



**NETAJI SUBHAS OPEN UNIVERSITY**

**STUDY MATERIAL**

**POST GRADUATE  
GEOGRAPHY**

**Paper : 6**

**Group : B (1)**

**HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY**



## **PREFACE**

In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post-Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post-Graduate course in any subject is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post-Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analyses.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in invisible teaching. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that they may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University.

Needless to add, a great part of these efforts is still experimental-in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

**Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar**  
Vice-Chancellor

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**Paper-6 : Group B(I)**  
**Historical Geography**

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Paper 6 - Census 1950  
Demographic Statistics

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**Netaji Subhas  
Open University**

**Post Graduate : Geography  
M. Sc.**

**Paper-6 : Group B(I)  
Historical Geography**

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# Journal of Geography

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## UNIT □ 1.1 NATURE SCOPE AND CONTENT; SOURCE MATERIALS OF GEOGRAPHY; LITERATURE, TRAVEL ACCOUNTS ARCHIVES AND CHRONICLES

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### Structure

- 1.1.0 Introduction
- 1.1.1 Definition of Historical Geography
- 1.1.2 Source Material of Historical Geography
- 1.1.3 Source Material of Historical Geography of India
- 1.1.4 Further Reading

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### 1.1.0 Introduction

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**Historical geography** is the study of the human, physical, fictional, theoretical and “real” geographies of the past. Historical geography studies a wide variety of issues and topics. A common theme is the study of the geographies of the past and how a place or region changes through time. Many historical geographers study, geographical patterns through time, including how people have interacted with their environment, and created the cultural landscape.

Historical geography seeks to determine how cultural features of various societies across the planet emerged and evolved, by understanding their interaction with their local environment and surroundings.

In its early days, Historical geography was difficult to define as a subject. A textbook from the 1950s cites a previous definition as an ‘unsound attempt by geographers to explain history. Its author, J.B. Mitchell, came down firmly on the side of geography : ‘the historical geographer is a geographer first last and all the time’. By 1975 the first number of the Journal of Historical Geography has widened the discipline to a broader church: ‘the writings of scholars of any disciplinary provenance who have something to say about matters of geographical interest relating to past time’.

For some in the United States, the term *historical geography* has a more specialized meaning: the name given by Carl Ortwin Sauer of University of California, Berkeley to his program of reorganizing cultural geography (some say all geography) along regional lines, beginning in the first decades of the 20th century. To Sauer, a landscape and the

cultures in it could only be understood if all of its influences through history were taken into account: physical, cultural, economic, political, environmental. Sauer stressed regional specialization as the only means of gaining sufficient expertise on regions of the world. Sauer's philosophy was the principal shaper of American geographic thought in the mid-20th century. Regional specialists remain in academic geography departments to this day. But some geographers feel that it harmed the discipline; that too much effort was spent on data collection and classification, and too little on analysis and explanation. Studies became more and more area-specific as later geographers struggled to find places to make names for themselves. These factors may have led in turn to the 1950s crisis in geography, which raised serious questions about geography as an academic discipline in the United States.

This sub-branch of human geography is closely related to history and environmental history. At many colleges it is a field of study in Historical studies.

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### **1.1.1 Definition of Historical Geography**

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Basically Historical Geography is a sub-field of Human Geography dealing with the works of explorers and geographers of the past and their relations with the present. It can precisely be stated that Historical Geography is interested in reconstruction of past Geographical phenomena at present. So Historical Geography can be defined in more general terms that the study of past geographical or events. The study of past geographical phenomena is inseparable from geography in general, because to understand the present status of any geographical phenomenon or phenomena past study is inevitable. It is true that without having any knowledge of past events the knowledge of present becomes meaningless.

#### ***Nature, Scope and Content of Historical Geography***

Since the emergence of the subject Geography as an academic discipline (Darwin) historical studies have featured prominently in the subject. The fact that historical geography studies both space (chorology) and time (chronology) leads some to contend that it is as much a mode of analysis as discrete branch of knowledge. Certainly, the field can appear almost boundless since in contrast to other sub branches of geography, it is defined not by concentration on a particular area of theme but by its focus on the dimension—that of time. It has been argued that all geography is historical geography since a full understanding of the present requires an appreciation of the past. In practice, however, the subject matter of historical geography has been defined by practitioners in a slightly less eclectic manner, typically summarized as (a) Geography of the past, (b) Changing landscapes, (c) the past in the present and (d) Geographical history.

Methodologically, these may be distributed into static or synchronic reconstruction of the past periods and process studies of geographical change. In addition to the centrality of time historical geography has also traditionally been characterized as an academic as opposed to applied discipline.

### ***Major Areas of Temporal (Historical) Explanation in Geography***

The main areas of geographic research specifically involving the study changed through time (Darwin) are : (a) cultural geography (study of landscape); (b) innovation diffusion (spread of phenomena over space through time); (c) time geography— relates to analysis of space, time, patterns and process; (d) the process-form approach to explanation—geographers are becoming more and more interested in reference to spatial process which requires study of past and present location.

### ***Approaches to the Study of Historical Geography***

There are four approaches to the study of Historical Geography

- (i) Operation of the geographical factor in history;
- (ii) Evolution of cultural landscapes;
- (iii) Reconstruction of past geography;
- (iv) Study of geographical changes through time.

(i) ***Operation of the geographical factor in history*** : In regard to the operation of geographical factor in history it is noted that any phenomenon or events could best be understood by studying, listing and classifying the operation or action of particular groups of factors and effects, each group producing its own particular pattern of influence. So in shaping the history of past the geographical factor such as physical i.e. relief, climate, soil, vegetation etc play important role. In the development of historical events geographical factors dominate the entire process of development.

(ii) ***Evolution of cultural landscapes*** : The concept of Historical Geography as the study of the changing landscape was an obvious extension of the wider concept of geography as the study of landscapes. The study of landscapes and their transformation is inseparable linked to the study of the landforms at temporal scale i.e. past. The knowledge of state of past landscapes is essential for understanding the transformed landscape i.e. the cultural landscape. Such a concept of the sub field has led to the widely subscribed view that historical geography must concern itself with the study of the process through which human groups have over time succeeded in transforming the area of their habitants from a mere pieces of virgin territory into cultural landscapes reflecting their thoughts and way of life. This approach to historical geography was

given form and substance by Darby's attempt at systematization of the major items to be included in the study of evolution of the landscape in Britain.

(iii) **Reconstruction of past geography** : Reconstruction of past geographies was by far the most orthodox and unexceptionable views of historical geography. Mackinder subscribed to this view of the subfield, so that historical geography was defined as the branches of geography specifically concerned with the study and analysis of the historical present. Most of the important studies in historical geography belonged to this type. In the interest of the present reconstruction of the past is essential. This reconstruction of past geography belonged to this type. In the interest of the present reconstruction of the past is essential. This reconstruction of past geographies is dependent on a number of source materials.

(iv) **Study of geographical change through time** : The study of geographical change through time essentially linked to the study of aerial function relationships between phenomena of diverse origins existing together in particular segments of earth surface. This relationship is extremely linked with time. Because the areal functional relationship change and develop in time i.e. the changes in geographical phenomena takes place in temporal scale.

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### 1.1.2 Source Material of Historical Geography

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The study of the geographical phenomena of the past is possible if there are certain bases. These base upon which the study of the past geographies can be carried out are called source material of Historical Geography.

The source material of Historical Geography can be classified into nine different categories. These are : (a) *Texts and literature*, (b) *Travel accounts*, (c) *Classical Geographies*, (d) *Classic Histories*, (e) *Dynastic Archives and Chronicles*, (f) *Revenue records* (g) *Military campaigns*, (h) *Temple records* and (g) *Old maps*.

These source materials are almost common for all countries.

#### (a) *Text and Literature*

Text, particularly religious and quasi-religious texts, such as *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Sutras*, *Upanishads* and *Puranas* contain much useful material on the geographical character of the regions and places in which they were composed. Information of geographical character contained in these sources is of immense value for scholars engaged in the study of historical geography of India. These invaluable materials were used by number of scholars in their works for reconstruction of the geography of various regions of India at different points of time. Notable among them are the contribution of



Bird, J. (*Historical Geography of Hindustan and the Origin of the Social State among Hindus—journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1840*), Cunningham, A. (*The Ancient Geography of India, 1871*), Dey, N.L. (*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, 1927*), Law, B.C. (*Historical Geography of Ancient India*), Sircar, D.C. (*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, 1960*), Walford, F. (*Ancient Geography of India—Asiatic Research, 1822, Part 14*) etc.

B.C. Law based his geography of Early Buddhism on the fragmentary evidence lying buried in the Pali-Buddhist text. N.L. Dey (1927) prepared a detailed index of all geographical references occurring in the ancient Sanskrit and Pali texts. S.M. Airs monumental work on the Geography of the Puranas broke new grounds by using the tools of modern geography to understand the real significance of geographical references in the ancient texts. The religious and quasi-religious texts of ancient India were so enriched with geographical information that being utilized painstakingly by large number of scholars, in addition to the above mentioned scholars, the following scholars are also worth mentioning: Bhargava, P.L. (*The Geography of Rigvedic India - I, 1964*), Fleet, J.F. (*The Topographical list of the Brihat Samlita - 'Indian Antiquary' -1899*). Majumdar, R.C. (*Classical Accounts of India 1919-21*); Stein, A. (*Kalhana's Rajtarangini, vol. 1 and 2, 1900*) and so on. Bhargava, P.L. (1964) used geographical material occurring in the Rigveda and Mukherjee, A.B. (1969) used similar material from Upanishads and the Jataka tales.

### **Sources Epic and Literary**

The great epics Ramayana and Mahabharata are rich in geographical context. The invaluable geographical information contained in these epics was utilised successfully by number of scholars. The notable scholars who used this material are: Das, M, 1894 (*Geography of Asia based on the Ramayana - Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*), Dikshitar, V.R.R. (*Geographical Data of the Dakhin and South India as Gathered from Ramayana- Indiai 'i Culture 1935 I, 4*) etc. Like Ramayana, the geographical materials contained in Mahabharata were also utilized for the study of historical geography of that period. Literary sources such as the works of Kalidasa were used for an understanding of the geography of the period by Gupta S.I, 1963 (*Meghdoot - A geographical analysis - National Geographical Journal of India 9(3.4)*), Law B.C. (*Geographical Aspects of Kalidas's Works, 1954*) and by Sivarainamurthy - 1932 (*Geography of Kalidasa - Journal of Madras Geographical Association 7,1*) etc.

### **(b) Travel accounts**

Travel accounts constitute an invaluable source of information for the historical geographer. These records offer the rare opportunity of having an eye-witness account of the lands and peoples visited by the traveller concerned at a given point of time. In

the Indian context, most valuable among these travel records are the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsiang, and to a lesser degree, Fa-Hsien and Sung-Yun; the Arab travellers Ibn Batuta and Alberuni and a number of European travellers who toured the country during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The enormous evidence in Hiuen Tsiang was ably sifted, annotated and analysed by Beal. The latter (28. 1957-58) took great pains in identifying place-names and other geographic references mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. This evidence was utilized by Cunningham (55. 1371) who not only cast it in the geographical mould but also compared it with the accounts of Alexander's campaign to produce a brilliant geographical account of Buddhist India.

The narrative of medieval Arab traveller Ibn Batuta was translated and edited and annotated by Gidd (76. 1929; 1962). Yule (134k 1874) analysed the geographic content on India in the *Rehla*, while Haig (81. 1337) discussed his travels in Sind, identifying place-names and assessing the geographical significance of the narrative.

Wheeler (1881, 1890) and Macmillan (1895) incorporated valuable material on Indian geography as contained in the travel accounts of some important European travellers of the seventeenth century such as Terry, Delia Valle, Tavernier, Thevenot, Fryer, Hamilton, Niebuhr, Hawkins, Roe and Careri. The extracts from the works of Wheeler and Macmillan were compiled in a volume (182: 1956) and constitute a useful source material on the geography of this period. The geographical content in the account of Peter Mundy's travels in the seventeenth century was thoroughly annotated by Temple in the Hakluyt Society's edition (177, 1919).

### (c) *Classical Geographies*

Classical geographies of India, such as those of the Greeks in the ancient period and of the Arabs in the medieval period, are valuable contemporary source-books for the historical geography of their time. The Greek accounts of India, among others those of Diodorus, Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Quintus, Siculus, Justin, Plutarch, Frontinus, Nearchus, Apollonius, Pliny and Ptolemy, were extensively used in a number of studies. Cunningham's work (1871) has already been referred to; other notable contributions include McCrindle's studies (112, 1879; 113, 1882; 114, 1885; 115, 1926) on the geography of ancient India and Majumdar's commentary in his *Classical Accounts of India* (117, 1960). The value of McCrindle's work has been enhanced by the fact that he annotated the accounts on points related to geography and identified place names with their Sanskrit originals. McCrindle's work was later edited by Majumdar (113, 1927), who also provided detailed notes embodying later researches.

Arab geographical works on India have been similarly utilized by scholars in reconstructing the geography of early medieval India. These accounts of India came from a large number of Arab geographers, travellers, mariners and merchants, like Ibn Khurdadhbih, Ibn Haugul, Al-Masudi, Al-Maqdisi, Al-Biruni, Al-Idrisi, Abul Fida and Ibn Majid, who threw light on this otherwise little known Indian scene of the early medieval times. The geographical content of these accounts was extensively used by Ahmad (6, 1939; 7, 1947), Alavi (14, 1940; 17, 1950; 1951; 1952; 1954; 15, 1965; 16, 1966), Ahmacl (3, 1953; 1954; 1955; 9, 1956-57; 10, 1955; 11, 1954), Ali (23, 1950) and Law (104, 1955). Later Ali (19, 1960) translated section II of M. Reinauc's work from the original French and enhanced the value of the work by adding annotations, comments and explanatory notes.

#### (d) *Classic Histories*

Geographical material of immense value occurs in the Indian classical history. Some of the important works in this category which have been extensively utilized by scholars for reconstructing the geography of the past are *Rajatarangini*, *Chachnama*, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *Muntakhabat-ul-Tawarikh*, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, *Akbarnama* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. The geographical material in these works has been organised and made usable by the translators and editors and further utilised by those who referred to the geographical evidence contained therein to enrich and illustrate their studies on specific problems of historical geography. Notable among these contributions are those of All Ahmad and Lees on *Muntakhyb-ud-Tawarikh* (3, 1861-69), Raverty on *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (143, 1970), Beveridge on *Akbarnama* (30, 1873-87), Blochmann (38, 1877), Jarrett (1891), D. C. Phillot (1927) and Sarkar (12, 1949) on *Ain-i-Akbari*, Stein (169, 1900) on *Rajatarangini*, Hasan (82, 1918) on *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, and Ali (18, 1927-28; 1930) on *Miraat-i-Ahmadi* and Ross (155, 1895) on *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

Another class of works constitutes the writings which have elaborate topographical details. Of them special mention may be made, of *Haft Aqleeni*, Abdul Latif's *Journey to Bengal* (1600-09) *Malwnat-al-Afaq*, *Safarnama-i-Mukhlis* and *Chhahar Gulshan*. They have been critically examined by Ross, Harley and Haqqi (156, 1918; 1927; 1939) and Sarkar (103, 10285), besides being used by Irfan Habib in his *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (78, 1963) and Karimi in his urban geographical study of *Akharnagar* (99, 1970).

#### (c) *Dynastic Archives and Chronicles*

Geographical material is available in a scattered manner in day-books, court histories, chronicles, biographies, genealogical rolls, correspondence and orders which were maintained or were issued by the various dynamics and their courtiers. The richness of *Akbarnama* as a source of geographical material has already been alluded to. Some



other works of significance in this category, which have been utilised in geographical studies, are *Babarnama*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Tuzak-i-Jahan*. The commentaries and annotations on these texts, among others, by Beveridge (31, 1921; 1909-14) and Rogers (154, 1913; 1927; 1931) enhance their value as source material for researches on the Mughal period. Tod (179, 1329; 1832) used genealogical rolls of the Rathors furnished by Jam priests and preserved in the temple records, poetic histories and other bardic literature. They are rich in reference to the character of the tracts and of the peoples ruled by these royal lineages. Khan (83, 1939) has similarly utilized bardic literature for reconstructing the political geography of the past as far as the territories Jammu and Kashmir are concerned.

### **Revenue Records**

For the late medieval period, Mughal documents on revenue and other agricultural statistics provide a vast treasure of useful information hitherto untraceable in Indian history for any period antecedent to the Mughals. Of these *Ain-i-Akbari* has been extensively used by economic historians such as Moreland (119, 1929) and Irfan Habib (78, 1963) whose works are important aids in research on the economic geography of Medieval India. Besides Irfan Habib's work was based on a number of contemporary sources such as *Ganj-i-Barawurd* of Amanullah Khin Husaini, *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* of Yusuf Mirak (163-1), *Char Chaman-i-Jiarhaman* of Rai Chandrabhan Brahman (C. 1656) and *i-numbei* of accountancy manuals and statistical tables of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably *Yad-dasht-i itfujmil-i-Jarna* (C. 1646-7), *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri* (C. 1659), Nand Ram Kayastha's *Siaqnana* (1694-6) and Brij Rai's *Dasfur-al ArnaH Shahanshahi* (C. 1727).

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### **1.1.3 Source Material of Historical Geography of India**

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Absence of definitive geographies and maps prepared in India during ancient and medieval periods pose a definite challenge for the scholars studying historical geography of India. The nature of source materials has posed the most serious challenges to scholars engaged in researching on the historical geography of India. It is a difficult task to search for bits of information of geographical significance in essentially non-geographical accounts, to shift the small grains of authentic facts from the gravel of myths, exaggeration and poetic fancies and to fit them into a systematic framework so as to present the man-environment relationship in a particular historical phase.

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### **1.1.4 Further Reading**

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Mitchell, J.B. (1954) : Historical Geography (Hodder and Stoughton educational. Journal of Historical Geography Volume 1, Number 1, 1975).



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## **UNIT □ 1.2 TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION OF JANAPADAS IN ANCIENT INDIA; TRADE ACCOUNTS OF HIUEN TSANG AND IBN-E- BATUTA**

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### **Structure**

#### **1.2.0 Introduction**

#### **1.2.1 The Janapadas of Madhya Desa or Central Region**

#### **1.2.2 The Janapadas of Udicya or North-Western Region**

#### **1.2.3 Janapadas of Apranta or South-Western Region**

#### **1.2.4 The Janapadas of Prachya or Eastern Region**

#### **1.2.5 The Janapadas of Daksinapatha or Southern Region**

#### **1.2.6 Trade Accounts of Hiuen Tsang**

#### **1.2.7 Trade accounts of Ibn-e-Batuta**

#### **1.2.8 Further Readings**

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#### **1.2.0 Introduction**

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The Puranic lists of journals (or territorial units) and people (or communities) are identical for the simple reason that each janapada is named after the community inhabiting it or vice-versa. For instance, the Kuru janapada was the territory occupied by the Kurus, while "Nsikyas was the name given to the people occupying the Nasik region. Thus in all Puranic accounts the terms people and janapadas are synonymous and interchangeable.

For the following discussion on the identification and location of the janapadas of Bharatavarsha we shall follow the Puranic classification and sequence. The Puranas give the list of janapadas or people in each major region in a certain order which runs as follows:

- 1) The janapadas of Madhya Desa or Central Region
- 2) The janapadas of Udicya or North-Western Region
- 3) The janapadas of Aparanta or South-Western Region
- 4) The janapadas of Prachya or Eastern Region
- 5) The janapadas of Daksinapatha or Southern Region

### 1.2.1 The Janapadas of Madhya Desa or Central Region

The old name of the Upper Ganga Basin, the United Provinces of Agra and Ayodhya was not too ugly for use as a label, for it suggested some of the significant disunities typical of this area, though there is enough fundamental unity for it all to be included in a single region, even if we extend its eastern limits down to the Bihar valley, to include at least Patna and the confluences of the Son and the Gandak; and its northwestern limits to the valley of the Ghaggar which lies between the Yamuna and Sutlej.

