

Urbanisation in the Regional Areas of Medieval India: A Case Study of Bhagalpur

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Students of urban studies have viewed their subject in two perspectives: the inclusive and the specific. The inclusive and wider view encompasses the larger social system or total culture in which a given city takes shape. The historians who study the urban centres in this larger perspective takes account not only of activities within the urban territory but also of components of the social system located outside. Military considerations, for example, may influence the development and patterns of cities, although military organisation is not a specifically urban manifestation. The broad, cultural concept of the urban areas transcends the range of phenomena which the observer may directly encounter in an urban area. The student who takes this inclusive, cultural view assumes that it is only the social system as a whole which explains the behaviour of its parts: Max Weber's recently translated essay on the city furnishes a good example of such a microcosmic study¹. In this essay Weber maps three historical types of urban corporation in ancient and medieval Mediterranean society. The categories with which he construed his urban types include kinship, power structure, military organization, foreign trade, agriculture, and taxation-concerns which in the given instances are not predominantly urban. A large portion of urban research has been devoted to the discovery of characteristic relation-ships between two or more variables of city life. In short, these sub-cultural explorations were designed to map urban institutions or dislocations and to predict their behaviours in relation to one another rather than to trace their configuration within the larger social system.

There have been major changes in the art of history writings in the 20th century. The event – centred Rankean history was questioned in the early 20th century in favour of "Structures". The Annalist regarded this historical *e've'nementielle* as the surface of the Ocean of history significant only for what they might reveal of deeper current.² In the 1950s and 60s the historians were generally concerned with the lives of the people and concentrated on the analysis of general trends. However, in 1970s some historians turned from the telescopic to microscopic aspects of history.³ Increasingly attention was given to local history and attempt was made to study a region and explain the structures in concentric currents covering the centre.

Braudel remarks "Towns cities are turning points, Watersheds of human history when they first appeared, bringing with them the written word, they opened the door to what we now called history. Their revival in Europe in the eleventh century marked the bigning of the continent's rise to eminence. When they flourished in Italy, they brought the age of the Renaissance so it has been since the city states, the *poleis* of ancient Greece, the *medina* of

Muslim conquest to our own times. All major bursts of growth are expressed by an urban explosion.²⁴

An urban centre is not merely a “diachronic assemblage of buildings. It has a structure it has its own dynamism and it is differentiated in particular time and a space. However the process of urbanization picked up the attention of the researchers since 1960 but tended to concentrate on the western countries⁵. A few historians have chosen to write about the process of urbanism in Medieval Asia.⁶ R.S.Sharma hypothesized the theory of ‘urban decay’, on the basis of archaeological evidence, by reflecting a decline of trade, which he concluded was due to the paucity of coins resulting in closed economy.⁷ However B.D.Chattopadhyay has shown that many urban centres remained prosperous in the early medieval times.⁸ Muhammad Habib postulated the theory of “urban revolution” for the period of Delhi Sultanate⁹. Habib opined that the economic changes that occurred due to the establishment of Delhi Sultanate created an organization considerably superior to the one that had existed earlier¹⁰. Naqvi Hamida Khatoon highlighted the importance of political stability in the growth of medieval Indian towns. She argues that “the highly centralized Indian states with base at Lahore, Delhi and Agra worked to foster viability and endurance in urban concentrations. The rise and fall of Medieval Indian towns corresponded largely to the vigour or weakness of the Central power”¹¹.

A recent history of pre-modern Europe argues that economic development is the result of population increase. There is no unanimity on definition of a town and so is with the factors which led to the growth of the town for some ‘a town emerged with the movement of people to a certain area’. Thompson uses urbanization just in this sense when he writes ‘Urbanisation is characterized by movements of people from small communities concerned chiefly or safely with agriculture to other communities generally larger whose activities are primarily centred in government trade, manufacture or allied interests’,¹² Duncan echoes a similar opinion when he characterizes urbanization as a change in the pattern of population distribution. It involves an increase in the relative size of the urban settlements at a place and an increasing concentration of the population in such place. Hope, Tisdala Eldridge who has appeared to have treated urbanization systematically also considers population factor to be of vital importance when he says that there can be no meaning of it (urbanization) but a process of population concentration which involves two elements: a) the multiplication of points of concentration : b) the increase in the size of individual concentrations”¹³.

