Urban Patterns in the Punjab Region since Protohistoric Times

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This paper discusses the emergence, decline and revival of towns and cities in the Punjab region over the millennia. There were changes from the protohistoric Indus urbanization to the second urbanization of the early historical period. Contrary to the notion of urban decay, several new centers emerged in the region in the pre-Turkish period. The impetus to urbanization given by the Delhi Sultanate has been characterized as 'urban revolution'. Under the Mughals, the Punjab became the third most urbanized region of the sub-continent, with a proliferation of small towns and revival of some old ones. After the decline of Mughal power there was an increase in the number of urban settlements under the emergent rulers of the late eighteenth century. The expanding state of Ranjit Singh added to the urbanscape. With the onset of colonial rule, there was a substantial increase in the number, size and functions of towns and cities, which came to dot all parts of the Punjab region. This qualitative change in the urban pattern can be termed revolutionary. While geography combined with economy had been the deciding factors in the pre-colonial times, from the colonial period onwards, polity combined with technology became crucial to the urban process.

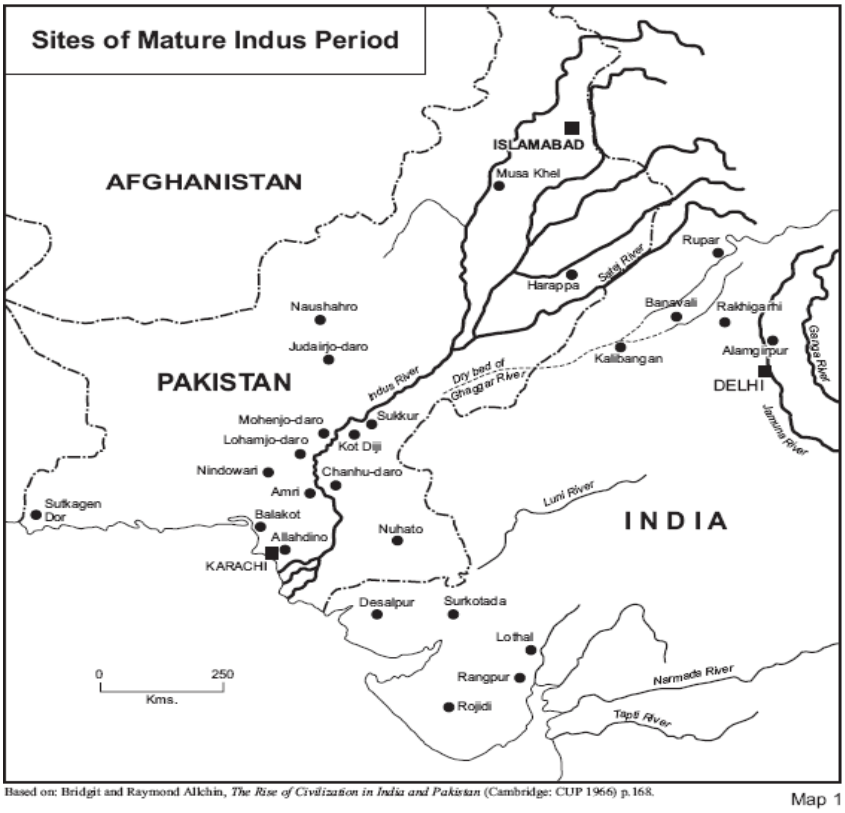
The Punjab region has been the site of towns and cities for nearly five thousand years. In fact, it is the area in which the first urbanization of the sub-continent emerged *c.*2350 BC, lasting for about 600 years upto *c.*1700 BC. For a thousand years then the region seemed to be devoid of urban centers, but around 600 BC, evidence of urban settlements re-surfaced. Since this second urbanization, it has been a continous process. The urban network was restricted to the areas which were naturally endowed for the emergence and continuation of urban settlements. Yet, there have been constant variations in the urbanscape over time and space, which suggest that urbanization is a dynamic process. It is linked as much to the physical characteristics of the land and its economic potential as to the specific features of social and political organization and the technology available at a particular historical juncture. In short, the urban units and the region are mutually bound together in a symbiotic relationship. They are dependent on one another and the ensuing environment as a result of the historical processes, which results in a somewhat unique pattern.

The present paper attempts to survey the urban pattern in the Punjab region from the earliest times to the end of the twentieth century in terms of the changing number, size, and distribution of urban centers in different periods in the region's history. The causative factors having a bearing on the urbanscape have been identified for each period, although their relative

importance varied with time and space. Stretching from the Khaiber Pass in the north-west to the river Jamuna in the south-east, the Punjab region comprises the five interfluves constituted by the rivers Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and the Satlej as well as the Satlej-Jamuna divide through which the river Saraswati/Ghaggar flowed. This region covers the present day states of Punjab and Haryana on the Indian side and the provinces of Punjab and NWFP across the border in Pakistan. Though an urban center has been defined in various ways, for purposes of the present discussion it may be taken as a human settlement supporting a heterogeneous population pursuing a multitude of non-agricultural occupations catering to the urban and rural settlements around, and having a socio-political organization of its own. Depending upon the complexity of functions, the size of a center varied in the urban hierarchy, consisting broadly of the small, middling and large centers in a region, and constituting a network oriented towards its city or cities.[1]

Protohistoric Urbanization

Urbanization had its beginning in the Indus civilization some 4500 years ago. The archaeological evidence points towards the existence of settlements which exhibit the use of metals like copper, bronze, gold and silver; stone and metal sculptures; wheel- turned pottery; cotton textiles; elaborate and varied seals; and beads and semi-precious stones. The manufacture and use of these articles presupposed the existence of long distance trade, providing the base for the emergence of towns and cities. The origin of urban settlements has been a matter of some debate. One view regards the Indus cities as the consequence of diffusion from Mesopotamia, while the other view supports their indigenous origin. By now, 'the growing evidence appears to be in favour of an indigenous origin of the Harappan cities with some diffusion of ideas from West Asia'.[2] The towns developed through a process of gradual expansion and refinement over time, passing through several stages or phases. The urban units of this period were located over a wide area which extended from the Kathiawar peninsula to the foothills of the Himalayas and the north-western region, and covered the present states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab (both in India and Pakistan), Sind (Pakistan), Haryana, and western Uttar Pradesh. Spread over a vast area, this early urbanization represented a well developed urban system and society.