Ramayana, as well as of the Puranas, 'The Great Battle' was fought on its northwestern margins, the lead of Krishnas's early exploits was the western border, the home Rama was in Ayodhya and the centre of Brahmanism was at Varanasi. The Buddha and his creed were born here, and it was the appropriate centre of the empire of Asoka; traces of his Pataliputra still surviving in the subsoil of Patna. It was the Hindustan of the Muslim historians and Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Lucknow were medieval capitals. It has always been the heart of India, typically Indian and securely India. Central India was almost as safe a bulwark as the Himalayas both the north-western highlands (beyond Punjab) and the south-eastern ocean were remote, and the lands of approach from both were difficult and unattractive. Its security helped to make it, in a 'land of Sanctuaries', the richest in shrines; its nodality helped to make it the home of Hindi, the nearest approach amongst the Indian languages, to a *lingua franca*, and it has much fundamental unity in structure and relief, in climate and its vegetational controls, in the density and occupation of its people.

It is to be remembered that the whole Upper Ganga Basin, as defined above, was once mostly covered with woodlands and forests. The earliest Aryan settlements were on the rivers amidst cleared or open lands. It was from these nuclei that the territories of various tribes or communities who had settled there grew into compact units and led to the foundation of the respective janapadas and kingdoms. Naturally within an uniform plain the boundary lines or frontier zones between the different territories were either the broad flood plains of the great rivers or the thick forests which remained uncleared for a long time. Some of these forests (Suayamjatavana) remained the normal feature of the land. For instance the Kuru-jangala was a wild region in the Kuru realm, which, extended as far as the Kamyaka forest. The kingdom of Uttara-Panchala was founded in this jungle tract. The Anjanavana at Saketa, the Mahavana at Vaisali and the Mahavana at Kapilavastu were natural forests, which extended up to the slopes of the Himalayas. The Parileyyakavana was an elephant-forest at some distance from Kausambi on the way to Saravasti. The Lumbinivana on the Rohini the Nagavana of the Vajji kingdom,

the Salavana of the Mallas at Kusinara, the Bhesakalavana in the Bharga Kingdom, the Simsapavana at Kausambi, the forest to the north of Setavya in Kosala and the one near Alvi and the Pippalivana of the Mouriyas may be cited as typical examples of natural forests which covered a substantial area of the Basin.

The Puranic janapadas of the 'Middle Country' can therefore be defined in terms of two natural features, the rivers and the forests. They are the following:

(a) **Kuru:** The land of the Kurus was originally the hinterland of Doab west of Yamuna where they first settled. Later they pushed their boundary towards the east across the Yamuna and the Doab to the Ganga. The Puranic Janapada of Kuru may be identified with the region bounded by the Ghaggar in the west, the Ganga on the east and the forest belts in the north and the south. Their two capitals, Indraprastha on the Yamuna and Hastinapur on the Ganga are well known.

(b) **Jangala:** This Janapada is usually associated with the Kurus and is sometimes called Kuru Jangala. It may therefore be inferred that Kuru Jangala was the wasteland of the Kurus and that it occupied the wooded northeastern part of their territory, which extended up to the Kamyaka forest in the north.

(c) **Pancala:** The Janapada of Pancala may be considered as coterminous with Rohilkhand of modern times, with the central portion of the Yamuna-Ganga Doab added to it. It extended from the Ganga in the west to the Sarju on the east occupied only the northern half of their doab and the middle portion of the Yamuna and Ganga Doab. It had two divisions, the north with its capital at Ahicchatra and the southern, with its capital at Kampila. They have been identified as Ramnagar (in the Bareilly district) and Kampilya (in the Furrukhabad district) respectively. The dividing line between the northern and southern Pancala was the River Ganga. The southern boundary of the Pancala territory again coincided with forest belts already mentioned above.

(d) **Kosala:** The Kosala Janapada approximately coincided with the Sarju-Rapti Doab. It also had two capital cities, Sravasti and Saketa. According to some epics and some Buddhist works Ayodhya seems to have been the earliest capital and Saketa the later. In Buddha's time Ayodhya became an unimportant town, but Saketa and Sravasti were two of the six great cities of India. Sravasti has been identified with Sahe-Mahet which lies on the boundary of the Gonda and Bahraich districts, 19 miles from Balrampur. At times Kosala extended further south beyond the Sarju and included and not only the Gomati-Ganga-Sarju triangle but also absorbed the Janapada of Kasi.

(e) **Kasi:** It is one of the ancient janapadas with its capital at Varanasi and was counted among the sixteen Mahajanapadas of India. It extended to and included the

southern portion of the Ganga-Gomati Doab and also the Trans-Ganga Tract bounded in the north and south by forest belts.

(f) *Magadha*: Further east of the Kasi-Kosala janapadas beyond the Son and south of the Ganga was the Janapada of Magadha. It was bounded by the son on the west, the Ganga on the North and the spurs of the Vindhyan Plateau which touch the Ganga near Monghyr on the east, and Vindhyan forest on the south. This janapada should normally be included in the eastern lands but since it lies on the borders of the 'Eastern' and 'Middle Countries' and also because the territory of Magadha annexed lands to the west of the Son, the Puranas thought it fit to include Magadha too in the 'Middle Country.'

(g) *Kuntala*: This janapada has been located by Cunningham to the south of Ganga near Chunar. If this is correct the Kuntala janapada could correspond to the Mirzapur District of U.P. between the Ganga and Son rivers. A major part of the Ganga-Son Doab was covered with forests and woodlands.

#### *The Janapadas of the Trans-Yamuna Region (Western)*

Before identification of those janapadas which were located in this region, i.e., approximately in the present east Rajasthan and which were included in the 'Middle country' of the Puranas, it would be ideal to take note of its physical framework.

The dominating features of Rajasthan are the Aravallis and the desert of Thar. The main Aravalli Range extends from Gujarat in the southwest to Delhi in the northeast. The steep front to the desert plain of Thar is formed of discontinuous ridges, the highest, the great granitic mass of Mt. Abu (5,646ft) lies off the main axis in the extreme southwest. Around Udaipur the Aravallis reach their culmination in a great node of spurs and curving ridges; hence another series of low ridges strike off east-north-east. These ridges run parallel to and south of the Banas river, which cuts across them towards the south, near Tonk, to join the Chambal. They then run further towards the Gambhira river to the Bharatpur region, from where they turn towards to north parallel to the Yamuna and pass through Deeg to Alwar. In Alwar, the eastern and the main western ridges meet to form a complex of low hilly country from where a spur of the same system meets the Yamuna at Delhi.

Another series of hills, low and sometimes, low and sometimes detached, belonging to the Vindhyan system runs from Chitor to Fatepur Sikri (in Agra District) north of the Chambal. Most pronounced ridge of this system is the Bundi Range which effectively cuts off the Kotah basin from the northern regions.



Thus the whole Rajasthan may be divided into the following physical units: (i) The Awar-Jaipur region, (ii) The Bharatpur-Dholpur-Karauli region, (iii) The Bundi-Tonk region, (iv) The Mewar or Udaipur region, (v) The Trans-Aravalli region occupying the western slopes of the main Aravalli range; and (vi) The Kotah-Jhalwar basin.

In Hiuen Tsang's time (i) Alwar was called Vairata, (ii) it was a part of Surasena, later called Braja, (iii) were known as Vadari and Gujara, (iv) was included by the Puranas in the Madhyadesa and (v) the Vindhyan lands.

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### **1.2.2 The Janapadas of Udieya or North-Western Region**

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A glance at the list of north-western janapadas given in the Puranas would at once show that the intend to enumerate the sub-regions of the entire basin of the Indus as well as the regions of the Makran Coast which are ethnically, politically and geographically associated with that basin. The Indus basin extends from the land drained by the Sutlej in the east to the catchment area of the Kabul river on the west and from the northernmost area.

A closer examination of the list reveals that the Puranic janapadas covered the following zones or sub-regions of the Indus region as defined above:

- a) The western mountainous zone. This included the present Makran, Baluchistan and Waziritan.
- b) The northern and northeastern mountain (or the Himalayan) zone drained by the affluents of the Kabul and the Indus rivers.
- c) The western bank of the Indus from its confluence with Kabul river to the delta of the Indus.
- d) The eastern bank of the Indus from the Punjanad (where all the Punjab rivers meet) to the sea.
- e) The Punjab plains
- f) The deltas.

#### **(1) *The janapads of the Western Mountainous zone***

##### **(a) *The Makran region:***

- (i) One of the regions of the Makran is the basin of the river Hingol, a winter torrent named Tomeros by the Greeks. Its principal town, Hinglaz contained among others an important shrine of Siva which used to draw crowds of pilgrims from India. The shrine appears to have been in existence even before the days of Alexander.

In medieval times when Makran was under the Arabs, Hinglaj rose in importance and was one of the principal towns of those regions. The Puranas recognize it as a janapada under the name Angaloka.

- (ii) A region adjoining Hingol valley is that of the Parikan River. Herodotus called the inhabitants of this region as the Parikanoi (a Greek transcript of the Persian form of Parikan the plural of the Sanskrit Parvaka meaning the people of the hills). The Puranas appear to designate this janapada by the name Pallava.
- (iii) The valley of the Dasht river, though an insignificant river now, may have supported a community or tribe in ancient times. This valley and the adjoining valley of the Bahu river, on whose mouth Gwadaor is situated, gained considerable importance under the Arabs who considered Makran as the threshold of India and whose main routes from Bampur (southeaster Persia) to Debel (Indus Delta) traversed those valleys behind the coastal ranges. Ibn-i-Haukal, Istakhri and Idrisi mentioned the grandeur of their towns, Kiz, Rasak and Faharpara etc.
- (iv) The next region in Makran towards the Indus delta is that of the river Purabi known as Lasbela. The city of Annabel is at present only an insignificant town, but picturesquely perched on the banks of the Purali river, it was an important centre during the Arab occupation and commanded for hundreds of years of coastal high road to India. The whole of the valley is rich in ancient sites like Gondakahar and Gondrani and was part of a Buddhist kingdom which extended from Armabel to Gandava (near Kalat).

(b) *Baluchistan and Waziristan*

- (i) *Kalatayaka* of the Puranas is apparently the Kalat region of Baluchistan. It practically coincides with the valley of the Malla river which almost touches the foot of the bounding ranges.
- (ii) *Bahluka or Valhlka*: Balis was a well-known region of Baluchistan, south of Quetta and the Bolan Pass, whose rivers, though not reaching the Indus, drain its basin. It has been described as 'a district in the desert'. It is a place with much cultivation but with few amenities. It contains a few towns, such as Afnjai, Kushk, Sivi of which Kushk was the residence of the Amir. It was also known as Balistan. Vahiika of the Puranas evidently corresponds to the region covered by the valley of the Bolqn, Nari and Gokh rivers. It almost coincided with what was formerly known as British Baluchistan, the land of the Balochis.
- (iii) North of the Vahiika region, we come to the valleys of the Zhob, the Kunder and the Gomal. The upper Gornal has always supported one of the most famous people

of the region, the Waziris, who have retained their identity and independence even up to the present time.

- (iv) Further north one can come across the important valleys of Kurram and its affluent, the Tochi. The upper Kurram irrigates the Thai region, one of the most beautiful spots in North Waziristan which is probably identical with the Talagana janapada of the Puranas. The Tochi River has given its name to the tribe which occupies its valleys, the Tochis.
- (v) North of the Talagana and adjoining the Peshwar is the land of the well-known tribe, the Afridis. It is certainly the same as the Aprytac of Synelas or the Aprita of the Puranas and the Mahabharata.

## **(2) *The janapadas of the Northern Mountain zone of the Indus Basin***

### **(a) *The Basin of the Kabul River***

Practically all the tributaries of the Kabul river which reach it from the northern mountains are associated with tribes or communities which are in most cases synonymous with the Puranic janapadas of the same name. The following associations have been available:

*Gandhara* (associated with the lower Kabul valley).

*Satadruja* the valley of the Panjkora, which meets the Swat river downstream, has been the home of another frontier tribe with its capital at Dir. It may be identified with the Darva janapada of the Puranas.

*Kamboja* (associated with the valley of the Kunar River) is to be noted that the Puranas did not mention Kamboja as a part of the Indus basin.

*Lampaka* (associated with the upper Kabul valley) is the same as the Lambagae of the Greeks and Lamghan of Loday.

### **(b) *The Northern and Northeastern Mountain (Himalayan) Zone***

The following intermontane valley region which are fairly well-known has rightly been included by the Puranas in their list of the janapadas of the Indus Basin, since all of them lie on the affluents of the Indus which join it on its left or eastern bank.

1. Aurusa is the same as ancient Urusa or the modern Hazara district of the North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan.
2. Darada is still the land of an ancient tribe known as Daradas who live in the valley of river Kisenganga in Kashmir, Shardi is its principal town.
3. Kasmira or Kashmir valley drained by the Jhelum River.

### **(3) *The Western bank of the Indus from the Kabul River to the delta of the Indus***

The lowland belt which runs parallel to the Indus along its western bank has always been an extremely dry and sandy tract. Ptolemy mentioned for only about a dozen towns of some importance from Amb (Embolina) to Karachi (Kolaka). There were however, a few communities which occupied the valleys of western streams which could find their way into the Indus in spite of the intervening desert belt. One of such rivers is the Kurram whose valley was the territory of the Vatadhanas already mentioned. On the south of this territory appears a town named Paradabhatra in Ptolemy's list of stages on the route parallel to the west bank of the Indus. The name is indicative of a janapada mentioned in the Puranas as Parada which from the Greek accounts appears to coincide with Mithankot region of Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab (Pakistan).

South of the Parada and west of the Indus was the Sindhu janapada which extended along the bank of the river as far south as Sahwan, and important stage on the north-south route.

### **(4) *The janayadas of the eastern bank of Indus from the Panchanad to the Delta***

- (i) the Puranas mention two janapadas which, according to various references to have occupied the eastern littoral of the Indus, one of them was the Sudra (Xodraka of the Greeks, expressly mentioned by Ptolemy as a region on the left bank of the Indus). The Sudras, according to the Mahabharata occupied the region where the Saraswati disappeared in the desert. If the dry bed of the Harka is taken as that of the Saraswati (which is probable), the Sudra janapada with the Uch-Khanpur region of Bahawalpur can be identified.
- (ii) Further downstream was the land of Suviras who from all accounts, occupied the territory contiguous to that of the Sindh but on the opposite bank of the river. Sauvira, therefore, coincides with the Bohri-Khairpur region of Sindh.
- (iii) To the South of Saivira, but again east of the Indus where it starts flowing in a number of deltaic streams, was the land of Abhiras. The janapada of Abhira (Aberia of the Periplus) therefore practically covered the western part of the Hyderabad district of Sind.

### **(5) *The janapadas of the Punjab Plains***

The name Punjab or Panchanad was applied originally only to the five great rivers of the Salt Range – in the days when the Beas did not join the Sutlej up to Bahawalpur. All these rivers have always been of great importance, the distribution and movements of the people depended wholly and directly on them, and though their courses have



been changing and still change within certain limits and their shoals shift, they carry a considerable amount of water and have always formed with few exceptions, boundaries between the janapadas of ancient India and also the districts of today. But the boundaries have been largely related to the vagaries of the rivers which have been changing their courses all the time. For instance in the extreme south of the Sind-Sagar Doab, the Indus changed its course over a canal dug from the Chenab to the Indus and the Chenab had to make a new confluence with it about 60 miles further south. Multan once stood on an island in the Ravi and Tamerlane's men could work down the Ravi into the Chenab; but the Ravi joins the Chenab now above Multan thirty miles above.

A characteristic of the doabs of the Punjab is the occurrence of high banks between pairs of rivers. These not only provided excellent sites for towns and cities but also checked to some extent the shifting of the channels. Thus the Jhelum and the Chenab could never swing west of the Jhelum bank (right bank) or east of the Chenab bank (left bank); and the same is true of the right bank of the old Beas and the left bank of the Sutlej. In fact the high bank of the Jhelum runs the whole way along its western flank, isolating it wholly from the Indus.

Before the irrigation canals came into existence, the population distribution in the doabs was always concentrated in the northern belt of a doab, i.e., the piedmont zone of the mountains. It is no wonder therefore that in general the capital cities of the ancient janapadas of the Punjab were located on strategic sites at the foot of the mountains.

The following is a brief analysis of Puranic list of the janapadas of Punjab and their relation to the major rivers and their doabs.

- i. **Gandhara** has already been mentioned along with the **Trans-Indus janapadas**. In fact it extended across the upper Indus to the line of hills which radiate from the Rawalpindi to the south-west, thus encircling the north-western corner of the Sind-Sagar Doab which faced towards the west rather than the east.
- ii. Another sub-region of the **Sind-Sagar Doab** is the basin of the river Sohan which is completely enclosed by the Salt Range on the east and the valley of the Indus on the west. The northern part of this basin, i.e. the Rawalpindi and Pindi Gheli region appears to coincide with the **Sinika** or **Pidika** janapada of the Puranas, while the eastern basin, i.e., the Talagang-Minawali region was probably unpopulated due to aridity of landscape.
- iii. Adjacent to the above and its east was the janapada named **Jaguda** or **Jangala** which coincided with the southern half of the Jhelum-Chenab Doab. Jangala usually indicated an arid bushy country according to the Puranas.

- iv. The northern portion of the Jhelum-Chenab Doab comprised the famous janapada of **Kaikeya** whose capital **Rajgarha** or **Girivraja** has been identified with Jalalpur by Cunningham.
- v. The Ravi-Chenab Doab was the land of the Madrakas whose capital Sakela has been identified with Saiglawala Tibba by Cunningham.

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### 1.2.3 Janapadas of Apranta or South-Western Region

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The Matsya Purana enumerates the following janapadas which are designated as the Western Janapadas.

#### (a) *Janapadas mentioned in Matsya Purana*

- i. Barukaccha which has been rightly identified as the Broach region. To be precise the coastal janapada was located north of the estuary of the Narmada and extended to the south of the Mahi.
- ii. Samahiya janapada is associated with the Mahi river and appears to have been contiguous to Bharukaccha. The relief features which demarcated these two janapadas in the dead-level coastal plain could only be the lower Mahi which forms a wide estuary at its mouth. It appears to have included the entire basin of the Sabarmati situated north of the Mahi.
- iii. Saraswata janapada coincided with the region drained by the river Saraswati which falls into the Rann of Kutch. It corresponds with the Patna-Mehasana Plains between the foothills of the Aravallis and the Kutch.
- iv. The Saraswata adjoined the Arbuda janapada which was situated to its north-east and occupied the south-western spurs of the Aravallis which contained and enclosed the headwaters of the rivers Sabarmati and Banas. It may have coincided with the Sirohi-Kotra-Palanpur triangle.
- v. Kachika janapada was no doubt the Kutch region.
- vi. The Kathiwar peninsula was divided into two janapadas, Anarta and Surastra, the former occupying the northern half and the latter the southern; both separated by the thickly forested mountain core of the peninsula.

#### (b) *Janapadas mentioned in Puranas other than Matsya Purana*

A few more janapadas have been included by other Puranas (except Matsya) in the western region of Bharatvarsa, but Matsya locates them in the south and includes them

in the list of southern janapadas. The conclusion is that Matsya prefers Narmada as the natural and cultural boundary between southern India and the rest of the country. Other Puranas carry this boundary further south to include the Tapti valley and as we will see presently their boundary followed the crest of the hills (Sahyadri), Gawilgarh. Ajanta, Mahadeo and Maikal) which extend in a general east-west direction south of Tapti.

The janapadas which have been added by some Puranas on account of the shifting of the dividing line between north and south India are as follows:

- (i) Surala (Siralā, Murala). This janapada in all probability coincided with the lower Tapti basin centred round Surat and Navasari which command this region. This identification has a purely regional basis and needs confirmation from extra-geographical sources.
- (ii) Tapasa (Tamasa, Svapada) janapada was identical with the Khandes region which played an important role in medieval history. It covered the whole of the middle Tapti basin between the Sahyadri and Satpura hills and lay towards the east-west route, along the Tapti valley and the subsidiary southern route to upper Godavari. Its core appears to have been roughly the quadrilateral formed by the towns of Savda (near Bhusawai), Pacohra, southwest of Jalgaon, Songir and Tapal as shown on modern maps.
- (iii) Further up the Tapti valley there appears to have been another janapada, Turiamina which was drained by the upper Tapti. This janapada is likely to have covered the whole valley of the Tapti between Badnūr and Burhanpur and approximately coincided with southern Nimar.
- (iv) The valley of the River Purna, a tributary of the Tapti which is separated by the former by the Gawilgarh Hills was divided into two territories. The middle and lower Purna valley formed the Rupasa janapada, and the upper Purna valley, the Karaskara. The latter occupied the southern foothills of the Gawilgarh hills near the existing Elichpur and Karasgaon towns in northern Amaravati.
- (v) Nasikya appears to be associated with the present town of Nasik and the janapada probably covered the whole of the Darna basin in which Nasik is situated. The Vayu Purana adds that, besides these janapadas, there are other also which are located on the banks of the Narmada but they are not mentioned. This statement shows that the above janapadas are exclusive of the Narmada janapadas, which is correct since none of the janapadas mentioned above happens to be in or about the Narmada valley.