There are others who would prefer to explain urbanization in terms of economy Vance, R.B. and Demerath, N.J., criticize Eldridge on this ground when they point out that urbanization means more than a mere increase in numbers of points at which population concentrates and growth in the size of those concentration it means an increasing shift from agrarian to industrial service and distributive occupations¹⁴. Conceptually urbanization has three main aspects: Behavioural, Structural and Demographic.

The first aspect is generally associated with Louise Worth who formulated a theory of ‘urbanization based upon the existing knowledge of social groups’ and which refers to the changes in the pattern of behaviour of people. According to him, it is the size of aggregate

population which affects the relationship between members where by increasing process of differentiation ultimately leads to segregation¹⁵. The second aspect – highlights the transformation of primarily agrarian economy to primarily industrial economy. This concept also recognizes the differential ordering of occupation with a given territorial space¹⁶. Lampard, E.E interprets the structural aspect as a product of increasing specialization and advancing technology. The third aspect visualizes the process in terms of increasing degree of population concentration¹⁷.

Urbanization thus is a complex process which defies any simple and isolationist explanation. It can be studied and viewed properly only in a total societal framework. Any explanation emphasizing one aspect of its growth at the cost of other relevant factors will render it lopsided. Indeed, urbanization is a whole process of change and its consequences when a society gets transformed from an agrarian economy to an industrial economy and from a small homogeneous society to a large heterogeneous mass¹⁸.

To understand the basic vitality of the medieval urban centres, surviving and careering through the most turbulent times of Indian History, one has to understand the core of the time period. There are few reliable estimates for the population of India during the medieval period (A.D. 1200-1800); it is possible to get a basic sense of the fluctuations and the general magnitude of change. The period from the A.D. eighth to the twelfth century has generally been seen as a time of stagnation and decline for North India¹⁹. The area was fragmented and subject to repeated invasions, and the drop in the quantity and quality of coins reflected the economic decline²⁰. The coming of the Ghurid Turks ushered in an era of growth and prosperity leading to “revolutions”²¹. Although we have no demographic information for the period, a substantial increase in population took place due to the increase in peace and stability, the growth of towns and cities, and the revival of trade and commerce²².

After a time of stagnation during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, North India experienced another period of growth and development under the Mughals. The first reliable estimate for the population of Mughal India was 150 million in 1600 A.D. ²³ Irfan Habib has estimated 200 million persons in 1800 A.D., This is an increase of about 33 percent over the two hundred year period or a compound growth rate of about 0.14 percent per year; while less than 0.35 percent, the annual rate of increase between 1800 and 1900, this does indicate substantial growth²⁴.

We learn from Bernier, for instance that there was safety on roads on all directions, honest dealings for the merchants were guaranteed²⁵. However neither the Muslim historians nor the European travellers visiting India at the time of different Muslim rulers did mention anything that might lead us to believe that they were positively keen on urban development in the proper sense of the term, In spite of that urban development does not appear to have been slackened. What could have led urban life and functions go uninterrupted? Bernier, visiting sometime earlier, commented on the general conditions of India as follows – “It is important to observe that of this vast tract of country, a large portion is extremely fertile, the large Kingdom of Bengal, for instance, surpassing Egypt itself, not only in the production of rice, corn, and other necessaries of life, but of innumerable articles of commerce which are

not cultivated in Egypt such as silks cottons and indigo. There are also many parts of the Indies where the population is sufficiently abundant and the land pretty well tilled, and where the artisans, although naturally indolent is yet compelled by necessity or other wise to employ himself in manufacturing carpets, brocades, embroideries gold and silver clothes and the various sorts of silk and cotton goods, which are used in the country or exported abroad"²⁶. In his words, "There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common store house for these two kinds of merchandise not of Hindustan (India) of the Empire of the great Mughal but of all the neighbouring Kingdoms and even Europe"²⁷. The picture of affluence did not escape the notice of Marco Polo who found the province of Malabar as the first and noblest in the world: At that time ships used to come from many parts of the world for the purchase of pepper ginger, cinnamon, and beautiful cotton cloth produced in plenty in this Kingdom. Merchants from different nationalities congregated at the port like Tana, Cambay, etc collecting the rich merchandise²⁸.

