations with the northern hill states. In 1789 their territory was finally annexed by the Maratnas.\textsuperscript{186} Twelve years later, Awadh handed over to the EIC who kept struggling with the situation of low productivity and what can finally be said about the underlying circumstances that produced this sudden ic of Rohilla power? Some observations can be made. As we have analyzed above, creation of the Rohilla riyasat in north India had been the result of regular migrations of horse-traders and mercenaries into the late Mughal realm. After 1770, however, expansion of the British East India Company dramatically reduced the north-Indian trade for Afghan man- and horsepower. Although Rohillas continued to have considerable leverage as British sepoys and irregular cavalry, the overall volume of the mercenary trade declined. Within a few decades, the open military market economy of Hindustan was replaced with the British monopoly of military resources. At the same time, new British commanders tended to exchange irregular cavalry for disciplined infantry, the latter being cheaper and easier to control. Of course, the slump in the horse and mercenary trade with Awadh, Bihar and Bengal also affected the cash transports to the Rohilla territories. This brought about widespread unemployment and dissatisfaction among the Afghans.\textsuperscript{187} During the 1770's and 1780's there was a general lade of money in the area and the coinage was strongly debased.\textsuperscript{188} As a result, monetary exchange between northern India and the British provinces broke down.\textsuperscript{189} Thus it appears that the rapid imposition of the Pax Britannica in eastern Hindustan cut off the existing lifelines of the Rohilla riyasai

\textsuperscript{186} their continuing role is clearly shown at the time of the Mutiny, when the old Rohilla jf mercenary sepoys, local landlords and urban elites, simply reasserted itself in land, like they had done in 1748. Once again the descendants of Najib ud-Daulah Hafiz Rahmat Khan provided the leadership, the organization and the momentum of tilla uprising (E.I. Brodldn, "Proprietary Mutations", pp.667-83).

\textsuperscript{187} IOL&R. HM.219, 22-5-1780, "Minute Gov.Gen.", f.565. Similar pleas were raised by the Nawab of Rampur. For general unemployment among Afghans, see R. Heber, Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, From Calcutta to

\textsuperscript{188} Add.60337, See Papers, n.d, "Slice to Wheler", n.f; NAI, FPD, S, 29-7-1776, r.l, "Bristow to Gov.Gen.".

and brought about its downfall even before its armies were finally defeated at the battlefield. With the further expansion of the "modern" Indo-British state towards the north-west and of the Russian state towards the south, the Durrani empire became increasing isolated between the rigid borders of the new imperial rivals enmeshed in their "Great Game" for Asia.
Chapter IV
Growth of Urban Centres, Towns and Bazaars in North India during 18th Century.
CHAPTER-IV

GROWTH OF THE URBAN CENTRES TOWN AND BAZAAR IN NORTH INDIA DURING 18TH CENTURY;

Assessment of Merchant, Commercial Enterprises and Business activities during 18th Century-Northern India

India retained much of this vigor of its commercial life in the later part of 18th century also, though the fall of the Mughal Empire and rise of the independent states and their oppressive duties were not the influences under which internal commerce could prosper. 190

In the 18th century, the foreigners were impressed with India’s enormous wealth. Her arts and industries were highly developed to meet the requirements of an easy, comfortable living in the society. According to the testimony of the European cities, India was industrial workshop of the Asiatic countries and also a completely self sufficient economic unit. On the basis of their accounts, we shall here attempt to analyse the economic resources of society and the material persuits of its people. There was no country in the world which had gold, silver, jewels, cotton, silk, stuff, cocoas in great plenty. 191 The author of Araish-i-Mahfil writes that the mountain of Kumaon were full of rich minerals gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, Sulpher and borax. Agriculture was the primary source of livelihood to the masses living in India’s rural areas. In Rohilkhand, the Rohilla chiefs had constructed aqueducts “traversing corn field in all directions.” In the early part of the 19th century, Bishop Heber described Bharatpur state as “one of the best cultivated and watered tracts which I have seen in India.” 192 Azamgarh, Bhadohi and Mirzapur flourished in this region amidst a number of bazaars and ganjs. The jama in the region rose by over 107 per cent and continued to rise under the Benaras raj in the mid-eighteenth century. 193 Handicrafts were an important source of livelihood to a large part of the population. Till the end of the 18th century, India’s reputation as a great manufacturing country stood high in the world. India retained her preeminent

192 Reynolds: white sahibs in India, p.45.
193 Muzaffar Alam; Crisis of Mughal Empire in India, See, conclusion).
position in the world in cotton and silk manufactures on which foreign accounts throw vivid light. The authors of the European in India emphasized that the Indian artisan was highly skilled and was without a rival in any other part of the world. According to Robert Orme, specialization in trade in India was more advanced than in Europe. By the 18th century, localization in manufactures had made great progress in the country as will be illustrated later by a study of the manufactures of the different centres of industry.

Rural Industries: Manufacture depends on raw materials obtained from agriculture such as cotton and silk textiles, sugar, tobacco, opium, etc.

Metallic Industries: Manufactures of steel, glass, arms, etc.

Miscellaneous Industries: Construction of boats, manufacture of salt, ice, oils, perfumes, intoxicants, drugs, dyes, spices, etc.

**Industrial arts:** Embroidery, cloth printing, dyeing, designing, jewellery, etc.

**Cotton manufactures**

In the 18th century the loom was the mainstay of India’s industrial economy. It provided employment to “hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants, composing the weaver caste” and to “countless widows” and families who maintained themselves by cotton spinning.

“It is difficult to find a village in which every man, women and child is not employed in making a piece of cloth.” Northern India produced coarse cotton cloths of different varieties in abundance, but Varanasi, Mirzapur, Ghazipur, Tanda. Jaunpur manufactured great quantities of fine cloth, which were brought down to Calcutta through the Ganga for export to European market. Patiala in Punjab is mentioned as famous for its excellent cloth. The Northern Cirkars, are likewise.

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196 Dubois, Abbe, J. A. Description of the Character, Manners and Customs, etc. of Hindus. Ed. By Beauchamp, Oxford 1897, p.95.
199 Ibid., p. 75.
described as the home of cotton manufactures of all varities. They formed “the
ground work of the best printed calicoes in Europe”. Of the woolen fabrics, Kashmir
was almost the sole manufacturing region, feeding other part of the country. It
imported wool from Tibet and after bleaching it, manufactured finished articles. Its
shawls whose beauty was “considerably enhanced by the introduction of flower
work” were in great demand in the country.\textsuperscript{200} The manufacture of tobacco was
likewise universal, and the plant was cultivated in every part of the country. It is said
that the plant was introduced by Jahangir.\textsuperscript{201} Salt was also prepared in many part of
India; Bihar was very rich in saltpeter deposits. Salt was also manufactured in
Northern Cirkars in large quantities. Manufacture of Indigo had been practiced in
India from very early period, and during the 18\textsuperscript{th} century we find it manufactured in
large quantities in Bihar province, western district of Uttar Pradesh, and in Northern
cirkars. Opium was most conveniently manufactured in Bihar. Patna owed its
prosperity primarily to its extensive commerce in opium and saltpeter.\textsuperscript{202} A kind of
wine produced of grapes in Kashmir is mentioned as resembling Madeira, the sweet
wine prized by the European. The manufacture of paper, too, was known and in
Bihar, it is reported “the best paper” was manufactured.\textsuperscript{203} In Northern India we find
that at Mongher in Bihar extraction of iron was a popular industry. The manufacture
of arms is mentioned in contemporary accounts. In the Punjab, these were greatly
superior to those of other parts. The dragger and swords from Lahore and Sialkot
were of high quality.\textsuperscript{204} In Northern India, we learn that the artists of Agra were very
skilled in their trades, especially gold lace-work and embroidered cloths there and
taking them to various countries, sell them at great profit.\textsuperscript{205} The carts driven by
oxen were the most popular mode of transport in the country, and the four-wheeled
carriages are mentioned as conveyance befitting even the ranks of ministers and
nobles. They were furnished with covers “richly embroidered” and in the hot
weather, with covers of “khus-khus”. These chariots of the higher classes were very
comfortable for travelling and were “clean and glittering like a picture on the
wall.” Horses and elephants were other popular modes, and boats were very
convenient for travel and transport through rivers. The large boats for long distances

\textsuperscript{201} Colebrooke, J. E. Digest of Bengal Regulations, 3 Vols. Calcutta, 1807, p.75.
\textsuperscript{202} Forster, George, Journey from Bengal to England, 2 Vols. London 1798, p.24-5.
\textsuperscript{203} Araish-i-Mahfil, pp.58-9.
\textsuperscript{204} Ibid. p.131.
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid. p.62.
and pleasure excursions were equipped with spacious rooms, providing plenty of accommodation. There is no doubt that economic intercourse between town and villages was greatly facilitated by rivers and streams of the country. It is very difficult to work out the theme of related to economic activities during 18th Century as 18th Century Northern Indian political scenario provide us with a chaotic condition in Northern India and a declining Mughal Empire. It was on the debris of the following pieces of the great Mughal edifices that we find the emergence of conglomerates of local kingdom and powerful potentiates. It is also difficult to judge as the famous agrarian crisis theory which served as the major cause of the decline of the Mughal Empire according to modern medieval historians, does not provide the full explanation of emergency of new townships, new commercial enterprises and to some scholar of Modern India history a booming economy in the 18th Century Northern India. So it would be a very interesting study of understanding the condition and the position of merchant class, the commercial enterprises and the activities related to those aspects for the whole of eighteen century. The records of eighteen century show the existence of powerful class of merchant all over northern India. The first hand information which we get from Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai, “Siyarul Mutakhirin” and other eighteenth century manuscripts takes us the points that the business activities had never stopped during the passing of the Empire form Mughal to British. We also find that the disturbance which came as a result of dismemorment of the empire did not block the flow of man and material across the kingdom of princely states. As the rising demands of goods of product did not stop and the local rulers found interesting Paraphernalia and various other luxurious goods for the purpose of setting of new capital towns and for creating his own elite class. Thus emerges the importance of the merchant class in the Indian scenario. The Indian history is full of such instances of a prosperous community of the merchants’ right from the days of Aryans and we find the mention of vaishyas as the merchant class involve in trading commercial ventures. The same class came to be known

207 Being a prime source of 18th century contemporary history it provide details of trading activities of both inland tradeas well as about the merchant class see for detail Siyar-ur-Muta akhirin by Gulam hussain Taba Tabai.
with different names and connotations starting from Vaishyas, Baniyas, Mahajans, Guptas, Agrawals the Khundelwals and some local variant of the names of the merchant class like the marwaries, the gujraties, Seths and Paddas of Rajasthan. Business communities such as Khatris have been shown in available evidence on one urban centre namely Batala, were the economic backbone of Punjab. Many treatise on the science of accountancy, ilm-us-siyaq, were written, often by Hindus of the merchant caste, educated in Persian. By the early eighteen century approximate thirty subcaste of Khatri in Batala such as the Ohri, sekhr and chawinda Khatri were in Punjab. They were shopkeepers traders and sahukars. An important business communities in Punjab was in Ganesh Das Wadhera at the beginning of British rule in Punjab. He speciality refers to many khatries families liking in the towns and villages of Punjab: in Kaliana, Rohitas, Bahtolpur, Jalalpur, Hajiwala, Heart dingga among many others. There was hardly a town where khattries did not have their houses. Trade and business was by no means confined to the Hindus. The Jain known as Bhabras, the Labanas, originally a salt trading community, were the transporter of grain and goods. Among Muslims the mercantile communities were represented by the khojas and Parachas. We also find he rise of trader-merchant class in Jaipur state was due to large scale use of money capital in the commercial transactions nine- tenth of the bankers and commercial men of India are native of Maroodas and these chiefly of Jain faith. The Vaishyash of Marwar region begun to be called as Marwaries by the local population .Growth of Marwaries as a capitalist class due to fiscal policy of the Rajput rulers and and its implementation particularly in the case of land revenues well as the increase in cultivation of cash crops provided condition in the 17th Century for the growth of

209 Being a very active communities of merchant Marwaries and Gujraties they performed most of the trading during the medival as well as pre modern period for their activities as their trading activities see Sanjay Subramanyam, Merchant market and trade in the early 18th century, Oxford ,1990,pp-255-256.
211 Apart from Gujraties and Marwaris there existed a very active community in Batala region in Punjab known as Khattries along with its numerous subcastes who were involved in almost all towns in north India see for detail Dwijendra Tripathy, Business Communities of India Manohar, 1984, chap.4, pp-209-214.
212 Ibid.214.
213 James Todes, Annals and Antiquities in Rajasthan, New Delhi,1978., p.127.
merchant class. These were known as mahajans, shas, sahukars, vohra and sarrafs in Rajasthan. The Rajputs rulers of Rajasthan followed the practice of appointing moneylenders’ mahajans or shas in the office dealing with the revenue both at the pargana and state level. The traders had found yet another way of making profit for instance through ijara[revenue farming.\(^{214}\) With the changing scenario we also find the changing fortunes of different classes taking up different professions for instance Kayasthas Chhatris and Chitpawan Brahman taking up the interest in commercial ventures. Thus breaking the age old tradition of one particular caste sticking to the professional work of their forefathers. We get to know existence of powerful economic class of merchant in different localities in northern India during 18\(^{th}\) century. One such example is of Bhaiya Ram in the II\(^{nd}\) half of eighteen century in the locality of Banaras and his successor Gopal Das had become so much powerful portfolio capitalist that they became advisors of local Rajas. The case of Gopal Seth and others are so well known that eighteen century history replete with his name whenever there is mention of merchant class in that context. The same story repeated at other places and with all those regional powers in northern India which had coastal belts in their way. The European force their way to dominate the mercantile activities is to reduce the position of Indian merchant to compromise. Coming to the northern Indian seen we find that Benaras merchants, Bengal merchants dominating the scenes both in inland trade as well the trade through rivers and we also come to know that during 18\(^{th}\) century Patna, Banaras, Murshidabad, Dhaka, Mirzapur, Delhi, Agra (As soon as it was made the capital, a large number of Christian and Muslims merchants, along with numerous Hindu Baniyas had established themselves at Agra.\(^{215}\) These saudagars and Khattris\(^{216}\) owned immense wealth and fortune\(^{217}\) and Kanpur were prosperous towns with all mercantile activities and existence of powerful merchants like Waziri Mall, Pirde Das, Gopal Das having the Stablish Businesses and Frequent the commercial towns. The private merchant also operated from the towns of Fatehgarh (Farrukhabad at Kanpur).With the trading companies visiting India and having context right from the Mughal period when they had secured the permission to trade in Indian trade particularly

\(^{214}\) Dwijendra Tripathy, Business communities of India, Manohar1984, chap.II G.D.Sharma,p185.


\(^{216}\) Khattri was the honorific title for the Hindu merchants of Agra.

during the time of Farrukh Siyar the British merchant got the dastak the long
association of European merchant with the Indian ocean communities developed a
bond of mercantile fraternity and we also hear of Indian merchants conniving with
the British merchants and siding with the British conspiracy against the Indian
states. We hear of powerful Portfolio capitalist like Jagat Seth. Omichand and others
fallings pray to the British design against the Nawabs of Bengal Sirajjudaulah and
similar case we also find in others part of India in which European merchant and
official tried to take the help of the local moneyed class against the India princes.\textsuperscript{218}

India’s world wide commerce was one of the most important factors in promoting
her economic prosperity. The history of India’s foreign trade in the \textsuperscript{18}th century can
be studied in to 3 distinct period from 1707 to 1813. first period started from 1707 to
1757 second from 1758 to 1793 and third from 1793 to 1813. During first period the
trade was prosperous in spite of some disturbances in India and Europe. From 1757
to 1793 there was increase of both the export and imports of the East India company.
From 1793 to 1813 in that period the major portion of India’s European trade passed in
to the hands of great Britain.\textsuperscript{219} Private merchant operated from the town of
Fatehgarh [in Farrukhabad territories] and at Kanpur in Awadh.\textsuperscript{220} The famous
private merchant, Willam Bolta and his Armenian agents also used Banaras as a
base of purchase of Awadh saltpeter and cloths.\textsuperscript{221} European relation with the great
trading corporation of Banaras were consolidated in the late 1770’s when the
resident’s treasury became a centre of private trade as well as direct company
dealing during the period of Fowke and Bristow. We also find some example of
European agency houses such as Burgh’s, White’s Palmer’s and Alexander s
occasionally had correspondent in north India but generally they made use of
Indians hundies. In 1790 Dr Blanc trader in silk at Mirzapur, securing payment
through the kothi of Gopaldas. Several branches of shahs family and others naupatti
bankers were active in the cotton trade from Jalour to Mirzapur as early
as1770. Patna and Banaras appear as next in rank to the capital cities But as

\textsuperscript{218}Detail about European merchant and officials who tried to take help from See, Indian Powerful
Portfolio Capitalist like Jagat Seth Omichand and others against Indian Princes, C. A. Bayly, Rulers

\textsuperscript{219}Dr. K.Datta, Survey of India’s Social Condition in the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century Calcutta, 1861, chap.4
pp.63 & 70.

\textsuperscript{220} See, N. K. Sinha, The Economic History of Bengal from Plassy to Permanent Settlement I,
Calcutta 1965, p114.

\textsuperscript{221} Ibid. 232.
commerce was the main cause of their eminence and endurance, it seems suitable to group them together under commercial cities. As Behraich owned its survival primarily to its trade, and the new cities of Najibabad and Jaipur were founded partly on account of their commercial suitability, these three towns too may be grouped under the same heading. Besides Banares Agarwals, it was the Marathas and Naik Kallea traders or great Gosin corporation were prominent in cotton. As far as structure of trade is concerned it remained in the hands of old merchant communities. European firms known as ‘country produce Brokers’ appeared in some numbers at Kanpur and Delhi as agents of Calcutta and Bombay agency houses. In Kanpur for instance greek merchant were the largest dealers while Harris Bros and co. had a direct link with great British millers Mc Dougall. Thus the famous family of Lala Kashmiri was chief of the city’s Khattris and Sara swat Brahmans from the Punjab. So the Mehra khattris the cloth trade. K.N. has offered the most detailed and incisive analysis of the marketing of textiles on a macro all India, with random example from individual region.

Items of Trade

The items of trade during eighteen century mostly constituted the bulk trade in salt sugar spices and coarse cloths. Apart from the traditional items of trade which included houseful items grains edible oils and items for daily need. The merchant were dealing invasions other items of trade which had purely commercial basis and commercial purposes the changing political scenario in India changing international scenario and the Europeans seeking Indian market had transformed the Indian item of trade from nearly the a small items of trade to the items of trade in bulk for exports on large scale. The Indian agriculture was being transformed from purely domestic agriculture to the agriculture for commercial purposes and now we have such item like cotton tobacco, Indigo, Opium Spice, Cane, Jute as well as Medicine plants just for satisfying the growing demands of international trading.

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222 Ibid., Pp. 233-234.
223 Ibid., p. 434.
224 See, for details about the items of trade during 18th century, K. K. Dutta, Currency and Banking, p. 53
225 See, for details item of trade for export on large scale, C.A. Bayly, Rulers Townsmen and Bazaar, Cambridge, 1983 p37.
226 Export of cotton yarn and sugar in the later half of 17th century Irfan Habib, Agarian ystem of mughal India, Oxford, 1999 p.78
communities. We know that the Europe had greatly transformed itself and industries were coming out and production was going on large scale with the growing demand of the industrial migrates from Europe the British officials in India were becoming more conscious of getting more territories acquiring more agriculture land and asking the farmer to grow such commercial crops which were needed hungering industry. Apart from the item of trade for internal trading purposes are find the items of trade for export purposes was increasing for example Bengal silk found its way to Japan and Holland by the agency of the Dutch traders. In the later part up the 17th century we also find cotton yarn and sugar being exported to Europe. Textile, however, was the most important of all industries. Cotton, silk, wool and hemp yarns were being woven into fabrics but silk and wool did not enjoy a fraction of the unicity of cotton. Sacks and sack cloths are undoubtedly mentioned in the local contemporary sources. Manucci recounts a long list of a variety of cotton goods, silk pieces embroidered material, plain and flowered carpets, excellent bows and arrows, saddles, swords, coarse woolen stuffs, shoes, boats, rock salt and "other thing", as being exported to Delhi from Lahore, as in Delhi everything finds a sale and its consumed. Lahore acted as an entrepot for the Central Asian merchants who collected here from all over Asia, flooding the city with their wares. Lahore was linked with Kashmir through the passes in the Pir Panjal mountain. These indeed were the only convenient routes between Kashmir and Mughal empire- a circumstance which rendered Lahore virtually important for the Kashmir trade. Thus it received from Kashmir shawls, silk, boats, woolen stuffs, sugar, saffron, dried raisins, walnuts, paper, fresh fruits, timber and also horses. At Lahore many bazar occur, such as lakhi bazar, Tibbi bazar, Begumpura bazar and the bazar of Prince Parves and those of the Rarra quarter. Agra; By virtue of its central position as noted above Agra had become the emporium of the traffic of the world. According to Ajab-i-Duniya, all goods moving between any two different parts of the Empire

227 See for sharp decline of Indigo in European market and rise of plantation industries in West Indies, Irfan Habib, Agrarian system of Mughal India, Oxford, 1999, p80.
228 A.A.II, 136.
231 Ibid., p.352
233 Abu Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, II, 191.
were required to make a halt at Agra.\textsuperscript{234} Thus Agra from handling its own imports and exports, was also acting as a transit depot which greatly added to its commercial activity. The Dutch, had diverted to Agra on account of the Gujrat famine, had set up their factory, and they too were interested in disposing of their broadcloths,\textsuperscript{235} thus further cloying the market with it. Besides they brought large and small mirrors, gold and silver laces and iron wares.\textsuperscript{236} But their principal import was copper from Japan,\textsuperscript{237} a trade which they had received as a legacy from the Portuguese after their decline.\textsuperscript{238} Cotton fabrics occupied the leading position in the export trade of Agra. In the case of Dutch traders at least, it was the lure of cotton goods that had drawn them to this city and prompted them to install their factory for the purpose.\textsuperscript{239} The actual trade in Agra cotton goods is however, covered below under the cotton textile industry. The trade of sugar has, likewise, been considered under the sugar industry.