### **(c) *Janapadas added to the list of western janapadas***

The following janapadas have been added to the list of western janapadas by some Puranas (Makandeya, Vayu and Brahmanda) but have been omitted altogether by the Matsya. This shows that these janapadas were added when more details regarding the western coast of India became available.

- (i) Surparaka (or Suryaraka) is evidently the western coastal plain drained by the river Surya which runs parallel to the coast from north to south and enters the sea near Basscin. It approximately with the Thane district of Maharashtra. In fact both the names of this janapada as given by different Puranas are correct. The sites of Safale, Nala Sopara and Siopara which occur within this region are marked on modern maps.
- (ii) Kalavana (Kolavana) appears to be associated with the towns of Kalavan which stands on the Girna river, a southern tributary of the Tapti. The Kalavana janapada, covered the Girna valley up to the point where it descended from the plateau into the plain of the Tapti, that is up to. Chalisgaon. It was separated from the Nasikya janapada by the Chandor range and the Surala janapada by the crest of the Western Ghats.
- (iii) There are only two regions in the western coastal plain which remain unaccounted for in the above scheme of identifications. One is the coastal plain between the mouths of the Tapti and Narmada rivers and the other between the Surala and Suryaraka janapadas. The former may be the Kuliya janapada drained by the Kim River and the latter the Durga.

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### **1.2.4 The Janapadas of Prachya or Eastern Region**

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The Prachya or 'Eastern Country; of the puranas may be broadly defined as the basins of the lower Ganga and the Brahmaputra rivers.

#### **Anga**

The first reference to the Angas is found in the Atharva-Veda where they find mention along with the Magadhas, Gandharis and the Mujavats, apparently as a despised people. The Jaina Prajnapana ranks Angas and Vangas in the first group of Aryan people. It mentions the principal cities of ancient India. It was also a great center of trade and commerce and its merchants regularly sailed to distant Suvarnabhumi. Anga was annexed by Magadha in the time of Bimbisara.



## **Magadha**

The Magadha was one of the most prominent and prosperous of mahajanpadas. The capital city Pataliputra (Patna, Bihar) was situated on the confluence of major rivers like Ganga, Son, Punpun and Gandak. The alluvial plains of this region and its proximity to the iron rich areas of Bihar and Jharkhand helped the kingdom to develop good quality weapons and support the agrarian economy. These factors helped Magadha to emerge as the most prosperous state of that period. The kingdom of the Magadhas roughly corresponded to the modern districts of Patna and Gaya in southern Bihar and parts of Bengal in the east. The capital city of Patna was bounded in the north by river Ganges, in the east by the river Champa, in the south by the Vindhya mountains and in the west by the river Son. During Buddha's time its boundaries included Anga. Its earliest capital was Girivraja or Rajagriha (modern Rajgir in Patna district of Bihar). The other names for the city were Magadhapura, Brihadrathapura, Vasumati, Kushagrapura and Bimbisarpuri. It was an active center of Jainism in ancient times. The first Buddhist Council was held in Rajagriha in the Vaibhara Hills. Later on, Pataliputra became the capital of Magadha.

## **Kalinga**

The ancient territorial subdivision of east-central India, Kalinga corresponded to various states which were: the present day northern Andhra Pradesh, almost the whole of Orissa and also a little portion of Madhya Pradesh. Kalinga strictly stretched not even a little farther than the south of the Godavari River thereby excluding the territory of Andhra which lay between Godavari and Krishna, then known as Vengi.

Semi-Hindu tribes were the inhabitants of the hinterland of Kalinga which was led through the thickly forested and mountainous country of the central India and the Indo-Gangetic Plain's. Kalinga was the host to a rich seaborne trade with Myanmar (then Burma) and also with farther south and east areas. This rich sea trade was possible due to the ports of Kakinada, Vishakhapatnam, Chicacole, and Ganjam and the important cities of Rajahmundry and Vizianagaram.

It was first conquered by the founder of the Nanda Dynasty (c.343 - c.321 BCE), Mahapadma of Magadha. Later the Magadhan Empire succeeded Kalinga a little later after the fall of the Nanda dynasty. But no later the Mauryan king Ashoka recaptured and took over Kalinga's throne in the 3rd century BC. Ashoka conquered Kalinga after the unpopular Kalinga war which is believed to be a terrible war and which saw a lot of bloodshed and chaos. It is said that it was after this war that King Ashoka converted to Buddhism after witnessing so much of bloodshed and destruction.

When the historical Kalinga war was fought which proved to be a turning point for the Mauryan emperor Asoka and made him embrace non-violence and the teachings of Buddha. This war had witnessed the maximum bloodshed and furious killing. The military campaign of Ashoka against Kalinga was one of the bloodiest in Mauryan history. On account of his army's unexpected bravery, Emperor Asoka issued two edicts specifically calling for a just and benign administration in Kalinga. However the south of Orissa remained unconquered by this Mauryan Emperor. Eventually it was Ashoka who began spreading Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy all over Asia.

Eventually the coastal parts were ruled by the Somavamshis of southern Kosala, who controlled the strategic town of Chakrakotta (in the former Bastar state). Out of all the rulers of Kalinga, the most famous ones were the Eastern Gangas (Ganga Dynasty). Their dynasty began ruling in the mid-11th century. They sometimes competed and allied themselves with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi.

The following century saw the renowned Anantavarman Chodnagadeva, who built the temple of Jagannath at Puri. This temple was later protected and looked after by the Eastern Gangas (Ganga Dynasty), and like typical Indian belief the God was treated as their landlord.

Then in the 13th century the famous Sun temple at Konark was built by Narasimha I. From 1238 to 1305 the Eastern Gangas successfully ruled and withstood the Muslim infiltration, which happened in the north. But the downfall of the dynasty started in 1324 when the Sultan of Delhi invaded south Kalinga.

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### 1.2.5 The Janapadas of Dakshinapatha or Southern Region

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#### Assaka or Ashmaka

The Country of Assaka or the Ashmaka tribe was located in *Dakshinapatha* or southern India. In Buddha's time, the Assakas were located on the banks of the river Godavari (south of the Vindhya mountains). The capital of the Assakas was Potana or Potali, which corresponds to Paudanya of Mahabharata. The Ashmakas are also mentioned by Panini. They are placed in the north-west in the *Markendeya Purana* and the *Brhat Samhita*. The river Godavari separated the country of the Assakas from that of the Mulakas (or Alakas). The commentator of Kautiliya's Arthashastra identifies Ashmaka with Maharashtra. The country of Assaka lay outside the pale of Madhyadesa. It was located on a southern high road, the *Dakshinapatha*. At one time, Assaka included Mulaka and abutted Avanti.

## Kuntala

The Kuntala janapada was located in southern Maharashtra and northern Karnataka state before it was annexed into the Magadha Empire. The Kuntala janapada comprised modern Kolhapur, Satara, Solapur, Ahmadnagar and Bid (Maharashtra), as well, North Karnataka and the Simoga and Chitaldurga districts of the old Mysore State. In an inscriptional passage the upper valley of the Krishna is said to be in the country of Kuntala (Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 9.). In the Udayasundarikatha of Soddhala (11th cen. AD.) Pratisthana on the Godavari is the capital of the Kuntala country. The Aihole inscription (7th cen. AD.) speaks of three Maharashtra: Vidarbha, Aparanta and Kuntala. It is described as a seven and half lakh province. The Early Chalukyas of Badami and the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani were known as Kuntaleshwaras or lords of Kuntala. Satavahanas and Rastrakutas were known as Kuntalesvaras (rulers from Kuntala).

Kuntala Janapada issued coins dated to 600 to 450 BC. This is one of the seventeen Janapadas which issued coins before Mauryas. The usual coin from Kuntala has a mysterious design that resembles a system of pulleys with or without a triskele symbol. These coins have previously been assigned to the Ashmaka Janapada, but are now assigned to Kuntala. Because of the force of the striking of the die on a round planchet, these coins have a scyphate shape. The coins are in copper and silver. The highest denomination weighs from 6.3g to 7.5g. Their symbols include Scorpion.

## Avanti

The country of the Avantis was an important kingdom of western India and was one of the four great monarchies in India in the post era of Mahavira and Buddha. The other three being Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha. Avanti was divided into north and south by the river Vetravati. Initially, Mahissati (Sanskrit Mahishamati) was the capital of Southern Avanti, and Ujjaini (Sanskrit: Ujjayini) was of northern Avanti, but at the times of Mahavira and Buddha, Ujjaini was the capital of integrated Avanti. The country of Avanti roughly corresponded to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Madhya Pradesh. Both Mahishmati and Ujjaini stood on the southern high road called *Dakshinapatha* which extended from Rajagriha to Pratishthana (modern Paithan). Avanti was an important center of Buddhism and some of the leading *theras* and *ihells* were born and resided there. King Nandivardhana of Avanti was defeated by king Shishunaga of Magadha. Avanti later became part of the Magadhan empire.

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### 1.2.6 Trade Accounts of Hiuen Tsang

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Hiuen Tsang (602 - 664) was a famous Chinese Buddhist monk, scholar, traveller, and translator who described the interaction between China and India in the early Tang

period (618 - 907 AD). Born in Henan province of China in 602 or 603, from boyhood he took to reading sacred books, including the Chinese Classics and the writings of the ancient sages.

While residing in the city of Luoyang, Xuanzang entered Buddhist monkhood at the age of thirteen. Due to the political and social unrest caused by the fall of the Sui dynasty, he went to Chengdu in Sichuan (Szechuan), where he was ordained at the age of twenty. He later travelled throughout China in search of sacred books of Buddhism. At length, he came to Chang'an, then under the peaceful rule of Emperor Taizong of Tang. Here Hiuen Tsang developed the desire to visit India. He knew about Faxian's visit to India and, like him, was concerned about the incomplete and misinterpreted nature of the Buddhist scriptures that had reached China.

He became famous for his seventeen year overland journey to India, which is recorded in detail in his autobiography as well as a biography, both of which provided the inspiration for the epic novel *Journey to the West*.

In 629, Hiuen Tsang reportedly had a dream that convinced him to journey to India. The Tang Dynasty and Eastern Tiirk Gokturks were waging war at the time; therefore Emperor Tang Taizong prohibited foreign travel. Hiuen Tsang persuaded some Buddhist guards at the gates of Yumen and slipped out of the empire via Liangzhou (Gansu), and Qinghai province. He subsequently travelled across the Gobi Desert to Kumul (Hami), thence following the Tian Shan westward, arriving in Turpan in 630. Here he met the king of Turpan, a Buddhist who equipped him further for his travels with letters of introduction and valuables to serve as funds.

Moving further westward, Hiuen Tsang escaped robbers to reach Yanqi, then toured the non-Mahayana monasteries of Kucha. Further west he passed Aksu before turning northwest to cross the Tian Shan's Bedal Pass into, modern Kyrgyzstan. He skirted Issyk Kul before visiting Tokmak on its northwest, and met the great Khan of the Western Tiirk, whose relationship to the Tang emperor was friendly at the time. After a feast, Hiuen Tsang continued west then southwest to Tashkent (Chach/Che-Shih), capital of modern day Uzbekistan. From here, he crossed the desert further west to Samarkand. In Samarkand, which was under Persian influence, the party came across some abandoned Buddhist temples and Hiuen Tsang impressed the local king with his preaching. Setting out again to the south, Hiuen Tsang crossed a spur of the Pamirs and passed through the famous Iron Gates. Continuing southward, he reached the Amu Darya and Termez, where he encountered a community of more than a thousand Buddhist monks.



Further east he passed through Kunduz, where he stayed for some time to witness the funeral rites of Prince Tardu, who had been poisoned. Here he met the monk Dharmasimha, and on the advice of the late Tardu made the trip westward to Balkh (modern day Afghanistan), to see the Buddhist sites and relics, especially the Nava Vihara, or Nawbahar, which he described as the westernmost monastic institution in the world. Here Hiuen Tsang also found over 3,000 non-Mahayana monks, including Prajnakara, a monk with whom Hiuen Tsang studied early Buddhist scriptures. He acquired the important Mahavibhasa text here, which he later translated into Chinese. Prajnakara then accompanied the party southward to Bamyān where Hiuen Tsang met the king and saw tens of non-Mahayana monasteries, in addition to the two large Bamyān Buddhas carved out of the rockface. The party then resumed their travel eastward, crossing the Shibar Pass and descending to the regional capital of Kapisi (about 60 km north of modern Kabul), which sported over 100 monasteries and 6,000 monks, mostly Mahayana. This was part of the fabled old land of Gandhara. Hiuen Tsang took part in a religious debate here, and demonstrated his knowledge of many Buddhist schools. Here he also met the first Jains and Hindus of his journey. He pushed on to Adinapur (later named Jalalabad) and Laghman, where he considered himself to have reached India. The year was 630.

Hiuen Tsang left Adinapur, which had few Buddhist monks, but many stupas and monasteries. His travels included, passing through Hunza and the Khyber Pass to the east, reaching the former capital of Gandhara, Purushapura (Peshawar), on the other side. Peshawar was nothing compared to its former glory, and Buddhism was declining in the region. Hiuen Tsang visited a number of stupas around Peshawar, notably the Kanishka Stupa. This stupa was built just southeast of Peshawar, by a former king of the city. In 1908, it was rediscovered by D.B. Spooner with the help of Hiuen Tsang's account.

Hiuen Tsang left Peshawar and travelled northeast to the Swat Valley (the location of Oddiyana is disputed between Swat valley and Odisha). Reaching Oddiyana, he found 1,400 old monasteries, that had previously supported 18,000 monks. The remnant monks were of the Mahayana school. Xuanzang continued northward and into the Buner Valley, before doubling back via Shabaz Gharni to cross the Indus river at Hund. Thereafter he headed to Taxila, a Mahayana Buddhist kingdom that was a vassal of Kashmir, which is precisely where he headed next. Here he found 5,000 more Buddhist monks in 100 monasteries. Here he met a talented Mahayana monk and spent his next two years (631-633) studying Mahayana alongside other schools of Buddhism. During this time, Hiuen Tsang writes about the Fourth Buddhist council that took place nearby,

ca. 100 AD, under the order of King Kanishka of Kushana. He visited Chiniot and Lahore as well and provided the earliest writings available on the ancient cities.

In 633, Hiuen Tsang left Kashmir and journeyed south to Chinabhukti, thought to be modern Firozpur India, where he studied for a year with the monk-prince Vinitaprabha.

In 634, he went east to Jalandhar in eastern Punjab, before climbing up to visit predominantly non-Mahayana monasteries in the Kullu valley and turning southward again to Bairat and then Matbura, on the Yamuna river. Mathura had 2,000 monks of both major Buddhist branches, despite being Hindu-dominated. Hiuen Tsang travelled up the river to Srughna before crossing eastward to Matipura, where he arrived in 635, having crossed the river Ganges. At Matipura Monastery, Hiuen Tsang studied under Mitrasena. From here, he headed south to Sankasya (Kapitha), said to be where Buddha descended from heaven, then onward to the northern Indian emperor Harsha's grand capital of Kanyakubja (Kannauj). It is believed he also visited Govishan present day Kashipur in the Harsha era, in 636, Hiuen Tsang encountered 100 monasteries of 10,000 monks (both Mahayana and non-Mahayana), and was impressed by the king's patronage of both scholarship and Buddhism. Hiuen Tsang spent time in the city studying early Buddhist scriptures, before setting off eastward again for Ayodhya (Saketa), homeland of the Yogacara school. Hiuen Tsang now moved south to Kausambi (Kosam), where he had a copy made from an important local image of the Buddha.

Hiuen Tsang now returned northward to Sravasti, travelled through Terai in the southern part of modern Nepal (here he found deserted Buddhist monasteries) and thence to Kapilavastu, his last stop before Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha. Reaching Lumbini, he would have seen a pillar near the old Ashoka tree that Buddha is said to have been born under. This was from the reign of emperor Ashoka, and records that he worshipped at the spot. The pillar was rediscovered by A. Fiihrer in 1895.

In 637, Hiuen Tsang set out from Lumbini to Kusinagara, the site of Buddha's death, before heading southwest to the deer park at Sarnath where Buddha gave his first sermon, and where Hiuen Tsang found 1,500 resident monks. Travelling eastward, at first via Varanasi, Hiuen Tsang reached Vaisali, Pataliputra (Patna) and Bodh Gaya. He was then accompanied by local monks to Nalanda, the great Buddhist university of Indian state of Bihar, where he spent at least the next two years. He was in the company of several thousand scholar-monks, whom he praised. Hiuen Tsang studied logic, grammar, Sanskrit, and the Yogacara school of Buddhism during his time at Nalanda. Rene Grousset notes that it was at Nalanda (where an "azure pool winds around the monasteries, adorned with the full-blown cups of the blue lotus; the dazzling red flowers of the lovely kanaka hang here and there, and outside groves of mango trees offer the

inhabitants their dense and protective shade”) that Hiuen Tsang met the venerable Silabhadra, the monastery’s superior. Silabhadra had dreamt of Hiuen Tsang’s arrival and that it would help spread far and wide the Holy Law. Grousset writes: “The Chinese pilgrim had finally found the omniscient master, the incomparable metaphysician who was to make known to him the ultimate secrets of the idealist systems. The founders of Mahayana idealism, Asanga and Vasubandhu...Dignaga...Dharmapala had in turn trained Silabhadra. Siladhadra was thus in a position to make available to the Sino-Japanese world the entire heritage of Buddhist idealism, and the *Siddhi* Hiuen Tsang’s great philosophical treatise...is none other than the *Sitmma* of this doctrine, the fruit of seven centuries of Indian [Buddhist] thought.”

From Nalanda, Hiuen Tsang travelled through several countries, including Campa, to the capital of Pundravardhana, identified with modern Mahasthangarh, in Bangladesh. There Hiuen Tsang found 20 monasteries with over 3,000 monks studying both the Hinayana and the Mahayana. One of them was the Vasibha Monastery (Po Shi Po), where he found over 700 Mahayana monks from all over East India. He also visited a stupa originally built by Ashoka Somapura Mahavihara at Paharpur in the district of Naogaon, Bangladesh.

After crossing the Karatoya, he went east to the ancient city of Pragjyotishpur (modern Guwahati) in the kingdom of Kamarupa (modern Assam) at the invitation of its Buddhist king Kumar Bhaskaravarman. Later, the king escorted Hiuen Tsang back to the Kannauj at the request of king Harshavardhana, who was an ally of Kumar Bhaskaravarman, to attend a great Buddhist council there which was attended by both the kings.

Hiuen Tsang turned southward and travelled to Andhradesa to visit the famous Viharas at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. He stayed at Amaravati and studied ‘Abhidhammapitakam’. He observed that there were many Viharas at Amaravati and some of them were deserted. He later proceeded to Kanchi, the imperial capital of Palavas and a strong centre of Buddhism.

Travelling through the Khyber Pass of the Hindu Kush, Hiuen Tsang passed through Kashgar, Khotan, and Dunhuang on his way back to China. He arrived in the capital Changan, on the seventh day of the first month of 645, and a great procession celebrated his return.

### **Return to China**

On his return to China in AD 645, Hiuen Tsang was greeted with much honour but he refused all high civil appointments offered by the still-reigning emperor, Emperor



Taizong of Tang. Instead, he retired to a monastery and devoted his energy to translating Buddhist texts until his death in AD 664.