All these facts reveal the unique position that India enjoyed in the eastern hemisphere over a period of ten centuries and the inevitable rate of Indian ports in handling the merchandise, obviously enormous in quantity as well as in quality, to feed such a large market. The entire work of this external trade of India, however, could have developed not only on the basis of ports alone, it depended upon a far more huge infrastructure composed of a transportation system developed all over the country, highly skilled artisans producing quality goods, intermediaries and merchants collecting the produces from distant places, markets acting as collecting and distributing points etc and above all, the facilities, including protection and patronage offered by the rulers of the respective areas. The combination of all these factors and the sustained efforts of this nature were not possible from an agrarian base, urban back up was an absolute necessity for that. About the roads of his days Ibn Batuta observes – "It (Dhar) is twenty four days journey from Delhi and all along the road between them there are pillars on which is engraved the number of miles from each pillar to the next."²⁹

Manucci paid glowing tribute to the system of '*sarais*' or resting places for the travellers the latter mostly being, the trading merchants. The *sarais* were fortified placed, built of stone or brick, offering accommodation to 800 to 1000 persons or more in, many cases along with their horses, camels and carriages³⁰. The speciality of Indian products regarded as rarities by foreigners gave India a highly esteemed position which could not have been achieved without a strong urban foundation³¹. The ever growing demands of the European markets for Indian goods, the rivalry between European and Arab merchants, the latter ultimately getting dislodged in the race, established supremacy of Indian merchandise beyond any question. The entire industrial structure even if largely localized in the rural areas, was of course the development that had taken place in the country. Movements of goods, their long haulage in great bulk over hundreds and thousands of miles both inside and outside the country by land and main routes could not be possible without a number of stations functioning as trading ports. They had, for instance, found a caravan of over a thousand men carrying cotton cloth from Agra to Surat³². Such a scale of industrial and commercial development can not be the product of rural economy. A widespread and well

developed urban superstructure formed the necessary base for that. This work aims to explore the process of urbanization in the regional areas of Mughal Empire, Bhagalpur .

Bhagalpur is one of the oldest districts of Bihar, situated in the plane of the river Ganges, 141 feet above sea level. Locating between 25°7' - 25°30' N latitude and 86°37' - 87°30' E Longitude, it is acclaimed as the 'silk city of India. This city referred to as one of the biggest trade centres in eastern India by the Chinese travellers like Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang. Hence, the work intends to focus on the growth and development of Bhagalpur evolving urban features during the Mughal rule between A.D. 1575 to A.D. 1765.

The town of Bhagalpur is situated on the right bank of the river Ganges. For the first time we find the reference of Bhagalpur in *Akbarnama*³³. Bhagalpur was called as 'Champanagar' before the Mughals set their foot on the soil of this town. However, in the East India Company's records it is mentioned in different names - 'Boglipor', 'Bhagalpoore', 'Boglypore' and 'Bhaugulpore'³⁴. The main source to study the history of Bhagalpur during the medieval period is available in English Persian, Urdu, and Bengali scripts. Some manuscripts including the records and the family papers are preserved with some important families of Bhagalpur.

The Persian chronicles are considered as one of the most important sources to reconstruct the process of urbanization in Bhagalpur during Medieval period. The political and revenue history of Bhagalpur during the last quarter of 16th century can be traced from Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. We find references of four Mughal army operations between A.D. 1575 and A.D. 1590 in *Akbarnamah*³⁵. General Munim Khan, Raja Todar Mal, Muzaffar Khan, and Raja Man Singh led these expeditions. These expeditions reflect the importance of Bhagalpur as a military outpost. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, a description of rich revenue zone under *sarkar* Munger during the time of Akbar is mentioned. This town was a part of *Akbari Mahal* and shared the largest portion of revenue of Munger *Sarkar*. An outlook of 18th century Bhagalpur can be seen in *Siyar-ul Mutakhirin* of Ghulam Husain. This gives a vivid picture of the political developments under the Bengal Nawabs namely Alivardi Khan, Siraj- Ud Daula, and Mir Qasim. The Maratha raids also finds its place and the tussle between Mir Qasim and English East India Company is also discussed. Other Chronicles like Ghulam Hussain Salim's *Riyaz us Salatin* also gives the description of Maratha raids in Bahagalpur under Balaji Rao and Bhaskar Pandit.