\textbf{Indigo:} The export trade of Indigo dates back to ancient times.\textsuperscript{240} At Biana there was only a twenty to thirty kos long tract,\textsuperscript{241} that yielded 300 bales of indigo annually.\textsuperscript{242} Koi,\textsuperscript{243} Khurja,\textsuperscript{244} Mewat,\textsuperscript{245} Hinduan,\textsuperscript{246} Cannowa\textsuperscript{247} and Lalsot\textsuperscript{248} also produced indigo of varying goodness. Very little of Biana indigo was exported but it used to be distributed to those part of the country where it was not produced.\textsuperscript{249} Dyeing: The cloth was now ready for treatement with colours, by printing, painting and dyeing. Thus a contemporary compilation entitled Nuskha Khulasatul Mujarribat, describing 77 processes of dyeing(including some printing) for obtaining 48 shades.\textsuperscript{250} Indigo, or the blue, “on treatement with water gives a wondrous blend

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{234} Ajab, 180b. In the absence of other convenient routes this was the most practicable alternative.
\item\textsuperscript{235} Bernier, I, 292.
\item\textsuperscript{236} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{237} Ibid, 203.
\item\textsuperscript{238} K. Glamann, Dutch Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740, Copenhagen, 1958, 167.
\item\textsuperscript{239} Dutch Records, 1629-34, Vol.IX, p.cccxviii, 2-3.
\item\textsuperscript{240} H. K. Naqvi, urban centres and industries in Upper India 1556-1803, 1968, p.54
\item\textsuperscript{241} W. Finch, Forster, 152.
\item\textsuperscript{242} Pelsaert, 13. For Biana as chief place for indigo. Here the term Biana indigo is evidently applied to that of Biana alone.
\item\textsuperscript{243} Munday II, 76.
\item\textsuperscript{244} W. Finch, Forster, 179.
\item\textsuperscript{245} Pelseart, 15.
\item\textsuperscript{246} English Factories in India edited by W. Foster, 1646-51, 336
\item\textsuperscript{247} W. Finch, Foster, 151.
\item\textsuperscript{248} Lalsot lay 23 kos S. W. of Biana. Its indigo was of base quality. Mundy, II, 235.
\item\textsuperscript{249} E. F. 1637-41, 36.
\item\textsuperscript{250} Mirat, p.274, 469-70.
\end{footnotes}
of purple and blue\textsuperscript{251} and G.Watt declared that all attempts to find a suitable substitute have failed, it being specially valuable as tinctorial reagent. The light red dye obtained from galls and flowers of the pista (pistachio vera) was better suited for silks. Terminalia trees were of three kinds and were found in the Punjab, United provinces and Oudh. The sap obtained by puncturing the termalia bellerica was useful for its durable bright yellow properties when mixed with alum.\textsuperscript{252} Bleaching (for permanent prints only) was performed by scheduled caste chamars or dhobis.\textsuperscript{253} Indigo was employed in paintings, varnishing doors and windows, chiqs (screen of split bamboo), whitewashing and bleaching purposes. Usually the Agra indigo brought by the European factor was destined for England,\textsuperscript{254} Persia\textsuperscript{255} and Basra.\textsuperscript{256} From Agra consignments used to be dispatched to Surat by land route on camels travelling in Carvans,\textsuperscript{257} whence they were embarked on shipsailing westwards.\textsuperscript{258} During the 18\textsuperscript{th} century Najibabad and Bareilly became well known centres of the cotton industry\textsuperscript{259} while Shahjahanpur is noticed for the manufacture of superior kinds of cotton goods.\textsuperscript{260} Saharanpur had enjoyed wide repute for excellence of its chautars and khasa since the days of Abu Fazl.\textsuperscript{261} In Farrukhabad separate quarters were assigned to the Hindus and Muslim weavers,\textsuperscript{262} and during the eighteen century it gradually became one of the chief cotton manufacturing centres.\textsuperscript{263} Agra merchants: As soon as it was made the capital, a large number of Christian and Muslim merchants, along with numerous Hindu Baniyas had established themselves at Agra.\textsuperscript{264} These saudagars and Khattris\textsuperscript{265} owned immense wealth and fortune.\textsuperscript{266} During the period of the decay of Mughal rule, they often

\textsuperscript{251} Forbes, iv, 111.
\textsuperscript{252} G.Watt, commercial, 1072.
\textsuperscript{253} Liotard, 132.
\textsuperscript{254} For the import of indigo in England from Agra and Lahore, See G. Watt, pamphlet on indigo, p.10.
\textsuperscript{255} E. F. 1634-3; I E. F. 1646-51, 225, 300. Biana indigo is said to have been in great favour in Persia, see E. F 1622-23.
\textsuperscript{256} E. F 1646-51, 300.
\textsuperscript{257} E. F. 1645-51, 300.
\textsuperscript{258} E. F. passim.
\textsuperscript{260} G. Md. Khan, 65b.
\textsuperscript{261} A. A. II, 292.
\textsuperscript{262} Irvine, The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad, Calcutta, 1878, p.280.
\textsuperscript{263} Srivastava, II, 369.
\textsuperscript{264} Omitted in the Ain; perhaps of later foundation.
\textsuperscript{265} P. Mundy quoted by R. K Mukerji, The Economic History of India, 1600-1800, Allahabad, 1945, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{266} Manrique, II, 156.
advanced sums of money as loans to the now-bankrupt nobility, if not by free will then by force.\textsuperscript{267} Agra too, like Delhi and Lahore, had its share of foreign merchants who resided in the city proper.\textsuperscript{268} Agra manufacturers too turned out a variety of goods.\textsuperscript{269} Among the textiles, carpets occupy the most prominent place,\textsuperscript{270} though cotton goods too were produced.\textsuperscript{271} Silken stuffs and very fine cloths of gold and silver were woven for turbans, lace or “other adornments for women.” The evidence of Manucci coupled with existence of a kanari bazar.\textsuperscript{272} The more famous of these were the Chandani Chauk (Market intersection) and Chauk of Saadatullah khan in Delhi, Chauks of Agra and Lahore.\textsuperscript{273} The chauk of Dara (Shikoh) founded by that prince at Lahore was not comparable to the Chandni chauk. The nakhas was a daily market place where cattle and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. The nakhas of Agra used to be held every morning\textsuperscript{274} when camels, horses, oxen, along with tents and cotton goods used to be sold.\textsuperscript{275} Gunges were usually the grain markets.\textsuperscript{276} At Delhi Pahargunj is included amongst the mohallas of the city with Shadarah and Fatehpuri\textsuperscript{277} are represented as the principal grain markets of the city. At Agra Mubarak Sultan gunj dhoria gunj and Fatehgunj are noted as principal grain market of the city. Mandavis\textsuperscript{278} were the markets of goods, usually provisions or grain. They were named after the chief commodity sold there or after their founders. Thus the subzimandi of Delhi was the chief market for fruits and vegetables.\textsuperscript{279} Patna and Benaras appear as next in rank to the capital cities. But as commerce was the main cause of their eminence and endurance. As Bahrai was owed its survival primarily to its trade, and the new cities of Najibabad and Jaipur were founded partly on account of their commercial suitability, these three towns too may be grouped

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{267} Delhi Akhbarat, 1761-88, p. 169; Ahwal, 15; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, III, 259.
\bibitem{268} The existence of foreign merchants at Agra is also borne out by the extent inscription in the Christian cemetry where the older ones are in the Armenian characters while some of them are Portuguese character, dating back to the 17th century. Keene Agra Handbook, p.3.
\bibitem{269} Hadiqat 161; Hadiqat 42a.
\bibitem{270} A. A, I, 55.
\bibitem{271} Kanari is the vernacular for silver and gold lace. For Dardoji and Kalabatu work at Agra see Hadiqat, 161.
\bibitem{273} Pelsaert, F., Jahangir’s India, translated by M. H. Moreland and Geyl, Cambridge, 1925.
\bibitem{274} Pelsaert, 4.
\bibitem{275} Bolts, W., Consideration on Indian Affairs, London, 1772, p. xix.
\bibitem{276} Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Travels in Upper Hindustan, I.O.L, Etbe 654, p. 41b.
\bibitem{277} Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi also explain the term as a place where commodities and corn were brought from outside for sale in the city, p.316.
\bibitem{278} G. Md. Khan, 39b.
\end{thebibliography}
under the same heading. Hinterland: With this alluvial soil of the plain the hinterland is rich in rice\textsuperscript{280} which dominates over the rest of the crops. Barley, wheat, grain, oilseeds and sugar\textsuperscript{281} are at present produced in decreasing order,\textsuperscript{282} which might have been different in our period. Thevenot testifies to the plentiful production of raw silk in Bihar. Next to the alluvial strip north of Patna lay tarai which is rich in sal forest, sissoo, tamarisk and reeds. Places where lime and sand dominated were more productive of saltpeter than other parts.\textsuperscript{283} The saltpeter generally called Patna saltpeter, was regarded as of good quality. Apart from its employment in glass making, meat preserving,\textsuperscript{284} cooling water manufacture of fireworks, saltpeter was chiefly sought after for making gunpowder. Patna and Benaras also enjoyed the advantage of convenient land routes. P. Mundy informs us that the Emperor Jahangir had ordered a road to be built from Patna to Agra for the comfort of the travellers.\textsuperscript{285} Patna used to import large quantities of Bengal cotton fabrics as shown above. The Armenian merchant were interested in this trade as well.\textsuperscript{286} Patna exported a large number of goods, for example, in May 1773, Fort William acknowledged the receipt of piece goods, saltpeter opium, sugar, jiggery, shell lac, wax, iron, soap, oil, gunny bag, tinical, tobacco, chunam(lime), hides, cow tails, chuttys(shoes?), kusum flower, black beads and so on, from Patna during 1772. From Benaras large quantities of sugar and juggery used to be sent to the outgoing ships for foreign markets by the company’s agents stationed there. Kabul Trade: Kabul was a long-established trade route through which the several thousand strong caravans carried, amongst other things, large quantities of cotton cloth. Kashmir Trade: Kashmir used to import cotton yarn and ordinary cotton goods, as well as unbleached cloth from Hindustan. Later on, when the Lahore route became hazardous, the traffic was being conducted through Najibabad, which commanded the Lal Dang passes of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{287} The rise of the unruly Sikhs in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century by degrees totally eclipsed the Kabul trade. The Hajjam mandavi of Agra was situated near the Top Khana or the manufactory of guns and was the bazars for arms and ammunitions.\textsuperscript{288} A Katra was an enclosed

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\item \textsuperscript{280}Ain-i-Akbari, II, 164
\item \textsuperscript{281}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{283}J.Stevenson, On the manufacture of saltpeter, J.A.S.B., vol.11,1833, p. 23.
\item \textsuperscript{284}I. D. Prashad, Some aspect of Indian foreign trade, London, 1923, p.30.
\item \textsuperscript{285}P. Mundy, II, 83.
\item \textsuperscript{286}Bolts, 71
\item \textsuperscript{287}Foster, 1,190.
\item \textsuperscript{288}Ahwal, 53.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
market, and like a mandi, might be named after some articles sold there or its founder. Many Katras occur in the sources. At Delhi a nil katra\(^{289}\) (indigo) Kashmiri katra, and katra fida-i-khan are referred to. There were still other bazars, bearing again either the name of the commodities in which they mainly traded representing their founders. Thus in Delhi were khas bazar, Khanam bazar, chaori bazar\(^{290}\) jawhari bazar and Raja bazar.\(^{291}\) In addition, mina bazar, kanari bazar, Kashmiri bazar and naicha bandan bazar are also reported at Agra. Thus, for instance, Ghulam Mohd. Khan in his brief survey of the city of Delhi mention more than two dozen bazars of lesser significance.\(^{292}\) The sarafs (shroffs of the European accounts) were really money changers.\(^{293}\) At that time a variety of coins including foreign ones were current in the bazars,\(^{294}\) a circumstance that kept the sarafs profitably engaged in converting one form of currency into another. The sarafs also acted as money-lenders. They had banking connections in all the important places in India, Persia and Aleppo, so that they could pass money to any of these places.\(^{295}\) Next in order of importance were brokers who constituted an indispensable link in the chain of business organization. They operated transactions on behalf of their principals. They were usually engaged on Rupees ten to twenty a month.\(^{296}\)

Delhi was reputed for its dyeing of cotton fabrics,\(^{297}\) specially all type of dyeing called tie-dyeing. Its famous quilts used to be dyed thus.\(^{298}\) Brass(copper) utensils were made here in large number.\(^{299}\) A prosperous leather industry at Delhi is indicated by several circumstances, a multitude of shoemakers\(^{300}\) and existence of their wards,\(^{301}\) the Qarol Bagh area, inhabited by Chamars or local tanners\(^{302}\) and the kuppewala mohalla where Muslim tanners made leather jars.\(^{303}\) The Khanam bazar of Delhi was the centre for manufacture of swords, shields, guns, palanquins and so

\(^{289}\) G. Md. Khan, 39a.
\(^{290}\) Ibid., 38a.
\(^{291}\) Ibid., 40b.
\(^{292}\) Ibid., 38a.
\(^{293}\) Travernier, I, 28.
\(^{294}\) Moreland, op. cit., 59.
\(^{295}\) Jourdain, 164.
\(^{296}\) E. F. 1651-54, 112.
\(^{297}\) Manrique, II, 180.
\(^{298}\) Ajaib, 181b.
\(^{299}\) Manrique, II, 180.
\(^{301}\) Seirul Mvakherin, I, 263.
\(^{302}\) Punjab, op. cit., 149.
\(^{303}\) Ibid., 149-50.
As regards the building in dustry at Delhi, some of the more well-known edifices constructed during the period when it was not the seat of government were the forts of Din Panah, Salimgarh, Humayun’s tomb, and the tomb of Maham angah and her son. After the restoration of the city as capital, the emperor Shahjahan erected a series of magnificent monuments. The Red Fort was constructed at the cost of rupees fifty lakhs and was completed in the course of eight years. The elegant pearl mosque or Moti masjid entailed an expense of rupees sixteenth lakhs. The eighteen century also saw the construction of mosque, darghas, canals, tanks ghats, hammams and colleges and so on, while Raja Jai Singh built the extant Jantar Mantar (Observatory) at Delhi.

Lahore: Numerous industries flourished at Lahore and skilled artisans in different kinds of craft abounded. The carpet weaving Karkhanas produced silken, woollen and cotton and mixed goods which were both plain and flowered. Among the cotton goods, ormesins, Aljahs, embroidered goods and painted stuffs were specialities of Lahore. In addition, bows and arrows, swords saddles and shoes were produced here in large quantities. Ships and boats too were built here. Apart from Bayana we find the indigo had better producing fields in near Khurja and Kol and same was traded by the Armenian, Mughal and Persian merchant. Throught the Indigo was grown in the region. The indigo find sharp decline in demand in the European market as we find the emergence of plantation.

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304 G. Md. Khan, 38b.
305 A. A. I; 324.
306 Shahjahan namah, III, 32.
307 Asar, III, 77.
308 For example, Roshan ud daulah masjid, Irvine, Later Mughal, II, p.267.
309 As the dargah of Shah Mardan, see Asar, III, 88.
310 Rozenamchah by A. Latif, p.62.
311 Asar, III, 90.
312 Hadiqat, 37b.
314 Mirat, 286.
315 Terry, Foster, 311.
316 Ajaib, 182b.
317 Manucci, II, 424.
318 Ibid.
319 Griffiths, Early European accounts, p.93.
320 Thevenot, 85.
321 Ibid.
322 Manucci, II, 424; for bows and arrows also see Bahjat, 64.
323 A. A. I, 280. These ships when ready used to be sent to the coast.
324 Ibratnaira specifies cheel, dayar, bayar, Chunar and dhatar timber as being used for the purpose, see, Ibratnama, I, 44.
industries in the West Indies and in the other pacific Island. The routes during eighteen century India for trade purpose were mostly in continuation with the previous Mughal routes which had wide networking apart from the main highways. We have smaller routes for connecting to the internal countryside. The medieval subas were well connected from the centre the capital towns of the subas had main linking line with the Darul Sultanate in Agra or Delhi and after the capital of the Mughal shifted to Delhi from Agra. We have come to know that there existed some new routes which is connected to capital town. We find major trade routes linking different part of the northern India run through Delhi to Lahore. Lahore to attack by Jhelum, Multan to Bhakkar, Multan to Jesalmer. Delhi had number of connecting routes to different part of New India Delhi to Ajmer, Delhi to Agra, Delhi to Kol, Delhi to Lucknow and from Delhi to Baramulla Rajori, Srinagar. The routes also run through never Jhelum. We also find Inland navigation very popular during those days from Agra great lighters (barges) 300 to 400 tones carried salt and other commodities down to Patna and Bengal. As reported by Peter Munday who specifically says such lighter at Agra at Itawah passing down the river. Jourdain says the great barges carrying salt down from Agra to Bengal carrying salt were of 400 to 500 tones. However Finch suggest lower tonnage saying he saw some beats at Agra of 100 “Tunnes”. Thus it is suggested that it ranged from 100 to 500 tones and not more than that as we find from the available sources. Though we find some large site boats in between the two extreme navigation point in the river Jamuna and Ganges. Miratul Haqa-iq mentions direct routes from Delhi down to Patna a very long widely travel and frequently ranks which connected the capital town to the eastern entry point of inland trade that is Patna which was also commercial Hub during eighteen century. As the British merchant increase their commercial activities the Hugly river which connected Patna via water ways. The author of Miratul Haqiq also describe another routes from Delhi to Sandi between Garh Mukteshwar and Barelly which ran through Sambhal as well as Shahjahanpur is also shown on that routes. We also notice routes from Agra to Ajmer, Agra to Burhanpur by Gwalior. Finch also mention route from Agra to Jaunpur via Kannauj Lucknow and Awadh and another routes going to Agra to Karan bas via Kol. The important route also

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325 See for detail about inland navigation Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe & Asia vol.11. P.87 also in Atlas of Mughal Empire, London 1984.
joined Sandi to Khujwah with an important section of Delhi-Allahabad and it was also joined by Delhi Patna route and Agra Allahabad routes.\textsuperscript{327} Trade related activities and the craft products varied from place to place and region to region and that is why trading activities were required for passing the same from one region to another region. In the region of Punjab we find variety of product like dishes, covers plates lamp holders which were made of rocks salt as we get the information from Ain \textsuperscript{328}. As the region was famous for gypsum and it associated products apart from there they used ornamental articles Wazirabad was famous for boat building Lahore being famous for fine calicos as we get information from Manucchi. The town of Multan was famous for imported Arabian horses from Nizam-i-Munchi we get information about timber mart existing Khizrabad we get information from Ain of existence of mints official mint in 16\textsuperscript{th} century and which later on also continued to mint the coin in 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century Silver rupee mint in Lahore Multan Delhi and more importantly under Aurangzeb it was in Lahore Multan Delhi Sirhind Saharanpur Narnaur Where as copper money mints located at Saharanpur, Haridwar, Sambhal, Badaun, Kannauj, Gwalior, Kalpi, Dugaon, Lucknow, Awadh, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur Banaras. The region of Rajasthan we find copper coin mints at Ajmer, Alwar, Ranthambore, Sironj, Narnot. To conclude with such finding as mention above we find that merchant class was prosperous class during 18 century N. India and formed a prominent section of the society apart from having their own establishment trading from different part of the country they were also having a prominent position among the elite class and good relation with the royalty as we get information about this roles is deciding the fortunes of the some of the princes who were fighting the British and some of them were found to be involved in conspiracies against the local princes and also sowing the seeds of decision. This shows that the importance which tries had acquired during 18\textsuperscript{th} century northern India. The item of trade though changed with the passage of time bout more or less we find the continuation of the same Mughal item of trade in bulk. It was the change which we see as a result of the changing fortunes of the India merchant and emergence of powerful European merchant on the India scene. By them the items of trade had suited to the emerging industries of Europe and now we hear more of cash crops being exported by the India merchants to the European traders. The overall

\textsuperscript{327} Irfan Habib, An Atlas of Mughal Empire, Sheet 9A, Delhi1986, U.P. Economic, Mints, p-33
\textsuperscript{328} Ain-i-Akbari,p.539
economy was changing fast new commercial centers and new township was emerging as result of new merchant kingdom coming up resulting from the dismemberment of the Mughal Empire. Apart from the existing network of roadways and waterways we find changing fortunes of some of the commercial hubs and thus we find new routes to be connected and some old one to be discarded that also happened as a result of political expediency of the local rulers who were having their own commercial interest as well as for their safe guards. The kingdom was connected to the different-different location. We come to know growth of economic enterprises and also a general picture of prosperity and growth despite the loss suffered by the mighty Mughal Empire.