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### 1.2.7 Trade accounts of Ibn-e-Batuta

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Ibn-e-Batuta (1304-1368) was a Moroccan Berber Muslim scholar and traveller who is known for the account of his travels and excursions called the *Rihla* (Voyage) in Arabic. His journeys lasted for a period of nearly thirty years and covered almost the entirety of the known Islamic world and beyond, extending from North Africa, West Africa, Southern Europe and Eastern Europe in the West, to the Middle East, Indian subcontinent, Central Asia, Southeast Asia and China in the East, a distance readily surpassing that of his predecessors and his near-contemporary Marco Polo. With this extensive account of his journey, Ibn-e-Batuta is often considered as one of the greatest travellers ever.

A 13th century book illustration produced in Baghdad by al-Wasiti showing a group of pilgrims on a Hajj. All that is known about Ibn-e-Batuta's life comes from the autobiographical information included in the account of his travels. Ibn-e-Batuta was born into a family of Islamic legal scholars in Tangier, Morocco, on February 24, 1304 during the time of the Marinid dynasty. As a young man he would have studied the Sunni Maliki "school" of Muslim law which was dominant in North Africa at the time. In June 1325, when he was twenty one years old, Ibn Battuta set off from his hometown on a hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, a journey that would take 16 months, but he would not see Morocco again for 24 years. His journey to Mecca was by land and followed the North African coast crossing the sultanates of Abd al-Wadid and Hafsid. His route passed through Tlemcen, Bejala and then to Tunis where he stayed for two months. He usually chose to join a caravan to reduce the risk of being attacked. In the town of Sfax, he got married for the first of several occasions on his journeys. In the early spring of 1326, after a journey of over 3,500 km (2,200 mi), Ibn-e-Batuta arrived at the port of Alexandria, then part of the Bahri Mamluk Empire.

He spent several weeks visiting the sites and then headed inland to Cairo, a large important city and capital of the Mamluk kingdom, where he stayed for about a month. Within Mamluk territory, travelling was relatively safe and he embarked on the first of his many detours. Three commonly used routes existed to Mecca, and Ibn-e-Batuta chose the least-travelled: a journey up the Nile valley, then east to the Red Sea port of Aydhab. However, upon approaching the town he was forced to turn back due to a local rebellion. Returning to Cairo, Ibn Battuta took a second side trip to Damascus (then controlled by the Mamluks), having encountered a holy man during his first trip who prophesied that he would only reach Mecca after a journey through Syria. An additional

advantage to the side journey was that other holy places lay along the route — Hebron, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem, and the Mamluk authorities made great efforts to keep the routes safe for pilgrims. After spending the Muslim month of Ramadan in Damascus, he joined up with a caravan travelling the 1,500 km (930 mi) from Damascus to Medina, burial place of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. After 4 days in the town, he journeyed on to Mecca. There he completed the usual rituals of a Muslim pilgrim, and having graduated to the status of al-Hajji, faced his return home but instead decided to continue journeying. His next destination was the Hkhanate situated in modern-day Iraq and Iran.

An interactive display about Ibn-e-Batuta in Ibn Battuta Mall in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. On 17 November 1326, after a month in Mecca, Ibn-e-Batuta joined a large caravan of pilgrims returning across the Arabian Peninsula to Iraq. The caravan first went north to Medina and then, travelling at night, headed northeastwards across the Nejd plateau to Najaf, a journey lasting approximately 44 days. In Najaf he visited the mausoleum of Ali (Ali ibn Abi Talib), the fourth Rashidun (rightly guided Caliph), and son-in-law of Muhammad, a site venerated particularly by the Shi'a community. At this point, instead of continuing on to Baghdad with the caravan, Ibn-e-Batuta started a 6 month detour that took him into Persia. From Najaf he journeyed to Wasit and then south following the Tigris to Basra. His next destination was the town of Esfahan across the Zagros Mountains in Persia. From there he headed south to Shiraz, a large flourishing city which had been spared the destruction wrought by the Mongol invasion on many more northerly towns. Finally, he headed back across the mountains to Baghdad arriving there in June 1327. Parts of the city were in ruins as it had been heavily damaged by the army of Hulagu Khan. In Baghdad he found that Abu Said, the last Mongol ruler of the unified Ilkhanid state was leaving the city and heading north with a large retinue. Ibn-e-Batuta travelled with the royal caravan for a while, then turned north to Tabriz on the Silk Road. It had been the first major city in the region to open its gates to the Mongols and had become an important trading centre after most of its nearby rivals were razed. On returning again to Baghdad, probably in July, he took an excursion northwards following the Tigris, visiting Mosul, then Cizre and Mardin, both in modern Turkey. On returning to Mosul he joined a "feeder" caravan of pilgrims heading south for Baghdad where they met up with the main caravan that crossed the Arabian Desert to Mecca. Ibn Battuta was ill with diarrhea on this crossing and arrived back in Mecca weak and exhausted for his Second hajj in East Africa.

Ibn-e-Batuta then stayed for some time in Mecca. He suggests in the *Rihla* that he remained in the town for three years: from September 1327 until autumn 1330. However,

because of problems with the chronology, commentators have suggested that he may have spent only one year and left after the hajj of 1328. Leaving Mecca after the hajj in 1328 (or 1330) he made his way to the port of Jeddah on the coast of the Red Sea and from there caught a series of boats down the coast. His progress was slow as the vessels had to beat against the south easterly winds. Arriving in the Yemen he visited Zabid, and then the highland town of Ta'izz where he met the Rasulid Malik (king) Mujahid Nur al-Din Au. Ibn-e-Batuta also mentions visiting Sana'a, but whether he actually did is doubtful. It is more likely that he went directly from Ta'iz to the port of Aden, arriving at around the beginning of 1329 (or 1331). Aden was an important transit centre in the trade between India and Europe. In Aden, he embarked on a ship heading first to Zeila on the African shore of the Gulf of Aden and then on around Cape Guardafui and down the East African coast. Spending about a week in each of his destinations, he visited Mogadishu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Kilwa, among others. With the change of the monsoon, he returned by ship to Arabia and visited Oman and the Strait of Hormuz. He then returned to Mecca for the hajj of 1330 (or 1332). Byzantine Empire, Golden Horde, Anatolia, Central Asia and India.

After spending another year in Mecca, Ibn-e-Batuta resolved to seek employment with the Muslim Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughluq. Needing a guide and translator for his journey, he set off in 1330 (or 1332) to Anatolia, then under the control of the Seljuqs, to join up with one of the caravans that went from there to India. A sea voyage from the Syrian port of Latakia on a Genoese ship landed him in Alanya on the southern coast of modern-day Turkey. From Alanya he travelled by land to Konya and then to Sinope on the Black Sea coast. Crossing the Black Sea, Ibn Battuta landed in Caffa (now Feodosiya), in the Crimea, and entered the lands of the Golden Horde. He bought a wagon and fortuitously was able to join the caravan of Ozbeg, the Golden Horde's Khan, on a journey as far as Astrakhan on the Volga River. Upon reaching Astrakhan, the Khan allowed one of his pregnant wives, Princess Bayalun, supposedly an illegitimate daughter of Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos, to return to her home city of Constantinople to give birth. Ibn-e-Batuta talked his way into this expedition, his first beyond the boundaries of the Islamic world. Arriving in Constantinople towards the end of 1332 (or 1334), he met the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos and saw the outside of the great church of Hagia Sophia. After a month in the city, he retraced his route to Astrakhan, then continued past the Caspian and Aral Seas to Bukhara and Samarkand. From there, he journeyed south to Afghanistan, the mountain passes of which he used to cross into India. The Delhi Sultanate was a new addition to Dar al-Islam, and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had resolved to import as many Muslim scholars and other functionaries as possible to



consolidate his rule. On the strength of his years of study while in Mecca, Ibn-e-Batuta was employed as a qazi ("judge") by the sultan. Tughlaq was erratic even by the standards of the time, and Ibn-e-Batuta veered between living the high life of a trusted subordinate, and being under suspicion for a variety of reasons against the government. Eventually he resolved to leave on the pretext of taking another hajj, but the Sultan asked him to become his ambassador to Yuan Dynasty China. Given the opportunity to both get away from the Sultan and visit new lands, Ibn-e-Batuta took the opportunity to Southeast Asia and China.

En route to the coast, he and his party were attacked by Hindus, and separated from the others, he was robbed and nearly lost his life. Nevertheless, he managed to catch up with his group within ten days and continued the journey to Khambhat (Cambay). From there, they sailed to Kozhikode (Calicut) (two centuries later, Vasco da Gama also landed at the same place). However, while Ibn-e-Batuta visited a mosque on shore, a storm came up, and one of the ships of his expedition were sunk. The other then sailed away without him and ended up being seized by a local king in Sumatra a few months later. Fearful of returning to Delhi as a failure, he stayed for a time in the south of India under the protection of Jamal-Ud-Din. Jamal-ud-Din was ruler of a small but powerful Nawayath sultanate on the banks of the Sharavathi River on the Arabian Sea coast. This place is presently known as ilosapattana anti is located in the Honavar tehsil of Uttara Kannada district. When the sultanate was overthrown, it became necessary for Ibn-e-Batuta to leave India altogether. He resolved to carry on to China, with a detour near the beginning of the journey to the Maldives. He spent nine months in the Maldivian islands, much longer than he had intended. As a qadi his skills were highly desirable in these formerly Buddhist islands that had been recently converted to Islam, and he was half-bribed, half-kidnapped into staying. Appointed chief judge and marrying into the royal family of Omar I, he became embroiled in local politics and ended up leaving after wearing out his welcome by imposing strict judgements in the laissez-faire island kingdom. In the Rihla he mentions his dismay at the local women going about with no clothing above the waist, anti remarking his criticism of this practice, but being ignored by the locals. From there, he carried on to Sri Lanka for a visit to Adam's Peak (Sri Pada). Setting sail from Sri Lanka, his ship nearly sank in a storm, then the ship that rescued him was attacked by pirates. Stranded on shore, Ibn-e-Batuta once again worked his way back to Kozhikode, from where he then sailed to the Maldives again before getting on board a Chinese junk and trying once again to get to the Mongol Yuan Dynasty China. This time he succeeded, reaching in quick succession Chittagong, Sumatra, Vietnam, the Philippines and then finally Quanzhou in Fujian Province, China. From there, he went north to Hangzhou, not far from modern-day Shanghai. He also

described traveling further north, through the Grand Canal to Beijing, although it is considered unlikely that he actually did so and then returned home.

The Black Death returning to Quanzhou, Ibn-e-Batuta decided to return home to Morocco. Returning to Calicut (Kozhikode now) once again, he considered throwing himself at the mercy of Muhammed Tughlaq but thought better of it and decided to carry on to Mecca. Returning via Hormuz and the Ilkhanate, he saw that the state had dissolved into civil war with Abu Said having died since his previous trip there. Returning to Damascus with the intention of retracing the route of his first hajj, he learned that his father had died. Death was the theme of the next year or so, for the Black Death had begun, and Ibn-e-Batuta was on hand as it spread through Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. After reaching Mecca, he decided to return to Morocco, nearly a quarter century after leaving it. During the trip he made one last detour to Sardinia, and then returned to Tangier to discover that his mother had also died, a few months before.

After a few days in Tangier, Ibn-e-Batuta set out for a trip to al-Andalus — Muslim Iberia. Alfonso XI of Castile and Leon was threatening the conquest of Gibraltar, and Ibn-e-Batuta joined up with a group of Muslims leaving Tangier with the intention of defending the port. By the time he arrived, the Black Death had killed Alfonso, and the threat had receded, so Ibn-e-Batuta decided to visit for pleasure instead. He travelled through Valencia and ended up in Granada. Leaving al-Andalus, he decided to travel through one of the few parts of the Muslim world that he had never explored: Morocco. On his return home, he stopped for a while in Marrakech, which was nearly a ghost town after the recent plague and the transfer of the capital to Fez. Once more he returned to Tangier, and once more he moved on. Two years before his own first visit to Cairo, the Mahian Mansa (king of kings) Musa had passed through the same city on his own hajj and had caused a sensation with his extravagant riches — West Africa contained vast quantities of gold, previously unknown to the rest of the world. While Ibn-e-Batuta never mentions this specifically, hearing of this during his own trip could have planted a seed in his mind, for he decided to set out and visit the Muslim kingdom on the far side of the Sahara desert to Mali and Timbuktu.

A 13th century book illustration produced in Baghdad by al-Wasiti showing a slave-market in the town of Zabid in Yemen. In the autumn of 1351, Ibn-e-Batuta left Fez and made his way to the town of Sijilmasa on the northern edge of the Sahara desert in present day Morocco. There he bought some camels and stayed for four months. He set out again with a caravan in February 1352 and after 25 days, arrived at the salt mines of Taghaza which were situated in the bed of a dry salt lake. The buildings were constructed from slabs of salt by slaves of the Masufa tribe, who cut the salt in thick slabs for



transport by camel, Taghaza was a commercial centre and awash with Malian gold, though Ibn-e-Batuta did not have a favourable impression of the place: the water was brackish and the place was plagued with flies. After a 10 day stay in Taghaza the caravan set out for the oasis of Tasarahla (probably Bir al-Ksaib) where it stopped for 3 days to prepare for the last and most difficult leg of the journey across a vast sand desert. From Tasarahia a Masufa scout was sent ahead to the oasis town of Oualata to arrange for a party to bring water a distance of four (lays travel to meet the thirsty caravan. Oualata was the southern terminus of the trans-Saharan trade route and had recently become part of the Mali Empire. Altogether, the caravan took two months to cross the 1,600 km (990 ml) of desert from Sijilmasa. From there, he travelled southwest along a river he believed to be the Nile (it was actually the Niger River) until he reached the capital of the Mali Empire. There he met Mansa Suleyman, king since 1341. Dubious about the miserly hospitality of the king, he nevertheless stayed for eight months. Ibn Battuta disapproved that female slaves, servants and even the daughters of the sultan went about completely naked. He left the capital in February and journeyed overland by camel to Timbuktu. Though in the next two centuries it would become the most important city in the region, at the time it was small and unimpressive, and Ibn-e-Batuta soon moved on by boat to Gao where he spent a month. While at the oasis of Takedda on his journey back across the desert, he received a message from the Sultan of Morocco commanding him to return home. He set off for Sijilmasa in September 1353 accompanying a large caravan transporting 600 black female slaves. He arrived back in Morocco early in 1354.

**The Rihla :** After returning home from his travels in 1354 and at the instigation of the Sultan of Morocco, Abu Inan Fans, Ibn Battuta dictated an account of his journeys to Ibn Juzayy, a scholar whom he had met previously in Granada. The account, recorded by Ibn Juzayy and interspersed with the latter's own comments, is the only source of information on his adventures. The title of the manuscript may be translated as A Gift to Those Who Contemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling but is often simply referred to as the Rihla or "The Journey". There is no indication that Ibn Battuta made any notes during his 29 years of travelling, so, when he came to dictate an account of his adventures, he had to rely on his memory and to make use of manuscripts produced by earlier travellers. When describing Damascus, Mecca, Medina and some other places in the Middle East, Ibn Juzayy clearly copied passages from the 12th century account by Ibn Jubayr. Similarly, most of Ibn Juzayy's descriptions of places in Palestine were copied from an account by the 13th century traveller Muhammad al-Abdari.

Western Orientalists do not believe that Ibn-e-Batuta visited all the places that he described and argue that in order to provide a comprehensive description of places in the Muslim world Ibn Battuta relied on hearsay evidence and made use of accounts by earlier travellers. For example, it is considered very unlikely that Ibn-e-Batuta made a trip up the Volga River from New Sarai to visit Bolghan and there are serious doubts about a number of other journeys such as his trip to Sana'a in Yemen, his journey from Balkh to Bistam in Khorasan and his trip around Anatolia. Some orientalist have also questioned whether he really visited China. Nevertheless, whilst apparently fictional in places, the Rihla provides an important account of many areas of the world in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Ibn-e-Batuta often experienced culture shock in regions he visited where local customs of recently converted peoples did not fit his orthodox Muslim background. Among Turks and Mongols, he was astonished at the way women behaved (he remarked that on seeing a Turkish couple, and noting the woman's freedom of speech, he had assumed that the man was the woman's servant, but he was in fact her husband) and he felt that dress customs in the Maldives, and some sub-Saharan regions in Africa were too revealing. After the completion of the Rihla in 1355, little is known about Ibn-e-Batuta's life. He was appointed a judge in Morocco and died in 1368 or 1369. For centuries his book was obscure, even within the Muslim world, but in the early 1800s extracts were published in German and English based on manuscripts discovered in the Middle East containing abridged versions of Ibn Juzayy's Arabic text. When French forces occupied Algeria in the 183. They discovered five manuscripts in Constantine including two that contained more complete versions of the text. These manuscripts were brought back to the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris and studied by the French scholars, Charles Defremery and Beniamino Sanguinetti. Beginning in 1853, they published a series of four volumes containing the Arabic text, extensive notes and a translation into French. Defremery and Sanguinetti's printed text has now been translated into many other languages. Ibn-e-Batuta has grown in fame and is now a well-known figure.

#### **Places visited by Ibn-e-Batuta**

Ibn-e-Batuta travelled almost 75,000 miles in his lifetime. Here is a list of places he visited. Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia Tangier Fes Marrakech Tlemcen (Tilimsan) Miiiana Algiers Djurdjura Mountains Bejala Constantine - Named as Qusantlnah. Annaba - Also called Bona. Tunis - At that time, Abu Yahya (son of Abu Zajaria) was the sultan of Tunis. Sousse - also called Susah. Sfax Gabes Libya Tripoli Mamluk Empire Cairo Alexandria Jerusalem Bethlehem Hebron Damascus Latakia Egypt Syria Arabian Peninsula Medina - Visited the tomb of Prophet Muhammad. Jeddah - A major

port for pilgrims to Mecca. Mecca - Performed the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. Rabigh - city north of Jeddah on the Red Sea. Oman Dhofar Bahrain Al-Hasa Strait of Hormuz Yemen Qatif Byzantine Empire and Eastern Europe Kenya Antalya Bulgaria Azov Kazan Volga River Constantinople Central Asia Khwarezm and Khorasan (now Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Eastern Iran and Afghanistan) Bukhara and Samarkand Pashtun areas of eastern Afghanistan and Pakistan) India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh Punjab region (now in Pakistan and northern India) Delhi, Uttar Pradesh Deccan Konkan Coast Kozhikode Malabar Coromandel Coast In India. Bengal now Bangladesh and West Bengal Brahmaputra River in Bangladesh visited the area on his way to China. Meghna River near Dhaka Sylhet met Muslim saint Hazrat Shah Jalal Yamani, commonly known as Shah Jalal. China Quanzhou - as he called in his book the city of donkeys Hangzhou — Ibn Battuta referred to this city in his book as “Madinat Alkhansa”.

He also mentioned that it was the largest city in the world at that time; it took him three days to walk across the city. Beijing - Ibn-e-Batuta mentioned in his journey to Beijing how neat the city was. Other places in Asia Burma (Myanmar) Maldives Sri Lanka - Known to the Arabs of his time as Serendip. Sumatra Malay Peninsula Malaysia Philippines - Ibn-e-Batuta visited the Kingdom of Sultan Tawalisi, Tawi-Tawi, the country's southernmost province. Somalia and East Africa Mogadishu Berbera Kilwa Mombasa Mali West Africa Timbuktu Gao Takedda Mauritania Oualata (Walata) During most of his journey in the Mali Empire, Ibn-e-Batuta travelled with a retinue that included slaves, most of whom carried goods for trade but would also be traded as slaves. On the return from Takedda to Morocco, his caravan transported 600 female slaves, suggesting that slavery was a substantial part of the commercial activity of the empire.

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### 1.2.8 Further Readings

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Bhattacharya, B. Urban development in India Since Pre-Historic times

Chandra, Satish,: Medieval India

Habib, Irfan: The agrarian system of Mughal India- 1956 to 1707

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## **UNIT □ 1.3 TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE; AGRICULTURE, TRADE AND URBANISATION DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD**

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### **Structure**

- 1.3.0 Introduction**
- 1.3.1 Trade and Commerce in Mughal Period**
- 1.3.2 Urbanisation during Mughal period**
- 1.3.3 Territorial organisation of the Mughal Empire**
- 1.3.4 Territorial Expansion During Akbar**
- 1.3.5 Mughal's relations with Rajput and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.6 Mughal's relation with Deccan Kingdoms and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.7 Mughal's relations with the Marathas and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.8 Mughal's relations with the Sikhs and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.9 Mughal's relations with Assam and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.10 Further Readings**

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### **1.3.0 Introduction**

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#### **The Mughal Empire and its dominance in India**

It is an established fact that the Mughal Empire was the dominant power in the Indian subcontinent from the mid-16th century to the early 18th century. It began in 1526, at the height of their power in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, they controlled most of the Indian Subcontinent, extending from Beluchistan in the west to Bengal in the east, and from Kashmir in the north to the Kaveri basin in the south. As has been established its population at that time was estimated to be between 110 and 150 million, over a territory of more than 3.2 million square kilometres (1.2 million square miles). The greatest portions of Mughal expansion was accomplished during the reign of Akbar (1556-1605). The empire was maintained as the dominant force of the present-day Indian subcontinent for a hundred years further by his successors Humayun, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb.