The epigraphical records at our disposal can also be used for the construction of the process of urbanization and a gradual development of urban culture in Bhagalpur. The Inscriptions are divided into two groups, Pre-Mughal inscriptions and Mughal inscriptions. The earliest one is dated at 769 A.H. (Amino Hijra) and is related to sultan Sikandar Shah of Bengal. It gives light on the expedition of Delhi Sultan Firoz Shah Tuglaq against Sikander Shah³⁶. The second inscription dated 850 A.H. discusses the military career of Khursheed Khan³⁷. Inscriptions dated 854 A.H. records the commemoration of a bridge by Sultan Mahmud Shah on 21st March A.D. 1250, another dated 862 AH reflects that during the interregnum period between A.D. 1487 and A.D. 1493, the Bengal sultans had strong presence in the town of Bhagalpur. The records after the mughal period also show the development

of the town. The first Mughal inscriptions belong to the period 1032 A.H. (1622 AD). Written in Persian it records the construction of a mausoleum over the tomb of an unknown saint by the Faujdar of Munger³⁸. During the period of Aurangzeb we have many inscriptions at our disposal for historical construction. The first one dated A.D. 1683 and the second inscription dated A.D. 1685 commemorate the completion of a mosque. The third inscription also makes an announcement of the completion of a mosque in A.D. 1668³⁹.

These Persian inscriptions are recorded and published in texts like, *Bengal Obituary*, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by D.R. Patil, Ahmad's *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in Bihar* etc. Credit goes to K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna⁴⁰ for bringing to light these inscriptions. Another section of inscription which is also used as a source to construct the history of economic development of Bhagalpur is Jain Inscriptions. The Jain Inscriptions of 17th century deals with the activities of Hiranand Shah, who laid the foundation of the famous Jagat Seth banker's family. Francis Buchanan takes note of this inscription dated A.D. 1637

The Foreign traveller's accounts are also of immense help to construct the history of this region. Tavernier, the French Traveller visited this place in A.D. 1668 and spent a night in the Town. John Marshal was the first foreigner who gave a vivid description of the region. He arrived this town in 1670 AD and accounts Bhagalpur as "a great town of thatch house and a place of bows, arrows.. He also draws a neat picture of the carnage system as it operated in the region. In the last quarter of the 17th century Dutch surgeon Nicholas de Gear and William Hodges also gave their description of the town.

Regarding the first half of the 18th century as well as the second half of the aforesaid century, we get information about military operations, routes, geography, and economic activities from the foreign traveller. Jean Law, who was the chief of the French Factory at Kasim Bazaar and an enemy of the Bengal Nawabs camped at Bhagalpur in course of his military expedition against the English East India Company in May, A.D. 1757. He recorded his activities and the interesting political development of these days in his memoirs which was published in S.C.Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III*, London, 1906. James Brown, a military captain gives a detailed explanation of the Jungle Terry (Forest tracts) of Bhagalpur in his account "*India Tracts* published in A.D. 1788. Another account is given by Archibald Swanton who visited the town in connection with an army operation in A.D. 1759. The details of Maratha raid under Balaji Rao is discussed by Captain Howell in his Book "*Historical Events*" published in A.D. 1766. A prominent geographer Major James Rennel compiled a map of south-eastern part of Bihar in A.D. 1773 covering Bhagalpur demarcating its various sites and other minute details. This is also an important source to construct the history of this region during the eighteenth century.

It is worth observing that Mughals came, conquered and established a mixed format of administrative apparatus without ignoring the indigenous or local ingredients of administration. We have chosen a regional area in close proximity of the Mughal Empire's eastern frontier to examine the above notion. The geography of this region played a significant role in pushing up the growth and development of the urban centres. The mushrooming of

the marketing centres owes their origin to the keen interest shown by the Mughal rulers in the area due to its strategic location. This region was the only military route from western India to Eastern India. The uniqueness was the two hill passes one connecting *sarkar* Munger via the Kharaghpur hill and the other leading to Bengal called Sakrigali.⁴¹