The sources reveal that during the Mughal era several iron mines were being worked in the Hindustan region. These were located at Kalinjar, Gwalior, Kumaon, Suket Mandi( in the subah of Lahore, Beemahl and other districts in the Ajmer subah.

The earliest account of the mode of processing iron is found in Ibratnamah which was compiled in c. 1826. The author narrates that the Suket Mandi mine had an abundant deposit of a superior variety of iron ore. Ibratnama, for one, mentions the making of large cooking vessels of iron.329

Copper; Copper mines of great antiquity were to be found in Upper India. In the Singhbhum district of Bihar there was a copper bearing belt extending to about 18th miles in the length and delineated by many ancient workings.330 Benaras manufactured both copper and brass wares but more specially the latter331 while Lucknow and Delhi 332 were famous for their copper wares. We have no information regarding the working of these mines, the processing of the ore, or the details of the method employed in converting copper sheets into articles of use. However, we learn from Ain-i-Akbari that beside pure copper its alloys were compounded. Thus bronze was obtained by compounding four seers of copper with one seer of tin.333 Salt; Salt occurred mainly at two places in Northern India, at Sambhar in the subah of

329 Ibratnamah, I, 46.
331 Pelsaert, 7.
332 Hoey, op. cit., 198-200.
333 Ain. A.I, 39.
Ajmer\textsuperscript{334} and Shamshabad in the \textit{subah} of Lahore.\textsuperscript{335} While at the former the salt was obtained by evaporating the water of the lakes, a relatively simple process, the latter was the rock variety requiring more or less the skilled labour of the miners to extract it. Sugar; though evidently a rural product in the main, by our period some towns and cities too emerge as centres for the manufacture of sugar. The Hindustani sugar was extracted from canes. As a matter of fact, cane sugar has been regarded by some as indigenous to India.\textsuperscript{336}

\textsuperscript{334} Badaoni, II, 46;
\textsuperscript{335} A. A. II, 319.
Chapter V

The Assessment of Political, Commercial and Cultural Life during 18th century in North India
CHAPTER V

THE ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE DURING 18TH CENTURY IN NORTH INDIA

At the end of the seventeenth century, the great Mughal Empire was in a state of hopeless decay with administration, economic life, military strength and social organization falling prey to utter chaos and confusion. With the death of Aurangzeb the Mughal Princes had got involved in fratricidal internecine civil war which greatly undermined and exposed the might of the mighty Mughals.

POLITICAL CONDITION: The endless war against the Marathas in the Deccan exhausted Aurangzeb's treasury. The best soldiers and highest officers of Aurangzeb were sent to the Deccan, while the Subahs of Hindustan were left to be governed by minor officers with small contingents. The economic drain caused by Aurangzeb's continuous wars in the Deccan was disastrous in its effects. The operations of the imperial armies led to a total destruction of crops and countryside. When the last reserve of the Empire was exhausted, the imperial government made reckless promises of money grant and high command to enemies. But it was not possible to keep all these promises. Even when the grants of land or jagir in lieu of salary were made, they remained for years as mere orders in paper.

Thus all classes of lawless men began to raise their heads in the north as well in the south. The proud zamindars, the Afghans, the Jats, the Mewatis and the Rajputs – all rose in defiance of the government. The local viceroys could not cope with them. The actual administration of the Mughal jagirs proved ruinous to the peasants and harmful to the State. A vicious circle was formed: political disorder led to collection of less money from the jagirs; the reduced income forced the Governors to keep less troops in their pay; military weakness encouraged lawlessness among the people which in turn led to loss of land revenue.

The weakening of imperial government led to the deterioration of the character of the Mughal nobility. They ceased to discharge the useful functions and looked only for self-interest. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes:
To the thoughtful student of Mughal history nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only. Abdur Rahim and Mahabat, Sadullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrahim and Islam Khan Rumi, who had made the history of India in the seventeenth century, were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson, even half as capable as themselves.

After the death of Aurangzeb on February 20, 1707, the mighty Mughal Empire fell like a house of cards. A long succession struggle among his three living sons – Muazzam (Shah Alam), Azam and Kam Baksh – followed. Muazzam ascended the throne in 1707 under the title Bahadur Shah I. He was too weak to prevent the decline of the Empire. Bahadur Shah’s death in 1712 was followed by a fresh war of succession among his four sons. Ultimately Jahandar Shah (1712-13), a worthless, debauch, became emperor after liquidating his three brothers. He, in turn, was murdered by Farrukhsiyar (1713-19), who succeeded him. Farrukhsiyar owed his kingship to the two Saiyyid brothers – Abdulla, Deputy Governor of Allahabad and Hussain Ali, Deputy governor of Bihar. The ascendancy of the Saiyyid brothers excited the jealousy of Farrukhsiyar who attempted to get rid of them. But the Saiyyid brothers punished the Emperor by deposing and executing him in a horrible way. The king-makers choice now fell upon a youth who proved to be clever and disposed of them in the course of two years. This youth was Muhammad Shah (1719-48) who allowed the empire to drift to endless confusion and anarchy. The polities that emerged upon the collapse of the Mughal Empire were of demonstratly two, kinds. In one class were the ‘succession states’ like Hyderabad, Bengal and Awadh, which were really fragments of the Empire, that had to stand upon their own feet as the central government decayed and became powerless to assist. They inherited more or less the entire Mughal machinery of administration in a working order. In the second category were the Maratha confederacy, the Jats and the Sikhs, and the Afghans. Their origins as polities were independent of the Mughal Empire, though they might occasionally come to term with it, or, indeed, in the case of the first two, even acknowledge the nominal supremacy of the Mughal Emperor. They were clearly the products of crises that we have touched upon. While they might use certain Mughal administrative institutions for their own purposes, their mode of government was by and large antithetical to that of the Empire, and could not be reconciled with it. Mughal professional cavalry could indeed survive within the
Maratha confederacy, but only as Pindaris, that is, as real historical Draculas, who drank up the blood of their new masters. The entire contradiction is summed up in the protest expressed by Azad Bilgrami in 1761 that the

India of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century partially failed politically to make progress. Though it progressed socially and culturally but economically it found in humble with the declining Mughal Empire. The increasing revenue demands of the state, the oppression of the officials the greed and rapacity of the nobles, revenue-farmers, and Zamindars. The marches and counter-marches of the rival armies and the depredations of the numerous adventurers roaming the land during the first half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century made the life of the people quite wretched. India of those days was also a land of contrasts. Extreme poverty existed side by side with extreme riches and luxury. On the one hand, there were the rich and powerful nobles, steeped in luxury and comfort, while on the other hand backward, oppressed and impoverished peasants living at the bare subsistence level and having to bear all sorts of injustices and inequities. Even so the life of the Indian masses was by and large better at this time than it was after over 100 years of British rule at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{337}

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

The increasing revenue demands of the state, the domination and greed of the Zamindars, revenue farmers and the plunder of the buccaneers made the life of the people miserable. However, the life of the Indian masses was by and large better than it was at the end of the nineteenth century.

Of the two main springs of the Indian economy, agriculture and small industry, agriculture was the most important. But it was technically backward and stagnant. The techniques of production had remained stationary for centuries. The peasant tried to make up for technical backwardness by working very hard. Cultivation depended on climate and the single factor which dominated the Indian agriculture was the monsoon. The failure of rain resulted in famines. The peasant had to work hard to meet the demands of the state, the zamindar and the revenue farmers. Peasant performed miracles of production, moreover, he did not usually suffer from shortage of land. But unfortunately he seldom reaped the fruits of his

\textsuperscript{337} Ibid.
labour. Even though it was his produce that supported the rest of the society, his own reward was miserably inadequate. The state, the Zamindars, the Jagirdars, and the revenue farmers tried to extract the maximum amount from him. Village industry kept a great part of the population engaged in economic pursuits. The proper balance between agriculture and industrial labour made the economic condition not too dismal. Even though Indian villages were largely self-sufficient and imported little from outside and the means of communication were backward, extensive trade within the country and between India and other countries of Asia and Europe was carried on under the Mughals.

ECONOMIC CONDITION: Despite the backwardness of the means of communication, inland and foreign trade was carried on under the Mughals. The chief imports were: bullion, raw silk, horses, metals, ivory, precious stones, velvets, brocades, perfumes, drugs, porcelain. Here exports were various: textiles, pepper, indigo, opium, saltpetre and miscellaneous goods.

The most important industry in India was the manufacture of cotton cloth. The principal centres of cotton manufacture were distributed throughout the country. Dacca was reputed to produce delicate Muslin fabrics ‘the best and finest cloth made of cotton.’ Bernier observes: “There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindustan..., but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe’. Though Bengal was the premier Centre of silk production, silk weaving was practiced in Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Gujarat. Shawl and carpet weaving industries flourished in Kashmir, Lahore and Agra, shipbuilding industry flourished in Maharashtra, Andhra and Bengal. According to an English observer: ‘In shipbuilding they (the Indians) probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them.’

The Mughals in the eighteenth century encouraged trade and commerce. ‘The Mogul, magnificent and ostentatious, required every article of luxury. Towns and cities grew out of this spirit. The riches carried annually to Delhi did not stagnate there. The internal commerce of the Empire and the spirit of the people

\footnote{Ibid.}
gave full employment to the foreign influence of wealth. The production of each province and the performance of every art were in high demand'.

The economic results of the foreign trade were beneficial to India. Foreign traders exported from India cotton and silk goods, raw silk and saltpetre to European markets. The imports arising out of foreign trade did not disturb the favourable balance on account of the gold and silver bullion which the English and Dutch merchants brought to India. India occupied a premier place in world trade and industry in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Peter the Great of Russia was constrained to admit:

Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world and .... he who can exclusively command it is the dictator of Europe.

Items for imports-

India imported pearls, raw silk, wool, dates, dried fruits, and rose water from the Persian Gulf region; coffee, gold, drugs, and honey from Arabia, tin, sugar, porcelain, and silk from China; gold musk and woollen cloth from Tibet; tin from Singapore; spices, perfumes, arrak and sugar from the Indonesian islands; ivory and drugs from Africa; and woollen cloth, metals such as copper, iron and lead paper from Europe.339

Items for Export-

India’s most important article of export was cotton textiles which were famous all over the world for their excellence and were in demand everywhere India also exported raw silk and silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpetre, opium, rice, wheat, sugar pepper and other spices, precious stones and drugs. Since India was on the whole self-sufficient in handicrafts and agricultural products, it did not import foreign goods on a large scale. On the other hand, its industrial and agricultural products had a steady market abroad.

Consequently, it exported more than it imported and its trade was balanced by import of silver and gold. In fact, India was known as a sink of precious

metals.\textsuperscript{340} Constant warfare and disruption of law and order in many areas during the 18\textsuperscript{th} century harmed the country’s internal trade and disrupted its foreign trade to same extent and in some directions. All these factors had an injurious effect on trade thought much less than generally believed. The impoverishment of the nobles, who were the largest consumers of luxury products in which trade was conducted, also injured internal trade. In fact, at the dawn of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, India was one of the main centres of world trade and industry.\textsuperscript{341} Peter the Great of Russia was led to exclaim. “Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the exclusively command it is the dictator of Europe”.

Historians disagree whether there was overall economic decline as a result of the decay of the Mughal Empire and the rise of a large number of autonomous states or whether trade and agricultural and handicraft production continued to grow in some parts of India. At the same time, it is true that there was less economic distress or decline in agricultural and handicraft production in the Indian states of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century than was to result from the impact of British colonialism in the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries.\textsuperscript{342}

SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS: The Social condition of the people is a subject of deep interest and important for India, as it is much more so, on account of its antiquity i.e., the long history of the social institutions and the variegated nature of the population. Social life in the 18th century was marked by stagnation. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 not only created political instability, but its impact was felt in society.

Caste was the main feature of Hindu society. As there were no progressive movements in the eighteenth century, the caste prejudices were at their height. There were numerous castes and subs castes whose baneful effect has been described by Tavernier. Individual’s life and occupation were determined by their caste. Intercaste marriage was unthinkable. Eating with other castes was equally forbidden. Restrictions were so strictly endorsed that any one violating the rules

\textsuperscript{340} Majumdar, R.C. British Paramount and India Renaissance Part-2, Vidya Bhavan, 1981. Bombay, p.156.
\textsuperscript{342} Ibid.
faced social boycott. It was, of course, possible for a person to acquire a higher social status by acquisition of high office. Muslims were no less divided by considerations of caste, race, tribe and status. The Irani, Turani, Afghan and Hindustani Muslim nobles were conscious of their own race. Moreover, the sharif Muslims consisting of nobles, scholars and priests, looked down upon the ajlaf Muslims or the lower caste Muslims.

The condition of the lower orders was hard as compared with higher classes. Francisco Pelsaert writes that there were in his time “three classes of people who are indeed nominally free but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery – workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers”. The family system in India was primarily patriarchal, that is the family was dominated by the males and inheritance was through the male line. A European traveller, Abbe J.A. Dubois, observed at the beginning of the 19th century; “A Hindu woman can go anywhere alone, even in the most crowded places... A house inhabited solely by women is a sanctuary which the most shameless libertine would not dream of violating”. Despite the subjection and the miserable state of women, there were rare examples of their individuality and wisdom. Child marriage was widely prevalent. Polygamy was an old social evil. It was confined not only to the Hindus but to Muslims as well. However, it did not become a common vice among the general population. Dowry system was prevalent. The Maratha society, however, did not encourage acceptance of dowries. The marriage regulations of the Marathas “convinced a liberal spirit that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants”.

Apart from the caste system, two great social evils of the 18th century India, were the custom of Sati and the condition of widows. Sati involved the immolation of the Hindu widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband. It was an ancient custom which was widely prevalent in various parts of India, especially in Rajputana and Bengal. The custom appeared revolting to the Europeans. The Danes at Serampore, the Dutch at Chinsura and the French at Chandernagore did not allow Sati to be performed within their respective jurisdictions. Widows belonging to higher classes and higher castes could not remarry, but widow remarriage was quite common among the Jat, Maharashtrians and the hill people of the north. In 1756 Raja Rajballabh of Dacca made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce widow
remarriage.

In Northern India, a region which has borne the brunt of foreign infiltration through the ages and hence has witnessed a queer mingling of races and cultures, the social condition in the second half of the nineteenth century form a theme both fascinating and baffling revealing contradictory states. The society had not been Static nature’s inexorable low of change, had operated unsparingly. Ceremonial idolatry, sacrificial ritual and superstitions had become its striking features. It was principally displayed in endeavouring to overt the anger of evil demons and in doing homage to local divinities supposed to guard the worshippers from the assaults of malignant idols, trees, rocks stones and shapeless symbols. Great attention was given to private religious usages and the performance of domestic ceremonies at birth, marriage, funeral. The popular Islam, or of other religious as of popular Hinduism can be said, that it verged on idolatry and subsisted on meaningless ritual religion in other words, had for all but another name for convention. The social institutions had lost their original rational form making conditions for from salubrious people were clinging to dead forms and were trying to draw spiritual sustenance there form.

Caste System:

Caste was the central feature of the social life of the Hindus. Hindus were divided into numerous castes (Jats) which differed in their nature from place to place. The caste system rigidly divided people and permanently fixed their place in the social scale. Caste rules were extremely rigid. Inter caste marriages were forbidden. There were restrictions on interlining among members of different castes. In some cases persons belonging to higher castes would not take food touched persons of the lower castes. Castes often determined the choice of profession, though exceptions did occur. Caste regulations were strictly enforced by caste councils and panchayats and caste chiefs through fines, penances (prayaschitya) and expulsion from the caste. Caste was a major divisive force and element of disintegration in the India of 18th century.

343 Ibid.
344 Bipan Chandra- 1971, Delhi, p.39.
Muslims were no less divided by considerations of caste, race, tribe, and status, even though their religion enjoined social equality. The Shia and Sunni nobles were sometimes at loggerheads on account of their religions differences. The Irani, Afghan, Turani and Hindustani Muslim nobles and officials after stood apart from each other. A large Muslim of Hindus converted to Islam carried their caste into the new religion and observed its distinction, though not as rigidly as before. Moreover, the Sharif Muslims consisting of nobles, scholars, priests and Muslim in a manner similar to that adopted by the higher caste Hindus towards the lower caste Hindus.\textsuperscript{345} "The last down word step", faithfully possible because of all that had gone before it, was the acceptance of the custom of excluding the women of the upper castes, in women's apartment and cutting them off from all participation in public life. Purdah was maintained generally by the Muslim women, and also by some sections of the Hindu women. Particularly belonging to the upper and well-to-do classes. There was no purdah amongst the women in ancient India, but it slowly crept into the Hindu society. Purdah was more strictly observed in North India than in the south in fact, wherever the influence of Muslim was strong, the women were kept in seclusion.\textsuperscript{346}

In the lower strata of society, for instance, the peasants and working classes, this custom could not be observed as the women had to help the man in his economic pursuits. But even amongst these classes an unmarried girl was not allowed to go unescorted. The married women would hide or cover her faces in the presence of elders and also from the husband when he met her in the company of others.\textsuperscript{347}

Polygamy was prevalent among both the upper and lower classes of Muslim society, though ordinarily it was not encouraged peoples of lower class were normally monogamist, and their lives usually had no rivals in their homes. But those with adequate economic stability could afford to indulge in the extravagant luxury of maintaining several wives.\textsuperscript{348} Polygamy was allowed in Islam and a man could marry as many as four wives at a time, besides concubines, and this practice was not

\textsuperscript{345} Ibid., p.40.
\textsuperscript{346} Dr. P.N. Ojha, North India Social life, Oriental Publishers & Distributors, 1975, p.123.
\textsuperscript{347} Manmohan Kaur, Women in India's Freedom Struggle, Steering Publishers Private Limited, 1975, p.21
\textsuperscript{348} Dr. P.N. Ojha – North India Social life, Oriental Publishers Distributors, 1975, p.132.
disfavored by the Mughal Emperors. Therefore, all the Mughal Emperors form Babar to Aurangzeb was polygamous, and had several wives in addition to a number of concubines. The life of Muslim women under a polygamous husband was nothing but a pathetic tale, though they led a very luxurious life whose pomp splendor and luxury could only be imagined by a common lady of the Mughal Period. No doubt, when the first wife was alone, she was loved and respected by all, but with the arrival of her co-wife, her position changed adversely and she felt inferior. She suffered trouble not only from co-wife, but also from her relatives. The first always tried to satisfy her husband so that others are deprived of his attention. The entrance of the co-wife, in general, was not liked by the first wife. So far as the relation between co-wives is concerned, very few were cordial and friendly. Generally, they never trusted each other as their enmity knew no bounds. Sometimes a neglected wife tried to draw the attention of her husband by means of costly dress, jewelry and perfumes and sweet anointments.

Thus, it is crystal clear that though Muslim ladies hated the life of co-wives but were helpless. In an age where polygamy was a common practice hey had to surrender to this evil custom of accepting co-wives and becoming co-wives themselves.

Education

Muslim education in India, during the period under review, was imparted by three fold agencies, viz. (a) Madrasas, Colleges (b) Mosques and Khanqas and Makhtabs and private houses. Education of Muslim women, especially, belonging to the higher and well to do classes, also made a considerable progress in our period.

Arrangements had been made, under Emperor Akbar, for giving suitable education to the inmates of the royal haram, and he is also said to have established a girl’s school in his palace at Fatehpur Sikri. In the Massir-i-Alamgiri we find a reference to the education of the females of his haram under his directions, learnt the necessary rules and doctrines of religion, and all engaged in the worship of God, reading and transcribing the ‘Quran’. The various customs and practices relating to

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350 Ibid., p.51.
351 Dr. P.N. Ojha, North India Social Life, Oriental Publishers Distributors, 1975, p.92.
female education in Muslim India, and he rightly holds that there was a number of education institutions for women in the different parts of this country, mostly attached to the private house. Muslim widows generally regarded it to be their duty to each up young girls in their own houses. The holy Quran formed their chief textbook. The absence of education amongst women was largely responsible for their low status in society.

Education was not completely neglected in India. The Hindus and Muslims realized the value of higher learning and took pains to have their sons educated as thoroughly as possible. However education was, by and large, traditional. There were a few distinct categories of indigenous institutions. At the lowest level, there were the village *pathsalas* or primary schools to impart elementary education. Governments did not concern themselves with education. Besides arithmetic, religion, tales from Ramayana and Mahabharata were taught. Like the Hindu *pathasalas*, there were *maktabs* for the Muslims which imparted elementary education to them.