## Agrarian system in Mughal India

The extensive cultivated land of the plains, valleys and hill-slopes of India has been created in the course of stubborn struggle against nature which Indian peasant has carried out for thousands of years. The study of the agrarian system of Mughal India should begin with the survey of the extent of the cultivated area in the present time. This account takes the account of the "Twelve Provinces" in Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* as it contains area statistics for all north Indian provinces, except Bengal and Kashmir. These Statistics are assigned to the 40<sup>th</sup> year of Akbar's reign of 1595-6. For each province a figure is given in *highas* for what is called *zamin-l pahituda* or 'measured land'. An entry is provided against each *Sarkar* (the territorial division of a *suba* or provinces); following this, figures are entered separately for all the *mahalls* or *paraganas* comprising the *Sarkar*. The great record of the *Ain* remained unique in Mughal times, but statistics though of a more summary kind, were compiled in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign (1659 - 1707). One table surviving in two or three manuscripts, gives the *raqba* or area statistics for each province, together with the number of villages, divided into those measured and unmeasured in the *Chahar Gusthan* written by Rai Chaturman in 1759 - 60. Information about the area and villages is also provided separately for each *Sarkar*.

Considering the kind of land covered by measurement in the Mughal period, Moreland has suggested that we should identify it with the "total cropped area" of modern statistics. It is concluded with this certainty, but in this connection it should be stated more properly, perhaps of the area sown, since the measured area also included the *nabud*, or area affected by crop failure. However, measurement does not seem to have been confined to land actually cultivated and was extended also to land regarded as cultivable.

The measured area of the Mughal records then corresponds broadly to the area covered by these categories in modern agricultural statistics "total area cropped (or sown), "current fallows" and cultivable wastes other than fallows". It is obvious that while the land actually cropped can be precisely determined, the word "cultivable" is open to many definitions, and it is difficult to say whether the Mughal and modern (British-Indian) statisticians used the same criteria.

The most vulnerable feature of India's agriculture during the Mughal period was harvesting of two and in some areas three crops a year. The larger portion of the land was single-cropped - for 'rabi' and 'kharif' harvest. Transplanting of paddy as today, was the method practiced.

In the Upper Ganga Plains and also parts of the South, wells were the chief source of irrigation. Most of the wells were *Kachha*. Wells were annually made during the rabi

season. Crops depended mostly upon rainfall and partly on wells. Irrigation tanks extended in peninsular India. The colonial system of South Indian dams, tanks and canals remained.

The Indian economy remained as prosperous under the Mughals as it was because of the creation of a road system and a uniform currency, together with the unification of the country. Manufactured goods and peasant-grown cash crops were sold throughout the world. Most important industries included shipbuilding (the Indian shipbuilding industry was as advanced as the European, and Indians sold ships to European firms), textiles, and steel. The Mughals maintained a small fleet, which merely carried pilgrims to Mecca, imported a few Arab horses in Surat. Debal in Sindh was mostly autonomous. The Mughals also maintained various river fleets of Dhows, which transported soldiers over rivers and fought rebels. Among its admirals were Yahya Saleh, Munnawar Khan, and Muhammadan Saleh Kamboh. The Mughals also protected the Siddis of Janjira. Its sailors were renowned and often voyaged to China and the East African Swahili Coast, together with some Mughal subjects carrying out private-sector trade.

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### **1.3.1 Trade and Commerce in Mughal Period**

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The economic structure in Mughal Empire was dependent on agriculture, trade and other industries. According to historians, since time immemorial agriculture has always been the backbone of economy of the country. Thus, in the Mughal era also agriculture was actually the biggest source of income. Moreover, it was also one of the main sources of livelihood of majority of the people in the country. The major crops that were grown during the Mughal era included millets, oilseeds, cereals, hemp, chilli, sugarcane, cotton, indigo, betel and other cash crops. Indigo cultivation was popular at that time in various places like Agra and Gujarat. On the other hand, Ajmer was well known for the production of best quality sugarcane. Improved transport and communication facilities also helped the development of economy during the reign of Mughal emperors. There was tremendous demand for cash crops like silk and cotton as because the textile industry was flourishing during the Mughal period.

Moreover, during the reign of Mughal emperor Jahangir, Portuguese introduced the cultivation of tobacco and potato in India. Mughal emperor Babur introduced the cultivation of several other central Asian fruits in the country. Moreover, during the reign of Akbar Firoz Shah's Yamuna canal was repaired for irrigation purposes. The artistic life-style of the Mughal rulers also encouraged art and architecture, handicrafts and trade in the country. During that era, the merchants and the trader class were divided into large business powers. During the Mughal era, trade both inside the country and

outside grew markedly. One of the main reasons cited by the historians for such development is the economic and political merger of India. Further, constitution of law and order over broad areas also created favourable environs for trade and commerce. Rapid development of trade and commerce was also supported by the improved transport and communications systems.. Another factor that helped in the high rate of growth of business in that period was the arrival of European traders and growth of huge . European trade. Fatchpur Sikri, Lahore and Agra were the chief centres of silk weaving whereas Cambay, Broach and Surat in Gujarat were the major ports for foreign trade and business.

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### 1.3.2 Urbanisation during Mughal period

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The Mughal Emperors preferred to settle in cities and towns. By the time of the Mughals, cities had grown in importance. Urbanisation and fixed markets also helped in expanding economy in Mughal Empire. Initially, the weekly market concept was popular. Eventually several trade centres in prosperous cities with the growth of the economy. Besides the metalled highways, river transport system was also considered significant for navigation throughout the year. Such initiatives by the rulers were vital contributing factors in the developed economy of the era.

The most valuable works on the study of urbanisation during the Mughal period are those of Abul Fazl, a courtier of Emperor Akbar (1542-1608), giving more accurate information about the towns and cities in India of that time. He produced two voluminous works - '*Ain-i-Akbari*' and '*Akbar Nama*' of which the former may be considered as the store house of geographical information.

In *Ain-i-Akbari*, at its second volume, Abul Fazl mentioned that the empire of Akbar, covering the entire western and central parts of India, was divided into 15 *Subahs* (provinces), subdivided further into 05 *Sarkars* (districts) and there were altogether 2.837 townships in 1595. He did not mention the names of all of these towns, many of which were small centres, but referred only to the larger ones. The names of towns and cities occurring in different *Subahs* as mentioned by Abul Fazl are the following:

1) *Thi Subah or Province of Bengal* : Janatabad (Gaur); Mamudabad; Sonargaon; Chatgao (Chittagong); Katak (Cuttack); Pun (Purushottama); Tanda Fathabad; Khalifabad, Bhal; Tajpur; Nasratabad; Pinjarah; Barbakabad; Sylhet; Sulaimanabad; Jalesar; Ramuna; Raepur; Mednipur, Maudaran; Manak patan;

2) *The Subah of Bihar* : Gaya; Tirhut; Rohtas; Bchar; Patna; Seor; Monghyr; Hajipur.

3) *The Subah of Illahabad (Allahabad)*: Illahabad; Baranasi; Jaunpur; Chanadah (Chunar); Kalinjar; Ghazipur; Manikpur; Kurrah.

4) *The Subah of Oudh* : Awadh (Ajodhya); Babraich; Nimkhar; Lucknow; Kheri; Gorakhpur; Bilgram; Khairabad.

5) *The Subah of Agra* : Agra; (Fatehpur) Sikri; Mathura; Kalpi; Kanauj; Gwalior; Alwar; Kanori; Narwar.

6) *The Subah of Malwa*: Ujjain; Chanderi; Mandu; Dhar; Raisin; Garha; Sarangpur; Jalalabad; Handia; Nandurbar; Mandeso; Gogran; Kotri, Parwa.

7) *The Subah of Dandes (Khandesh)* : Asir, Burhanpur; Adisabad; Dhamarni; Choprah; Thalner.

8) *The Subah of Berar* : Elichpur; Panar; Shahpur; Kallam; Mahur; Ramgir; Kherla; Basim; Pathri; Mehkar.

9) *The Subah of Gujarat* : Ahmedabad; Pattan; Champner; Mahmudabad; Gogo; Cambay; Sidhpur; Barnagar (Valnagar); Surat; Rander; Daman; Tarapur; Mahim; Bassein; Broach; Hansot; Junagarh; Somnath; Manglor; Diu; Porbandar; Korinor; Ahmadpur; Muaffarabad; Mul Mahadeo; Dwarka; Bhuj; Nawanagar; Sinor; Abugarh; Nandod; Baroda; Sinor; Godhra, Sarath.

10) *The Subah of Ajmer*: Ajmer; Udaipur; Chitor; Jodhpur Nagor; Bikner; Jaisalmir; Amarkot; Jalor.

11) *The Subah of Delhi*: Delhi; Badaon; Sarnbhai, Hansi; Sahnah (Sohna); Hisar. Sarhind; Mirath (Meerut); Saharanpur, Rewari.

12) *The Subah of Lahore*: Laho Nagarkot; Jaiandhar; Sialkot; Mankot; Rohtas.

13) *The Subah of Mullan* : Multat ; Bhakkar; Brahmanabad; Alor; Kobhar (Ramnagar).

#### ***The Sarkar of Kashmir : Srinagar.***

Besides those mentioned above, a few more names appear in Akbar-Narna. These are Ambala; Sirsa; Panipat; Chitor; Firozabad; Rajauri; Punch; Bhagalpur; Kul (Aligarh); Jalalabad; feshwar, Hajipur; Ranthampur; Mirtha (Merta); Gadha; Khirar (Khara); Chunar; Kotah; Arrah; Akbarnagar (Rajmahal); Baighatta; Burdwan; Bareilly; Bishnupur; Bhadrijan; Dacca; Darbhanga; Jessor ; Ludhiana; Pattan, Satgaon.

In spite of over-estimation, Abul Fazl brought forward the truth with all forcefulness that urbanisation was no longer an isolated phenomenon, but had become diffused throughout the country. The total number, however inflated, gives the impression of a high degree of urban development and his reference though confined only to the



important towns and cities, makes this further confirmed. Thus Abul Fazl's invaluable contribution to our knowledge in this field cannot be underestimated. Instead of getting piecemeal information for the centuries following the visit of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, again we get a more or less full picture of the spread of urbanisation. This offers the scope of making an assessment of the overall progress attained during the intervening thousand years and ascertains if pattern in the spatial distribution of urban centres had undergone any substantial change.

From Abul Fazl's writing we gather that there were at least 18 large cities in India at that time. They were: **Agra, Sikri, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Lahore, Cambay, Elichpur, Burhanpur, Asir, Ujjain, Mandu, Ayodhya, Lucknow, Chittagong, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Raepur and Mednipur.** From his descriptions it is gathered that —

1. **Agra.** first made capital by Iskandar Lodi in 1504, lying on the left or the eastern bank of the river Jamuna, was a "matchless city" during Akbar's time which "for its air and water makes Badgad ashamed of the Tigris and Egypt of the Nile". At this time the city sprawled on both the banks of the river for five Kos. It contained more than five hundred masonry buildings of beautiful architecture. This large city, "the centre of Hindustan", was filled with people from different countries and turned into "the emporium of the traffic of the world".

2. **Sikri,** or Fatehpur Sikri, previously a village, "rose to be a city of the first order" during Akbar's rule, where on the summit of a hill large fort was built. Within it palaces, residence for the nobles, a college, benevolent institutions and baths and a large market were constructed. The plains surrounding the hill became studded with numerous mansions and gardens converting it into a great place of concourse "such as might move the envy of the world".

3. **Delhi:** In describing Delhi as one of the greatest cities of antiquity, Abut Fazl traces its history from about 1200 A.D. onwards when it had been built by different Muslim rulers magnificence of which were still recognizable in their ruins. In spite of ruinous character of the most part of the city, its cemeteries were populous and Abul Fazl called this "wondrous city" as a Metropolis.

4. **Ahmedabad:** Abul Fazl described Ahmedabad as a noble city in a high degree of prosperity", unrivalled for the display of its choicest products of the entire world. The Metropolis, as called by him, had 360 purahs or wards each of which possessed all the requisites of a city. 84 of them being in a flourishing state in his time.

5. **Lahore:** This was "a very large city", being among the first in size and population. As a seat of the Government, it contained many splendid buildings and gardens. People from different countries of the world resided here and their manufactures made a

surprising display. There were more than a thousand workshops in the city producing a large range of "masterpieces of workmanships". The traders and craftsmen of this "illustrious city" had the capacity of easily supplying a large army.

**6. Varanasi:** Abul Fazl called it a large city famous for being the chief seat of learning in Hinduism from time immemorial. Beautiful cloths were woven here.

**7. Ayodhya or Awadh:** It was "one of the largest cities of India" at that time highly "esteemed as one of the holiest places of antiquity".

**8. Jaunpur** Founded sometime in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. by Firuz Shahs. Jaunpur developed into a "great" and a large city" in Akbar's time where woollen carpets were manufactured.

**9. Cambay or Kambhayet** was large city where merchants of divers' kings reside and wherein there are fine buildings and much merchandise.

**10. Burhanpur,** described as a large city, was "embellished with many gardens", and "inhabited by people of all countries and handicraftsmen play thriving trade".

**11. Asir** developed as the residence of the Governor with a fortress on a lofty hill with "a large and flourishing city" at its foot.

**12. Ujjain.**

**13. Mandu,** another large city, had a fort the circumference of which was 12 kos. "For some period it was the seat for government and stately edifices still recall their ancient lords".

**14. Chittagong** was a large city "considered an excellent port and is the resort of Christian and other merchants".

**15. Raepur.**

**16. Mednipur.**

**17. Lucknow**

**18. Elichpur**

Nothing much is said except calling them large cities.

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### **1.3.3 Territorial organisation of the Mughal Empire**

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The historians consider embarking upon study the territorial expansion of the Mughals and the consolidation of the Mughal rule in India through their relations with other powers of India and abroad. Their relations with the Rajputs, Deccan kingdoms,

Marathas, Sikhs, Assam and with Persia and Central Asia form here a part of our discussion.

The main architect of this political expansion was Akbar, who ruled India for fifty years from 1556 to 1605. His successors Jahangir (1605 - 1627), Shah Jahan (1627 - 1658) and Aurangzeb (1658 - 1707) had added some more territories to the empire built by Akbar, particularly in the Deccan, during the rule of the last two rulers.

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### **1.3.4 Territorial Expansion During Akbar**

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Akbar was 14 years old when his father Humayun died and remained under the guardianship of Bairam Khan for some years. On hearing about Humayun's death the latter coronated Akbar at Kalanur in Punjab in 1556. At the time of his accession, Akbar inherited from his father a kingdom comprising Punjab, Delhi and Agra. In course of four decades Akbar expanded his kingdom virtually over the whole of India.

Within a period of some months of accession of Akbar, Hemu, the energetic wazir of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bihar, occupied the territory from Bayana to Delhi including Agra. The Mughals under Bairam Khan moved towards Delhi and defeated Hemu in the second battle of Panipath in November 1556. After the victory, Akbar entered Agra, which became the capital city of the Mughals. During the next four years, Bairam Khan crushed the Afghan power in different parts of the country. In those four years (1556-60), Bairam Khan enjoyed the supreme position of the state as the regent and the wakil. But due to his arrogant nature and tendency to concentrate all powers in his hands, Akbar removed him from service in 1560.

Taking himself away from the regency of Bairam Khan, Akbar embarked upon a policy of conquest. During the four decades, from the expedition against Malwa in 1561 to the fall of Asirgarh in 1601, he played the role of a great conqueror and empire builder. Malwa was conquered from its sultan Baz Bahadur. In the same year he conquered the strategic fort of Chunar.

The year 1562 witnessed a turning point in the emperor's life when his first pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti at Ajmer, Raja Bharmal Kachwaha of Amber (now Jaipur) proposed his eldest daughter's marriage with the emperor. This marriage was the first step towards winning the political and military support of the valiant Rajputs whom the Sultans of Delhi had failed to subdue or convert to Islam. Hence, the foundation was laid by Amber of the Mughal-Rajput alliance. The other Rajput principalities, with the sole exception of Mewar, followed suit.

After a brief siege in 1562 the strong fortress of Merta in Marwar (Jodhpur) was captured. Chandrasen, the ruler of Marwar, surrendered to Akbar in 1563. Rulers of

Bikaner and Jaisalmer also made their surrender to Akbar and entered into matrimonial alliances with the Mughals. By the end of 1570, all prominent princes of Rajasthan, except the Rana of Mewar surrendered to Akbar and were absorbed in Mughal nobility. These conquests without the use of arms were living examples of the triumph of Akbar's diplomacy, his readiness to recognize the full autonomy of the Rajput princes in their internal affairs and his catholicity in religious matters.

Gondwana, an independent state in central India, was ruled by Rani Durgawati, widow of Dalpat Shah. This kingdom was conquered by Akbar in 1564. Later in 1567, Akbar handed over the kingdom to Chandra Shah, the brother of Dalpat Shah.

In Rajputana Rana Udai Singh, son of Rana Sanga or Rana Sangram Singh, of Mewar offended Akbar by giving shelter to Baz Bahadur of Malwa. He also refused to accept the Mughal-Rajput alliance. Mewar lay on the route to the province of Gujarat, which could not be conquered without securing the submission of at least the fort of Chittor. Hence, Akbar decided to conquer Mewar. Moreover, Akbar's supremacy over the Rajput states would have remained incomplete without the conquest of Mewar. Akbar himself conducted the siege of the fort of Chittor in 1567. Next year the fort fell into the hands of the Mughals after a desperate resistance.

Following the conquest of Malwa and Mewar, Akbar turned towards Gujarat in 1572. It was a rich province commanding a large share of India's trade with Western Asia and Europe. From the ports of Gujarat, the Haj pilgrims proceeded to Mecca and other holy places of Arabia. At that time Gujarat was divided into seven warring principalities over which the nominal king Muzaffar Shah III exercised little authority. Akbar himself led an expedition to Gujarat and completed it in 1573.

Bengal and Bihar were ruled by Suleiman Karrani, who acknowledged the overlordship of Akbar. But as Daud, the son and successor of Suleiman, refused to bow head towards the Mughals, Akbar conquered those provinces between 1574-76 from him. Raja Man Singh of Amber, the grand son of Raja Bharmal, conquered Orissa in 1592 when he was governor of Bihar. He was appointed the subedar of Bengal as a reward for his success.

The Mughal- Rajput contest over Mewar did not end with the fall of Chittor in 1568. After the death of Rana Udai Singh in 1572, his son Rana Pratap Singh continued it. Hence, a battle was inevitable as the Rana wanted to throw off the Mughal subjugation. The Mughal army, led by Man Singh of Amber won the famous battle of Haldighati against Rana Pratap Singh in 1576. But Mewar was not fully subjugated to the Mughal empire. Till his death in 1597, Rana Pratap Singh continued the struggle and barring Chittor, he recovered almost the whole of Mewar.



A rebellion broke out in the Mughal empire, which troubled Akbar during 1581-82. The chief architect of the rebellion was his half brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul. Though Kabul was a part of the Mughal empire, Mirza Hakim ruled over it like an independent ruler. Sensing the impending danger Akbar proceeded to Kabul and occupied it without much difficulty. Giving charge of Kabul to the sister of Mirza Hakim, Akbar returned to Agra. But soon Mirza Hakim came back and began to rule Kabul in his sister's name. Finally Kabul was made a province of the Mughal empire after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585, Akbar then annexed Kashmir in 1586, Sindh in 1590 and finally by the year 1595, the complete supremacy of the Mughals over the North-West frontier was established.