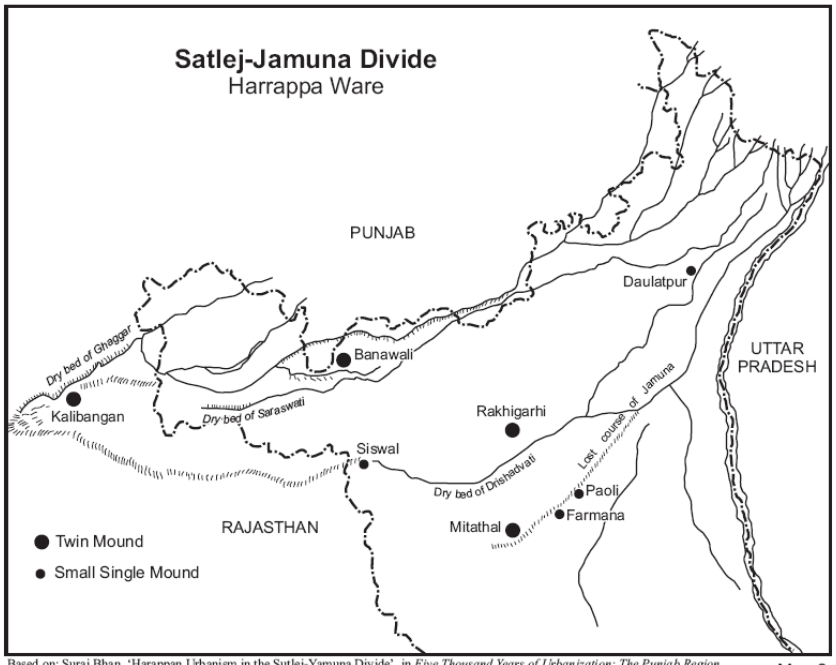
Based on: Bridgit and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: CUP 1966) p.168.

Map 1

The Punjab region at this time had over thirty identified urban centers of varying sizes. However, their size and geographical distribution are not certain in the absence of detailed archaeological investigations. Broadly, the early Harappan sites are concentrated in the areas east of the river Ravi and in the Satlej-Jamuna divide, as the arid western parts were not conducive for agriculture and development of large human settlements. The early Harappan settlements formed a cluster in the present Sangrur-Bathinda area in the south-west parts of the Punjab, and in Jind-Hisar-Karnal-Gurgaon tract in the south-east corner of the region. In the Bathinda area were five large sites of over 100 hectares (ha: a unit of 2.47 acres) – Lakhmirwala, Dhalerwan, Gurni Kalan I, Hasanpur II and Baglian da Theh; four medium size settlements of 25 ha and six smaller places of about 16 ha each. The south-west area had the larger sites of Harappa, and close to it was Chak Purvane Syal, a small center. In the Satlej-Jamuna divide were located several sites: 17 in the Saraswati valley and 16 in the Ghaggar valley. It is quite probable that some of these had urban characteristics.

The premier urban center of the region was Lakhmirwala (225 ha); it was followed by Harappa and Dhalerwan, both being around 150 ha in size; Gurni

Kalan was 144 ha; and Hasanpur and Baglian da Theh constituting the second level were about 100 ha each. At the third level were centers of 16-25 ha, among them were Rakhigarhi (24 ha) and Banawali (16 ha), as well as ten sites in the Sangrur-Bathinda area. At the basal level were 'small towns' of 5-7 ha which cannot all be clearly identified. Mitathal was one of them; it was formed of two mounds at a distance of twenty metres from each other and 7 ha in size.



Based on: Suraj Bhan, 'Harappan Urbanism in the Sutlej-Yamuna Divide', in *Five Thousand Years of Urbanization: The Punjab Region*, ed. Reeta Grewal (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), p.56.

Map 2

Information on Harappa is readily forthcoming, and may be seen as an illustration of a large urban center. It had a circumference of 5.63 kilometers and covered an area of over 130 ha scattered over seven mounds. One of the mounds was a cemetery and probably outside the city. Another was a rough parallelogram in shape with fortifications of a mud and mud-brick wall, ramparts and bastions. On the mound close to the river was a great granary of two blocks divided by a wide aisle and grain pounding platforms. A group of houses in an enclosure with melting crucibles was located near the granary. Yet another mound shows streets, drains, mud-brick platforms and pottery kilns. Harappa was obviously a collection-distribution center for grain and other agricultural produce and a manufacturing center for copper items and pottery, performing, thus, urban functions of trade and manufacturing for the region.

Among the smaller towns may be mentioned Banawali, a walled urban center with a rectangular place and situated on the Saraswati. Banawali had no

separate citadel mound but the citadel was demarcated from the rest of the town by a wide wall having two entrances. The north-eastern corner had a ramp, two main streets of 5 and 9 feet width which joined the gates. The rest of the unit was a criss-cross of narrow lanes and houses but with no public drainage system. Evidence of seals, weights, beads in gold, lapis lazuli, cornelian and pottery are proof of its non-agricultural activity. There is also evidence of a large house with 'storage vaults', which is believed to be that of a prominent merchant. The trade and manufacturing aspects of this settlement would qualify it to be a town.

In the time of the Harappan civilization urban centers were relatively concentrated in the Punjab region. It has been suggested that these towns originated in the Cholistan-Mohenjodaro area and later expanded to the north and north-east. Most of the settlements were situated close to the river and many were also close to one another, as for example in the Bathinda area where urban settlements were 3-5 kms apart. In the peripheral areas, the spacing between urban units increased. These centers were also located in agriculturally well developed tract which supported their existence. In fact, four settlements were as large as Harappa, that is around 150 ha, with one as extensive as Mohenjodaro, the premier city of the Indus civilization. Large centers were more or less absent from the *doabs* of the Punjab, the average size being about 3 ha, which probably were village settlements. The small towns would have functioned as collection-distribution points, and the medium and large towns had a variety of manufacturing activities and a wide range of trade. Various raw materials were utilized in productive activities, namely alabaster, steatite, ivory, shell, coral, cornelian, agate, jasper, lapis lazuli, jade, chalcedony, silver, gold, lead, chert, sandstone, limestone, yellow Jaisalmer stone, flint, marble, haematite, quartite, besalt, calcite, serpentine, feldspar, hornblende, slate, granite, and *sang-i abri*. Apparently, these centers formed part of a well laid out urban network, with trade links to the south-west, north-west and west.

With the decline of the Indus civilization *c.*1700 BC, the urban centers tended to disappear from the urbanscape of the region, though some continued to survive at a lower level of urbanization. In fact, several mature Harappan sites are believed to have continued in the area between the Ghaggar and the Jamuna, and along the Himalayan foothills. Over five hundred sites have been located here, many of them 2 ha or less in size. Banawali, Sanghol, Dadhani, Mohrana and Rohria are some of those sites where hearths, kilns, terracotta wheels, beads, copper items and semi precious stones have been excavated. The traces of a variety of crops found at these sites point towards their being permanent, well established settlements. It is also noted that such centers were more evenly distributed over the region by this time. The post-Harappan period, thus, brought about some internal variations in the urban pattern, even though the overall level of urbanization seems to have declined.