For higher education, there were the *tols* and the *madrasas* which were generally patronized by the rulers, landlords the wealthy persons. Both in the north and south, there existed numerous private *tols*. In the city of Calcutta, there were 28 tols in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The madrasas were not numerous, but their conditions were better. Persian was the court language and hence, Hindus and Muslims were eager to learn it. Enlightenment, arising out of rationalism, curiosity and research had to wait till the advent of the British. Education became a responsibility of the Company Government when the Charter Act of 1813 provided a sum of one lakh of rupees for the cause of education including the ‘promotion of a knowledge of sciences’.

Muslim the most important festivals observed by the Muslim of the district are Barawafat, Shab-e-Barat, Id-ul-Fitr, Id-ul-Azha, Giarohvin Sharif and Musharum, the last named being on occasion for morning rather than a festival. Their occurrence corresponds with particular dates in the Islamic calendar, which is

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352 Ibid., pp.92, 93.
a lunar one. Asaf al-Daula's efforts to refocus the Awadh center on himself met with the greatest success in the creation of Lucknow as a distinctive and significant cultural center, not only for the province but for North India and beyond. Under his patronage and direction, Lucknow became the center of a poetic school, a sophisticated lifestyle, and religious expression on a scale that surpassed anything else in India at the time. The high culture which it embodied drew not so much on the traditions of the province of Awadh as upon the Persio-Islamic traditions of the Mughals and the Nawab-Wazirs. In creating this center, Asaf al-Daula set the tone for Lucknow that continues even until today.

In order to transfer the cultural center of North India from Delhi to Lucknow, Asaf al-Daula tried to draw as many established luminaries as possible to his court. Seeking to create a distinctive style for his own court, Asaf al-Daula patronized a new generation of artistic performers and courtiers who took established forms further and created a new Lucknow school of cultured expression. Not content only to match the fading glories of other capitals, Asaf al-Daula sought to surpass them all, even by going to extremes. Certainly the most prominent art form of the age was Urdu.

While Persian remained the recognized language of administration and cultured prose, Urdu had become the urban vernacular and the language of most popular poetry. To embellish his court, Asaf al-Daula gathered to Lucknow most of the renowned Urdu poets of his day. By lavishly bestowing stipends and gifts on poets, and noblemen who kept poets, Asaf al-Daula stripped the Mughal court of almost the last of its glory. The contrast between the poverty and insecurity of Delhi, sacked repeatedly and deprived of its revenue-producing lands, and Lucknow, flowing with wealth and honor, proved too much for all but a few poets. Even those who loved Delhi for what it had been and as their home, who looked with disdain on Lucknow as an upstart and frivolous court, succumbed to Asaf al-Daula's invitation and immigrated.

Poets were considered to be the jewels which adorned a court. One

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Esha Basanti Joshi, Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Bareilly, Published by the Government Uttar Pradesh, 1968, Lucknow, p.86.
contemporary, writing a history of the Awadh court, declaimed the names and "pen-names" of those who attended on Asaf al-Daula. Many of these poets remain famous even today.

Among the most prominent Urdu poets who came to Lucknow were the recognized masters of Delhi Mirza Rafi "Sauda" (1713-1780/1) both ridiculed Delhi's decay and yet loved the city. His satirical Qasida-i Tazhid-i-Rozgar, "Ode to the Incongruity of the Age," for example, decries the shabby vain-glory of the noblemen of Delhi. Other poems, however, describe his feeling of loss at having left that city and his sense of isolation wherever he wandered. Even after finding honor and fortune in Asaf al-Daula's capital during the last years of his life, Sauda realized that his style recalled the past and did not conform to the new tastes developing in Lucknow.

Mir Taqi "Mir" (1722-1810), the finest writer of the lyric ghazal of his age, also grudgingly left Delhi for Lucknow. Although he received respect and a generous pension and wrote the last three of his six diwans, or "collections," there, he too could not adjust to Lucknow and its new style. His deeply emotional and sincere verse appeared old-fashioned in Asaf al-Daula's court, yet his mere presence brought fame to it.

Mir Ghulam Hasan (c. 1735-1786) and Mir "Soz" brought still more prominence to Lucknow with their arrivals. The former wrote romantic Masnavi that are considered the best in Urdu. Asaf al-Daula recognized the excellence of the latter's ghazal by appointing him his ustad or poetry teacher. Shaykh Ghulam Humdahi "Mushafin" (c. 1750-1824), Shaykh Qalandar Bakhsh "Jurat" (1810) and

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Insha Allah Khan "Insha" (c. 1756-1818) all joined the flood to Lucknow where they found patronage and a memory of Delhi as clients of Sulayman Shukuh; brother to the Mughal Emperor. He too had abandoned Delhi and found prestige and a pension from the Awadh ruler. Indeed, only Khwaja Mir "Dard" (1721-1785), of the major poets of Delhi, remained in that declining city. Thus, by enticing almost all the famous poets of the age to his court, Asaf al Daula achieved immediate status for his new capital, largely at the cost of its main rival, Delhi.

Asaf al-Daula's identification with the poetic world he was creating can be seen in his own poetic works. He, at least one of his wives, most of his successors, and many of his prominent courtiers and officials were poets in their own right, some of recognized quality even today. Poets and poetry were highly valued expressions of Asaf al-Daula's image of himself and his court; as such, they received a great deal of his attention.

Over time, the tone and style of Urdu poetry developed and the Lucknow court became identified as a distinct school of highly elaborate and refined verse, delighting in facility of technique and device. The older masters from Delhi either tried to adapt themselves to it or fell out of fashion and condemned the style. The Mughal court had, after all, been the political, military, and economic center of one of the most powerful empires the world had ever known. The pride that distinguished its culture still expressed itself in their poetry, mitigated as it was by the recognition that Mughal glory belonged to the past. Lucknow, in contrast, was a new capital. Despite its wealth and show, the Awadh court had only limited political and military power. Increasingly under the practical domination of the Company, the Awadh rulers and capital nevertheless refused to relinquish their imperial pretensions. The Lucknow school of poetry can be seen to reflect this emphasis on form rather than deep involvement with subject matter.

As the masters from Delhi faced from the poetic world of a Lucknow, a new generation of poets, trained in that city's style, took over the leadership of the

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355 Munshi Sital Parshad lists some of them by their pen names: Barq, Qalaq, Mihr and Asif, fol. 172
356 Hermann Goetz argues that the Lucknow court epitomized an overripe culture which had reached a peak of artistic refinement even as it had lost its moral and social purpose. Goetz, passim.
cultural world. Two ustad, 'Shaykh Imam Bakhsh "Nasikh( (?)-1838) "and Khwaja " Hayder ‘Ali "Atish" (1785-1847), emerged as rival arbiters of the new fashion in word choice and style. While recognized as masters of the poetic art they are regarded today as placing disproportionate emphasis on the art and forms of poetry rather than on its meaning. Some of their less intellectual students and colleagues are criticized as too "fleshy" in that they dwell on the forms of love and the female with little emotional commitment. As its best, this style demonstrates facility of the poetic art; at its worst it serves largely to titilate.

One branch of the Lucknow school took this approach to its extreme through the employment of Rekhti, or poetry written in the dialect of women. Since the noblewomen of the age, both Muslim and Hindu, practiced _parda._ or isolation from males, even to the extent that their veiled forms should not be seen, their Urdu had developed a distinctive vocabulary and style. Sadat yar Khan "Rangin" (1756-1834) who had also immigrated to Lucknow and became the client of the Mughal prince Sulayman Shukuh there, developed this into a genre of poetry. Not only did it utilize the dialect of women, it addressed intimate issues from the female perspective. While Urdu poetry normally speak of love for a beloved (be it a woman, a young boy or, metaphorically, the male point of view rekhti follows the usual Hindu devotional tradition by adopting the voice of a female. Some practitioners of rekhti recited while dressed as women, often not for purposes of devotion but rather to amuse the audience by the effect. It is this extreme that is often taken as characteristic of the Lucknow school.357

In addition to Urdu poetry in a style that reflected his own identity and that of the age, Asaf al-Daula sought to develop other artistic and intellectual expressions as well. Determined to make his capital a center of high culture, he unstintingly supported scholars of Persian and Arabic," artists (both Indian and European), musicians, and all manner of performers and artisans. Mughal princes, European adventurers, merchants, and travellers, Asaf al-Daula gave generously to virtually all of them. In so doing, he spread the fame of his court throughout the subcontinent. Recipients of Asaf al-Daula's gifts did not even have to ask for them.

357 Critics of Asaf al-Daula's masculinity have found in the rekhti evidence for their accusations. Whatever his personality, Asaf al-Daula clearly presided over and identified closely with the poetry of his capital.
When George III recovered from one of his bouts with what was then regarded as insanity, Asaf al-Daula sent a letter of congratulation together with 60,000 rupees (including 10,000 from his Minister), half for the attending physician, half to be distributed as charity in England. In these and other ways, Asaf al-Daula attempted to spread the renown of his court.

As he created Lucknow as a cultural center, Asaf al-Daula evidenced concern as to how the rest of the world viewed him and his creation. He maintained Wakils, or agents, at the other important courts of the sub-continent including those of Scindhia, the Peshwa, the Raja of Jaipur and the Nawab of Rampur, as well as the Mughal Emperor and the Governor General. These Wakils described the glories of Lucknow and their master to the courts where they were stationed. Further, they linked Awadh to the political and cultural network spread across India. Thus interested in his image in the outside world, Asaf al-Daula protested strongly when adverse criticism of Awadh appeared in a Calcutta newspaper. He even suggested that the Governor General censor the paper for its "defamatory remarks."

In order to provide the level of pomp and state that he felt his capital deserved, Asaf al-Daula began massive construction of palaces and public buildings. To staff his palaces, he devoted a significant portion of his revenues to the maintenance of an army of servants in a variety of household departments. The most detailed list of this establishment is for the Fasli, or fiscal, year 1191 (1784-85 A.D.) in which more than 6,912 servants are detailed, with salaries totalling 540,790 rupees annually. Included among the 38 different categories were kitchen servants (numbering 1,261, at an average salary of 48 rupees each), elephant drivers and stable attendants (2,882 at 58 rupees each), pigeon house attendants (142 at 152 rupees each), candle snuffers (3 at 220 rupees each), and painters (2 at 690 rupees each). In addition, there were the expenses of various departments such as the kitchen (75,000 rupees) and the catching and feeding of elephants and other livestock (1,398,000 rupees). The total household expenses were 4,609,437 rupees.

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358 Nawab Vizier to Governor General, 11 August 1789, CPC, 8:575, No. 1343. This was five times the annual pension given by the British king.
359 MS OR 4609, British Library. Akbar of September 1795. Resident to Governor General, 9 September 1795, BPC, 2 October 1795, No. 29.
360 Tafezzul Husayn Khan to Governor General, 18 April 1794, CPC, 9:75.
33 per cent of the total budget and approximately 21 per cent of the gross revenues of Awadh for that year.\footnote{MS Add, 29093, fols. 81a-82b, British Library.}

Distinctive to the Awadh court, however, and emphasized by Asaf al-Daula and his successors, was the particularly Shi'i character of much of what they did. The culture which they worked to develop drew heavily on Shi'i traditions. Since, as we have seen, very few of the landholders or people of the province were Shi'ites, this emphasis on the part of the Awadh rulers had only a limited audience. Even within, the capital, relatively few were Shi'ites. Nevertheless, the audience with which the Awadh rulers identified and were most concerned to speak to were either Shi'ites or were people willing to accept some Shi'i symbolic expressions. The mourning for the Shi'i martyrs of the 7th century A.D. commemoration each year during the month of Muharram, for example, draws upon specifically Shi'i themes: building of models of the martyrs' tombs, long dirges, recited or sung, recounting their agonies; sympathetic suffering that frequently takes the form of self-flagellation; cursing of the caliph Yazid who ordered them slaughtered because they posed a threat to his rule.

While all these themes are particularly Shi'i, under the Awadh rulers, they became part of a civic function in which people of all communities took part. For instance, Khwaja Hasan Maududi although a Sunni, developed the art of soz khwani or dirge-chanting in a musical framework.\footnote{Sharar, pp.147-48.} Sunnis and members of Hindu jatis frequently joined Shi'ites in Muharram processions. In sum, under the Awadh rulers, Shi'i themes were central components in the court culture; to the extent that one identified with the latter, one participated in the former.

Much of Asaf al-Daula's building campaign concentrated on edifices with a Shi'i purpose. His mosques drew worshippers who followed the Shi'i prayer ritual. His imambaras sheltered audiences for the several kinds of dirges recounting the events surrounding the martyrs' deaths and housed models of their tombs. Gifts of the Asafi canal and at least 800,000 rupees for charity were made by the Awadh rulers to Karbala', site of the martyrs' death in Iraq.\footnote{E.g. Nawab Vizier to Resident, 11 September 1816, BPC, 20 February 1818. Resident to Secretary to Government, secret and political, 17 October 1827, BPC, 16 November 1827, No. 12.}
In addition, Asaf al-Daula supported numerous Shi'i scholars. He instituted in Awadh, and his successors continued, the office of Mujahid al-asr, highest authority in religious law of the age." This distinctly Shi'i office recognizes the ability to reinterpret even the fundamental principles of Islam, an ability the Sunnis believe mankind no longer possesses. The right of Asaf al-Daula, as the subordinate of a Sunni Emperor, to officially recognize such a distinctly Shi'i office remains highly questionable and it reemphasizes his reliance on Shi'i rather than Sunni sources of authority. In these ways Asaf al Daula established Lucknow as the center of a distinctive culture which he himself largely defined. It was to this that he devoted many of his resources, and those of his province.

Cultural activities came to a standstill. Men of learning depended upon princely patronage. There was little sign during these years of cultural vitality or of creative religious thought. Literary activity, of course, did not entirely cease. Later Mughals like Bahadur Shah and Muhammad Shah, subadars like Murshid Quli and Alivardi Khan, and Zamindars like Raja Krishna Chandra of Nadia, Asadullah of Birbhum and many others were patrons of arts and letters. The literature of this period, with the exception of the devotional songs of Ram Prasad, was of a low order. However, Urdu language grew in vivacity and it produced brilliant poets like Mir, Sanda, Nazir, and in the 19th century Mirza Ghalib. Similarly, Malayalam literature took a great stride under the patronage of the Travancore rulers, Martanda Varma and Rama Varma. The great poet of Kerala, Kunchan Nambiar, lived at this time. Kerala also witnessed the full development of Kathakali, literature, drama and dance.

The best exponents of Sittar poetry in Tamil was Tayaumanavar (1706-44). The Ahom Kings of Assam were great patrons of literature. Dayaram, one of the great lyricists of Gujarat, produced his work in the second half the eighteenth century. Sindhi literature was entrenched by the works of Sachal, Sami and Shah Abdul Latif, the last being the author of the famous collection of poems, Risalo.

Art and architecture which depended to a large extent on the patronage of kings and nobles suffered visibly during the eighteenth century. No great buildings were erected after 1750. Only in Oudh was the building tradition maintained.
Painting, in its Mughal and Rajput forms, suffered a similar eclipse. However, a new style of painting, Kangra school, flourished in Rajputana in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The most refreshing feature of the period was the amicable relations of the Hindus and the Muslims. In fact, there was little communal bitterness in the country. Abdullah Khan, one of the Sayyid brothers, observed the Basant and Holi festivals, and Siraj-ud-Daulah and Mir Zafar similarly enjoyed Holi festivals. Daulatrao Sindhia and his officers joined the Muharam procession. Durga Puja was celebrated at the Delhi court.

**Id-ul-Fitr:**

After the long fasts of the month of Ramazan came the much awaited Id-ul-Fitr. The great day of feasting depended on the appearance of the moon, and could be delayed by one day if the “Hilal-i-Id” did not come out as expected.\(^{365}\) Id-ul-Fitr falls on the first of the month of Shawwal when thanksgiving parfears are offered by Muslim men in mosques for the successful completion of the fasts of the previous month of Ramadan.\(^{366}\) The special sweet dish, vermicelli, (Sivaeia) prepared on the occasion gives it another name mithi or sweet Id. People gave alms in accordance with the injunctions in the traditions wore their best clothes, assembled in the mosques to say their parers and then spent the rest of the day in visiting, marry making and picnicking.\(^{367}\)

**Id-ul-Zuha:**

Id-ul-Zuha or Bakra-Id is celebrated on the tenth day of the month of Zilhijja to commemorate the occasions when the prophet Ibrahim Submitted himself to the will of God. Men attend morning prayers is mosques and sheep and goats are sacrificed in God’s name.\(^{368}\) Id was celebrated for three days with great festivities, fire words and banqueting. It was the day when people were obliged to wear new

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\(^{365}\) Pushpa Suri, *Social Conditions in eighteenth century Northern India*, University of Delhi, 1977, p.154.

\(^{366}\) Esha Basanti Joshi, Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Bareilly, p.86, Lucknow, Published by the Govt. Uttar Pradesh, 1968.


\(^{368}\) Esha Basanti Joshi, Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Bareilly, Published by the Govt. Uttar Pradesh, 1968, Lucknow, p.86.
dresses and meet each other with a display of affection. The women put on their best clothes of their men before they went to the Id prayers. It was considered lucky to see them coming home after the prayers (Namaz) on the day of the festival prayers were said at the Idgah and all those who professed the faith, sacrificed animals according to their means – sheep, goats, lambs, cows and camels.\(^{369}\)

It was considered highly meritorious to sacrifice one animal for each member of the family, but since this meant heavy expenditure, one victim for the whole household was allowed. In extreme cases, several pooled resources and made joint sacrifices. Part of the flesh was distributed to the poor part among friends and the rest used by the family. Quite apart from the religious ceremonies, the festival was regarded as a day of joyful remembrances; consequently, as one of holiday and festivity among all ranks.\(^{370}\) The children had their sports and amusements and the women dressed in their choicest clothers and costly jewellery to receive or pay visits. Besides the two Ids, the great festivals of the Mussalmans, there are some others which are not properly feasts, but were, as now, generally regarded as such.\(^{371}\)

**Muharram:**

Muharram was celebrated mainly by the Muslims except the very orthodox. The objections of fanatical Sunnis were instrumental in aggravating the hostility between Shiahs and Sunnis, and led to occasional outbursts of violence, in spite of the fact that many Sunnis also participated.\(^{372}\)

The first ten days of the month of Mohammad Commemorate the tragedy of Karbala which witnessed the martyrdom of Imam Husain (the grandson of the prophet Muhammad and his companions). Although this occasion has special significance for the Shias, the Sunnis also take part in some of the observance.\(^{373}\) The Imambaras are illuminated on the eight and ninth of the month, majlis...
Religious assemblies are held from the first to the ninth and tazias are taken out in procession specially by Shias and Sunnis on the tenth day (Ashra).  

Religious and reverential, the celebrations involved a good bit of sentimental and emotional expression. Sometimes black cloths and special prayers were read by Shias. Taziyas representing Muslims erected on the plains of Karbala over the remains of Hussain were built at great expense and taken in procession through the streets, crowded with thousands of people of all communities, presenting a scene of Uttar confusion. Men and boys disguised in all kinds of quaint get-ups ran about fencing and jumping. Curiously enough, the Hindus also took part in the ceremonies.

**Barawafat:**

The Birthday of the prophet Muhammad, is celebrated on the twelfth day of Rabi-ul-Awwal when also distributed and Muslims gather to listen to discourses on the prophet’s life. On this day food was cooked in large quantities and after prayers had been read it was distributed to the poor. In some parts of the country it was more customary to keep this day as he anniversary of the Birth of the prophet, but as the *Jashn-i-Milad-i-Sharif* or the feast of the Noble Birth.

*Shab-i-Brat, meaning the night of the record, was celebrated on the fourteenth day of the month of Shaban when a sweet dish, halwa was prepared and fathahs or prayers were read over it for the benefit of the deceased ancestors. It was believed that God on this night registered all the actions men were to perform during the ensuing year.*

**Giarahvin Sharef:**

*Giarahvin Sharef* is a festival of special importance for the Sunnis of the eleventh day of the month of Rabi-us-Sani in honour of Abdul Qadir Jilani, an early

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374 Ibid.
376 Esha Basanti Joshi, Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Bareilly, p.87, Lucknow, Published by the Govt. Uttar Pradesh, 1968.
Muslim start of Baghda, who was acclaimed as being a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, prayers, sweets and flowers being offered in his memory on this occasion.\textsuperscript{379} Coming to the Muslim festivals, it has been mentioned before that Islam being a puritanical religion; the Muslims had too few festivals of their own.\textsuperscript{380}

Thus, we find that the in this chapter a full assessment has been made of prevailing political condition of Northern India which represented the overall picture of the decaying Mughal Empire in the following segments the economic condition which proved that Mughals had decline politically but economy had been flourishing. The socio-cultural aspects though did not change drastically so, we find full account of the socio-cultural religious and the details of the aspects related to the society of 18\textsuperscript{th} century North India.

\textsuperscript{379} Esha Basanti Joshi, Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Bareilly, Published by the Govt. Uttar Pradesh, 1968, Lucknow, p.87.
\textsuperscript{380} Ibid. and see also Pushpa Suri, Social Conditions in eighteenth century Northern India, p.153, University of Delhi, 1977, p.153.
Chapter VI

Studying Rohailkhand as an Urban, Commercial and Cultural center.
CHAPTER VI

STUDYING ROHAILKHAND AS AN URBAN COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL CENTRE.