After establishing himself in northern India, Akbar planned to extend his empire in the Deccan. In 1591 he sent emissaries to Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunda, the states of the Deccan asking them to accept Mughal supremacy. Of these only Sultan Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh agreed to submit to the Mughals. The internal disputes in Ahmadnagar helped Akbar to dispatch his first expedition to it in 1595 under the command of Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, son of Bairam Khan. Chand Bibi, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, was defeated and she ceded Berar to the Mughals. After sometime Chand Bibi attacked Berar and took it back. The Mughals led a fresh expedition against Ahmadnagar in 1597 and 1599, when Akbar himself supervised the siege of the territory. In the meantime Chand Bibi died. The Mughals placed only the capital city and the adjoining territories of Ahmadnagar under their administrative control. The remaining part remained under the control of their Sultan. In 1601 the fort of Asirgarh was captured. This was the last campaign of Akbar's life, and Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire. Hence Mughal territories in the Deccan included Khandesh, Berar and the annexed portion of Ahmadnagar. All these territories were combined and placed under Prince Daniyal. Thus, the major expansion of the Mughal empire took place during the reign of Akbar. But during the reign of his successors, viz, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, very little was added in terms of territory.

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### **1.3.5 Mughal's relations with Rajput and territorial expansion**

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The Mughal policy towards the Rajputs contributed to the expansion and consolidation of the Mughal empire under Akbar and his successors. Akbar was the first Muslim ruler of India who adopted a policy of conciliation towards the Rajputs and other non-Muslim subjects. The liberal measures such as the abolition of jizyah, remission of pilgrim taxes, etc fortified people's faith in Akbar as a liberal ruler. But in adopting the conciliatory policy, Akbar did not deviate from his imperialist designs of bringing under his sway the whole of Hindustan. Akbar's Rajput policy shows that it hinged on three planks. As mentioned above, there were a few Rajput chiefs like those

of Amber (Jaipur) and Bikaner, who on their own accord, offered submission. The emperor treated them nicely. In sharp opposition to this, was the state of Mewar, which bravely defied the Mughal authority despite numerous handicaps and obstacles. It is commonplace with historians to praise the virtues of Rana Pratap Singh and condemn other Rajput chiefs as cowards. This is quite wrong. Akbar was not motivated in his Rajput wars by any whim of fanaticism or religious persecution. He waged wars against both Hindus and Muslims in order to consolidate the empire and bring the whole country under one central authority.

During Akbar's time Mewar did not come to the alliance with the Mughals. But a series of attacks by Jahangir finally led Rana Amar Singh, son of Rana Pratap Singh, to agree to accept Mughal suzerainty in 1615. Jahangir offered the most liberal terms to Mewar. Amar Singh was reinstalled in Mewar, who also got the fort of Chittor and a jagir was granted to his son Karan Singh. Thus ended a long drawn out struggle between Mewar and the Mughals.

Jahangir continued Akbar's policy of giving favours to the leading Rajput Rajas and of entering into matrimonial relations with them. Shah Jahan also maintained the alliance with the Rajputs. During his reign, Rajput contingents served with distinction in such far-flung areas as the Deccan, Balkh in Central Asia and Qandahar. However, no Rajput Raja was appointed governor of a province and no matrimonial relations were made with the leading Rajputs Rajas – though Shah Jahan himself was the son of a Rathor princess.

But Aurangzeb caused serious rift in the Mughal-Rajput relation by his policy of annexation of Marwar (Jodhpur) in 1679. He wanted to annex Marwar after the death of its ruler Raja Jaswant Singh by de-recognizing the claim of his posthumous son Ajit Singh to the throne of Rathor. The war against Marwar continued with fluctuating fortunes for nearly thirty years. From the side of Marwar the campaign was conducted by the Rajput chief Durga Das. The Sisodias of Mewar also joined hands with the Rathors of Marwar. Aurangzeb's policy towards Marwar and Mewar was clumsy and blundering and brought no advantage of any kind to the Mughals. Particularly the Marwar venture of Aurangzeb proved to be the height of political un-wisdom and it affected the whole body politic of the Mughal empire.

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### **1.3.6 Mughal's relation with Deccan Kingdoms and territorial expansion**

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As stated above Akbar was the first Mughal emperor who extended the Mughal suzerainty over the Deccan states. Though Akbar successfully brought most of Ahmadnagar under the Mughal control, yet during the time of his successor Jahangir,

the state of Ahmadnagar considerably increased its power under the able leadership of its Abyssinian Prime Minister, Malik Ambar. Jahangir also followed his father's policy of territorial expansion beyond the river Narmada. The first target was the half-conquered Sultanate of Ahmadnagar. Ahmadnagar under Malik Ambar started challenging the Mughal power. He succeeded in getting support of Bijapur also. From 1608 onwards a number of campaigns were sent by Jahangir against Ahmadnagar. But he failed to achieve any notable success. Despite the expenditure of millions of rupees and loss of thousands of lives, the Mughal frontier in Deccan did not advance a single mile beyond the limits achieved by Akbar.

During the reign of Shah Jahan, Mughal conflict with the Sultanate states of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunda in the Deccan was revived. Ahmadnagar was the first to be defeated and most parts of the Nizam Shahi kingdom were included into the Mughal empire. In 1636 Shah Jahan himself arrived in the Deccan and after a mock show of strength, forced Bijapur and Golkunda to accept the Mughal suzerainty. But these kingdoms were not integrated into the Mughal empire. Rather, two separate treaties were concluded with the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda by Shah Jahan. After the treaties, the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda accepted the Mughal suzerainty and agreed to pay annual tribute to the emperor. The same year, Shah Jahan deputed his seventeen year old son Aurangzeb as the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan. For eight years Aurangzeb was in the charge of the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The Mughal territories in Deccan under his charge were divided into four Subas - (i) Ahmadnagar with the recently occupied portion of Nizam Shahi territory (ii) Khandesh with its capital at Burhanpur and stronghold at Asirgarh, (iii) Berar with its capital at Ellichpur, and (iv) Telengana with its capital at Nanded.

Aurangzeb started his second term as the viceroy of the Deccan in 1653. His second viceroyalty occupies an important place in the history of land settlement in the Deccan. He received the services of a very skilled revenue administrator named Murshid Quli Khan whom he appointed as the diwan. For purpose of revenue administration Murshid Quli Khan divided the Mughal subas into low-lands and high-lands. Todarmal's Zabti system of survey and assessment was also extended to the Deccan with some changes best suited to the local conditions. These measures led to improvement in agriculture and increase in the revenue in a few years. Todarmal's Zabti system will be discussed in next.

Aurangzeb planned to annex Golkunda in 1656 on the pretext that its ruler had failed to pay the promised annual tribute to the Mughals. In this task Mir Jumla, the wazir of Golkunda helped Aurangzeb as the former had a conflict with the Sultan of Golkunda. Aurangzeb laid siege of Golkunda and pleaded with emperor Shah Jahan to permit its annexation. But on the intervention of Dara Shikoh, elder brother of Aurangzeb,



urgent orders were issued to lift the siege of Golkunda. Hence, a second treaty was concluded with Golkunda in 1656. Aurangzeb's principal associate MirJumla joined the Mughal service. In 1657, the Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur was attacked but on the intervention of Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh peace was made with Bijapur.

After becoming the emperor Aurangzeb followed an aggressive policy towards the Deccan kingdoms. His moves in the Deccan can be divided into two phases, viz., (i) annexation of Bijapur and Golkunda and (ii) his prolonged war with the Marathas. Aurangzeb wanted to compel the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda to abide by the treaty of 1656-57 and surrender the territories to the Mughals. Aurangzeb sent Jai Singh, Bahadur Khan and Diler Khan to carry on the task one after another, but they failed to achieve the objective by their military strength. It was Shah Alam, the subedar of Deccan, who achieved some measure of success over Bijapur by a policy of peace and diplomacy. But Aurangzeb was not satisfied with it as he wanted complete annexation of the kingdom of Bijapur to the Mughal empire. In 1685 Aurangzeb sent a farman to the new ruler of Bijapur, Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah asking him to acknowledge the Mughal sovereignty and grant passage to the Mughals through his kingdom to deal with the Marathas. However, the Sultan refused to accept any of these terms. Hence, the Mughals led a campaign against Bijapur in 1685 and in the next year its Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah surrendered to the Mughals. Thus Bijapur integrated into the Mughal dominion.

Aurangzeb was not happy with Abdullah Qutb Shah, the sultan of Golkunda, who helped the Marathas financially and helped Sikandar Adil Shah militarily against the Mughals. Prince Muazzam was directed to invade the territory. Finally, Aurangzeb reached Golkunda and besieged its fort in 1687. Abdullah Qutb Shah surrendered to the Mughals. Thus Golkunda, like Bijapur was integrated into the Mughal dominion.

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### **1.3.7 Mughal's relations with the Marathas and territorial expansion**

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The Marathas in the Deccan began to emerge as a formidable power from the early 17th century. The declining power of the Sultanate states of the Deccan and the involvement of the Mughals in the northern affairs helped Shivaji to emerge as a potential factor in Indian politics. Within a short period of time and through hard work, Shivaji, the second son of Shahji, established a powerful Maratha kingdom in the Deccan.

As early as 1657, Aurangzeb, as the subedar of the Deccan, attempted to align Shivaji, but failed. Aurangzeb's departure from the Deccan and the ongoing war of succession amongst the sons of Shah Jahan enabled Shivaji to act freely at his will. He captured vast areas of northern Konkan from Mahuli to Mahad. Bijapur, which tried to check Shivaji's rise, failed to do so. Shivaji killed its general Afzal Khan and



occupied Panhala and southern Konkan. On ascending the throne of Delhi, Aurangzeb sent Shaista Khan as the subedar to the Deccan. But he was defeated in 1663 at Poona. Jai Singh, the next subedar of the Deccan, succeeded in defeating Shivaji at Purandar in 1665. By the treaty of Purandar, Shivaji surrendered 23 out of 35 forts under him. But Shivaji could not be completely suppressed. Quarrel between Prince Muazzam, the Subedar of the Deccan, and his general Diler Khan weakened the position of the Mughals in the Deccan and Aurangzeb's involvement in the affairs of the North-West frontiers led Shivaji to revamp his position by re-annexing the forts ceded to the Mughals by the treaty of Purandar. Finally, Shivaji crowned himself as a king in 1674 at Raigarh fort.

It was after the death of Shivaji in 1680 that Aurangzeb decided to renew the aggressive policy towards the Deccan by fighting a war with Shambhuji, the son and successor of Shivaji. With the help of some Deccani states, he tried to suppress the Maratha power by capturing Raigarh, the capital of the Marathas. Shambhuji was killed. In spite of this success, the Mughals could not crush the Marathas out and out.

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### **1.3.8 Mughal's relations with the Sikhs and territorial expansion**

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Guru Nanak (born, 1469 - died, 1538) was the founder of Sikhism. The fourth Guru Ram Das maintained a very cordial relation with Emperor Akbar, who gave him a huge plot of land near Amritsar containing a large pond, near which now stands the famous Sikh shrine, the Golden temple.

Relations between the fifth Guru, Guru Arjun Dev and Akbar though were cordial deteriorated after the accession of Jahangir. It is generally believed that Jahangir was annoyed because Guru Arjun Dev gave blessings to his rebel son Prince Khusru. For this the Guru was fined two lakhs of rupees and was ordered to erase from the Granth Sahib certain verses, which were objectionable to both Muslims and Hindus. As the Guru refused to do so, he was put to death in 1606. Guru Arjun Dev was succeeded by his son Guru Har Govind, who transformed the Sikhs into a militant community. Jahangir could not tolerate his military policy and consequently he was arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. However, the Guru was set free in 1621 and the two developed very friendly relations. He was too given a mansab of 400 horses, 1000 foot soldiers and 9 guns in the Mughal army.

During the reign of Shah Jahan, the relations between the Mughals and the Sikhs became more bitter. Guru Har Govind came into an open conflict with the Mughals. The quarrel started as the Guru refused to return to Shah Jahan the hunting hawks which accidentally came to his hermitage. Shah Jahan became angry and wished to

punish the ashramites including the Guru, but he was desisted from doing so by the Sikh officials in the Mughal service. No doubt this incident sowed the seeds of future discontent between the two. The Sikhs and the Mughals fought over the question of founding the city of Sri Govindpur near the bank of the river Beas by Guru Har Govind. It was Abduila Khan, the Mughal governor of Jullundhar who attacked the Guru and was defeated. After that two imperial horses were taken away by the ashramites and on being demanded by the Mughals, the Guru refused to return them. As a result, a Mughal contingent attacked the Guru in 1613, but it was defeated. Another expedition sent by the Mughals was repulsed near Kartarpur. Ultimately, Guru Har Govind, realizing the futility of the resistance left Punjab retired at Kiratpur in the valley of Kashmir where he spent the last days of his life.

The next Guru Har Rai made friendship with Prince Dara Shikoh and was able to maintain excellent relation with Shah Jahan. The Guru helped Dara against Aurangzeb in the war of succession. Hence, Aurangzeb, after he was enthroned, summoned the Guru to the court but the Guru excused himself by sending his eldest son, Ram Rai, who was asked to interpret certain passages in the Granth Sahib which were reportedly against Islam. He interpreted them in a manner which satisfied Aurangzeb. This offended the Guru who disinherited him and appointed his second son Hari Krishan, a minor, as his successor. He lived only three years as the head of the organisation and died as a minor.

The relations between Aurangzeb and Guru Teg Bahadur, the successor of Guru Hari Krishan and the 9th Guru of the Sikh community, were not cordial. Aurangzeb summoned the Guru to Delhi who took some time to reach the capital. This enraged Aurangzeb who arrested the Guru. Later he was put to death for refusing to do any miracle or to embrace Islam.

The tragic death of Guru Teg Bahadur made his son and successor, Guru Govind Singh, the 10th and the last Guru, a bitter enemy of the Mughals. He created the Khalsa and those who accepted the new form of baptism were required to wear a distinct dress code beginning with five K's, viz., Kesh (long hair), Kripan (sword), Kangha (comb), Kachcha (short drawers) and Kara (steel bracelet). The followers of Guru Govind Singh turned into soldier-saints and followed a policy of fighting Muslim fanaticism with Sikh fanaticism. The activities of the Guru were not liked by the hill rajas, who, with the help of the Mughals, defeated the Sikhs and besieged their headquarters Anandpur. The Sikhs were also defeated in the second encounter at Chamkaur. The Guru lost his four sons in these encounters. In another contest at Khidrana or Muktsar, the Guru defeated the Mughals and settled down at Talwandi Sabo known as Dam Dama Sahib.

The relations between Guru Govind Singh and the next Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah I was cordial and the Guru agreed to accompany him to the Deccan. But the Guru was treacherously murdered in the middle of the journey. Guru Govind Singh had nominated Banda Bahadur as his military successor but abolished the institution of Guruship.

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### **1.3.9. Mughal's relations with Assam and territorial expansion**

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Mughal's relations with Assam began in the reign of Jahangir. Islam Khan, the Mughal subedar of Bengal, invaded and annexed Kamrup or Koch Hajo, the western part of Assam, in 1613 from its Koch ruler Parikshit Narayan. The annexation of Kamrup led to a series of battles between the Mughals and the Ahoms who ruled in the eastern part of Assam. The Mughals ruled over Kamrup uninterruptedly from then to 1658 till the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan began. But the authority of the Mughals was not fully established in Kamrup. The Assamese, particularly under the Ahom king Pratap Singha, time and again tried to expel the Mughals from Kamrup. The Ahom-Mughal contest for mastery over Kamrup dragged on with periodic interval till the end of the 17th century. The war of succession in Delhi helped the Assamese to reoccupy Kamrup in 1658.

Disheartened at the loss of Kamrup, Aurangzeb sent Mir Jumla, the Mughal governor of Bengal, in 1661 to occupy Assam. Mir Jumla, after capturing Kamrup, defeated the Ahoms and captured the Ahom capital of Gargaon. Later, a treaty at Ghiadharighat was concluded in 1663 between Mir Jumla and Jayadhwaj Singha, the Ahom king. But the victory of the Mughals was short lived. The Assamese thereafter defeated the Mughals in a number of battles. Hence, Aurangzeb sent Raja Ram Singh of Amber to Assam to retrieve the Mughal position. At the famous battle of Saraighat in 1671, the Ahom general Lachit Barphukan decisively defeated the Mughals. Aurangzeb did not send any force after this debacle. The Mughal army finally decided to withdrew from Assam in 1682.

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### **1.3.10 Further Readings**

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- Bhattacharya, B. Urban development in India Since Pre-Historic times
- Chandra, Satish Medieval India
- Habib, Irfan: The agrarian system of Mughal India- 1556 to 1707
- Nagri, H.K.: Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals
- Tripathi, R. P. : Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire

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## **UNIT □ 1.4 AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRIALISATION, URBANISATION AND TRADE IN COLONIAL ECONOMY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO EASTERN INDIA; DEVELOPMENT OF PORT ORIENTED TRANSPORT NETWORK; ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF GATEWAY CITIES**

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### **Structure**

#### **1.4.0 Introduction**

#### **1.4.1 History of Colonial Economy in India**

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#### **1.4.8 Origin and Development of Gateway Cities**

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#### **1.4.0 Introduction**

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The Indian subcontinent, in its different parts, experienced a long period of colonial rule starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century through to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and incidentally the provinces of the Eastern India experienced its impact more than any other parts of the country. Actually **Colonial India** is a part of the Indian subcontinent which was under the control of European colonial powers, through trade and conquest. The first European power to arrive in India was the army of Alexander the Great in 327-326 BC. The satraps he established in the north west of the subcontinent quickly crumbled after he left. Later, trade was carried between Indian states and the Roman Empire by Roman sailors who reached India via the Red Sea and Arabian Sea, but the Romans never sought trading settlements or territory in India. The spice trade between India and Europe was one of the main types of trade in the world economy and was the main catalyst for the period of European exploration.



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### 1.4.1 History of Colonial Economy in India

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In the year 1757 Mir Jafar, the commander in chief of the army of the Nawab of Bengal, along with Jagat Seth, Maharaja Krishna Nath, Umi Chand and some others, secretly connived with the British, asking support to overthrow the Nawab in return for trade grants. The British forces, whose sole duty until then was guarding Company property, were numerically inferior to the Bengali armed forces. At the Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757, fought between the British under the command of Robert Clive and the Nawab, Mir Jafar's forces betrayed the Nawab and helped defeat him. Jafar was installed on the throne as a British subservient ruler. The battle transformed British perspective as they realised their strength and potential to conquer smaller Indian kingdoms and marked the beginning of the imperial or colonial era in the subcontinent.

During the 19th century British policy in Asia was chiefly concerned with expanding and protecting its hold on India, viewed as its most important colony and the key to the rest of Asia. The East India Company drove the expansion of the British Empire in Asia. The company's army had first joined forces with the Royal Navy during the Seven Years' War, and the two continued to cooperate in arenas outside India: the eviction of Napoleon from Egypt (1799), the capture of Java from the Netherlands (1811), the acquisition of Singapore (1819) and Malacca (1824), and the defeat of Burma (1826).

From its base in India, the East India Company had also been engaged in an increasingly profitable opium export trade to China since the 1730s. This trade, unlawful in China since it was outlawed by the Qing dynasty in 1729, helped reverse the trade imbalances resulting from the British imports of tea, which saw large outflows of silver from Britain to China. In 1839, the confiscation by the Chinese authorities at Canton of 20,000 chests of opium led Britain to attack China in the First Opium War, and the seizure by Britain of the island of Hong Kong, at that time a minor settlement.

The British had direct or indirect control over all of present-day India before the middle of the 19th century. In 1857 the Sepoy Mutiny, a local rebellion by an army of sepoys escalated into the Rebellion of 1857, which took six months to suppress with heavy loss of life on both sides. The trigger for the Rebellion has been a subject of controversy. The resistance, although short-lived, was triggered by British East India Company attempts to expand its control of India. According to Olson, several reasons

may have triggered the Rebellion. For example, Olson concludes that the East India Company's attempt to annex and expand its direct control of India, by arbitrary laws such as Doctrine of Lapse, combined with employment discrimination against Indians, contributed to the 1857 Rebellion. The East India Company officers lived like princes, the company finances were in shambles, and the company's effectiveness in India was examined by the British crown after 1858. As a result, the East India Company lost its powers of government and British India formally came under direct British rule, with an appointed Governor-General of India. The East India Company was dissolved the following year in 1858. A few years later, Queen Victoria took the title of Empress of India.