Urbanization in the Early Historical Period

The Indus civilization is understood to have 'merged into the mainstay of Indian cultural development', and moved eastwards to the Ganga-Jamuna plains, also fanning out from its earlier concentration, though not in its urban form but as a rural economy in different regions. At this time, as evident from the decline of trade, the settlement clusters seem rather isolated from one another. Termed as the early historical period, this phase saw the emergence of new political forces and territorial units. Between *c.*700 BC and *c.*300 AD when conditions were suited for urban development, a second urbanization appears to have taken place in the Indian sub-continent. In this phase, too, a large number of urban centers can be identified in the Punjab region.[4]

Among the urban settlements of the early historical period in this region were a number of new towns – Charsadda, Purusapura (Peshawar), Sakala (Sialkot), Taxila or Takshasila, Talamba, Sugh (Srughna), Sunetra or Sunet, Agroha, Thaneshwar, Rangmahal, Karni ka Qila, Ghuram, Daulatpur, Ajaram and Chawinda. The urbanscape had extended to the north-western parts, though it became more intensive in the Satlej-Jamuna divide. This reflected an increased level of urbanization for the region. Though small in number, some of the previous towns also continued as well – Ropar, Sanghol, Bhagwanpur and Bara, among others. Around thirty towns are identified during this period. Most of these urban units were new ones with just about 12 per cent of the earlier centers surviving into the early historical period. Significantly, even when the total number of urban settlements had not appreciated much, the area which became urbanized had expanded. The renewal of urban process was marked by the emergence of new towns. It may be noted that new centers had even sprouted in the south-east, replacing the earlier units here, while the Sangrur-Bathinda tract which was previously a well urbanized one remained unrepresented on the urban map of the early historical period. Thus, compared to the first, the second urbanization in the Punjab region presented a different urbanscape.

The urbanization of this phase has been linked to the growing political and economic influence of the Achaemenid Empire which is said to have stimulated urban growth. Originating between 600 BC and 300 AD, these new settlements were fortified; these served also as trade centers, connecting Punjab to the neighbouring regions in the east and the west. The region was connected with Central Asia through the Arabian seaports. The sphere of trade had widened by this time and the new centers rose to meet the new requirements of trade. By the second century BC, the Indo-Greeks extended control over the region, giving 'fresh impetus' to urban growth in the Indo-Gangetic divide. The early historical period is seen as one of 'maximum urbanization' in which the urban process peaked during the time of the Kushanas.[5] These new units served as trade and manufacturing centers as well as religious and educational nodes.

To cite the example of Taxila as the best known of the urban centers of this period, it was located at the point of convergence of three great trade routes linking it to the north, east and west.[6] It had been founded in the Mauryan times in the fifth century BC. Next to it, a second site, Sirkap, was

founded in the second century BC, as a typically Greek planned center which had a circumference of 5.63 kilometers. During the time of the Kushanas the third site of Sirsukh was laid out as a traditional Central Asian city in a parallelogram with a perimeter of 4.83 kilometers. Taxila was expanding with time to meet a diverse range of urban needs. It had shops, palaces, houses of rich merchants and a mint. Coins from Greece, as well as those of the Saka, Parthian and Kushana dynasties have been excavated here, reflecting its extensive trade. This urban center manufactured pottery, copper-bronze mirrors, earthen utensils, combs in ivory and bone, copper cooking vessels, glass beads and tiles, jewelery in gold and silver, seals, clay pens and inkpots. Among the other items found here are grinding mills, crucibles, bellow pipes, portable furnaces, coin moulds, dies for coins and ornaments, and semi precious stones. Taxila had *stupas* and monasteries abound. At this time, Taxila was a center of trade and manufacture as well as a religious-cum-educational place.

Several other urban places functioned as trade and production centers during this period. For instance, Sanghol served as a mint, and produced beads, coins, terracotta items, and sculptures. Sunet too had a mint, and manufactured beads, seals, and objects in terracotta and bone. Ghuram was a ceramics center, and had a mint and large storage bins. Ropar made coins, silver utensils and terracotta seals. Agroha made bricks, pottery, toys, games, shell and glass bangles, iron goods and coins in copper. It also had two temples. Daulatpur manufactured pottery items, beads, daggers, wheels, glass, iron implements and copper coins. In the early historical period, thus, the urban characteristics had expanded to cover a wider range of urban activities of economic, religious and educational nature. Literary sources record a rural-urban dichotomy as well as a 'definite urban consciousness in early historical India'.[7] In the post-Gupta period, however, many of these urban centers are believed to have declined once again.

The issue of urban decay in the post-Gupta phase has been a matter of debate. Almost all the excavations point towards a shrinkage in urban functions. This de-urbanization is attributed to the invasions of the Huns, 'feudal war', natural calamities, interruption of trade routes and minting of coins, break in the occupation levels, ruin of *stupas* and desertion of monasteries, and decline of merchant and artisan guilds, and even abandoning of sites.[8] This downward trend in urbanization probably began at different points of time in different towns, around the first century AD in Ghuram, second century AD in Sirkap, third century AD in Sunet, Sugh and Karni ka Qila, fourth century AD in Agroha and Sirsukh, and around fifth century AD in Ropar. It is suggested that there was a clear shrinkage of the urban sector.

The decline, however, was neither total nor permanent; nor did it imply a decline of economic activity. Several urban centers in the region survived the 'decay', as for instance, Taxila, Sanghol, Ropar and Agroha; though their urban activities were on a much smaller scale. In Agroha, the temples accounted for the continuation of the town. Many of these sites revived at a later date. Some new towns also appeared on the urban map.

The assumption that there was a significant socio-economic change leading to increased ruralization in the early historical period and a corresponding decline in trade and urban centers, is seriously challenged by the information on a new urban settlement, Prthudaka. Located in the Karnal district of the Satlej-Jamuna divide, Prthudaka (present Pehowa) has been described as 'an incipient urban center'.[9] An inscription of the nineth century refers to this place as an *adhisthana* (a town or a city) and a center for horse trade. The significance of the settlement emerges from the fact that there existed a horse dealers' guild with traders from nine localities; some of them were from as far as the Lahore area and were Brahmans who built temples or shrines in Prthudaka; the representatives of the king and the elites also bought horses here. It was clearly a major and established market center for the trade in horses.

A new urban unit in the post-Gupta period would certainly not be an exception in the overall urban process. Several other central locations would have become the focal point for local commerce, followed by the reappearance of trade routes in their proximity. Gradually, a market would emerge and an outside merchant community, as well as artisan groups would settle down. The local rulers would also have contributed to the urban process by founding new towns or assigning land for new townships. The continuity of trade and urban centers was in all likelihood part of the early medieval scenario. 'Urban decay' can therefore be viewed as relocation and spread of towns and cities, beginning thereby a *third* phase of urban expansion. At any rate, in the pre-Turkish period, the Punjab region appears to have entered a new urban phase, marked both by decline of some towns and the emergence of the new ones. In some areas, significantly, a relocation of urban centers took place generally around the sites of the pre-existing towns.

Impetus to Urbanization: Eleventh-Seventeenth Centuries

The Punjab region, understandably, was the first to experience the effect of Turko-Mughal rule, broadly corresponding to the medieval period of Indian history. This region became relatively more intensively urbanized during this period. Al-Beruni, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi on his invasions, left a travel account of the early eleventh century, entitled *Kitab-al Hind*. Al-Beruni refers to many urban centers in the parts he visited. For example, Multan is said to be an old pilgrimage center; Lahore had one of the strongest forts; Alore, Mansurah and Debal were centers of learning; and Thanesar or Kurukshetra was a land of divine miracles. He also refers to Sialkot, Nandanah, Dunpur, Lamghan, Purshawar, Waihind, Jailam and Mandkakkar.[10] Obviously, several new towns had emerged by that time.