Bengal was considered to be a prized *suba* during the Mughal times. The only route to enter this area was through Bhagalpur via Teliagarhi fort. This fort stands on a plateau on the lower slope of the Rajmahal hills at the foot of which the Ganges flowed. Owing to its positions it was of great strategic importance and was known as, "The key of Bengal".⁴² The uneven terrains of Bhagalpur made the rulers always optimistic in their military approach in keeping Bhagalpur as a strong defence line. Even Mir Qasim invited Jean Law to assemble with his army at Bhagalpur. The Battle at Udhwanala though had the disastrous consequences but is still remembered as the signal of regional superiority by the people of Bhagalpur. Another important observation which cannot be kept in oblivion is that the emperors gave grants to the influential *ahal-e qalam* in order to establish their legitimacy in that area.

The growth of urbanism led to a gradual growth in urban culture. Prior to the advent of the Mughals in Bhagalpur the main township was concentrated on the western side of the modern city in the vicinity of the areas known as *Champanagar*, *Kargarh*, *Nathnagar*, *Lakshmipur* and *Kabirpur* all of which existed in the ancient pasts because the existing buildings speak loudly about their past.⁴³ During the Mughal period, several areas in the Bhagalpur town have been recorded as marketing centres. The Mughals tried to reform the existing administrative setup of the town. Bhagalpur was made a seat of a *Faujdār* or military governor appointed through a royal *Farman*. The first prominent *faujdār* is mentioned in *Maāthir-ul-Umra*.⁴⁴ According to this text, Atish *Khān* held this post in A.D.1639 during the reign of Mughal Emperor *Shājahān*. It is said that after receiving a robe of honour and a horse and ten thousand rupees he was made *Faujdār* of Bhagalpur during the 13th year of *Shahjahān*'s reign. A number of Mughal documents refers to *Faujdārs*, *Kotwāls*, *Dārogha* and some other police officials who performed various function like maintenance of law and order, control of the *pargana*, army, and the police. They also assisted in the revenue collection. They were also supposed to enforce royal commands in their jurisdiction. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzēb, the police officials of *pargana* Bhagalpur are also described in some of the documents. In a *Parwana* dated A.H.1084 or A.D.1675, the officials of *Kotwali* were instructed that Maūlāna Syed Ali Ahmad (of Pir Damaria family) resided in Khalifabagh and that he should not be put into trouble on account of the demand of any tax. Some prominent *Mazars* in the town of the 17th and 18th Century remained a Centre of intensive religious activities. The town of Bhagalpur was also an important religious place of Jains. A Jain temple at Champanagar, Kabirpur attracted pilgrims from western India in 17th 18th Century⁴⁵. This is also proved by an Inscriptions dated A.D.1677 found and deciphered by Francis Buchanan in 1811 with the help of a local priest.⁴⁶ The place was equally revered by the Hindu pilgrims, the bank of the river Ganges attracted large Hindu pilgrims on the full moon in the month of *Maghi*, and Buchanan says 25,000 people assembled to take holy dip into the river Ganges.⁴⁷

The Mughal administration targeted the town based elite of the areas where they wanted to increase their hold. In case of Bhagalpur, among the highly respected and admired families, the most distinguished was the family of Pir Damaria⁴⁸, the family of Maulana Shahbaz and the Mahasay family. The Pir Damaria family is known for their achievements in the advancement of Islamic learning, knowledge and culture in the town. This family imparted teaching to a large section of the people through establishing madrasas and Khanqahs in Bhagalpur. These educational institutions received lavish financial assistance in form of extensive land grants from the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar to the days of Bengal Nawabs. Various documents and papers⁴⁹ of the Pir Damaria family have given an account of the working of the educational institutions and also of people who served as the head of the seminary, land grants received for its maintenance, and construction of buildings and for the purpose of accommodating students.

The contribution of Shahbazia family in the field of education and cultural development cannot be ignored. A seminary was instituted in the town of Bhagalpur in the reign of Emperor Jahangir which soon developed as a prominent place of Islamic learning. The founder of this educational institution, (known as *madarsa*) was Maulana Shahbaz. He has been described in a Report⁵⁰ of the English East India Company as "a Disciple of God, a native of Bihar, who having allied himself to a family in the neighbourhood of Bhagalpur".