In the late 19th century India received a serious setback in the economy with a series of serious crop failures, leading to widespread famines in which at least 10 million people died. The East India Company had failed to implement any coordinated policy to deal with the famines during its period of rule. This changed during the *Raj*, in which commissions were set up after each famine to investigate the causes and implement new policies, which took until the early 1900s to have an effect.

The slow but momentous reform movement developed gradually into the Indian Independence Movement. During the years of World War I, the hitherto bourgeois "home-rule" movement was transformed into a popular mass movement by Mahatma Gandhi, a pacifist. Apart from Gandhi, other revolutionaries such as Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad and Subhas Chandra Bose, were not against use of violence to oppose the British rule. The independence movement attained its objective with the independence of Pakistan and India on 14 and 15 August 1947 respectively.

In India trading rivalries brought other European powers in the country. The Netherlands, England, France, and Denmark established trading posts in India in the early 17th century. As the Mughal Empire disintegrated in the early 18th century and then the Maratha Empire became weakened after the third battle of Panipat, the relatively weak and unstable Indian states which emerged were increasingly open to manipulation by the Europeans through dependent "friendly" Indian rulers.

During the 18th century Britain and France struggled for dominance through proxy Indian rulers and also by direct military intervention. The defeat of the redoubtable Indian ruler Tipu Sultan in 1799 marginalised French influence. This was followed by a rapid expansion of British power through the greater part of the subcontinent in the early 19th century. By the middle of the century, the British had already gained direct or indirect control over almost all of India. British India contained the most populous

and valuable provinces of the British Empire and thus became known as "the jewel in the British crown".

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### **1.4.2 Colonial economy of India under the British Raj**

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The Colonial economy of India describes the economy of India during the years of the British *Raj* from 1850s to 1947. During this period, the Indian economy essentially remained stagnant, growing at the same rate (1%) as the population.

The Historians often wonder why India did not undergo industrialisation in the nineteenth century in the way that Britain did. In the seventeenth century, India was a relatively urbanised and commercialised nation with a buoyant export trade, devoted largely to cotton textiles, but also including silk, spices, and rice. By the end of the century, India was the world's main producer of cotton textiles and had a substantial export trade to Britain, as well as many other European countries, via the East India Company. Yet as British cotton industry underwent a technological revolution in the late eighteenth century, the Indian industry stagnated, and industrialisation in India was delayed until the twentieth century. Historians have suggested that this was because India was still a largely agricultural nation with low wages levels. In Britain, wages were high, so cotton producers had the incentive to invent and purchase expensive new labour-saving technologies. In India, by contrast, wages levels were low, so producers preferred to increase output by hiring more workers rather than investing in technology.

There are ample evidences that the British imperialism was more pragmatic than that of other colonial powers. Its motivation was more of economic than any other. There was none of the dedicated Christian fanaticism which the Portuguese and Spanish demonstrated in Latin America and less enthusiasm for cultural diffusion than the French (or the Americans) showed in their colonies. For this reason they did not put their effort to westernise India but took initiative in this regard only to a limited degree.

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### **1.4.3 The scenario of Agriculture and industry in India during Colonial Period**

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The Indian economy grew at about 1% per year from 1880 to 1920, and the population also grew at 1%. The result was, on average, no long-term change in income levels. Agriculture was still dominant, with most farmers at the subsistence level. Extensive irrigation systems were built, providing an impetus for growing cash crops for export and for raw materials for Indian industry, especially jute, cotton, sugarcane, coffee and tea.

Jamsetji Tata, an Indian entrepreneur began his industrial career in 1877 with the Central India Spinning, Weaving, and Manufacturing Company in Bombay. While other Indian mills produced cheap coarse yarn (and later cloth) using local short-staple cotton and cheap machinery imported from Britain, Tata did much better by importing expensive longer-stapled cotton from Egypt and buying more complex ring-spindle machinery from the United States to spin finer yarn that could compete with imports from Britain.

In the 1890s, Tata launched plans to expand into heavy industry using Indian funding. The Raj did not provide capital, but aware of Britain's declining position against the U.S. and Germany in the steel industry, it wanted steel mills in India so it did promise to purchase any surplus steel Tata could not otherwise sell. The Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO), now headed by his son Dorabji Tata (1859-1932), opened its plant at Jamshedpur in Bihar in 1908. It became the leading iron and steel producer in India, with 120,000 employees in 1945. TISCO became an India's proud symbol of technical skill, managerial competence, entrepreneurial flair, and high pay for industrial workers.

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#### **1.4.4 Pattern of Agriculture**

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During the period of Colonial rule, agricultural production grew substantially in order to feed a population which grew from 165 million in 1757 to 420 million in 1947. The new system of land ownership offered some stimulus to increase output, and there was substantial waste land available for development. The colonial government made some contribution towards increased output through irrigation. The irrigated area was increased about eightfold, and eventually more than a quarter of the land of British India was irrigated. Irrigation was extended both as a source of revenue and as a measure against famine. A good deal of the irrigation work was in the Punjab and Sind. The motive here was to provide land for retired Indian army personnel, many of whom came from the Punjab, and to build up population in an area which bordered on the disputed frontier with Afghanistan. These areas, which had formerly been desert, became the biggest irrigated area in the world and a major producer of wheat and cotton, both for export and for sale in other parts of India. Apart from government investment in irrigation, there was a substantial private investment, and by the end of British rule private irrigation investment covered nearly 25 million acres of British India.

Improvements in transport facilities (particularly railways, but also steamships and the Suez Canal) helped agriculture by permitting some degree of specialisation on cash crops. This increased yields somewhat, but the bulk of the country stuck to subsistence



farming. Plantations were developed for indigo, sugar, jute and tea. These items made a significant contribution to exports, but in the context of Indian agriculture as a whole, they were not very important. In 1946, the two primary staples, tea and jute, were less than 3.5 per cent of the gross value of crop output. Thus the enlargement of markets through international trade was less of a stimulus in India than in other Asian countries such as Ceylon, Burma or Thailand.

In spite of a formidable growth in agricultural production very little was done to promote agricultural technology in India during the Colonial rule. There was some improvement in seeds, with no extension service, no improvement in livestock and no official encouragement to use fertilizer. Statistics are not available on agricultural output during the British rule, but all the indications suggest that there was substantial growth. There is no published data to assume whether output rose faster or more slowly than population, but it seems likely that the movements were roughly parallel.

For the last half century of British rule, the main calculations of output are those by George Blyn. His first study, which has been widely quoted, was published in 1954 by the National Income Unit of the Indian Government and showed only a 3 per cent increase in crop output in British India from 1893 to 1946, i.e. a period in which population increased 46 per cent. His second study, published in 1966 showed a 16.6 per cent increase, and that too, has been widely quoted, but he also gives a modified series which shows a 28.9 per cent increase. This seems preferable, as the official figures on rice yields in Orissa, which are corrected in his "modified" estimate, seem obviously in error. However, even Blyn's upper estimate is probably an understatement because he shows a very small increase in acreage. It is difficult to believe that per capita food output could have gone down as much as he suggests, whilst waste land remained unused. There has been a very big increase in the cultivated area since independence and it seems likely that the increase in the preceding half century was bigger than Blyn suggests.

The basic reports on areas under cultivation are those provided by village accountants (patwaris) in areas where land revenue was periodically changed, and by village watchmen (chowkidars) in areas where the land revenue was permanently settled. There was some incentive for farmers to bribe patwaris to under-report land for tax purposes, and chowkidars are all too often illiterate and drowsy people, who would usually report that things were normal, i.e., the same as the year before. There is, therefore, a tendency for under-reporting of both levels and rates of growth in areas covered by statistics, and the areas not covered by statistics were generally on the margin of cultivation and may have had a more steeply rising trend than the average area covered.

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### 1.4.5 Pattern of Industry and Trade

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According to many historians British rule led to a de-industrialization of India. R.C. Dutt argued, "India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and the products of the Indian loom supplied the markets of Asia and Europe. It is, unfortunately, true that the East India Company and the British Parliament, following the selfish commercial policy of a hundred years ago, discouraged Indian manufacturers in the early years of British rule in order to encourage the rising manufactures of England. Their fixed policy, pursued during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and to make the Indian people grow raw produce only, in order to supply material for the looms and manufactories of Great Britain".

Nehru argued that the British deindustrialized India, and that this "is the real the fundamental cause of the appalling poverty of the Indian people, and it is of comparatively recent origin".

There is a good deal of truth in the deindustrialization argument, Moghul India did have a bigger industry than any other country which became a European colony, and was unique in being an industrial exporter in pre-colonial times. A large part of the Moghul industry was destroyed in the course of British rule. However, it is important to understand precisely how this deindustrialization came about and to try to get some idea of its quantitative significance in different periods. Oversimplified explanations, which exaggerate the role of British commercial policy and ignore the role of changes in demand and technology, have been very common and have had some adverse impact on post-independence economic policy.

During the one hundred years from 1757 to 1857 the British wiped out the Moghul court, and eliminated three-quarters of the warlord aristocracy (all except those in princely states). They also eliminated more than half of the local chiefs (zamindars) and in their place established a bureaucracy with European tastes. The new rulers wore European clothes and shoes, drank imported beer, wines and spirits, and used European weapons. Their tastes were copied by the male members of the new Indian 'middle class' which arose to act as their clerks and intermediaries. As a result of these political and social changes, about three-quarters of the domestic demand for luxury handicrafts were destroyed. This was a shattering blow to manufacturers of fine muslins, jewelry, luxury clothing and footwear, decorative swords and weapons. It is not known how important these items were in national income, but so far as if one guess that the home market for these goods was about 5 per cent of Moghul national income. The export

come to India—all these provided the Government of India, at a time when the administrative machinery was already out of joint as a result of partition, with a task which was as stupendous as any nation ever had to face. If in its initial stages the situation had not been controlled with vigour, the consequences would have brought down the Government itself”.

At a press conference in February 1959, Nehru said : ‘When we decided on partition I do not think any of us even thought that they would be this terror of mutual killing after partition. So we paid a double price for it, first, you might say politically, ideologically; second, the actual thing happened that we lived to avoid”.

It can be said that political upheavals following the Indian Independence Act 1947 and redrawing of political frontiers/boundaries along religious pattern, transfer and division of sovereignty and changes of regimes from the British to the natives have found million of people into exile and caused mass movements far in excess of those normally resulting from supply and demand on the world employment market. This mass movement of million of people across the new political boundary and their subsequent settlement in new levels, undoubtedly, provided the required sustenance to the growth of communalism, to which both India and Pakistan have suffered most. In India, particularly, Muslim constituted a significant minority and they have not integrated with the dominant Hindu nation, rather they preserve all aspects of their own culture and religion, but the massive influx of Hindu and Sikh population, from across the boundaries following partition, necessarily sustained an anti-Muslim feeling that in turn gave input to communal tension—one of the most important and biggest challenge to the secular fabric of Indian tradition of tolerance and synthesis.

Communalism is one of the major consequences of partition that still causes ‘some amount’ of instability in the geography of Indian federation. Pakistan and for that rattle Bangladesh do not have significant minority population, rather, whatever Hindu and Sikh populations dared to stay even after partition, and mass movement/migration, latter they were forced to flee usually by government action in the 50s. A majority of them fled to India, and other moved to Europe and America. Today, there is no problem of communalism in Pakistan and in Bangladesh because Hindus and Sikhs are almost non-existent rather they preferred to merge with the dominant Muslim nation.

Those who fled Pakistan and India soon after partition of their own are called ‘Flüchtlinge’, and those who left their homelands, usually by government action, may be called ‘Vertriebenen’ or ‘Heimatvertriebenen’. Bulk of the refugees whether



Muslims or Hindus or Sikhs were 'fluchtlinge', because they were forced to leave their homelands and belonging by the locals. Had they remained they might have been subject to political, social, economic and other disabilities. Even today, there is refugee problem particularly with regard to granting citizenship to the refugees and providing rehabilitation to them. These people, called refugees, do not have voting rights.

## **(2) The Kashmir Question**

Perhaps the biggest challenge that emerged as a result of partition has been the Kashmir question and that has left a diabolic imprint on the political space of the subcontinent. It is one of the major geopolitical implication that has caused the nucleaization of the subcontinent's geopolitics. The genesis of the Kashmir question lies in the two-nation theory on the one hand and the loopholes in the Indian Independence Act 1947 which was rather ambiguous with regard to the political destiny of the Indian States. The Indian Independence Act 1947, had made a provision that 'the Indian states would have to accede to either of the Dominions' : India and Pakistan, through signing the 'Instrument of Accession', and there was no other alternative for them. The British Government, however, terminated the paramountcy or suzerainty of the crown once these Indian states. "Legally the Indian states there upon became independent. But it was absolutely absurd to think of the subcontinent divided into too large new independent nation carving out of British India with one of these nations divided by some thousand miles of the territory, and peppered with scores of other 'independent states' ranging in size from Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir to a few small areas." (Palmer, 1961, 88)

However, the accession of the Indian States to India was secured by peaceful negotiations before August 15, 1947, and in a little over two years after independence the political geography of India was rationalised by the merger or the consolidation and integration of the Indian states. India was unified as never before in the history. All but three of the Indian states whose territories were geographically contiguous to the new State of India had acceded to the Indian Union. The three exceptions were significant, particularly since they imposed further strains on the already unhappy relation with Pakistan : Junagadh, Hyderabad and Jammu & Kashmir.

Junagadh became a part of the Indian State after a plebiscite in February, 1948. Hyderabad acceded to India in November 1948. These two Indian states had Muslim rulers with Hindu majority, so not much problem was involved with regard to their accession because the people wanted merger. But the case of Jammu & Kashmir was different.



The state of Jammu & Kashmir was consisted of four different political/cultural landscapes. Muslim northern Kashmir (Gilgit & Baltistan tycar); Buddhist Ladakh, Hindu Jammu Area, and the vale of Kashmir with mixed population, but the Muslim constituted the bulk of the population. Nevertheless, Jammu and Kashmir had a Muslim majority population, but with a Hindu ruler.

The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir refused to accede either to Pakistan or to India prior to August 15, 1947, contrary to the advice of the Governor-General Lord Mountbatten. Rather he wanted both India and Pakistan to sign the 'Standstill Agreement' with him. The Indian Independence Act 1947, had a specific provision of the 'standstill agreement', according to which, pending the decision of the Indian States with regard to their political status vis-a-vis their accession to either of the states, both India and Pakistan were required to provide transit right to the Indian States, across their territories so that their commercial function with the outside world could be maintained, and this could be done through signing the 'standstill agreement'.

Pakistan was quick enough to sign the standstill agreement with the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir with the objective perception that it implicitly amounted to accession of the State with Pakistan. India, however, refused to sign the standstill agreement and declared that it would sign it only when the Maharaja agreed to accede with India. But, it needs to be mentioned here that even during the British period, Jammu and Kashmir's enjoyed transit right across the territories of the Punjab and Sind, and used the port of Karachi. The city of Jammu was linked with Sialkot by a single track broadgauge railway that used to carry the bulk of people and trade of Jammu and Kashmir to the outside world. Hardly, there was say such link with the mainland of India rather there was a narrow link road with no practical relevance, it resembled with a 'widened cart track'.

Pakistan, however, consistently exerted pressure on the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to replace the standstills agreement by accession, on in other words, Pakistan wanted the Maharaja to sign the Instrument of Accession in its (Pakistan) favour. But, the Maharaja resisted the pressure. He was apprehensive that such a move might cause its embarrassment to the Hindu population of Jammu region which in turn could anger the Government of India, similarly, if he had decided to accede to India, there would have been Muslim uprising in Northern Kashmir and in the vale and that would have been beyond his capabilities to suppress. The Maharaja was in dilemma what to do and what not to do? This was perhaps the

reason that he preferred to distance from both India and Pakistan, and maintained an independent stand. However, Pakistan believed in the fact that being a Muslim majority state Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan as had been the case with the British provinces where the 'principle of cultural-religious contiguity' was followed to bring about the division of territories between that nation. Pakistan wanted the same principle be followed in the case of Jammu and Kashmir.

Delay on the part of the Maharaja to take a final decision with regard to accession to Pakistan raised doubts to his motives that Pakistan could not sustain any longer. Pakistan, however, faced a problem of tribal uprising in its North-Western Frontier Province where the tribal wanted merger with Afghanistan. Similarly, the tribal of Baltistan and Gilgit of Kashmir, also revolted that worried the Maharaja. In order to calm down the uprising in the NWFP, Pakistan motivated them to invade Jammu and Kashmir to help the tribal of Baltistan and Gilgit. A massive infiltration was planned with the object of 'forced' accession of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan. The security system of the Maharaja was too weak to resist the infiltration, this was what apperceived in Pakistan. It was felt that the collapse of the security system of Jammu and Kashmir would be inevitable once infiltration on a large scale, beyond the boundary was undertaken. It actually happened. Tribal invaders, backed and encouraged by Pakistan had pushed to within a few kilometer of Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir. The Maharaja appealed for help, that India refused, however, on Lord Mountbatten's advice, to send unless the Maharaja acceded to India. On October 26, 1948, Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India. However, Lord Mountbatten announced on October 27, 1948 that 'as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir, and the territory cleared of the invader, the question of the accession should be settled by a reference of the people'. But, Pakistan could not wait further when it saw the success of the Indian army in pushing back the invader. The Pakistan army, then, openly involved, and crossed over the boundary. India and Pakistan nearly became involved in a war over Kashmir in 1948. However, because of the initiating of the United Nations that the war could be ceased.

Since January, 1949, a cease-fire line (that later i.e., in 1972 came to be known as line of control) has prevailed, and the State has been in fact divided along the cease-fire line (line of control). Repeated efforts by the United Nations and by the

U. N. society Council to workout a plan for steps leading to a resolution to the Kashmir conflict acceptable to both India and Pakistan have failed.

Kashmir accession to India was final and irrevocable. The State Legislative Assembly endorsed the accession, and the State became one of the constituent units of the Indian Union. Pakistan refused to accept the accession and renowned it as saying illogical, unpractical, and without any legal sanction. Instead, it insisted that the destiny of the State should be determined by a vote of the people. India's contention was that the accession was legally deniable, given the provision in the Indian Independence Act 1947 wherein the Rulers had the right to take decision of their kingdom because the sovereignty lay on them not on the subject. The Maharaja was alone competent to take the decision on the accession. Pakistan's contention was more emotional and religion-inspired rather than legal. It wanted to apply the principle of the 'two-nation' theory, so as to claim their accession of the state. Pakistan had attempted military solution to resolve the Kashmir conflict, and for that it invaded Jammu and Kashmir in 1948, 1965, 1971 and in 2001. In 1965 and 2001 it engineered massive infiltration, although the attempt to push the line of control (LOC) to further east, and to redraw it, were foiled by the Indian security forces.

The Kashmir conflict is a politics-territorial consequence of partition. It is a conflict, emanating from the faulty provision of the Indian Independence Act 1947. The nuclearisation of South Asian geopolitics may be said to have an implicit geopolitical implication of partition of the subcontinent along the religious pattern. The split of the 'Indian nation' as a result of the partition into the Muslim nation and Hindu nation, has made both of them 'enemies' to each other with political dynamism of mutual exclusiveness, confined to their respective political bounds.

### **(3) The Canal Water Question**

One of the major implications of partition was the disruption of the Punjab canal system. Most of the canals went to West Pakistan while most of the river with their sources went to India vis-a-vis China, besides, most of their courses travel long across the Indian territories. However, the Indian part of the Punjab became a 'dry zone' with no canals. "As a consequence of partition the question of the use of the water of these rivers, whose annual flow is twice that of the Nile, became crucial for Pakistan, but for some years no progress was made in resolving this life-or-death issue".