The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us Siraj, written in the late thirteenth century, adds some other urban places identified as Uchh, Tabarhind, Kuhram, Sarsuti, Khushab, Makhiala, Fatehjang, Pind Dadan Khan, Shahpur, Rawalpindi, Bhakkar, Attock, Wazirabad, Sadhaura, Sarhind, Kasur, Qabulah, Hujra, Dipalpur and Chamba.[11] In his travel account (*Rehla*) of the early

fourteenth century, Ibn Batuta adds Abuhar, Hansi, Masudabad, Akroha (Agroha), and Ajodhan to the earlier list. Hansi is described as one of the finest towns, thickly populated and perfectly built with huge ramparts, Akroha, situated between Hansi and Sarsuti (Saraswati), is recorded as the original habitation of the Aggarwal Banias. Akroha is also mentioned as 'now a village', pointing to its earlier urban status. Bhakkar, founded by Kishlu Khan, is said to be a handsome city with canals, bazaars and many new buildings under a noble (*amir*). Uchh is noted as a religious place of Shaikh Qutubuddin Haider Al-Alavi who was known for his piety. During the early decades of the century, under Iltutmish, it had become a center of learning as well. Ajudhan was linked to Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i Shakar, and known as a holy place.[12]

The *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi* of Ziauddin Barani, another fourteenth century work, makes further additions to the list of towns in the region. Barani records the existence of Dipalpur, Gujrat, Samana, Panipat, Dhatrath, Safidon or Tughlaqpur, and Jwalamukhi. Firuz Shah himself founded the towns of Fatehabad, Firuzabad, Harnikhera, and Hissar Firuza.[13] The *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, a contemporary source of the fifteenth-sixteenth century, talks of many towns of the Punjab region, and adds Jhajjar, Kalanaur, Khamaon, Machhiwara and Nagarkot to the earlier list.[14] Several other urban units are mentioned by the modern historians of the Delhi Sultanate. The Sayyid Sultans founded the new towns of Khizrabad and Mubarakabad on the river Jamuna; Batala was established by a Bhatti Rajput; Kaithal, Ghurram, Bhatnir, Jalandhar, Eminabad, Khairabad, Bahlolpur, Jalali, and Sultanpur had also emerged by the fifteenth century.

Evidently, since the eleventh century, a new phase of urbanization had begun. Towns increased in number, size and economic activity, and exhibited heightened socio-cultural features and functions. Collectively, these centers reflected further expansion of the urbanscape towards the north-western parts as well as in the upper and lower Rachna and Bari Doabs. At the same time, there is reference to de-urbanization and existence of ruins in the Jhelum area, in the tract south of the Salt Range and even across the Indus in the Bannu area. Hansi is referred to as a ruined castle in the fourteenth century. The urban pattern appears to have undergone shifts and variations in the period, marking for fluctuations in the process of urbanization and the emergence almost of a new pattern. The substance of Mohammad Habib's hypothesis of an 'urban revolution' in north India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in terms of an increase in the number and size of urban units, is borne out by the available evidence. Since the Turkish nobility preferred to live in urban centers, the artisans and service performing classes from the countryside were also allowed to move in, simultaneously adding to the urban population and giving an impetus to craft production and trade both of which were conducive for urban expansion.[15]

Towns in the Punjab region thus came to extend over a wider area, covering the north-western and eastern areas as well as the upper *doabs*. Yet, the process of urban development from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries was a gradual one, keeping pace with the expansion and consolidation of the

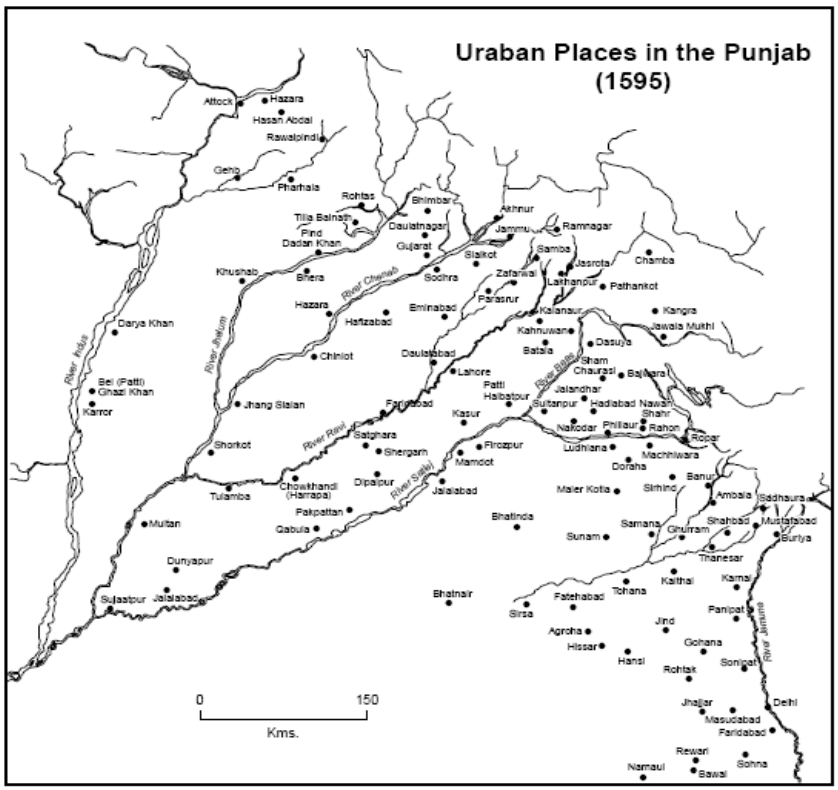
Sultanate of Delhi which used towns as politico-administrative and economic nodes of varying sizes. A large increase of urban centers during the pre-Mughal period pre-supposes that the ruling class played a significant role in the proliferation of towns and in the strengthening of their growing economic activity. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the previously existing centers continued to survive during this period, while one-third of them were new urban settlements. By this time, towns were also acquiring a new socio-cultural significance, which added to their growing functions and increasing relevance in the political and economic organization under Turko-Afghan rule. The 'inland centers, such as Multan, Lahore and Delhi, which were the favourite haunts of foreign merchants', are said to have become 'the most progressive centers of Hindustan in many respects'.[16]

The Mughal period is seen as 'a veritable golden age of urbanization'.[17] The *Babarnama* refers to the country as 'extensive and full of men and produce. Its towns, its cultivated land, its people are all different'. The towns of the Punjab region are seen, however, as 'wanting in charm'. Apparently, there was a constant flux in the urban pattern. Babur's observation applicable to north India, is worth quoting: In Hindustan, towns are depopulated and set up in a moment. If the people of a large town; one inhabited for years even, flee from it, they do so in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day and a half. On the other hand, if they fix their eyes on a place in which to settle, they need not dig water-courses at all as the population is unlimited and swarms in. They make tanks or dig a well; they need not build houses or set up walls. Khas grass abounds, wood is unlimited, huts are made, and straight away there is a town.[18]