District in the Bareilly or Rohilkhand Division, united provinces, lying between 28 1' and 28 54'N. It is bounded on the north by Nanital; on the east by Pilibhit and Shahjahanpur; on the south by Shahjahanpur and Badaun and on the west by Badaun and state of Rampur. The District of Bareilly though lying not far from the outer ranges of the Himalayas, is a gently sloping plain, with no greater variety of surface than is caused by the shifting channels of its numerous streams. Water lies almost everywhere. The most prominent physical feature is the RAMGANGA River, which traverses the south western portion. The dissolution of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century was paradoxically paralleled by the expansion of intellectual and material culture which had developed under the patronage of the imperial court in Delhi and Agra in the preceding centuries. The high mansabdars and hereditary zamindars, the erstwhile subehdars, faujdars and vassals of the emperor became practically independent of the centre, and developed their territories economically and culturally with a view to enhancing their limited sources on one hand and the grandeur of their administrative headquarters on the other. As a result, new cities and towns were founded or old villages and small towns expanded. The towns of Katehar (later Rohilkhand) being part of the imperial suba of Delhi and in close proximity to the metropolis (Delhi), were in an advantageous position to receive those scholars, poets, artists, merchants and craftsmen who were forced to leave Delhi. With settlement in different towns of Katehar, the progress of arts and crafts, learning and culture started. The Rohilla chiefs extended their full patronage to them.

Its channel has a well-defined bank at first on the south, and later on the north; but except where the stream is thus confined, the Khadar or lowland merges imperceptibly into upland, and the river varies its course capriciously through a vely 4 or 5 miles wide, occasionally wandering to a still greater distance near the surface, giving it a verdure that recalls the rice field of Bengal. The tract that the Rohillas held over two centuries ago for the short period of fifty yers is still popularly known
of by their name as Rohilkhand. Rohilla sardars displayed their interest towards encouragement of commerce. Beside land revenue, the Rohillas levied other taxes like rahdari and zakat. In 1766-7, Hafiz Rahmat khan abolished taxes on all articles of merchandise throughout his domain, though his measure was strongly opposed by his financial advisers. His object was obviously to gain popularity and to promote commerce, for such general orders were also frequently given by the Mughal government.\(^{381}\) Franklin, who visited Bareilly in 1795, described it as the ‘capital of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, a place of considerable trade’. Hafiz Rahmat Khan built a shahr panah(city wall) four miles in circumference at Pilibhit, which became a emporium of commerce during his rule.\(^{382}\)

The Afghans who migrated to and settled in Katehr should not be considered as tribes with neat ethnical boundaries. In due course most of them became known as Rohillas but to be or not to be a Rohilla was not a question of birth but could be achieved through a mixture of performance, alliance and patronage, strongly related to the phenomenon of military service; in the Persian sources frequently referred to as naukari, chakari or khidmat.\(^{383}\) It was the identity of a Rohilla warrior community which during the eighteenth century was increasingly transformed into the riyasat of Rohilkhand. Since military recruitment and education were decisive for its membership, there was no insistence at all upon purity of blood. During the seventeenth century, the soldier-like habits of the Rohillas earned them a robust image of uncivilized barbarians and roaming plunderers who raided the civilized world of Hind from their rough mountain strongholds in Roh. As such, they were not unlike other mixed bands of freebooters such as pindharis, qazaqi and lutis. The state authorities desperately needed these vagabond mountain dwellers as soldiers for their armies and tried to incorporate them into their political system. From Mughal India there had always been a strong demand for them but the period from about 1650 to 1750, was the heyday for the military entrepreneur, as the new Mughal successor states brought about another increase in the demand for a well-trained military force. Just at the time when Europe moved to the elimination of the military entrepreneur or, from, another point of view, towards the state-sponsored

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\(^{382}\) Franklin, History of Shah Alam, pp. 58-9
\(^{383}\) For a good analysis of the sixteenth-century military labour market and naukari trade in Hindustan, see Kolff's, Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy. The Ethnogenesis of the Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450-1830 (Cambridge, 1990).
professionalization of armies, private-enterprise warfare in India was at its most flourishing. Like the Italian *condottieri* or Swiss mercenaries, the common outlook of the military entrepreneurs was commercial and rational. War was indeed a well-oiled business which involved a great deal of market analysis. The recruitment and organization of troops and horses was the main pillar of this business, to which was added the extension of credit to the employer who was not always in a position to pay for these services directly in ready cash. Both quantity and scale of the trade increased dramatically during the eighteenth century. Small cavalry officers or *jam-dars*, could rise rapidly on the social ladder, acquire landed rights and achieve a princely states. These mercenary princes did not much change their former commercial outlook and continued to supply their armies to the highest bidder of "subsidies". On top of that they made money by looting or, more frequently, by levying "protection rents" under the mere threat of looting.

We should not forget that there was no clear-cut distinction between war and peace or between plundering and revenue collection, protection and highway robbery. The dividing line between the two could sometimes be blurred and depended to a large extent on the power of the robbers or their clients. In fact, looting was considered as an irregular form of tax collection by the enemy and warfare was often just a continuation of trade by other means. Afghans could change overnight from highway robbers of imperial caravans to officials collecting the imperial tolls. According to the nineteenth-century *Hayat-i Afghani* (referring to the Waziri Afghans) a group of men were known as thieves when they were fewer than ten. When they were between 10 and 200 they became plunderers (*Pl. turuk*); and warfare more than 200 they were suddenly called a (regular) army (*lashkar*).

At the time the Rohilla horse-trader Da'ud Khan began his career as a military entrepreneur and *jam-dar* in the service of one of the local zamindars, there had already been many other Rohillas from the Peshawar area who had staffed the local armies of the Katehr rajas. This was nothing exceptional as

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384 Perhaps the most efficient warlords in this open market were the officers of the English East India Company. In this respect they were the main business rivals of the Afghans.

there were many roving bands in northern India, permanently on 'die lookout for military employment. The crucial advantage of Da'ud Khan, as for many of his Rohilla fellows, was his involvement in the extensive horse and manpower traffic of Roh. What was actually needed all over the Indian subcontinent were military entrepreneurs and brokers whose supply lines of horses and mercenaries extended deep into Central Asia. Indeed, Rohillas were known as skilled cavalry troops (risala-yi talim) and often had functions connected with the cavalry such as jam-dars, defadars and risaladars. In return for these services, some of them held large tracts of land as ijradars or zamindars. Others had settled more to the south as they were invited by the Mughal authorities to counterbalance local Rajput disaffections. Sometimes they were even encouraged to replace the local peasants with their own tribesmen from Roh. Like fee Rohilla chiefs and the Khweshgis of Kasur, the Daudzai Afghans also began as horse-traders and made impressive careers as Mughal mansab-dars. In the mid-seventeenth century they founded the Rohilla colonies of Shahjahanpur and Shahabad, also situated in Katehr and bordering on the Terai. Shahjahanpur appears to be a neat copy of the common Yusufzai city pattern, with 52 separate quarters being in order to accommodate all the various clans and sub-tribes.

Those who took service under a mercenary jam-dar and mounted his horses were called bargirs (litt. burdentakers). Other individuals could join his band possessing a horse of their own, called khudaspas or silahdrs. The latter received a

386 Nur ud-Din, Tawarikh, f.94a. Some of them were Jat and Rajput peasants, who had temporary left their fields in order to find additional sources of wealth and status during the campaign season, roughly from December to June. Some of them were from among the poorest classes. Nur ud-Din, for example, mentions a group of sweepers, all of them carrying matchlocks, who were summoned by the local zamindars in case of emergency. They were not rewarded in cash but with a sir of flour and a little dal and tobacco. These recruits from the poorer classes were mostly footsoldiers and had only a local radius of action.

387 Hafiz Rahmat, Khulasat, f.91a. Ahmad °Ali, Nazahat, f.10b.

388 For an example of this, see NAI, Oriental Records Division, no.3: "Mughal farman concerning a grant of watan-jagir to Afridi Afghans in the village Lohari in the district of Saharanpur."

389 The Daudzai were a section of the Ghoriya tribe which in the sixteenth century had moved from Ghazi to Nangrahar and from there to the Peshawar area where they arrived at around the same time as the Yusufzai.

390 E.T. Atkinson (ed.), Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the N-W Provinces of India, vol. 9.1: Shahjahanpur (Allahabad, 1883), pp. 143-5; Mahabat Khan, Akhbar-i Mahabbat, BM.Or. 1714, ff.264-70. In the villages of Swat also each clan had its own quarter (kandi, or mahalla), mostly enclosed by a mud wall with its own mosque, guesthouse and tower, all of which symbolized and expressed the independent status of the Clan and its elder (malik, i.e., "king") (Mohammad Hayat, Afghanistan, pp.115-18).
higher pay as they folly provided their own equipment. The cavalryman's market value - he was earning at least four times as much as a footman - was for a great deal dependent upon the life of their horse. This was one of the reasons why violence was often as long as possible averted.\footnote{Traver, \textit{Hints}, pp.36-42; CM. Carmichael, \textit{A Rough Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Irregular Horse of the Bengal Amy} (Calcutta, n.d), p.2.} Some of the business risk of loosing the horse was anticipated by the formation of an insurance fund \textit{(chanda)} which consisted of individual payments by all the members of the band and which enabled quick replacement of horses.\footnote{Traver, \textit{Hints}, p.86.} This practice had already been the rale among the Yusufzai tribes in Peshawar and continued in operation in the irregular cavalry corps of the East India Company.\footnote{Elphinstone, \textit{Account}, 1, p.219.} 

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, economic growth and increased monetization also facilitated the recruitment of mercenaries. Of course, mercenaries could always be paid in kind but the most powerful incentive was specie. Even when the employer paid in kind or plunder, it could be easily converted into cash at a local bazaar or with bankers who always accompanied the campaigning army.\footnote{Wendel, \textit{Memoires}, pp. 103,131-2; Modave, \textit{Voyage}, p.309; NAI, PHD, 9-7-1782, "Minute Sir Eyre Coote on the general establishment and regulations of the army under the Presidency of Fort William" f.13; BMC, P/18/47, 14-7-1779, "Major Eyres to Brig.Gen. Stibbert", f.24; for Deccan, see: P/251/59, 19-10-1767, ff. 1071-3; R. Gone, \textit{Historical Fragments of Mughal} (London, 1805), p.418; Irvine, \textit{Army}, pp.172-3.} One of the advantages of building up hoards of plunder was the ease with which they could be used as pawns to attract new adventurers or converted into ready cash by sale. Thus, as hoards became booty, a process of dishoarding must have taken place concomitantly.

At the middle of the eighteenth century, both in Hindustani and fine Deccan, the monthly pay of a private horseman who owned his own horse was somewhere between 20 and 50 Rs.\footnote{"Guhulam Hasan Samin, "Ahmad Shah", p.60.} Most of them were recruited for only 7 or 8 months during the war season. Most probably, this represented a small rise of payment compared to the previous century when the pay was about 25 Rs.\footnote{Wendel, \textit{Memoires}, pp. 103,131-2; Modave, \textit{Voyage}, p.309; NAI, PHD, 9-7-1782, "Minute Sir Eyre Coote on the general establishment and regulations of the army under the Presidency of Fort William" f.13; BMC, P/18/47, 14-7-1779, "Major Eyres to Brig.Gen. Stibbert", f.24; for Deccan, see: P/251/59, 19-10-1767, ff. 1071-3; R. Gone, \textit{Historical Fragments of Mughal} (London, 1805), p.418; Irvine, \textit{Army}, pp.172-3.} It was certainly more attractive than it was \textit{in} Iran or in Afghanistan, although the seventeenth-century Safavid salaries were nominally not much under the contemporary Mughal level. Practically, however, it seems that the lack of available cash in Iran, especially
during the eighteenth century, made payments uncertain and lower than the Indian ones. According to the Afghan scholar Muhammad Ghubar, under Ahmad Shah Durrani a cavalryman earned approximately 12 Rs and an infantry soldier 6 Rs per month. The latter would correspond roughly with the Indian level which was also around 5 or 6 Rs, but at the same time, the horsemen were considerably underpaid. When we accept, however, the more plausible figures of Rawlinson, who claims that the Durrani horsemen were paid about 280 Rs a year, this would result in a level which is comparable to the Indian standard. According to Wendell, the horseman of the Rohilla army was badly paid as he earned only 20 Rs and actually received no more than 15 Rs. The Rohilla mercenaries could find much higher rates when entering into the service of foreign employers in the area. The current rate doubled the Rohilla one, and ranged between 30 to 40 Rs. At times of battles and campaigns this could easily be increased to 50 Rs or more. Salaries of officers were much higher, somewhere around 300 Rs per month. A bandleader himself could earn an amount far above this sum because as a broker his cooperation was crucial. An independent jam-dar with a following of only 500 cavalryman could earn as much as 2000 Rs a month as he had to bear all the financial risks. Rene Madec, who in 1765 was hired by the Rohillas to collect the revenue from the territories just conquered from the Marathas, received a staggering amount of 10,000 Rs per month for his small but well-trained band of 800 sepoys. Because the Rohilla nawab declined to pay him during the winter months Madec was free to leave his service and join the Jats.

As mentioned already, probably more important than regular pay was the prospect of plunder. Share taking in plunder could be an attractive and cheap way of paying new recruits. Even after a battle was over many men could flock to the winning side in order to take a share in the spoils. Commanding a horse was of

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398 Singh, Ahmed Khan, p.304.
399 Irvine, _Army_, p. 172-3.
400 "Rawlinson,Report", p.314
402 _NAI_, PHD, 9-7-1782, "Proposition by the commander in chief for raising and maintaining a body of Mogul or Candahar cavalry", ff.1457ff.
403 _JOL&R_, MMSP, P/251/61, 29-2-1768, "Pay of Ibrahim Beg for 400 torse and 100 sepoys", f.252.
404 Barbe, _Madec_, pp.39-44.
utmost importance in this respect since cavalry was quicker to loot the enemy's
camp than the infantry, which always arrived too late and could not so easily and
quickly make off with the proceeds. Therefore, it was sometimes found more
attractive to ward off freebooting plunderers. They not only reduced the potential
rewards of plunder but could also hinder military campaigns. During the Kumaun
expedition of the Rohilla chief °Ali Muhammad Khan in 1742, the hilly and jungly
terrain was not considered suitable for quick manoeuvring of large cavalry units.
Besides, food and fodder provisioning made a large army much too cumbersome and
expensive. °Ali Muhammad determined to throw off the burden of useless banditti
and accordingly published a proclamation declaring that:

"any stranger or other person not enrolled, who should be found
inside the camp after a certain day should be punished with death.'
The rigorous execution of this menace in a few instances soon
drove away all superfluous contributed not a little to the success of
the expedition".

The pay of a cavalryman was frequently related to the quality and price of
his horse and 'the costs of its maintenance. The price of a horse determined the
sum of its annual depreciation. Whenever the horse was of a relatively cheap
country-bred race the annual write-off could be around 5 Rs whereas thoroughbred
foreign horses could fetch a sum was tenfold. In addition, there was the cost of
foraging and maintenance. During active campaigning this could increase
considerably as a result of increased demand and longer supply lines. Broadly
speaking, the general cost level for maintaining a horse was correlated to the local
availability and price level of fodder crops. The latter were widely and, most
probably, cheaply procurable in the Mian Doab and Rohilkhand, which might partly
explain the relatively low pay-level of its soldiers. Of course, horses could, also be
fed by free grazing on the cultivated lands but, obviously, only in the short run was
this a cheap way of feeding horses because it destroyed the crops and increased the

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405 E.g. British officers during the Rohilla war complained much about the indigenous cavalry forces
which snatched away all the Rohilla plunder before the eyes of the British infantry troops(J.Strachy,
406 Shiv Parshad Munshi, An Historical Relation of the Origin, Progress and Final Dissolution of
the Government of the Rohilla Afghans in the Northern Provinces of Hindostan (Tarikh-i Faiz-
Bakhsh), trans. C. Hamilton (London, 1787), pp.54-5. For the enormous costs of warfare in the
Himalayas, see G. J. Younghusband, Indian Frontier Warfare (Delhi, 1935), f.252
407 Cf. S. Haleem, "The Army of the Rulers of Amber: Sources of Recruitment and Mode of
408 On the basis of an average ten years service, see chapter 3.2.
overall cost of living. In the case of the Rohillas we find them fighting with the for the legitimate sultanate of the Mughal emperor, against Awadh for Sunni orthodoxy, against the Marathas in the spirit of jihad, and with the Durrani for the name and honour of the Afghans. Although the Rohillas became noted for their Sunni orthodoxy, this never prevented them from developing close ties of military brotherhood with local Rajputs or from making alliances with Hindu Marathas or Shia Iranis. Defection belonged to the conditions and rules of a vigorous and open military market economy equipped with a plentiful and mobile military labour force. Obviously, the best way of keeping an array or band together was success and in particular, the prospect of rich rewards and plunder.\textsuperscript{409}

Thus, it was under the conditions of a free and open military market-economy that Rohilla horse-traders and mercenaries became increasingly involved in the local rivalries and conflicts of Hindustan. In due course many of them became wealthy local magnates with high-sounding Mughal and Durrani titles and with each of them having his own local court. Obviously, even at this stage, the employment of mercenary armies, as well as the importation and breeding of war-horses, remained strategically important. This entailed a critical dependence upon the revenue of both interregional trading and local production. All this determined their overall creditworthiness and was decisive in attraction affluent bankers and merchants. At the middle of the eighteenth century the Rohilla chiefs had been extremely successful in surviving all risks, reaching the top of the imperial hierarchy, and in amassing huge financial fortunes. But at this point they were faced with the necessity of using the latter to their long-term advantage. Their foremost option for investment was of course the improvement of their newly established homeland in Rohilkhand.

THE "DUAL ECONOMY" OF THE ROHILLAS

When we take a closer look at the achievements of the Rohilla riyasat, the dual capacity of the Indo-Afghan economy comes fully into its own. In chapter three we already highlighted the significance of the Rohilla horse-breeding industry which was concentrated along the river valleys and was closely linked to the more extensive pastoralist areas to its north-west. At the same time, the Rohilla rulers

\textsuperscript{409} Cf. NAI, FPD, S, 26-11-1764, no. 19, ff.620-1.
continued to reclaim wasteland for cultivation. Already previous to Rohilla rule, large areas along the Terai or foothills of the Himalayas had been taken under the plough. Under the Rohillas this policy was vigorously continued. Thus, the rise of Rohilla power in Katehr coincided with both increased horse-breeding activities and continued land reclamation. The latter was done with the help of the indigenous population, who, often in their capacity as bonded dependents of the Rohilla landlords, became fully integrated in the expanding agrarian economy. With the gradual thrust of agriculture to the north-east, the administrative centres of the area also shifted accordingly: from the old imperial centres of Budaun and Sambhal to Moradabad, Bareiliy, Aonla, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit and Najibabad.

Despite the continued agricultural expansion, there are no signs that horse breeding suffered from this. The reclaimed land along the Terai did not infringe on the grazing lands for horses which were concentrated in the south of Rohilkhand and in the still very extensive wastes of neighbouring areas. On the contrary, from what follows it appears that both sections of the economy mutually supported each other. Moreover, the Rohillas were able to maintain this dual base thanks to their control over, and the growth of, the interregional trade within India and with Central Asia. With this in mind, let us now pay attention to the sedentary-agrarian side of the Rohilla riyasat and the latter's impact on the management of the land revenue in the area.

After the British annexation of the area in 1801, their revenue officials were perplexed with the jama figures under Rohilla rule, as well as with the great decline of the area during the last three decennia of "misrule" under the Awadh regime.

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411 Islamic invasions have often been equated with large-scale devastations of the countryside. But, as we will see, the Afghan penetration into Katehr was conducive to the agricultural development of the area. For the agricultural revolution of early Islamic expansion, see A.M. Watson, Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World. The 'Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700-1100 (Cambridge, 1983). For the intimate association of Islamization and agricultural expansion in Bengal, see R.M Eaton's contribution to: G. Michell (ed.), The Islamic Heritage of Bengal (Paris, 1984)pp.23-37.
412 Although the lands along the hill fringes were important for cattle, it appears that in the middle of the eighteenth century there was still sufficient wasteland available. Only in the late nineteenth century the balance between sedentary and pastoralist production became more critical. Cf. E.J. Bmen, Cattle Breeding in the Bombay Presidency: Principles and Progress (Poona, 1977), p.3.
413 See also pp. 13-4.
414 See e.g. "Azizullah Bukhari's report made in 1783 (SPK, Ms.Orient,4,253, ff.132a ff).
Obviously, we should not take the Rohilla *jama* figures as unproblematic. Their accounts represented the nominal revenue, probably around 1752, and as such sewed as a basis for the land distribution among the Rohilla chiefs. These figures, however, seem to match the mid-eighteenth-century Mughal statistics of the Sambhāl and Budaun districts presented fairly recently by Muzaffar Alam. It appears safe to support Alam's conclusion that the area of Rohilkhand experienced a marked agricultural development during the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century. The rise in *jama*, from the time of Akbar to about 1750, was more than 250 per cent. In comparison with the surrounding areas, ranging from 85 per cent in Awadh to 134 per cent in Kora, this rise might be considered absolutely sensational.