The Mahasay family possesses three *sanads*, which confirmed the post of *sadar Qanungo*. The first was granted in A.D.1719⁵¹ to Dayanath Ghosh the uncle of the former *Sadar Qanungo* Dinanath Ghosh. Dayanath Ghosh was allowed to possess property as well as the office of *Sadar Qanungo*. The second *Farman* was given to his son Mayanath Ghosh in A.D.1725⁵² recognizing his succession by the estate and office. Finally, in A.D.1730 his brother Mahasay Loknath Ghosh was conferred the office of *Qanungo* by the Emperor Muhammad Shah. The last Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II granted a decree in favour of Mahasay Parasnath Ghosh confirming his succession to his ancestral estate as well as to the post of *sadar Qanungo* of Bhagalpur. Mahasay Parashath Ghosh provided a connecting link between the Mughal rule and the beginning of English East India Company's administration. He offered his services to the East India Company in the revenue administration. It was also during his time that the post of *Qanungo* was abolished by the British government.

The core Mughal area expanded with a centrifugal force incorporating not only the territory (by use of force) but also its population (by use of ideology). The use of ideology recreated a centripetal force moving towards the centre. By overlapping both the lines of force there was a creation of co-centric circle where the forces nullified it destroying the concept of core and periphery and giving rise to centralized Mughal Empire. Urbanization is a derivative of a healthy economic structure which in turn re-models the other structures by creating an aura of urban culture.

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- 29 Battuta. Ibn , *Travels in Asia and Africa*, trans..Gibbs H.A.R., London ,1969 p. 266
- 30 Manucci, Nicolao, *Storia do Mogor* , Trans. Irvne. William., Delhi, vol. ii, 1969, p. 398
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp 205
- 32 *Ibid.*, pp 206
- 33 Abul Fazl, Akbarnamah, Eng tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. III, Cal 1912, pp. 143-44.
- 34 Company records are the contemporary literature written by the East India Company officials. In the coming pages I have tried to mention the names fully.
- 35 *Op.cit.*, p.150
- 36 This inscription was found in Mohalla Châmpanagar and publicly brought to notice in 1962.
- 37 Found in Mohalla Mandroja in town Bhagalpur, it also gives the list of military commanders and government functionaries of Mahmud Shah.
- 38 This construction was ordered by the then Bihar Governor, Parwez who was the son of the emperor Jahangir.
- 39 This inscription is found on the eastern wall of a mosque wetted in the heart of the town royally Khalifabagh.
- 40 Holmes (ed.), *Bengal Obituary*, cal 1851, Patil D.R, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*,(K.P.Jaiswal Institute, Patna,1963), Ahmad's *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in Bihar*,(K.P.Jaiswal Institute, Patna, 1973).
- 41 Hodges William., *Travels in India*, (London 1793) p.24. Sakrigali: was famous for its fortifications called teliagarhi. Hodges mentions the remains of the strong wall and gate of *Telliyagarhi* fort.
- 42 Hunter. W.W, Vol. XIV, (Delhi, 1976) p. 284.
- 43 Singha Sunity Kumar., "Bhagalpur through Centuries", *JBORS* (Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society), Vol.XLVII, 1961, p.18.
- 44 Nawâb Sams-ud-Daulah, *Maâthir-ul-Umra*, Vol-I, English translation by H. Beveridge, (Calcutta, 1952), p.305.
- 45 Martin M., p.29.
- 46 Journal of Francis Buchanan of Bhagalpur in 18110-1811, by C.E.A.W. Oldham (ed.), (Patna, 1930),P.6
- 47 *Ibid.* p.28.
- 48 They were called as Damaria because they probably accepted only a Damaria (a small copper coins) as *Nazar*.
- 49 Documents of the family preserved in their family library at Khalifabagh, Bhagalpur; some of the copies also available in MSS Section, Patna University Library; Papers translated into English in the *RRRSC (1962-63)*.
- 50 A Report on the establishment of the seminary was transmitted by the Collector of Bhagalpur in his letter dated 1st August 1783 to the President of the Committee of Revenue, Calcutta, *BDCR*, Vol. III, 1781-83, p. 182.
- 51 Basu, N.N., *History of Bengal Kayasthas* (Vishwakosh press, CALCUTTA, 1930),p. 101.
- 52 *Ibid*, p. 102.