Writing towards the end of the sixteenth century, Abul Fazl records in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the Punjab region was the third most urbanized area of the Mughal empire. He identifies many of the previously existing towns and cities of the Punjab, with some new entrants like Sohna, Sirsa, Satghara, Hazara, Shamsabad and Zafarpur. The *Ain* also confirms the existence of Mankot, Narnaul and Phillour[19] – the places to which Badauni also makes a reference. Writing his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* at the turn of the sixteenth century, Badauni also mentions several towns and cities of the region, adding Bhera, Bhimnagar, Narela, Sonipat, Ganaur, Karnal, Asamabad, Manikiala, Bhatia, and Ropar to the already identified urban centers of the medieval period. Of these, Bhatinda (present Bathinda) was an administrative center with a strong fort; Bhimnagar, Sonipat, Bhatia and Nagarkot also had forts; Thanesar and Pak Pattan or Ajodhan are mentioned as religious places.[20] The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad adds Sunam and Ambala to the list of urban centers of the period.[21] The European travellers to the Punjab region during the seventeenth century comment on the places they visited. Finch, for instance, talks about Lahore being second only to Agra, the imperial capital. He adds Sitpur and Chima Gakhar to the urban centers of the time.[22] Travelling through north India during the reign of Aurangzeb, Tavernier also describes some of the well known towns and cities of the time. Lahore is noted as a large town, with houses higher than those in Agra and Delhi, but in a

ruined state.[23] Although contemporary sources do not provide much direct information on the urban centers of the Mughal period, the fact that several new towns appeared on the urbanscope is borne out even by their passing notices. It is equally significant that a considerable number of towns and cities had continued to survive through the medieval period.

Taking a deeper interest in the urban dimension, modern historians notice some more urban units of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Daryabad, Khairabad, Rohtas, Patti, Sheikhupura, Bajwara, Ludhiana, Rewari, Dhankot, Nilab, Miani, Dhonkal, Purmandal, Kheora, Balanath Jogi, Sodhra, Chiniot, Attock and Naushahra. Among the new towns identified are Bhera, Ibrahimpur, Kartarpur, Nurmahal, Phul, Daska, Phagwara, Malerkotla and Barnala. There is a reference also to the revival of towns, such as Jalalpur, Banur, Shahabad, Sri Hargobindpur and Shergarh. By the seventeenth century, Hasanabdal, Goindwal, Nakodar, Maham, Rahon, Wazirabad, Jahangirabad and Qabula functioned as urban units.



Based on: Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Muslim Empire* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), Map 4A.

Map 3

Lahore can be cited as an illustration of steady urban growth in this period. Founded sometime between the first and seventh centuries AD, Lahore is mentioned as a mart for a variety of goods in the tenth century work, *Hudud-ul Alam*. By the eleventh century, it had been occupied by Mahmud Ghaznavi and made an administrative center. In a twelveth century anonymous Armenian record, Lahore is described as an economic and socio-cultural center. During the next two centuries, Lahore served as a strategic base to protect the Sultanate from the Mongol inroads. The Mughal period saw the rapid rise of the city, which served virtually as the imperial capital for nearly two decades in the later part of Akbar's reign. Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, as well as their nobles, contributed to the buildings, markets, mansions (*havelis*) and quarters (*katras*) of the city which flourished as an administrative, economic and cultural center *par excellence*.[24]

The Mughal period was thus marked by a spurt in the level of urbanization, by the emergence of a number of small towns in the urban network as well as the growth of the existing towns. The Satlej-Jamuna divide falling in the Delhi province had a higher concentration of urban units under the Mughals, while towns also emerged along the major trade routes. The rural-urban interaction and inter-urban linkages were strengthened during this period. A major factor in the urban process of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries was the strengthening of economic base that nurtured urban growth. However, towns did not expand uniformly; their growth depended on different determinants like location, economic potential and administrative, military and cultural role in the new regime. As a whole, it would not be incorrect to say that the large measure of urbanization introduced by the Turkish Sultans was taken further by the Mughal emperors to reach a high watermark by the middle of the seventeenth century. The Mughal period is also marked by a revival of towns which again was linked to a heightened economic activity. Urban places continued to act as administrative headquarters, trade and manufacturing centers, as religious nodes as well as centers of learning and arts. Many of them simultaneously developed specialized production activities and participated in long distance trade. Significantly, the Sikh Gurus also promoted urbanization by founding towns like Kartarpur, Khadur, Goindwal, Ramdaspur, Sri Hargobindpur, Tarn Taran and Anandpur and by giving incentives to traders and artisans to settle in these. A rough estimate based on the identified towns suggests that around 30 per cent of the pre-Mughal towns continued to exist at some level during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, and about half of the urban centers were new entrants to the urbanscape of the region.

At the same time, deurbanization was integral to the urban process, and quite a few towns declined during the medieval period or even ceased to exist. A number of urban units which had existed at the beginning of the sixteenth century are not mentioned as towns in the later phase, as for example, Agroha, Bhairowal, Gharounda, Fazilabad, Bhatnir, Doraha, Samalkha and Tabarhind. In fact, several small towns that probably came into existence in the sixteenth century itself cannot be traced in the seventeenth century. The emergence of

small towns, it seems, was a short lived process, about a third of them could not survive over a long period of time and were soon replaced by other nascent small units in a continuous process of emergence, disappearance and re-emergence of urban centers in the region.

As an illustration of the urban process during the medieval period, one may look at Sarhind, an urban center since the first century AD. Sarhind or Sairind was located on a major trade route from Peshawar via Lahore to Delhi and was visited by Heun Tsang in the seventh century. In the eleventh century, the town was an administrative center of the Hindushahis. When a large part of the region was conquered by Mahmud Ghaznavi, Sarhind came to be located on the periphery of the Ghaznavid empire and functioned as a military post, though it is not clear whether or not it was part of it. With the arrival of Muhammad Ghori towards the end of the twelfth century and the occupation of the Punjab region by him, Sarhind again served as an administrative headquarters. Under the Tughlaq Sultans, the town acquired more importance since it was upgraded to serve as the headquarters of an intermediary administrative unit called the *shiq*, a position it retained upto the sixteenth century. In the Mughal empire, Sarhind rose further in importance on the urban scale as the headquarters of a *sarkar* and a vibrant social and cultural center. The Mughals added several new buildings to the town and laid out gardens. By the seventeenth century, Sarhind increased its volume of trade, as evident from the presence of prosperous merchants, including the Banias, and other traders. It also emerged as an important educational and religious center and was known for its 360 mosques. Even if the figure seems to be exaggerated, it points to the place being a center of Islam with a large Muslim population. At any rate, at this time, Sarhind was a multifunctional town of long standing, a commercial and religious place as well as an administrative headquarters. It was famed for its cloth and also its writers and intellectuals. Sarhind appears to have survived as an urban unit under successive regimes mainly because of its central location, expanding economic base and growing socio-cultural activities, and partly because its rulers and residents who could adapt to the changing configuration of power in Delhi.[25]