In table 5.1 and 5.2 we find these figures displayed in a survey from about 1600 to 1800. Added are the figures of the eighteenth-century geographical work of Rat Chatur-man Saksena, the *Chahar Gulshan*. Although these cannot be fully trusted they give us an idea of the revenue at the beginning of the eighteenth century, thus preceding the advent of Rohilla rule.

The contemporary accounts and these revenue figures all underline the thriving state of Rohilkhand during the eighteenth century. It appears that the agricultural development of the area during the seventeenth century was continued during the Rohilla years in the following century. Somewhere during the 1770's a dramatic decline in revenue set in which in 1808 ended up at half the former Rohilla level. In the following pages I will try to find some explanations for these exceptional figures. The result will not be fully conclusive since I gathered the bulk of the information from late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British sources. The early British revenue officials who tried to come to terms with the complexity of the local revenue collection were faced with a lack of official Rohilla statistics. Indeed, there appears to be not much left of the indigenous revenue material and whatever remains is scattered in numerous private collections. Part of

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this may be explained by the fact that under the Awadh government (1774-1801) the task of revenue collection was fully delegated to large, more or less independent revenue farmers.

It is evident that during the initial years of Rohilla rule the existing power structure in the area was altered. According to Brodldn, the Rohillas did not merely superimpose themselves on the indigenous organizational structure but fully destroyed that structure. Almost every landholder, no matter how petty, who was considered to be a potential source of difficulty and who could be a focal point of anti-Rohilla activity was uprooted and either killed or forced to flee across the Ganges. As every public office was filled with "All Muhammad's own men, he accomplished a complete obliteration of existing vested "Average of 1750 and 1752 figures. rights in the soil." It seems, however, that Brodkin overstates his argument as he follows neatly the purport of the nineteenth-century British sources. It seems more correct to claim that only the powerful, supra-local zamindars and rajas were actually ousted from their territories. They, in particular the larger rajas along the skirts of the Himalayas, had always resisted central rule from the plains, whether Mughal or Rohilla. Effective control of Katehr, however, required the cooperation of these local magnates. Failing this, some of the largest landholders were, in effect, thrown out or demoted to minor positions. Similarly, the jagirs of the absentee Delhi nobility, the former revenue-free lands (inam, madad-i maash) and the crown lands (khalisa) in the area were fully usurped by the Rohilla chiefs. In spite of these wide-scale annexations, most of the smaller zamindars and other local power holders (i.e., muqaddams) were not displaced at all. The local Afghan chronicles do not present a picture of excessive or violent dislocations but, on the contrary, they suggest a great deal of local cooperation and accommodation.

Apart from this, the revenue management was not an exclusive Rohilla affair. Most of the financial management and bureaucracy was in the hands of Hindu diwans and munshis, who were rewarded with large assignments of land. What

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419 Muhammad Mustajab, Gulistan, p. 117.
420 In nineteenth-century Bareilly Rajput landholders reclaimed more than one third of the local proprietary rights, Muslims only about 22 per cent (Moens, Report, pp.7,129).
421 See for example Muhammad Mustajab, Gulistan, p.33.
actually happened in Rohilkhand was a change in the legal nomenclature of landed rights. At the supra-local level a new land revenue system was superimposed on the old structure, which brought new people and new credit to the lands. These people were not only Rohillas but also local revenue farmers or others who possessed sufficient credit to engage in the collection. The ruling elite of Rohillas controlled large tracts of territory but without necessarily becoming a part of the village community. In general, they preferred to monitor the economy from the more luxurious and, anyway, more central urban qasbas. Thanks to the high level of agricultural production they could share in the produce of Rohilkhand without having to thrust themselves into village society or to disrupt the existing conditions of the local peasantry. Thus, some of the former powerful rajas were ousted and substituted by commercial revenue farmers and absentee proprietors. At any rate, at the level of the actual village society not much changed. In case land was freely offered for sale the village headmen enjoyed a preferential treatment and usually were allowed to continue on the basis of their old rights.

Rohilkhand was largely an extremely fertile area which facilitated both large rabi and kharif crops. In the northern fringe areas the soil was naturally moist as it could profit from the many spring torrents from the hills. As a consequence, the dry weather could not do much harm to the crops. On the contrary, during droughts even a better harvest could be produced since ploughing and sowing the lands could be done more easily. Hence, the supply of grain in this area was at its maximum during times when there was scarcity in other areas and at a time when prices elsewhere were at their highest. These conditions triggered off export trade of Rohilkhand wheat, mainly to the south and west, even at times when there was scarcity in Rohilkhand itself. Wheat production mostly exceeded local demand as the poorer; classes in Rohilkhand contented themselves with cheaper millets like juwar and bajra.

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424 JOL&R, BRCCCP, P/91/19, 30-3-1808, "Collector of Moradabad Charles Lloyd to Board", NAI.
Important other crops earmarked for export were rice, sugar-cane, indigo, tobacco and cotton. The bulk of these was carried off by the bullocks of Banjara and Gujar trading tribes, mainly inhabiting the larger wastes along the riverbanks and the northern hills. Their bullocks not only served as hired beasts of burden but many of them were also bred for sale and export. Under Rohilla rule, Banjaras and Gujars in Saharanpur exported some 12 to 15,000 bullocks each year, mainly to the west.\textsuperscript{425}

During Rohilla rule the cultivation domain north of the Ganges was substantially enlarged, more in particular towards the Terai and hill fringes to the north around Najibabad, Dehra Dun and around Pilibhit. Dera Dun had been under the control of Banjara merchants who had already increased the acreage of land under cultivation. Under supervision of Najib ud-Daulah, the claiming and irrigation of land was further intensified. Canals were dug, new wells were built and many new mango groves were laid out in an area which had once been wild jungle. In a few years time the revenue increased from 94,344 Rs from 400 villages, to 126,000 Rs from 500 villages.\textsuperscript{426}

From their former homeland of Roh, the Rohillas introduced the \textit{karez} system to northern Rohilkhand, an underground irrigation system which is otherwise found only in the dryer areas of Iran, where it is called \textit{ganat}, and Central Asia, where it is called \textit{ariq}. The Rohillas excavated underground channels which, through a declining hill slope, quickly brought the water to the surface. From there the water was further distributed to the fields by small earthen embankments. The system stimulated rice production but required large investments and the annual costs of maintaining it were also not inconsiderable. The channels were farmed to "\textit{amils}" who levied a cess for irrigating the fields of the landholders.\textsuperscript{427}

Keeping pace with the reclamation of new land, the commercial ties with the Terai were also strengthened. The thick forests of the Terai had been of considerable
economic weight for supplying timber (*sal*), used for building and furniture, and also bamboo. The wood was worked by paid labourers of the local Bom caste who worked on advances from merchants from the Rohilla towns in the plains. Small markets (*mandi*) were erected in order to collect the timber from the jungle for further distribution to the south. These markets served a double purpose as they were not only entrepots of local trade but also centres from where cultivation could be stimulated. As a consequence, the Rohilla chiefs erected some of their new grain markets (*ganjes*) in desolated areas in order to attract capital and demand from outside and to raise production in the immediate vicinity of the ganj.

Apart from the measures which improved the infrastructure of the area, the system of revenue collection was geared to the extension of cultivation. In areas where production levels were uncertain, especially where lands were newly claimed, there was no fixed assessment and a greater share of the eventual crop was reserved for the engaging manager. The labourers and cultivators paid to their manager fixed rates, either in cash or in kind. The government left the land manager relatively undisturbed and was content with only a fourth of the produce, but whenever the increase passed the estimated production level, the extra was divided between the government and the revenue farmers. The risk of reclaiming new land was thus delegated to the revenue farmer who was willing to engage in it because of the high shares in revenue. Whenever a farmer was exceedingly successful the government could again claim a share in the profits but in general all the farmed out lands were moderately rated, based on low estimates.

For reclaiming and conquering new lands, the Rohilla landholders recruited bonded labourers or ploughmen (*halis*). These *halis* were not so different from the *hamsayas* and *faqirs* we encountered in Roh among the Yusufzai. Of course, the phenomenon of bonded labour is fairly common in other areas in India and has been most thoroughly analysed in Gujarat and Bihar. In adjacent Kumaun bonded

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430 For the Rohilla revenue system, see JOL&R, BRCCCP, P/91/19, 30-3-1808, "Collector Moradabad (Charles Lloyd) to Board".
dependants of outcasts or the poorer. Dom caste were widely employed for working the fields.\(^{432}\) This land of patronage of agricultural labour is frequently related to conditions of an expanding agricultural domain either by conquest or by the reclamation of wastes. In fact, both latter circumstances were present in Rohilkhand. Through the bonded labour of the *halis*, Rohilia and other new landholders were able to bring new land under the plough and expand agriculture. At the same time, they had a permanent mobile workforce at their disposal for the labour-intensive paddy- and sugar-crops. On his part, the *hall* bondsman was not particularly bad off. Most of them received a monthly wage, food and clothing. More important, however, they enjoyed continued employment, also when the seasonable labour demand slackened. In Rohilkhand, the *halis* were linked to the person of their patron but not attached to the soil (the latter seems to have been the rule in Kumaun). Hence, after the annexation of Rohilkhand many of the local *halis* followed their Afghan patrons and went to Rampur.\(^{433}\) Undoubtedly, the expansion of cultivation brought about new tensions with the herding tribes. As we have mentioned already, both in Dehra Dun and in Pilibhit, the large Banjara landlords were replaced by Rohilla chiefs. On the other hand, we have noticed several instances in which these tribes continued to play an important role as transporters and suppliers of animals. Especially the new territories of Najib ud-Daulah along the riverbanks of the Ganges and the Yamuna and the Districts in the Terai were vulnerable to this tension between sedentary cultivation and pastoralism. In fact he found himself at the crossroads of long-distance trade in horses and other animals and, at the same time, his country was at the centre of expanding cultivation. On the surface, the tense relationship is reflected in the many forts - within which sometimes were located large cultivated spots - and other strongholds which we find throughout this area. Most probably, these were not only built in anticipation of hostile inroads of Sikhs or Marathas but also to protect the cultivated spots against the large herds of itinerant Gujars and Banjaras.

In order to strengthen his control in the area, Najib completely re-organised

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\(^{433}\) For *halis* in Rohilkhand, see *IOL&R*, BRCCCP, P/9I/9, 30-3-1808, "Collector Moradabad (Charles Lloyd) to Board". Cf. Bayly, *Rulers*, p. 42.
the districts by breaking them up into new small units of administration and by distributing them to his own "amils. He also tried to come to terms with the unruly Gujar community to which he assigned some 500 villages and it seems that Gujars and Banjaras became also actively engaged in the cultivation of land. Along the main roads, Najib laid out large walled fruit gardens and new ganjes, but other parts along the river remained dominated by waste. For example, the lowland near Asafgarh was earmarked, for pasture and inhabitants of distant places seat their cattle to graze there as it served as a kind of large "parking space" for merchants and caravans visiting the Haridwar fair. In general, however, we can conclude that the northern Mian Doab was increasingly brought under the plough. At the same time, it appears that large tracts were allocated for grazing in the Mewat region of Haryana across the Yamuna where conditions for agriculture were less convenient.

Towards the northern hills, cultivation also was extended but here large areas of wild Terai remained undisturbed and continued to be used for grazing and cutting. All these developments still cannot fully explain the relative increase of Rohilkhand revenue nor its steep decline after 1774. For a better understanding we should again focus our attention on the shifting trade relations of northern India. Hand in hand with agricultural development, Rohilkhand experienced an upswing of trade with the hill states of Nepal, Kumaun and Garhwal. In chapter one, we have paid some attention to the long-distance connections of Rohilkhand, through the Himalayan stales, to Tibet and Kashgar. In this respect, the hill states were crucial as a transit area where goods could be transshipped from toe bullocks and ponies of the plains to the goats and sheep of the hill nomads. Hence, the rajas of Kumaun and Garhwal took every pain to keep the hill passes open and in good repair. During the eighteenth century the road from Najibabad to Garhwal through the Kotdwara pass could be travelled by bullocks and ponies alike. The same seems to have been true of the Kumaun road. According to Captain Hearsay, writing in 1814, the road from Rohilkhand to the Kumaun capital of Almora, had previously been a thoroughfare for horses, elephants, and even camels. But, apart from these various animals, thousands of hill carriers, who, in the lower hills up to 3500 metre could

435 In the 1750's, after they suffered from a grievous famine in their own territories, numerous Mewatis were invited by Hafiz to settle in Pilibhit, where they were employed as construction workers of its new mud fortifications. Many of them converted to Islam and settled in Rohilkhand (Muhammad Mustajab, Gulistan, p.78). Cf. Rizvi, 'Abd al-'Aziz, Puritanism, Sectarian,
carry weights of more than 100 kg, were available for transport in places like Saharanpur, Najibabad, Nagina, Sherkot and Kashipur. Many of them had come down during the winter months with their hill commodities, apart from Tibetan wares, mainly drags such as bhang, ganja and caras. These were exchanged for the goods of the plains, particularly foodstuffs and textiles. In order to keep pace with this trade, merchants from Najibabad opened their agencies and a separate mint was founded in Srinagar (Garhwal) which struck small silver Timashas. It is not surprising therefore that, during the eighteenth century, the Rohillas were constantly involved in the internal politics of the hill states. The political organisation of the two areas became much more integrated. Both Garhwal and Kumaun were tributary to the Rohilla nawabs. Members of the Joshi family staffe government of the Kumaun raja and enjoyed places of great trust in the immediate household of Najib ud-Daulah.

The Himalayan trade centred mainly on Haridwar and Najibabad. The latter town been founded by Najibud-Daulah in the 1750's and its location also commanded important long-distance connection through the Laldong pass along the northern Mils Kashmir and Peshawar. (38Batten, Reports, pp.171-5)The town had been erected in the middle of swampy waste but, shortly afterwards, it was turned into the entrepot of the trade with Srinagar northern Punjab, Kashmir and Peshawar. It was at the hub of these western and north-ern routes that the waste lands of Dehra Dun were brought under the plough. Traditional trade links with the adjacent eastern and southern areas continued to thrive. The new Rohilla nuclei of urban culture created a new demand for both luxury and bulk products. These new ganjes and qasbas could lure foreign trade and credit towards the Rohilla territories. Some of these were erected to smooth the traffic between the major cities. For example, Hafiz Rahmat Khan founded Hafizganj in order to offer merchants a resting place on the road from Bareilly to Pilibhit. Ganjes were also the focal

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437 Wendel, Memoires, pp. 130,143. "Rhodes,
439 Nur ud-Din, Tawarikh, ff.25a-b; Forster, Journey, pp. 190-5.
440 Eastern connections were facilitated by the Ramganga river which was navigable b; small boats for 7 months during the rainy season and which could reach Bareilly thanks the south-eastern winds during this time of year, Francldin, History, p.56;Deloche, Circulation, 2, pp.56ff.
441 Muhammad Mustajab, Gulistan, p.51.
points for the local revenue collection; here, revenue in kind could be exchanged for money and, possibly, made available for long-distance trade. In 1755, Chandausi was founded by the Pathan chief Ibrahim Khan who enticed banias from the nearby cities to settle there in order to meet merchants from the western territories. Subsequently, it became an important town for rice and sugar exports to the west.\(^{442}\)

From Bengal, Bihar and Awadh, mainly textiles and manufactured articles were imported or transferred to Delhi and the Punjab. Rohilkhand had some manufacturing industries of its own. In particular Bareilly and Najibabad are recorded to have been flourishing cotton centres. According to a British report from 1802, Bareilly had about 20,000 looms—with a production equal to 3,000,000 Rs a year.

Sugar and indigo were the main trade items exchanged for the large horse imports from the Punjab and Central Asia and as such financed a great deal of the Rohilla horse trade. Sugar was also exported to the Deccan, mainly through Hatras in the Mian Doab. Probably, the most important export connection with the south was the grain and rice trade with the Mughal capital of Delhi. Here, Anupshahr and Chandausi were the key Rohilla market towns.\(^{443}\)

Transit duties in Rohilkhand seem to have been fairly moderate, and in particular the larger merchants obtained many exemptions. In 1766, Hafiz Rahmat Khan even abolished all the custom duties throughout his territories.\(^{444}\) This works a double cutting knife as this further enticed trade to his territories but could also counter inflation and reduce the costs of his army.\(^{445}\) The Rohilla and Bangash mint towns were Farrukhabad, Rampur, Najibabad, Aonla, Bareilly, Bisauli, Haridwar, Shamshabad and Saharanpur. Some of these also struck Durrani coins which signifies not only a political but also a commercial re-orientation.\(^{447}\) In fact, in

\(^{443}\) For grain trade with the market town of Shahdara near Delhi, see Nur ud-Din, Tawarikh, ff.80a-b; for Rohilla rice trade with Delhi, see Bayly Rulers, p.42;
\(^{444}\) "Muhammad Mustajab, Gulistan, p. 87.
\(^{445}\) E.g. Nur ud-Din, Tawarikh, f.83b: "Grain became exceedingly cheap in the camp on account of the remission of the transit duty which Suraj Mal had imposed in his dominions, so that the soldiers had to spend only 4 annas in the place of one rappee."
\(^{446}\) Identification of Rampur with Mustafabad is, however, still under debate (Singhal, Mint-Towns, p.28).
\(^{447}\) In Bareilly, Aonla, Farrukhabad, Moradabad and Najibabad.
Rohilkhand the Durrani and Mughal monetary systems overlapped with each other, but, since there was no marked difference between the two, and this did not require great efforts on the part of the Rohilla mint-masters. As Afghan commercial ventures were strongly oriented towards India the Durrani Rupee had the same standard and weight as the Mughal Rupee. Interestingly, even before the Durrani invasions, the Rohillas, while issuing Rupees in the name of the Mughal emperor, followed a Durrani pattern and a Durrani mint marie.

In addition to these precious coins which were clearly used for the long-distance trade with Central Asia, there were much smaller and poorer issues of copper and silver coins which were minted for local use only. In Rohilkhand these coins were called jins-war coins, especially meant for the assessment and collection of the land revenue. Saal, saffā fir, other timber, sugar and coarse cloth were the main local products while borex, pitch, drugs, wax and honey were imported from Almora to be resold in the market at Pilibhit. Other important centres of trade and commerce during Ruhella rule included Shahabad, Shanjahanpur, Bisauli, Badaun, Aonla, Moradabad and Sambhal, towns which were frequently visited by both native and foreign traders. From Kabul, Lahore, Kashmir Qandhar and Persia came rubies and other precious stones, tutenag, copper iron tin, lead borex, drugs Kashmiri shawls, Karmanian wool, mules, horses and camels, which were exchanged with local products like coarse cloth, sugar, grain, and, tobacco.

The Rohillas were an industrious people, equally capable of using arms and engaging in husbandry and industry. Their regime saw a considerable growth of crafts at various centres. Shahjahanpur became popular for its quality as well as coarse chintz and chola and katiyan cloth. Mau Farrukhabad was another centre of cloth manufacture. High quality silk kimkhwab (brocade) and kashidas (scarves with

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450 Ibid.
451 Ibid., p.57
452 Franklin, History of Shah Alam, p.60.
453 Abdullah Yusuf Ali noticed towards the closing years of the 19th century that silk cloth of high quality was manufactured at Shahjahanpur (A monograph on silk fabrics, Allahabad, 1900, pp. 73, 78, 80, 90, 93, 98).
drawn-thread work) were manufactured there. Rampur and Saharanpur had been known for their manufactures of garha (coarse cloth).  

Shahjahanpur had another important industry, bait making, bat grass found in abundance along the bank of Sarda near the Kumaun foothills, and was much in demand, being generally immune to white ants. It was, in addition, cheaper than hemp matting. The manufacture of bait matting had considerably declined when Fisher compiled the Gazetteer of Shahjahanpur in 1873.

Amroha was known for its ornamented clay pottery. Sometimes for one huqqa made of clay, the craftman paid more than a gold coin. It is said that the clay jars and vases manufactured in Amroha were marvelously light and good imitation of Chinese pottery. Rough glazed pottery was made at Rampur but it was held to be inferior to the blue and white pottery of Multan.

Shahjahanpur had a considerably developed brass industry; brass vessels, particularly koftgari which consisted of iron inlaid with gold and silver, were manufactured here. Moradabad too secured a reputation for brass work, which was described by Birdwood who visited the town half a century after the fall of Rohillas. Tin was soldered into brass and incised through to the brass in floriated pattern, which sometimes simply marked by the yellow outline of brass, and at other by filling in the ground with som black composition of lac, after the manner of Niello work. Vases, plates and articles of every shape were made.