Large part of former West Pakistan had too little water and was dependent on rather uncertain supplies which had to be made available through some half dozen of the rivers which make up the Indus River system—the vital artery of former West Pakistan. Three of these rivers—the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Indus itself rise in Tibet or in remote parts of Kashmir, but three other—the Beas, the Ravi and Sutlej—flow through North-West India into West Pakistan, and can therefore, be directed for India's uses. 'Rainfall is scanty in the plain area and without the river and the irrigation system, the plain of the Indus basin would be desert'. But with the system of irrigation developed over the last hundred years, the river supported a population of about 50 million in the drive northwest of the subcontinent mostly the Punjab, which was approximately one-tenth of the total population of the subcontinent. However, partition put roughly 40 million people to West Pakistan side and the remaining 10 million people to Indian side.

Here, it needs to be mentioned that the boundary line of the new states was delimited by a boundary commission, whose term of reference delegated to it the obligation "to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab, on the basis of uncertainty the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslim. In doing so, it will take into account other factor (Spate 1947)." The other factor were primarily economic in nature. When the boundary commission made its inquiry, passions were high and it is understandable that the religion differences necessarily influenced the course of the boundary. 'meanwhile the most serious 'other factor'—the desirability a necessity of avoiding so far as possible any disruption of the canal systems on which the prosperity of all communities depended—was largely lost sight of or at most received formal lip service (Spate 1947)".

The irrigated area chiefly affected by partition was that lying between the Ravi and the Sutlej river. Here canals, originating in territory that was to become Indian, delivered water to fields that were to become Pakistan. As mentioned above that partition or division of the irrigated area was the fact that all rivers of the Punjab had their sources in the Indian held part of Kashmir. Since partition of the Punjab in 1947, there was a prolonged dispute between India and Pakistan regarding the division of the Water. Pakistan's need was, however, greater, but India was in a position to control the large part of the water. Whatever solution might be adopted, a heavy capital investment would certainly be required both for extension to the canal system and for building of dams and other works. The International Bank, for Reconstruction and Development—the World Bank became interested in adapting



the irrigation system to the new structure of political boundaries. In collaboration with the United States, United Kingdom and a number of the commonwealth countries, a plan was worked out to provide the capital, while India and Pakistan, worked out the technical details. In 1960 two treaties were signed, one between the World Bank and all the countries providing the capitals, and the other between India and Pakistan.

The treaty allocated the water of the eastern rivers—the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej—for the use of India, and of the three Western river—the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab—for the use of Pakistan. The agreement created the Indus Basin Development Fund of about \$900 million to finance the construction of irrigation and other works in Pakistan provided for in the Indus Water Treaty. Approximately \$640 million is to be supplied by the participating Governments, \$174 million by India under the Indus Waters treaty, and \$80 million by a World Bank loan to Pakistan.

To quote Pounds (1963 : 326) : "Very little water, if might be expected would be allowed to flow by way of the Eastern River into Pakistan, and the more easterly parts of the later could be obliged to obtain their irrigation water from the Western Rivers. This would clearly require elaborate hydraulic engineering works and much of the vast capital investment has been used for this purpose. The effect of the new irrigation canals has been to slow the flow from mainly northeast to southwest direction to one more nearly from north to south. This complex and costly arrangement may be said to be due to the simple fact that the Punjab was partitioned more regard to communal feelings than the hydraulic engineering."

The refugee problem, the Kashmir conflict and the Water disputes were the major geopolitical consequences and implication of partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Although, the refugee problem have, to a greater extent, been resolved, but the communal passions so created as a result of partition along the communal religious patterns, are causing havoc in some of the sensitive region of the Republic that have raised question to India's 'secular raison detre'. Similarly, the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan has given rise to, what may be called 'nuclear geopolitics' in the sub-continent with an ever-increasing nuclear arm race and armageddon scenario. The Kashmir conflict has also sustained cross-border terrorism to cause collapse of the system in Jammu and Kashmir. The water-disputes have by and large, resolved exception few minute areas of disputes and conflicts.

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### 3.3 Organization of Indian States Since Independence

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Immediately after the plan to partition the subcontinent and to grant independence on August 15, 1947, was announced by the British Government, the Indian Government decided to set up a states ministry to handle the problem of the integration of the Indian states. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 did not propose a solution for the problem of the Indian states, but it terminated the paramountcy or suzerainty of the crown over these political units. Legally the Indian states, numbering more than 500, thereupon became independent. It was a gigantic problem to secure the accession of these 'quasi-independent' Indian states, particularly after the lapse of the paramountcy.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was placed in charge of the states ministry, and in the next two years or so this determined and influential man, who also served as Deputy Prime Minister until his death in 1951, "by a combination of cajolery and firmness not only secured the accession of most of the Indian States to the Indian Union but also merged and integrated many of them and laid the foundation for their full integration into the new Indian nation". The accession of the states to the Indian Dominion was by and large secured by peaceful negotiation before August 15, 1947, except for Junagadh, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir, whose accession to the new Indian nation took sometimes. In a little over two years after independence the political geography of India was rationalized by the merger or the consolidation and integration of the Indian states. Patel's first act as states Minister was to appeal to all the Princely rulers of Indian states in territories contiguous to the Indian-Dominion-to-be to accede to the Union in three subjects, foreign relations, defense and communication. A similar appeal was made by the Governor General Lord Mountbatten, in an address to the Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947. In a remarkable display of cooperation, the Indian Princes responded to the appeal, and all but three of the Indian states whose

territories were contiguous to the new Indian nation had acceded to the Indian Dominion.

Junagadh, a Hindu small state with a Muslim ruler in Kathiawar, became a part of the Indian Dominion after a plebiscite in February 1948. Hyderabad, the largest of the Indian states, with a Muslim ruler and a Hindu Majority, agreed to accede to the Dominion in November 1948, after the police of the Nizam surrendered before the Indian army which 'invaded' the state in September 1948. On being invaded by the Muslim tribal infiltration, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, unable to sustain the pressure of invasion and infiltration, appealed to the Government of India for help. The Government of India refused to send help unless the Maharaja acceded to India. On October 26, 1947, he acceded to India. Jammu and Kashmir was a Muslim majority Indian state with a Hindu ruler. In 1948 both India and Pakistan nearly became involved in a war over Kashmir. However, since January 1, 1949, a cease-fire line has prevailed, and the state has been divided along the cease-fire line, that, later in 1972, came to be known as the 'line of control'. Roughly 1/3rd part of the state is under the occupation of Pakistan, while a substantial part of Ladakh, a constituent unit of Jammu and Kashmir is under China's occupation since 1957.

With the integration and accession of Indian states, which were geographically contiguous to the Indian Union, the number of 'constituent' political units went to 27. The newly created system of 27 political units or for that matter states was expensive, inequitable, and asymmetrical. The boundaries framed after the integration of Indian states, followed by their merger with the British Provinces, were economically, linguistically, culturally and administratively as proved to be illogical and impractical.

### **Indian Constitution and Organization of States :**

The Republican Constitution of India was proclaimed on January 26, 1950, and it made provisions for the organization of Indian states, consisting of both the territories of the former Indian states and the British Provinces that had created an asymmetrical politics-administrative system of 27 political units. These political units, numbering 27, were divided into four parts A, B, C and D, similar in their constitutional make-up based on the principle of federalism.

1. The constitution of India provided for nine Part 'A' states : Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, the Punjab, United Provinces and West Bengal—Corresponding to British Provinces.

2. Eight Part 'B' states were created that included Madhya Bharata, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan, Samsat, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Mysore and Jammu and Kashmir. Except the last three Part B States, the former five states were formed by joining together other former Princely States, large and small. These were the erstwhile Indian States.
3. The Constitution also provided for ten Part 'C' States—Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Cooch-Bihar, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur and Tripura. The list was amended almost immediately to change the name of the United Province to Uttar Pradesh, to omit Cooch Bihar from the list of Part 'C' States and to add Vindhya Pradesh to the list.
4. The Andaman and Nicobar Island were listed in a Part 'D' category. Part 'A' and Part 'B' States were regarded roughly as of equal status (Jammu and Kashmir was in a rather different state, because of the disagreement with Pakistan over this territory), but Part 'C' States were definitely of lesser status, and was in fact administered by the President of India, through a Chief Commissioner or Lieutenant Governor. Executive power in Part 'A' States was exercised by a Governor, appointed by President of India, in Part 'B' States the executive head—except in Jammu and Kashmir—was known as a Rajpramukh, while in Jammu and Kashmir, the same was called Sadr-i-Riyasat.

However, in 1953 the number of States was increased to 28, when a separate State of Andhra was created out of the upper part of Madhya Pradesh. It was the first linguistic State to be created in the Union.

### **Linguistic Movement and (Re)-Organization of the States**

The unequal states of Part A, B, C and D states necessarily made the Indian federation highly asymmetrical, geographically expensive and administratively inefficient. It lacked the true character of a federation, the federal boundaries were drawn without any regard to either the physical or the cultural features. Even the boundaries of the British Provinces were illogical in the sense that they were drawn only for administrative purposes, ignoring the regional interests and aspiration of the local and/or regional cultural entities. Independent India inherited and most unrealistic internal administrative boundaries which were further complicated by the merger of the territories of the Indian States with those of the territories of the British



Provinces, followed by the grouping and categorization of Part A, B, C States. The cultural loyalty that remained subdued and, rather, hidden during the British period, started expressing its territorial identity. The first of its kind of cultural-loyalty, expressing through linguistic regionalism occurred in the upper part of the Modern State where the Telegu-speaking people declined to stay further with the Tamil-speaking people. In December, 1952, Potti Sriramalu, in a gesture of self-sacrifice that aroused the Telegu-speaking people of north Modern State, fasted ante death is Modern on the issue of a separate state for his people, and shortly afterwards the Government of India, against its own deceives, province the create a separate State of Andhra. The new state came into existence in the fall of 1953.

The Indian National Congress had always supported, of course, implicitly, the organization of the subcontinent along linguistic, and a decision to this effect was taken, dating back of 1921. But, soon after independence it took a return and opposed its own decision. Nevertheless, a three-man commission, known as the Das commission was set up in 1948, to investigate the question of linguistic territorialization of the republic. But, the commission strongly disapproved the formation of linguistic federation on the ground that it might loosen the federal structure to the extent as to have weakened the unity and antiquity of the newly born Republic. However, not satisfied by the observation of the Das commission, the congress appointed another commission, known as the JVP committee in 1949. The JVP committee gave an ambiguous recommendations, because it expressed its concern not in such a strong way as did the Das commission with regard to the formation of linguistic states.

Growing agitation for the creation of linguistic spread to different region after the formation of the state of Andhra in 1953. The Ministry of Home Affair, Government of India, then, appointed a three-man states Reorganization Commission on December 29, 1953, to inquire into the demands of the linguistic entities that sought to create this own territories in a way an to give (geo)-political expression to their identity.

After careful consideration, the commission recommended that the number of states of Union be reduced from 28 to 16 with three union territories. The Commission was conscious of the unity and indegrity of the newly-born Indian Republic. It emphatically declared that none of the federating units would be

sovereign and independent. However, the recommendation of the commission were partially modified in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Parliament). The arrangement was changed, however, in the State Reorganization Act of 1956 and in the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act of 1956, both of which went into effect on November 1, 1956. The new map of India was organized mainly on a linguistic basis. The only major exception to the linguistic basis of (re)-organization, after November 1, 1956, were the state of Bombay, which was enlarged on divided and the Punjab, where the linguistic situation was complicated by other factor. After the re-organization the Indian Republic consisted of fourteen states of equal legal status—the distinction between part A, Part B, and Part C states disappeared—and six Union Territories—Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, the Andaman and Nicabar Islands and Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands—which were centrally administered.

Bearing in mind that its first task was the 'presentation and strengthening of the unity and security of India' the commission warned against excessive deference to linguistic feelings, for 'further emphasis on narrow loyalties by equating linguistic region with political and administrative frontier must diminish the broader sense of the unity of the country. Nevertheless, the commissioned recommended new linguistic states for the south and it warned that "further deferment of a general reorganization will cause dissatisfaction and disappointment".

Listed in order of number of person speaking each language as a Mother tongue, the coincidence of language and state was as follows : Telegu-Andhra Pradesh; Tamil-Madras; Bengali-West Bengal; Kannada-Mysore; Malayalam-Kerala; Oriya-Orissa; Assamese-Assam.

Having in effect conceded the essentially linguistic basis of states (re)-organization, the Indian Government found that its decision were generally welcomed in most of the country, but definitely unpopular in linguistically frustated Bombay State and the Punjab. The Commission, also, disapproved the formation of tribal state, in spite of 'increasing' tribal nationalism in central India and in northeastern region.

On May 1, 1960, yielding at long last to the continuing agitation among both the Marathi—and the Gujrati-speaking peoples of Bombay State, the Government of India divided Bombay State into the two States of Gujrat, with a temporary capital

at Ahmedabad, and Maharashtra, with its capital in the city of Bombay. This brought the number of Indian States to fifteen.

The Naga, a district tribemen of the northeast under the political control of the Assam Government, had been claiming for complete independence since 1928. Since, they lacked any well-organized political organizations and parties, they could not succeed in their claims, rather, they were made to be part of Assam. When the member of the States Reorganization Committee visited them, they demanded for a separate Naga State. Since, the commission was against the creation of tribal state, the demand for a Naga State was rejected. However, in 1960, it was announced that the Indian Government had accepted in principle the demand for a separate Naga State, to be carved out of Assam, as one of the constituent unit of the Indian Republic. Finally, a separate Nagaland State was created in 1963, raising the number of States to sixteen. It was the first tribal state to be created in the Union. The creation of Naga State was designed to contain the growing discontent and hostile activities of Nagas against the Indian State.

The Akali Dal, the militant Sikh organization had long been demanding a separate Sikh State within the Union along the linguistic line, but the linguistic issue in the Punjab was complicated by the fact that the two main languages, Hindi and Punjabi, were linguistically similar, therefore, the bifurcation of the Punjabi Subha along linguistic line was not possible. However, locational vulnerability of the Punjabi Subha, being a frontier political unit, and the growing religious dicotomy between the Sikhs and the Hindus that made the Government of India to concede the demand leading to the bifurcation of the Punjab in 1966. The Hindi-Hindu area of the Punjab were territorially grouped and then, taken out of the Punjab as a New State Haryana. Although, a simple study of the split of the Punjab may appear to be an outcome of linguistic chauvinism, but a deeper study would reveal that it was more a result of intolerance religiosity of the Sikh people. With the creation of Haryana the number of State in the Union rose to seventeen.

On account of being sandwiched between China in the north, Myanmar (Burma) in the east, and Bangladesh (castwhite East Pakistan) in the southwest, the north-eastern region of the Indian Republic is linked to the mainland by a

narrow strip of land, called the chicken neck. Its location has always remained vital and vulnerable too. Here, the forces of disintegration were territorialized in such a way that the entire integration with the mainland always remained threatened. Moreover, the various tribal people had long been seeking to be recognized as Nation and sub-nation. It was a region of instability, in spite of several political changes. The process of political integration and organization of the north-eastern region, therefore, started with the enactment of the North-East Areas Recognition Act of 1972, and, as a result, there emerged the states of Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland and the Union Territory of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh which were latter given statehoodness. In fact, all these politics-territorial units were parts of Assam, and the tribal entities that belonged to there units had long expressed their discontent against the Assamese, and they strove for their recognition or nations and subnation. The organization of the northeastern areas was a geopolitical necessity. The reorganization of the northeastern regions pacified the feelings because of the attainment of the state-hood.

Creation of New states and bifurcation of States continued as a political process so as to strengthen the participatory-democracy on the one hand and to give territorial recognition of cultural entities on the other hand. Towards the end of the last century three States : Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh underwent bifurcation and/or split : Jharkhand (Bihar); Chhattisgarh (Madhya Pradesh) and Uttaranchal (Uttar Pradesh) were created. The territorial organization of these new states was necessitated to contain growing problem of tribalism and economic deprivation that the regions which were taken out and made states, underwent for years together. States like Assam, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh are likely to bifurcated in the coming future. The Government of India is seriously thinking to set up a second states Reorganization Commission to look into problems of Bodoland, Karbianglong, Cachar in Assam; Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Vidarbha in Maharashtra and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. These are the sub-state units are some of them all district councils with some administrative power to deal with local affairs, therefore, the territorial organization of these sub-state territorial units either into Union Territories or into states, cannot be ruled out if the Indian state is to sustain the pressure of movement.



## **Incorporation of Foreign Possessions and their Organization**

Portugal and France had some territorial possessions in the subcontinent and most of them occurred in the Peninsular Region of the Indian Republic. These were fine French possession : Chandernagor, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanaor. The first one integrated to India in 1949 without any referendum. While the remaining four were transferred to India by France on November 1, 1954 again without any referendum. Similarly the Portuguese possession like Dadra and Nagar Haveli merged with the Union on July 21, and August 2, 1954, but the Merger of Goa, Daman and Diu was not smooth, rather, these Portuguese territories were forced-acceded through the military actions. They became parts of the Indian territory on December 19, 1961.

People of these Portuguese and French possession had long desired to be assimilated in the Indian cultural system and they had supported all kinds of such movements that sought for their liberation from the foreign rule. Later, these territories were made either Union territories or merged with the neighbouring states of the Union Goa which was a Union Territory, later became a state of the Union.

In 1975, Sikkim became a part of the Indian Union through a referendum. It was the 22nd state of the Union when it acceded to the Indian Republic. The accession was conditioned by an amendment to the constitution, passed in the parliament on April 26, 1975. The accession of Sikkim and the merger of the Portuguese and French territories, infact enlarged the spatial extent of the Republic, and the political geography of it, also, underwent some fundamental changes.

The Republic of India consists of a Mosaic of different nationalities and communities with territorial specification and identity and that makes it, rather, a geopolitical necessity to effect territorial re-alignment and re-adjustment, therefore, the process of the (re)-organization of the territories cannot be put to an end. Sub-state regionalism is the bey, at the moment, to call for realignment of territories for smaller to groups of cultural entities irrespective of their demographic size. Moreover, tribal nationalism, particularly, in central and northeastern parts of the Republic, is a dominant 'emerging' phenomenon that requires conscious effort on the part of the government to give territorial identity by organizing spatial dynamics i.e., to respect

the sense of attachment that the tribal nationalities have developed with this land once generation.

Linguistic reorganization and territorial organization, particularly, since 1953 have not weakened the Indian State, rather, they have strengthened the federal fabric of the Union to the extent on to have sustained the forces of disintegration. The earlier fear that the linguistic (re)-organization of territories would lead to the collapse of the Indian State system has provide wrong, rather in a participatory democracy such re-alignment of territories with cultural identities is a necessity.

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### **3.4 Political Geography of Foreign Trade**

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"Every state carries on trade, however, limited in scope this may be in some instances. Trade may be a source of strength, or excessive dependence upon certain goods and markets may spell weakness. Trade can be, and sometimes has been, used as an instrument of policy, and an evaluation of the significance of trade in the power potential of the state is necessary..... The control of foreign trade became an instrument of policy during the middle Ages in Europe, and during the earlier centuries of modern times it was developed, in effect, into a powerful weapon" (Pounds, 1963 : 27 & 279).

#### **Informal Imperialism and Trade**

Keith Buchanan (1972) in his 'The Geography of Empire' has mainly concentrated on the contemporary dominance of the united states in the world-economy. He points out that whereas this decolonization process has provided formal independence from a single impartial state, it has not provided independence from the imperial systems as a whole. In world-system, there is a change of



মানুষের জ্ঞান ও ভাবকে বইয়ের মধ্যে সঞ্চিত করিবার যে একটা প্রচুর সুবিধা আছে, সে কথা কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু সেই সুবিধার দ্বারা মনের স্বাভাবিক শক্তিকে একেবারে আচ্ছন্ন করিয়া ফেলিলে বুদ্ধিকে বাবু করিয়া তোলা হয়।

—রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

ভারতের একটা mission আছে, একটা গৌরবময় ভবিষ্যৎ আছে, সেই ভবিষ্যৎ ভারতের উত্তরাধিকারী আমরাই। নূতন ভারতের মুক্তির ইতিহাস আমরাই রচনা করছি এবং করব। এই বিশ্বাস আছে বলেই আমরা সব দুঃখ কষ্ট সহ্য করতে পারি, অন্ধকারময় বর্তমানকে অগ্রাহ্য করতে পারি, বাস্তবের নিষ্ঠুর সত্যগুলি আদর্শের কঠিন আঘাতে ধূলিসাৎ করতে পারি।

—সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু

Any system of education which ignores Indian conditions, requirements, history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support.

—Subhas Chandra Bose

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