Another example of medieval urbanization is Hissar-Firoza. The town was founded by Firoz Tughlaq around 1360 AD on the main route from Multan to Delhi at a location from where a hunting expedition could be launched. A fort palace was constructed, members of the ruling elite were granted land for building their mansions, and canals from the Jamuna were constructed to meet the requirements of water for various purposes, including the laying of gardens and orchards. The town was assigned administrative status as a *shiq* and it soon developed economic activities through increased cultivation in its vicinity accompanied by increased trade. The Mughals continued to prop up the town by maintaining its canals on which the local economy was based and also by supporting the religious elite and intellectuals of this place. In short, Hissar survived into the eighteenth century as much because of the concern of the rulers as its location on the trade route.[26]

Urban Expansion: The Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth Centuries

Generally conceived as a dark period, the eighteenth century has not received adequate attention from the urban perspective. It is evident from the political histories of the period that several wealthy towns in the region suffered plunder by the invading armies, particularly of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. Towns also suffered as a result of the contest between the Sikhs and the Mughals, with the latter supported by the Marathas. It is not unlikely that the period started out as a phase of decline and even deurbanization for some centers. Significantly, however, the second half of the century saw revival and re-urbanization taking place on a fairly large scale.

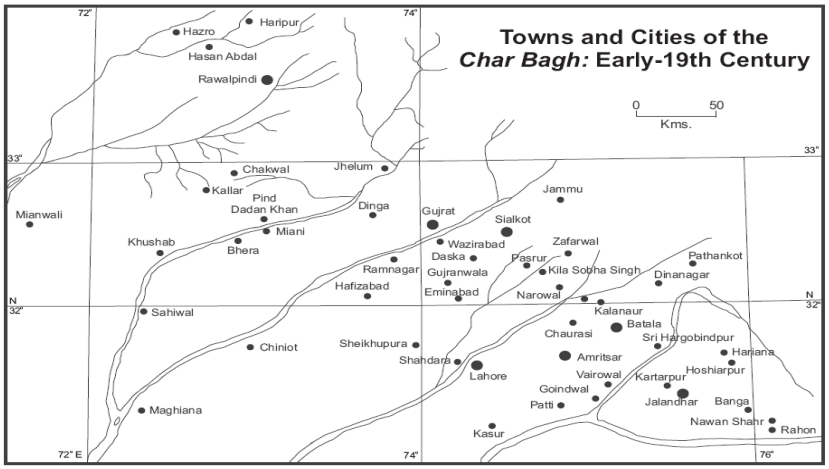
The eighteenth century had opened with the establishment of an independent political entity under Banda Singh Bahadur in 1710 which, though short-lived, heralded a triangular contest between the Mughals, Sikhs, and later, the Afghans. In 1752, the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali replaced the Mughal power in the region. He also gave a crushing defeat to the Marathas at Panipat in 1761. By 1765, however, the Sikhs were able to oust the Afghans. This process culminated in the emergence of scores of new rulers in the region, many of whom were Sikh. By the late 1760s, over a hundred small and large autonomous principalities came into existence. The rise of new rulers entailed the rise of new centers of power as capital towns. To mention the dominant among them: Jassa Singh Ahluwalia set up his capital at Kapurthala; Gujar Singh Bhangi ruled from Gujrat; Charhat Singh Sukarchakia from Gujranwala; Jassa Singh Ramgarhia from Sri Hargobindpur; Jai Singh Kanhiya from Batala; Ala Singh from Patiala; Hamir Singh from Nabha; Gajpat Singh from Jind; Walidad Khan Sial from Jhang; and Ranjit Dev from Jammu.

The political process during the eighteenth century evidently gave impetus to urbanization, or brought about some shifts. For example, due to military activity, the northward shift of the major trade route from Peshawar led to the growth of Jammu as a commercial center. At the same time, because of its association with the martyrdom of the younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh, Sarhind suffered at the hands of the Sikhs. As a whole, however, contemporary writers of the time and travellers to the Punjab testify to the existence of many flourishing towns in the region. There are numerous instances of the efforts of the new chiefs to revive economic activity and consequently, urban centers. In an attempt to resuscitate Satghara, Qamar Singh Nakai rebuilt its wall after it had been attacked and later abandoned. Gujar Singh persuaded traders to settle down in the newly rebuilt Gujrat. Several urban centers, including Lahore, Sialkot, Bhera, and Jalalpur, underwent a similar process of revival. During the last quarter of the century, the new rulers also endeavoured to found towns such as Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Fatehabad, Narot Jaimal Singh, Daska, Rasulnagar, Alipur, Qila Suba Singh, Qila Sobha Singh, Shujabad and Muzaffarabad. An interesting example of urban growth was the creation of several small townships in the later part of the eighteenth century by the Sikh chiefs at Chak Ram Das, and their eventual unification into the city of

Amritsar by Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) in the early years of the nineteenth century. Apparently, the decline that took place in the first half of the eighteenth century was more than reversed towards its end.

It is reasonably well established, thus, that a political upheaval could not halt the process of urbanization in the region. The Punjab maintained its urbanscape even though it did not see significant expansion. The overall urban pattern was marked by continuity of towns, decline of some and emergence of the new ones. There probably was not much change in the number and distribution of urban centers, but the size of towns and appearance of new urban units reflected significant internal re-adjustments in the pattern. With the occupation of Lahore in 1799, Ranjit Singh began the process of piecemeal conquest or subjugation of the diverse centers of power and their incorporation into his expanding state. However, his expansionist activity across the Satlej was checked by the British who maintained the *status quo* in the Satlej-Jamuna divide, but allowed him to expand northwards. The stability and consolidation brought about by Ranjit Singh in the five *doabs* had a significant bearing on the urban scenario as noted by a contemporary, Ganesh Das Wadera.