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456 Ibid., p. 175.
457 Ibid., pt. III, p. 34.
458 Ibid., pt. III, p. 34.
459 Ibid., pt. II, pp. 204-5.
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE AND CULTURE OF ROHILKHAND REGION

As for the socio-economic life and culture, the odd bits pieced together from literary works written in Persian and Urdu in the eighteenth century help us reconstruct socio-economic history. The *tazkira* and the poems contained in the *Kulliyat* of Qayam Chandpuri\(^{29}\) yield interesting source material. The *qasidas* (panegyrics), *ruba'is* (quatrains), *qitas* (short poems), and *mathnavis* (long poems) provide insights into the life and conditions in the region. The Rohilla nobles and *zamindars*, Hindu and Muslim, helped the men of learning and talent who had to face hardship after the decline of Mughal power. Several *ruba'is* composed either in their praise or in condemnation of I lie government officers tell us about generosity as well as corruption.\(^{30}\) The *qadi* of Sambhal has been condemned as a corrupt man notorious for taking bribe.\(^{31}\)

In the *qitas* we find small bits of information about the celebration of Hindu and Muslim festivals. Muslim aristocrats arranged grand banquets to celebrate Id-ul-Fitr. One of the patrons of Qayam Chandpuri spent a huge amount in charity and on a banquet on this occasion. The *nauroz* (spring) festival was also celebrated by him in the same way.\(^{32}\) Hindu *zamindars* and nobles spent lavishly on Holi celebrations—as one *mathnavi* describes. Muslims visited the houses of Hindus on this day. The rich people sprinkled colour all around while the poor used all sorts of things, including mud and dirty water. The poet glows with pride when he praises a certain Kunwar (a Hindu *zamindar*), his friend in Chandpur, who used to invite his friends over on this occasion.\(^{33}\)

Certain poems shed light on the means of recreation available in the cities and towns. Nobles and chiefs patronized musicians and dancers and thus helped the survival of classical art. Some of the ruling elite appear to have spent a lot on the training of dancing girls. The girls were trained in different classical dances, particularly the popular *akhara*\(^{34}\) *Roys* and young men in every town and city were fond of kite flying. Likewise, people enjoyed fireworks on occasions such as the birth of a child or a wedding etc.\(^{35}\) Marriage ceremonies of the rich were opulent affairs. Besides the distribution of money and other gifts among servants, money was thrown from above the palanquin of the bride at the time of her arrival at her
father-in-law's residence. Shows staged by magicians, mimics, and buffoons (called nats and naqals) were enjoyed equally by the rich and the poor. A long mathnavi on the art of a certain nat and his wife shows that some of them could hypnotize the spectators. Such artists were richly rewarded by the rajas and nawabs. Of the weapons mentioned in the verses, the poet attaches great importance to the European gun (bandooq). He tells us that the gun imported from Europe was a most coveted possession.

A poem on the severity of winter provides information about the conditions of people of different strata in the towns and cities. The wealthy heated the rooms in their houses with kangris (fire vessels of clay) and covered the windows and doors with heavy curtains of costly cloth whereas the artisans and daily wage-earners suffered from the want of sufficient clothing. They would be unable to go out when it was extremely cold and could not earn their daily wages. Even the craftsman did not have sufficient clothing. The development of the Hindawi dialect into a literary language, later called Urdu, is also worth mentioning. Rustam Ali Bijnori's work Qissa-o-Ahvali-Rohila provides us with an example of the refined Urdu prose of the elite in Katehar. Qayam Chandpuri in his (Tazkira-i-Makhzan-i-Nikat about Hindu and Muslim poets writing in Urdu casts light on social relationships among the Hindu and Muslim elite in the urban centres and reveals how powerful a vehicle of thought and expression this language had become in the north during the eighteenth century. Moreover, this tazkira furnishes information on scholars of Persian literature who composed verses in Urdu. They belonged to the shaykhzadas or zamindar families. Among the leading poets were Mir Saadat Ali Saadat of Amroha, Sjuhabiuidhi Saqib o. fSe.Qhara (District Bijnor), Muhammad Ali Hashmat-Kashmiri who had settled in Moradabad, Mir Abdul Rasul of Amroha, Lala Khushvaqt Rai Shadab of Chandpur and Lala Nawal Rai Wafa.

This tazkira also provides insights into the polity under the Rohilla chiefs. The Rohillas had stepped into the shoes of the Mughals and employed people on the basis of merit irrespective of creed. Finances under Ali Muhammad Khan and his immediate successors was managed by the Hindus. The Revenue collectors were also Hindus. For instance, Qayam makes mention of Gulab Rai and his nephew, Lala Nawal Rai Wafa. The former was the diwan (finance minister) of Nawab
Najib-ud-Daula, while the latter held the charge of a few parganas across the river Ganges in Saharanpur district. Likewise, Raja Hilas Rai Rangin, the Resident of Bareilly, served as Diwan under Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

The region of Katehar remained undisturbed, enjoying peace and prosperity until Shah Alam Badshah's return from Allahabad to Delhi with the support of the Maratha army in 1772. On arrival in Delhi, Shah Alam sent Zabita Khan, who had succeeded his father, Nawab Najib-ud-Daula (d. 1770), the robe of investiture with the farman regarding his appointment as Mir Bakhshi. In return the king demanded the customary fee of succession and also urged him to settle the account for the Khalsa parganas controlled by his father for several years. Zabita Khan put on the robe but refused to pay any money, although he was the richest man after the death of his father who had bequeathed huge treasures.

Annoyed by Zabita Khan's defiance, Shah Alam asked the Marathas for help against the Rohillas and Zabita Khan was defeated and driven away, his treasures and property looted by the Marathas. Having settled scores with Zabita Khan, the king and his Maratha allies marched against other Rohilla chiefs, who withdrew to the Kumaon hills. The Maratha army looted the undefended towns and cities. Aonla, Bareilly and Rampur were ransacked. Only Amroha was spared because its saiyids had purchased peace by paying Rs. 60,000. Qayam Chandpuri's poem Shahaft-i-Ashob sheds light on the tyranny to which people were subjected. According to it, the return of Shah Alam from Allahabad to Delhi (on 6 January 1772) filled both the Hindus and Muslims everywhere with hopes for a better future. But soon people were disillusioned on account of the misery that his invasion of Katehar (Rohilkhand) caused all around. Since the poet belonged to the region of Katehar and was associated with the Rohilla chiefs, he laments the loss of life and property and condemns in severe terms both Shah Alam and his allies, the Marathas. He calls Shah Alam a tyrant unworthy of kingship, 'a scoundrel moving at the head of an army of plunderers'. Likewise, the Marathas were condemned as freebooters. Shah Alam's grandfather and father, Jahandar Shah and Alamgir Thani (1754-60) are called fools and then the poet would have us believe that their descendants were known for their stupidity. We are also told that Shah Alam brought Marathas into Katehar for the destruction of the Pathan race but could not achieve his end. The
Pathans fled, but innocent people were killed and pillaged. The whole region was laid waste. Left without food, people faced starvation in every town and city. Those rich people who thought it derogatory to wear fine cotton clothes, could not afford to have even coarse cloth for a turban. Those who maintained large kitchens and a number of people, had no food for themselves. Stables emptied of horses and fodder. Beautiful cities that could be compared with Cairo had been denuded of every thing worth mentioning. The markets were left without any commodity, even medicines could not be found there. The moneylenders disappeared. The lanes were full of corpses. The beautiful buildings were raised to the ground and noblemen like Raja Gulab Rai who was the hakim of a zila and maintained more than a thousand servants, became penniless. The kaisthas, the ulama, comprising qadis and muftis (judges and jurists), also were on the verge of starvation. The revenue collectors were also ruined. Those who survived the carnage found it difficult to keep body and soul together. After the withdrawal of Shah Alam and his Maratha allies from Katehar in 1772, chaos and anarchy continued till the time the Rohilla chiefs could again restore law and order. The Pathan soldiers who had returned from their hideouts looted people of whatever was left with them. The qasidas in the Kuliyat also give vital insights into the cultural life. Even minor chiefs associated with the Rampur court went out of their way after the fall of Rohilla power in 1774, to support poets and scholars.

Last, we may make a brief allusion to a long mathnavi relating to the platonic love between a recluse, Shah Ladha, and a newly-married girl of the Panjab. Apparently the poet has successfully versified in Urdu a sixteenth-century romance; it is important as it helps us measure the depth to which popular Sufism had sunk. It also shows that in consequence of the ontological philosophy of Wahdat-ul-Wujud (unity in essence of the creator and the created), platonic love had become a common vice among the Sufis. No doubt, the educated Sufis among the followers of Ibn Arabi continued to adhere to orthodox Islam and tried to gain spirituality through self-purification, but they had also, since the fifteenth century considered ishq-i-majazi (platonic love) a means to spiritual progress. As a result, the less educated or unlettered Sufis became negligent of the Shari'at. They did not attach importance to the daily rituals and lived in isolation from people. By chance if they cast their eye on a beautiful girl or boy, they fell in love with him or her. In the
literature, the departure of the beloved causes severe grief to the lover. Ultimately the lover dies and is followed by the beloved to the grave: union is possible only in death. Qayam as a Sufi also believed in the *ishq-i-majazi* as a means to the path of real love and gnosis.\(^\text{46}\)

To conclude, it may be stated that the discovery of fresh historical evidence contained in contemporary documents is of historical significance for it may either substantiate a fact or serve as a corrective to the known sources. The works of Rustam Ali Bijnori, Qayam Chandpuri and Tahmasp Beg provide us with insights into the socio-political changes that took place in north India during the eighteenth century. The information in them enables us to reconstruct life and culture in different colours.

In fact, the decline of the Mughal power was paradoxically paralleled by the expansion of the Mughal imperial culture because the new regional rulers emulated Mughal cultural norms and practices. The literature produced under their patronage in Persian and Urdu languages bears testimony to the fact that the Mughal court continued to provide a cultural reference point even after the establishment of the British supremacy in India.

Nature having endowed parts of Rohilkhand with rich forest, supplying saal, teak and shisham wood,\(^\text{460}\) Saharanpur, Najibabad, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur became centres for wood work. Saharanpur attained a reputation for wood carving, a tradition which still survives;\(^\text{461}\) while Bareilly was famous for its lacquered and gilt furniture, ‘the distinctive feature being a decorative varnish laid on so as to represent metallic foliage tracery on black and white ground’; but the painted woodwork of Bareilly has practically disappeared.\(^\text{462}\)

Matchlocks were also manufactured in Rohilkhand,\(^\text{463}\) but this industry decline when the British took over the province. Rampur was known for the

\(^{460}\) Franklin, *History of Shahalam* p.59.
\(^{462}\) D. G. Bareilly, p.68.
\(^{463}\) Ibid.,
manufacture of glass and glass bangles and other ornament were made here. Gold and silver ornaments of high quality were also manufactured.\textsuperscript{464}

The traditional panchayat system continued to prevail in the villages under Rohilla rule. The panchayat were of two kinds: judicial and non-judicial. The judicial panchayat normally consisted of five persons, including one sarpanch, or president, chosen by the litigents. Minor disputes were referred to the panchayats. The non-judicial panchayats dealt with violation of established social and religious customs and were constituted of all members of the caste or fraternity to which the culprit belonged.\textsuperscript{465} Such panchayat could punish or impose fines on the culprit who could ever be expelled from his caste. In the latter case, if the culprit converted to Islam, the panchayat vengeance could of course pursue him no more. Such caste or trade panchayats were confirmed to the lower classes of Hindus, but their decisions were recognized by Brahmins, Rajputs and Kayasths. The decision on a case used to be pronounced by the choudhary or headman of the trade or fraternity, who was some times elected and sometimes hereditary.\textsuperscript{466}

Early British information casts considerable light on the social customs prevailing in the Hindu society of Rohilkhand; it is to be presumed that condition under the Rohillas were no different. The practice of widow remarriage and of wives being discarded existed among certain classes of Hindu. The practice was termed KARAO which signifies the marriage of a widow to her husband’s younger brother or sarga.\textsuperscript{467} Brahmins, Rajputs and Baniyas (vaish) did not allow the remarriage of widow. Divorced did not exist among the Hindus, but separation was permitted. No outsider was admitted to a caste, nor were intercaste marriages permitted.

Caste Hindu society observed strict rules and Brahmins, Rajputs and vaish used to be expelled from their groups for social offences like publicly drinking wine, eating and drinking with men of other religions, taking a wife from another caste (except the Rajputs) and killing a cow. The Rajputs, Thakurs and some lower-caste Hindus could keep nattanis (female rope dancers) and kanjaris (female gypsies)

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{465} Hayat Hafiz Rahmat Khan, 316-17.
\textsuperscript{466} Atkinson, vol.V, p.50-1.
\textsuperscript{467} Ibid., pp.50-1.
\end{footnotes}
as concubines, but would not dare to eat and drink openly in their company. If a woman of lower caste deserted her husband for another man, the latter was compelled to pay the expenses of the first marriage and was than allowed to keep the women.

Like their predecessors, the rohelas seems to have been extensively influenced by loca Hindu manners and customs. Their tribal concept of rough social equality seems to have gradually disappeared when they settled in India and came in to contact with the local population. While the Rohillas naturally did not accept the caste system, their society tended to become quite hierarchical. Thus the saiyyed held a highly respected place like the Brahmins, while the Sheikhs were looked upon with great contempt, the Rohilas generally avoiding matrimonial alliances with them. To justify the higher status they assigned to themselves, they practiced what modern sociologist may define as pre-modern ‘ashrafization’. For example, they offered large amounts in mihr (payment to wife as par of marriage contact). Even an impoverished Rohila would agree to pay Rs 50,000 or 60,000 as mihr; whereas wealthy pathans paid lakhs in addition to the actual payment of gold coins.

On the other hand, the Ruhela tribal psychology also survived. They maintained a remarkable equality among themselves whenever they assembled. It was difficult to distinguish between an ordinary person and a sardar. For a long time they maintained their tribal dress which consisted of loose long kurtas and turbans (loose shalwar) made of coarse cloth. They used broad long pieces of cloth (lungis) tied at the waist with large rumals, or handkerchief, thrown over the shoulder. Turbans were indispensable part of their dress which distinguished them from the Mughals by its ‘oblique setting’. Hospitality was regarded as a necessary obligation, guest were held in great honour and all care was taken for their comfort. They were equally open handed on ceremonial occasion, especially marriages; and this often caused them serious financial embarrassment.

Akhbar-us-sanadid, II, p.503.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid., pp.503-4.
Normally the Ruhelas married after attaining the age of 25 years, a practice that a modern pathan writer strongly approves of. The system of marriage among them was simple. Sometimes women, representing a particular family, would select a bride for a youth from that family by tearing off part of the dupatta of the chosen girl or by throwing a few grains of barley in to her lap. Since refusing a marriage proposal would invite hostility and bloodshed, the custom must have demanded some vigilance against unwelcome prospective mother-in-law. Formal engagement ceremonies (sharbat, mangni) did not exist.

The Ruhela bride’s hair was fixed in a peculiar way on her temple. This was called ur-bal. This practice came directly from Afghanistan, for Raverty gives an almost similar meaning to the Pushto word ur-bal. After performance of the nikah or marriage, the groom was invited to the ladies’ quarters where he opened the bride’s ur-bal ceremoniously in the presence of the women.

It is believed that there was a section of the Rohelas which was not orthodox in its habits. They neither offered regular prayers in the mosques nor practiced any restraint in drinking and mixing in the company of women. Some of them are said to have indulged in many vices. The Ruhelas took a great interest in the development of architecture. Unfortunately, however, only a few of their buildings, particularly those of a religious or semi-religious nature which were built to endure. Such as mosques and tombs, have survived. It seems that many of the Ruhela forts and palaces, including residential buildings of note, were destroyed or badly damaged by the Marathas and Shuja-ud Daula in their search for buried treasure. Forster, who passed through Aonla in 1783. Only nine years after the destruction of the Ruhela power lamented that the town ‘once crowned with inhabitants, and adorned with mosques and spacious buildings, is now merging to ruin, and many of its streets are choked up with fallen habitation’ We survey here some of the major buildings which remain, or whose descriptions are available.

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473 Ibid.
474 Ibid.
475 Ibid., p. 540.
476 Ibid.
477 G. R., 227a-30a;
478 Shiv Prasad, 93a Ibrat Nama, 259; Kant-ut Tarikh p. 99).
Aonla was originally a small town which Ali Mohd. Khan made his capital in 1722. He paid considerable attention to raising buildings and beautifying the city, so that within a short time a number of palaces were built under his patronage the town in also said to have contained ‘thousands of mosques’ when Allah Yar Bilgrami compiled his Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim (1782) Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim, p. 138; Mirat-i Aftab Name 378b. Musakin-i-Falsafi 30b Franklin writes, ‘In the environs of Owlah are ruins of palaces, gardens, and mosques; the adjacent country is big nature beautiful, but the total want of cultivation renders melancholy the prospects. Some of the mosques, their admirers claimed, rivaled the Jama Masjid of Delhi in beauty and design. The Pinnacles of their domes were covered with copper, polished with gold.  

Ali Muhammad Khan also built a brick fort where he and his successors held court. It contained two court yards, were ranged various brick buildings. In the outer courts, against the wall which divided it from the inner, stood the diwan khana (hall of audience), an open pillared structure which might once have had some claim to beauty. Almost opposite the gateway stood the mosque of Sardar Khan. The most conspicuous building was the lofty three domed mosque known as the Begum’s mosque. (The barah burji or twelve domed mosque of Fath Khan Khan-i-Saman was another important buildings; thought to a modern observer it seems to lack proportion and grace.

The most outstanding building in Aonla from the architectural point of view is the tombs of Ali Mohammad Khan. It is raised on a high plinth, ascended by a flight of about twelve steps. Surrounded by a square masonry tank the tomb is a large square masonry tank the tomb is a large square building, surmounted in the centre by a dome and at the corners by octagonal cupolas. Each wall between the cupolas has two square minarets. The masoleum still the residents of Aonla every Thursday evening, when they go and pay homage to their long departed ruler (Ashob, 322 ab) on the same plinth, on either side of ‘Ali Mohammad Khan’s tomb.

480 Franklin, History of Shah Alam, p.58).  
481 Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim p. 138).  
482 Fuhrer, Monumental Antiquities, p.24.  
483 Fuhrer, Monumental Antiquities, p.24.  
484 Ibid.  
485 Ibid.
are two other tombs, one of which also has a beautiful small mosque. The other, of Ali Mohammad’s son, Sa’adullah Khan, is enclosed only by a light masonry screen with domed alcoves at the corners. The surrounding enclosure contains may other tombs. But the richest collection of such monuments is grouped around a magnificent stair sided tank which faces the southern gate.\[486\]

Bisauli \[487\] was originally called Banaswari, or Baser-wari, on account of the luxuriant groves of bamboo in the area.\[488\] It rose to prominence about 1750 when, after the first division of the Ruhela dominion in 1752, it fell to the share of Dundey Khan. The Ruhela Sardar built a fort, a sarai (inn) and imambara there.\[489\] The fort was built on an area of sixty seven acres. Dundey Khan also constructed a Shish Mahal (which was plundered by Tukoji Holkar in 1773, and again by Shuja-ud Daulahj in 1774.\[490\] Dundey Khan’s descendants later went to the length of selling its bricks.\[491\] Dundey Khan also built a beautiful mosque for which its inscription claimed the status of a second Dome of the Rock. Most of the Ruhela buildings at Bisauvi seem to have been destroyed by the British in retaliation for the past Dundey Khan’s descendants played in the Revolt of 1857.\[492\] The building constructed by Dundey Khan himself, the mosque, sarai and some parts of the palace, still stood in 1907 when the Kanz-ul-Tarikh was written.\[493\] Attarchendi\[494\] ten and a half miles south east of Bareilly, is where sa’adullah Khan retired to after the second division of the Ruhela dominion in 1754. Sa’asduUah Khan built a magnificent castle, occupying an area of over thirteen acres. The building is now in ruins.\[495\]

Pilibhit was assigned in jagir to Hafiz Rahmat Khan by Ali Muhammad Khan, and was later on his headquarters. In early 1762 a serious famine in Rajasthan led to the migration of a large number of people from Mewat and Maswar to Pilibhit. Hafiz Rahmat Khan ordered Khan to be employed on raising a mind wall.

\[487\] The headquarters of the tahsil and pasgave of the same name, situated 24 miles from Badaun\[488\] Atkinson, vol. v, p.145.
\[489\] A semi-religious building, set in the name of Imam Husain, grandson of the Prophet Mohammad.
\[490\] Shiv Prasad, 93a Ibrat Nama; 259; Fuhrer vol. II, p. 23.
\[492\] Kanz-ut-Tarikh, p. 99.
\[493\] Kunz-ut-Tarikh, p.99.
\[494\] an ancient seat of the Katehariya Rajputs in Bareilly district(Atkinson, vol.v, p. 701).
\[495\] Masvida, 161b-62b: Shiv Prasad 37B.
around the city, which was subsequently replaced by a brick wall.\textsuperscript{496} He also built a
grand mosque invitation of the Jama Masjid of Delhi on which he spent over Rs. 3
lakhs. He renamed the city Hafizabad.\textsuperscript{497}

Hafiz Rahmat Khan also constructed a mosque and a tank, now in ruins, near
the tomb of Saiyed Ahmad and his father, Shah Alam Khan in Badaun,\textsuperscript{498} as well as
a castle, a mosque, a mind fort and a market at Jalalabad in district Shahjahanpur in
1766-67.\textsuperscript{499} The tomb of Hafiz Rahmat Khan stands a short distance south-west of
the city of Bareilly. Atkinson observed that it is entered by a rather handsome
gateway, adorned with stencilled patterns whose colouring was then already
somewhat faded. The tomb was itself a shabby domed building of plestered bricks
with gilded finials. Over the door is a pertain inscription recording its foundation by
Hafiz Rahmat Khan’s daughter in 1829, which is quite misleading, for Hafiz Rahmat
Khan was buried there by his diwan, Pahar Singh, in 1774. His son, Zulfiquar Khan,
placed the canopy and inscription over his tomb the following year.\textsuperscript{500}

Ujhani\textsuperscript{501} fell to the share of ‘Abudllah Khan, the eldest son of Ali Mohd.
Khan. Her he built a fort, a structure for the Qadam-i-Rasool (footmark of the
Prophet) and a mosque. After his death, a tomb was built over his remains, which is
one of the most conspicuous buildings in the place, and bears an Arabic
inscription.\textsuperscript{502} Fath Khan Khan-i-Saman, a recent conversation Islam; constructed a
fort at Usehat in Badaun district, and surrounded the town with a wall; Carmichael
wrote in 1873 that a fine archway and some bastion towers still remain as
monuments of its former grandeur. \textsuperscript{503}

The Ruhelas also founded several towns and villages. Hafiz Rahmat Khan
founded Hafiz Ganj; 14 miles from Bareilly in 1785. Here he constructed a
madarasa; a mosque, a sarai, shops etc.\textsuperscript{504}

\textsuperscript{496} G.R., 137a, 139b-41a, Franklin, History of Shah Alam pp. 58-9.
\textsuperscript{497} G.R., 137 ab; Fuhrer, vol. II, p. 40 speaks of the mosques as elegant in but deficient in magnitude
making a more superb show as a picture the reality justifies.
\textsuperscript{498} Kanz-ut-Tarikh, pp. 67-8 Hayat Hafiz Rahmat Khan, p.325.
\textsuperscript{499} G. R., 137b; Fuhrer, vol. IX, Pl.. p.91.
\textsuperscript{501} a pargana in Badaun tahsil (Atkinson vol. V, p.223).
\textsuperscript{502} Kanz-ul-Tarikh, p. 96; Shiv Prasad, 87b-38a.
\textsuperscript{504} GR, 77b, 839-846; Atkinson vol. V., p. 762).
Najib-ud Daulah is associated with the construction of a number of other buildings. In 1755-6, he laid the foundation of a town about 24 miles n. east of Bijnor, which he name Najibabad after himself. The Rehela chief seems to have had many considerations in selecting the site of the new town. According to Forster, he same that the situation would facilitate commerce with Kashmir, which having been diverted from its former route via Lahore and Delhi by the depredations of the Sikhs, Marathas and Afghans, now took a course through the mountains north of Punjab, and passed into the Ruhekkhand through the Lal Darg Pass. Forster says that this inducement, with the desire of establishing a for the Hindus of the adjacent mountains, probably influenced the choice of this spot, which otherwise is not favourable for the site of capital town being low, and surrounded by swampy grounds.