In his *Char Bagh-i Panjab* completed in 1849, that is in the year of the annexation of the state of Ranjit Singh by the British, Ganesh Das not only identifies the urban units in the kingdom of Lahore but differentiates among them on the basis of size.[27] He is aware of the predominantly non-agricultural nature of the urban settlements and understands that it is the merchants, craftsmen and professionals who constituted the core of an urban place. The emergence of new towns, decline of some and growth of others is noted in all the five *doabs*, which amounts to a comment on the changing urban pattern in the region. Among the new towns in the Sindh Sagar Doab, Ganesh Das particularly mentions Haripur founded by Hari Singh Nalwa, though several other places in this tract are also mentioned for the first time. Ganesh Das notices decline in case of Attock and Dangli, while places like Hazro, Rawalpindi and Khushab continued to exist. In the Chaj Doab, several small towns survived while Bhera, Sahiwal, Qadirabad and Gujrat had grown in size to dominate the area. Towns like Daulatnagar and Hazara had declined, while another, Ralyala, could no longer be traced. The Rachna Doab had small urban units in the submontane areas such as Jasrota, Mankot, Samba and Ramnagar. Narowal was on the bank of the Ravi, while Qila Sobha Singh, Qila Suba Singh, Zafarwal, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Daska were the other known towns. Some of the older places like Aurangabad, Ban, Sodhra, Sayyidpur, Bodhiana and Sirkap are said to be deserted in the early nineteenth century. However, the Bari Doab, about which Ganesh Das knows relatively less, seems to be largely unaffected by the process of deurbanization. Rather, several of its towns had increased in size, like Qasur, Kalanaur, Dipalpur, Pakpattan and Dera Baba Nanak which are referred to as large towns, while the cities of Lahore and Amritsar in the Bari Doab, distantly followed by Multan in the south-west, dominated the urbanscape of the entire region. In the Bist Jalandhar Doab are mentioned the towns like Jalandhar, Rahon, Talwan and Nawanshahar.[28]



Map 4

This picture of the early nineteenth century obtained from Ganesh Das is further elaborated by recent work on urbanization in medieval Punjab with numerous small towns added to the list based on the *Char Bagh*. In fact, proliferation of urban units at the small town level underlines the increased levels of urbanization in the region during the early nineteenth century. The extension of urban places was both in terms of number and size. Though many of these newer townships did not survive over a long period, these can probably be taken as evidence of a higher degree of urbanization in the region and the expansion of the urban network. In addition to the information on urban units in Ganesh Das, more than a hundred and thirty centers can be identified in the five *doabs*: 45 in the Bari Doab; 36 in the Rachna Doab; 27 in the Bist Jalandhar Doab; and 25 in the Sindh Sagar Doab.[29]

As a whole, the early nineteenth century probably had over 200 towns and cities of varying sizes. Of these four-fifths were small towns, 15 per cent were of medium size and just 2 per cent were large enough to be called cities. The three cities of the region were Lahore, Amritsar and Multan. About 60 per cent of the centers were located in the areas east of the Ravi which constituted only about a fourth of the north-western region. There was a concentration of towns in the upper Bari, upper Rachna and Bist Jalandhar Doabs while the lower *doabs*, which were relatively rain-starved and arid, had fewer and scattered urban centers, and the *bars* or uplands in the western parts of the region were almost devoid of towns. As a whole, the period of Ranjit Singh saw an increase in number, size and extent of the urban places in the region between the Indus and the Satlej. Small towns emerged in all corners of his kingdom, though they would prove to be as transient as they had been in the earlier time.[30]

Gujrat presents an example of the fluctuating urban development of this phase. Believed to be an ancient town founded by Raja Bachan Pal as

Udhnagari, Gujrat was already in a state of decline in the seventh century. It was revived in the ninth century but destroyed again by Mahmud Ghaznavi. During the reign of Akbar, a fort was built, the town was made a *pargana* headquarters and the Gujars from the surrounding tract were induced to settle in the town. Due to the efforts of Akbar in redeveloping this urban center, it came to be called Gujrat-Akbarabad. In 1738, Nadir Shah ravaged the town and it was subsequently taken over for some time by the Gakhars under Mukarrab Khan, only to be ousted by Gujar Singh Bhangi in 1765. Gujrat functioned as his headquarters and his son Sahib Singh repopulated the town. Gujrat was conquered briefly by Zaman Shah of Afghanistan in 1797 but was soon recovered by the Bhangis. In 1810, Ranjit Singh annexed Gujrat. The town continued as a *pargana* headquarters in the early nineteenth century, and was inhabited by Khatris and other traders, as well as artisans. By this time, Gujrat had emerged as an administrative, commercial and manufacturing center, producing swords, shawls, cloth, brass vessels, wooden items and boats. It was known for its calligraphers, poets, writers, musicians, physicians and intellectuals. Several administrators of the town contributed to its growth by laying gardens and constructing temples, *baolis* (step wells) and wells. The town was also associated with sacred spaces of the Sufis, like the tombs of Pandhe Shah and Hussain Shah.[31]

Gujrat survived the ravages of time essentially because of its location which secured it the protection of successive rulers and enabled it to develop into a large multi-functional town by the early nineteenth century. Once it had created an economic base to sustain itself, it developed socio-cultural features which strengthened its position as an urban center. This, apparently, was the experience of numerous other towns in the region. Compared to the earlier periods, the pace of urbanization in the early nineteenth century appears to have been much greater.

Urban Revolution in a Colonial Situation

After the annexation of the state of Ranjit Singh in 1849, the British brought about its politico-administrative unification with the territories to the south of the Satlej which had been taken under their protection in 1809. After the Mutiny of 1857-58, the south-eastern tract called Haryana, which had been conquered along with Delhi in 1803, was added to the province of the Punjab. As the frontier province, it came to have a large number of purpose-built cantonment towns in the hills and plains. The great agricultural potential of the thirsty western plains was tapped by constructing vast irrigation networks and by colonizing this tract by shifting the hardworking agriculturists from the overpopulated eastern plains. Their surplus produce was carried to other parts of India as well as to the sea ports by an extensive rail network.

Before significant changes in the number, size and distribution of urban centers in the region became noticeable, there were 240 towns concentrated, as earlier, in the eastern plains, in 1881. The two cities of the region and most of the medium towns were located in the upper Bari and Bist Jalandhar Doabs.

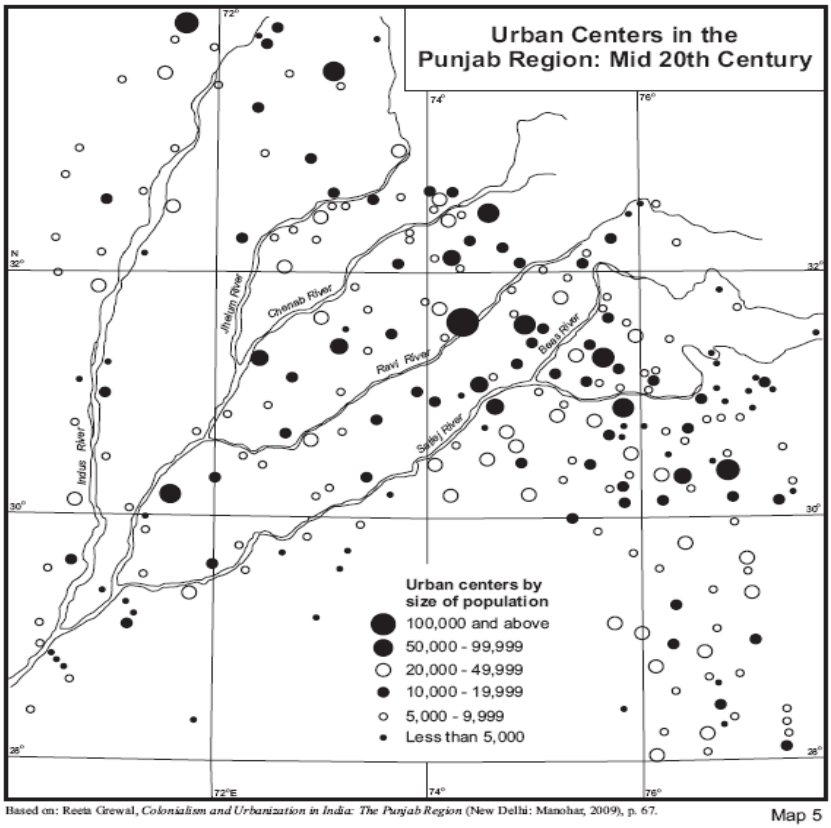
Some urban centers, mostly small towns, were scattered in the upper Rachna, Chaj, and Sindh Sagar Doabs along the confluence of the rivers in the south-western part of the region, and the Satlej-Jamuna divide. The lower *doabs* had a few urban settlements along the river valleys, though the uplands remained relatively devoid of these. Thus, for over three decades since annexation, there was no appreciable change in the urban pattern of the region. The urban centers in the western plains continued to be relatively scarce and widely spaced out. At this time, over 91 per cent of the urban centers were small towns, about 7 per cent were middling sized towns and only one per cent happened to be large enough to be called cities.[32]