Here he built a haveli, and a mehman Khana (guest house) in an area of seven bighas. He also built three forts, at Patharganj, Sukkantal and Ghausgarh. Pathargarh which is situated a mile east of Najibabad, was built in 1755 with the remnants of an ancient stone building of Mordhwaj. It is square with battlemented

It is said that the stones used in the construction of Mordwaj fort were carried away to build Pathargarh. It is a square in shape with battlemented walls, high and massive, enclosing a space of about 40 acres. Najib-ud Daulah, was at Sukkantal (for details of its strategic importance Verma thinks that the name of the place has something to do with the name of famous Sankaracharya seventeen miles east of Muzaffarnagar. Its natural surroundings consisting of ridges and ravines, enhanced the strength of the fort.
The fort of Ghausgarh, thirty-five miles south-west of Saharanpur and 22
N.W. of Muzaffarnagar, was founded by Najibud Daulah in 1765. It was sacked by
the Marathas in 1773, and by 1876 even its ruined had disappeared. 513

Chapter VII
Conclusions and Recommendations
CONCLUSION

The finding of this research theme brings various interesting and hitherto unknown hidden facets, facts, figures and understanding for reconstructing the missing links of 18th c. regional history. This study basically falls under the category of Area Study or Regional Study of an 18th Century kingdom. The case of Rohilkhand as an smaller entity among the various regional powers which had sprung up during the 19th c. leads us to two concluding remarks----(i)The political decline of the mighty Mughals and its after effects and the second (ii)the emergence and growth of a full grown state of Rohilkhand with all components of a regional kingdom. It is a peculiar but not a single or isolated case as by 18th century India was falling to piece which was earlier held together by the centrist Mughal Authority. In this regard another aspect of the study brings us another peculiar phenomenon of on one side decline of the mighty Mughals and on the other hand regional state of doab had been doing tremendously good and was emerging as prosperous state with all signs of flourishing trade and commerce and growth of Urbanisation in the doab region.

The assertion of smaller ethnic races of India during 18th c does also suggest the fact that the different minorities, ethnic races were trying to make hay day for themselves while the Mughals were rapidly declining as an imperial power which had kept India united for around 200 years of their rule. The comparative study among the similar kind of smaller regional states like that of Jat state of Bharatpur under Churaman Jat (later on Suraj Mal Jat making it very strong state) Jat, Sikh state in Punjab region, Emergence of Marathas and others would broaden our horizon in that regard. One very important aspect regarding regional states comes to our mind is that; behind the emergence of such state we find a similar pattern in its emergence. They all arose among agricultural communities who were very unhappy lot with the reported misuse of official power and excessive taxation of their produce by the high-handed Mughals officials. Thus, the same led to numerous uprisings against the Mughals resulting in the weakening and later on dismemberment of the Mughal Empire.
The phenomenon of Emergence of Rohillas was also linked to their brisk trading activities apart from them being identified as agriculturists. Their trading activities included trading of horses and trade in dry fruits which were coming from Afghanistan, leading to prosperity among them. This prosperity is also linked to the urbanization of Rohilla state. The Rohilla Kingdom had around 12 parganas with prosperous towns like Rampur, Pilibhit, Bareilly, Bijnor, Badaun, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Aonla, Najibabad, and Saharanpur, which do suggest a set pattern of prosperity and growth among such state and thus the process of urbanization becoming faster. So we find a link between prosperity of people and process of urbanization. It is also a fact which suggest the process of cartelization happening in most of the regional kingdom more particularly in case of Rohilkhand where Rohillas chieftaincies had provided avenues for growth of market and commercial enterprises thereby proving the fact right for those theorists who believed in the fact that 18th c. phenomenon could not be studied in terms of political decline only, but it to be re-examined in terms of regional prosperity, growth and urbanization.

Another fact which can be deduced from this study is the role played by the local chieftaincies, potentates and the leaders of different communities who wanted to better the loss suffered by their people and wanted to see the flourishing of agriculture in their region, safety to the traders and a benevolent attitudes towards their subjects, as the subjects were mostly belonging to the same ethnic stock or were kith and kins of the same agricultural communities which the chieftaincies belonged to.

The study of cultural milieu had brought to the various avenues of understanding about the local culture of the Rohilkhand region, in which mostly to Rohillas who were of predominantly Islamic faith. The study revealed that they enjoyed prosperity due to various facts mentioned above and thus richness in their cultural milieu also, high living standard, varieties in their daily food habits, some traits from Afghan custom and tradition and some indigenous, their unique dress code, their live fest and festivals, their tradition of singing and dancing all such aspects bring altogether a uniqueness among Rohillas. Rohillas being from Roh did manage to adopt and adept in the locale of an Indian territory far from their hilly
home in Afghanistan and made *doab* their second home which with the passage of time became their kingdom.

Thus, to conclude, with the words that Rohilkhand could be taken as a model in the study of emergence of regional powers vis-à-vis growth of Urbanisation during 18\textsuperscript{th} century, with a number of such smaller or bigger independent or semi-autonomous states emerging whereas Mughals rapidly declining as an all India Power.
Appendices
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

- *Afim* (Arabic): opium
- *Alacha*: It was a silken striped stuff.
- *Aldea*: A village or an estate yielding revenues.
- *Ambari*: It was a vulgar form of amari, a turban the canopy of an elephant hauda.
- *Ambari and Charkhana*: It was a linen striped with white silk from Orissa.
- *Ambritee or Ambertrce*: It was from a Hindi word amriti, Imarti. Imiriti was a name of cloth in Northern India. This cloth was stouter than the varieties like Dariabadi and Khairabadi. According to another definition or estimate it was a stout close calico of narrow width produced at low cost and in large quantities at Patna.
- *Neel* (Arabic al-nil): Indigo
- *Awl*: It was a tree whose roots were long and slender, used as a dye in many parts of India, the colouring matter remained in the bark of the root.
- *Baftas*: The white cotton cloths or Baftas were mainly manufactured at Agra, Lahore, Bengal, Baroda, Broach and Navsari. Brought unbleached to Navsari and Broach where bleaching was done by lemon juice, found in abundance. The cloths were sold by scores or Koris and ranged between Rs. 16 and 300 or 400 per score.
- *Bahar*: a weight in South Asian Port, in Indian Islands reckoned to 3 Peculs i.e., 400 lbs.
- *Balaband*: A turban hand, 3 covids long, wrought with silk and gold.
- *Banksel*: A ware house, hence applied to a custom house.
- *Bcctilha*: This-material (under the name of originally muslin) was
- *Benjamin*: A kind of incense derived from the resin.
- **Bezoar stone**: concretions found in the stomachs of some rumiratcs specially goats, efficacious in preventing fatal effects of poison.
- **abaye**: The long muslin tunic.
- **Carracks**: Large cargo ships used by the Portuguese for Indian trade. **Cartaz**: Portuguese permit to native vessels.
- **Carvel**: A small vessel.
- **Cheya Root**: It was a tree whose roots were used for dyeing red on chintz cloth. It was mostly found at the coasts of Malabar and coromandal.
- Chints or Chhints: These were painted clothes called as calmendar by Tavernier meaning thereby Kalamder, derived from qalam, a pen or a brush. Mostly made at Golconda an neighbourhood of Metchlipatam. There were various varieties of chints. On account of their printing and fineness Indians made bed sheets, table cloths and pocket handkerchiefs. In Persia ladies and gents used it for making waist coats. **Cowl**: An agreement, contract or grant.
- Dariabadi: Cotton goods made at Daryabad in Barabanki distt. **Duttics**: A kind of calico, principally known from its use in loin cloth. **Dyeing**: Baftas or cotton cloths which required dyeing red, blue or black were taken in their original form to the cities of Agra an Ahmedabad where Indigo was grown in plenty and used for dyeing. The costly sorts of baftas were exported in large quantity to the foreign countries. **Fluyt**: A Dutch word signifying a small ship. **Gingham**: an Indian cotton cloth. It is an old English name, probably of Indo-European origin for a stuff made of cotton yarn dyed before being woven. **Kintal**: A weight equivalent to Bahar. **Larin**: A peculiar kind of money formerly in use in Persian gulf, on the western coast, of Malabar islands. Less than an English Shilling. **Murries**: Mulberry Coloured cloth. **Myrobalan**: A dried fruit, formerly used in medicine. **Patolas**: The word Patolas is from Pattuda, a Silk cloth at Ahmedabad the patolas were decorated with flowers of various altamar: A foot runner I Vcul: The Malaya equivalent of the Chinese of 100 calies (about 133 lbs) Salumpores: It was from Salem, in Telegu meant weaver and Pura means town, weaver's town. It was a kind of cotton cloth formerly manufactured at Nellore. **S.m;ih or Sannas**: A kind of fine cloth. **Shroff** (Hindi Sarraf): A money changer.
- **Amirulumaran**: Mughal honourary title
- **asabiya** (Ar.):' group-feeling, tribal or political cohesion (T.): irrigation canal
- **qapil** (H.): stabled feeding
- **sawnr.** horse procurement office
- **chakari**: service
- **dafadar**: cavalry officer
- **dar ul-Islam**: territory in which Muslim law prevails
- **darra**: valley
- **darbar**: court
- **dast-yar.**: assistant; minister
- **dhaman** (H.): grass of good quality like dub
- **dihkan** (in India) cultivator
- **diwan**: chief financial officer of a state or of an amir
- **dub** (H.): nutritious creeping grass (Cynodon Dactylium)
- **durva** (Skt): dub
- **faqir.** client; bonded labourer
- **farman'**: royal order
- **farman-rawa**: ruler
- **farzand-i lutfi**: adopted son
- **fatwa**: a legal ruling given by a Muslim jurisconsult or mufti
- **faujdar**: Mughal military governor
- **fil-suwar**: elephant trooper
- **fitna**: sedition
- **ganj**: grain-market
- **ghazi**: gallant soldier (of jihad)
- **ghi(H.)**: boiled butter
- **gh'lae** (Pa./pl. of ghal): thieves, plunderers
- **ghulam**: (military) slave
- **hajj**: pilgrimage to Mecca
- **hali** (H.): client; bonded labourer
- **hamsaya**: dependant; client; bonded labourer
- **hat** (H.): local fair
• **hauda** (Ar.): framed seat carried by an elephant or camel
• **hukumat**: government; settled area
• **hundi** (H.): bill of exchange
• **i jara(dar)**: (holder of) farm of revenue
• **in’am(dar)**: (holder of) hereditary tax-exempt privileged tenure
• **jagir(dar)**: (holder of) assignment of land
• **jama’**: revenue valuation
• **jami’at**: troop; kinsfolk
• **jam'-dar**: cavalry officer, military entrepreneur
• **Jay-dad’**: land assignment
• **jihad**: Muslim holy war against infidels
• **jins-war**: local revenue currency
• **juwar** (H.): variety of millet
• **kad-khuda**: head of a family
• **kanizak**: girl; slave-girl
• **Karez**: underground water-canal
• **khadar** (H.): low alluvial land
• **‘khail**: clan
• **khalisa**: crown domain
• **khanaqa**: Sufi hospice
• **khanazad**: member of imperial official’s family
• **khand** (H.): coarse sugar
• **khansaman**: household official, steward
• **khaqan** (T. qaghan): Turkish imperial title, Great Khan
• **kharif**: autumn harvest (e.g. sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, rice)
• **khavid**: green wheat or barley cut for fodder
• **khawand**: master, patron
• **khidmat**: service
• **khilafat**: vicegerency; caliphate
• **khifar**: robe of honour bestowed by a superior in rank
• **khirqa**: mantle of the Prophet
• **khir** (H.): rice-milt
• *khutba*: formula, read at the Friday afternoon congregational prayers, into which the name of the ruler was often inserted.
• *khudaspa*: hired soldier in possession of his own-horse
• *kuffar (pl of kafir)*: infidels,
• *lashkar*: army
• *luti* (H.): free-booter, plunderer
• *madad-i maash*: grant for charitable or religious purposes,
• *madrasa*: Muslim college
• *mahalla*: quarter,
• *maidan*: open plain (for grazing), *malik*: chief; icing
• *mamalik* (pl. of *mamlakat*): provinces; realms *mansab(dar)*: (holder of) noble rank
• *mandi* (H.): local market
• *mardoman-i hamrahi*: follower
• *masur* (H.): variety of pulse or lentil
• *mulawi*: Muslim jurist or theologian
• *mazhab*: school of Muslim law
• *mirbakhshi*: leading military official, + Adjudant-General
• *mujahid*: someone who participates in *jihad*
• *mulla*: Muslim jurist or theologian *hi*: secretary *idam*: village headman
deputy
• *md*: horse-trader; horse-farrier: name, honour °a.): tribal honour descent °i.: army police iettle-drum
• *naukari*: service
• *nawab*: Mughal regional governor; honorary title
• *padshah*: emperor
• *palki* (H.): palanquin
• *pashm*, goat-wool used for Kashmir shawls
• *penth* (H.): local market
• *pesar-i khwanda*: adopted son
• *pishkash*: tributary or honourary payment
• *pindhari* (Ma.): free-booter, plunderer, highway-robber
• *plr*: mystical guide, sufi master
• *pirmda*: descendant of a *pir*
• *qasba*: country-town, often acting as a seat for small Muslim landholders
• *qafila-bashi*: chief of a caravan
• *qariat*: underground water-canal
• *ganungo*: accountant
• *qagi*: Muslim judge
• *qaum*: people
• *qazaq* (T.): free-booter, plunderer, highway-robber
• *qishlaq* (T.): winter pasture
• *rabi* winter crop harvested in spring (wheat, barley, gram, pulse)
• *riyat*: cultivator, peasant; subject
• *risaladar*: cavalry commander
• *riyasat*: government
• *sajjada-nishin*: (successor of a) *pir*
• *sardar*: chief
• *sarkar*: district
• *van* (H.): variety of grass
• *shaanshah*: Persian imperial title
• *sharia*: Muslim law
• *sikka*: coin
• *siladhar*: gentleman-trooper
• *suba(dar)*: (governor of) province
• *suwar*(i): horseman(ship)
• *tabistangah*: summer pasture; mountain meadow
• *tarai* (H.): moist land, at foot of the Himalaya range
• *Timasha*: Himalayan currency
• *tiyl*: assignment of land/land-revenue
• *fuman*: Mughal administrative term for district or subdivision of a province
• *turak* (Pa.): plunderers
• *"ulama* (pl. of *alim*): Muslim jurists or theologians
• *litus*: distinct group of people, tribal organization
• urteng (Ch.): military post
• watan: homeland
• wakil: ambassador, representative
• wakil-i mutlaq: plenipotentiary
• wazir: high imperial official
• yagistan: unsettled land, wilderness
• yasa (Mo.): Mongol law
• yaylaq (T.): summer pasture, mountain meadow
• yurt (T.): encampment; territory
• zamindar: land-holder
• zamistangah: winter pasture
# APPENDIX II

## LIST OF ERSTWHILE NAWAB OF RAMPUR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>DOB</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Graveyard</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1774/</td>
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<tr>
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<td>25 days</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1794/</td>
<td></td>
<td>1794/</td>
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<td>1794/</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nawab Gulam Mohd. Khan</td>
<td>1176/</td>
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<td>1794/</td>
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<td>Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan</td>
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<td>56 yrs</td>
<td>Nankar (Rampur)</td>
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<td>1855/</td>
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<td>Nawab Kalbe Ali Khan</td>
<td>1250/</td>
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<td>1385/</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Nawab Murtaza Ali Khan</td>
<td>1309/</td>
<td>1383/</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>1401/</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX III:

THE ROHILLA DYNASTY

Mahmud Khan

| Shah Alam Khan | Hasan Khan |

| (Ghulam) Daud Khan | Hafiz Rahmat Khan | Dundi Khan |
| | | |

| (Ghulam) Ali Muhammad Khan | Mahmud Khan | Daughter X Najib ud Daulah |

| Abdullah Khan | Faizullah Khan | Sadullah Khan | Zabita Khan |

| Ghulam Qadir Khan |
PLATE NO-1 CANDLESTAND (CIRCA; 1800 ROHAILKHUND)
PLATE NO-2 MAP SHOWING ROHAILKHAND REGION
DURING 18TH CENTURY
PLATE NO-3 CELEBRATING FESTIVAL THROUGH MUSICAL INSTRUMENT DURING 18TH CENTURY
PLATE NO-4 DECORATIVE PIECE (CIRCA; 1800 ROHAILKHUND)
PLATE NO-5 FLOWER POTS

PLATE NO-6 FLOWER POT AND CANDLESTAND (CIRCA; 1800 ROHAILKHUND)
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PLATE NO-9  TOMB OF NAWAB BAHAD, FOUNDER SHAHJAHANPUR
PLATE NO-10  LUXURY ITEMS
PLATE NO-11  HAFIZ RAHMAT KHAN
PLATE NO-13  TOMB OF NAWAB NAJIB-UD-DAULA, NAJIBABAD

PLATE NO-14  JAMA MASJID NAJIBABAD
PLATE NO-15 INTERIOR OF THE TOMB OF HAFIZ RAHMAT KHAN

PLATE NO-16 WESTERN GATE OF THE FORT OF NAJIBABAD
PLATE NO-19  NAWAB FAISAULLA KHAN
PLATE NO-20  TEHSIL BILASPUR, DISTRICT RAMPUR
PLATE NO-21  TOMB OF NAWAB ALI MOHD KHAN, AONLA
ROHILKHAND REGION AS SHOWN ON THE TRADE ROUTES
ROHILLAS KINGDOM AND IMPORTANT TOWNSHIP
DURING 18TH CENTURY
ROUTES SHOWING MIGRATION OF ROHILLAS FROM CENTRAL ASIA TO ROHILKHAND REGION
MAP SHOWING 18thc. THE REGION OF PILIBHIT

Capital Towns ■
District ———
Tahsil ○ ———
Police Stations ▲
Pargana ○
MAP SHOWING 18th c. THE REGION OF BUDAUN
MAP SHOWING 18th c. THE REGION OF SHAHJAHANPUR
SOURCES
SOURCES

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