By 1941, that is in the last decade of colonial rule, the urban picture was strikingly different. The number of towns had increased to 292, though this had not been a steady upward movement. The number declined to 220 in 1891, rose to 238 in 1901, declined again to 208 in 1911, and further to 205 in 1921, but rose abruptly to 249 in 1931. In the 1880s, there was one town for every 1540 square kms; in 1941, the average was one center for every 518 square kms. Cities now formed 3 per cent of the total urban units, and were spread in all parts of the region. The medium sized towns constituted 17 per cent and small towns 80 per cent of the urban structure, reversing the pre-colonial pattern. The cities and medium towns were thus growing at the cost of the small towns whose number declined significantly. This somewhat inverted the urban system as it had evolved till the middle of the nineteenth century, making it 'top' heavy, and lacking in a sizeable urban base of small towns to support the urban structure in the region.[33]

In terms of location, the regional urbanscape exhibited internal shifts in the period from 1881 to 1941. Towns were no longer confined to the river valleys and the eastern plains. New towns emerged in the western parts and in the hills. Areas with a higher degree of urbanization in 1881 declined while the less urbanized areas had a higher level of urban growth by the end of period. Consequently, towns in the less urbanized areas in 1881 showed the maximum growth rate. With a few exceptions, they were mostly situated in the western tract and southern parts of the Satlej-Jamuna divide. Several of them were newly founded *mandi* towns and administrative headquarters in the newly irrigated areas. The previously existing towns by contrast had an average growth rate. Rather, many old towns remained untouched by the cumulative impact of colonial rule. These surviving towns were some administrative centers, state capitals and market towns. As small units located at a distance from the main lines of communication, they barely participated in the expanding colonial economy. Many small towns even declined to the position of village settlements. In all, over 60 towns were declassified during this time, some being redesignated as 'urban' at a later date. On the whole, the process of declassification and reclassification affected only a small proportion of towns.

During 1881-1941, over 130 new towns emerged on the urban scene of the Punjab region. Some were founded afresh, some were revived as towns, while others were old settlements that had acquired urban characteristics and functions. In 1891, 27 towns were added to the urban list, 11 each were added

in the next two census years, 17 in 1921, 29 in 1931, and the largest addition of 49 was made in 1941. The new towns were cantonements, both in the hills and plains, educational centers for European children, and sites of new projects related to colonial 'necessities'. Two- thirds of the new towns in 1941 came up in the newly irrigated western plains and the Bahawalpur area while others were located along the railway linkages in the lower *doabs*.[34]



Based on: Reeta Grewal, *Colonialism and Urbanization in India: The Punjab Region* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2009), p. 67.

Map 5

The colonial period, thus, saw a significant alteration in the urban pattern of the Punjab. Almost all categories of towns, except the smallest ones, followed an upward trend, with considerable increase in number and size of the urban centers. Cities came to be located in all parts of the region in contrast to their earlier central location. New towns rose in the hills, the Salt Range tract and the western plains, increasing the overall proportion of urban centers, though their proportion declined in the submontane and eastern plains which had been relatively well urbanized in the earlier period. The lower *doabs*, especially the *bars*, became urbanized for the first time. It was no coincidence that the fishing village of Karachi developed into the fourth largest port of British India,

catering very largely to the Punjab region for both exports and imports and linking it up directly with the metropolitan economy.[3]

On the whole, the degree of urbanization in the sub-regions of the Punjab varied considerably. The broad hierarchical pattern, however, continued, with a large proportion of small towns at the base and a small number of cities at the apex of the urban hierarchy. The category of cities, though, had become 'heavy'. The region as a whole does not seem to have experienced deurbanization, although internal shifts and variations are noted in the urban pattern. The pre-colonial towns showed a special adaptability and resilience in surviving through the colonial period due largely to their location, role in sub-regional trade and administrative status. New urban centers too emerged to meet the market needs of the newly developed agricultural areas in the region. As a whole, changes in the urbanscape were significant enough to be considered revolutionary, albeit brought about by the western technology subserving the demands of the colonial situation.

Post-Independence Trends

Independence and partition into India and Pakistan directed the urban process into trajectories which, strictly speaking, are not comparable with the earlier period. Only a few broad trends covering the Indian Punjab and the State of Haryana (established in 1966) may be noted. A new state capital was established as Chandigarh. The influx of refugees led to expansion of existing centers and the setting up of four new towns mainly for rehabilitation. The influx of refugees, combined with the migrations from rural areas, brought about significant increase in the urban population, from 13 per cent in 1931 to 21 per cent by 1961, and to over 30 per cent by 1991. The post-1947 period saw the addition of 81 urban centers to the States of Punjab and Haryana. Many of these had been urban places in the earlier periods but had declined with time. The urban population as a whole registered an increase of 50-150 per cent, with only 5 centers registering over 500 per cent growth, 10 having 250-500 per cent growth, and 27 showing 150-250 per cent increase in population. By 1991, the cities came to have more than half the urban people, that is 52 per cent. Moving eastwards from the Amritsar and Ambala districts, urban units came to be more intensely located in the Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Faridabad and Yamunanagar areas which had been comparatively less urbanized before 1947. The least urban parts, however, remained the same – Hoshiarpur and Mahendragarh districts, respectively in Punjab and Haryana.[36]

Conclusion

In the early stages of urbanization in the Punjab region, location and natural advantages strengthening the economic potential of a place played an important role in the emergence and survival of towns and cities and the ensuing urban pattern. In the medieval period, polity had a more direct bearing on the urban pattern through integration of the existing urban units into a

relatively centralized administrative structure, and the development of new towns. The creation of a large number of administrative foci, and the concentration of the ruling class in urban centers as well as promotion of crafts and trade accelerated the urban process under Turko-Mughal rule. The Sikh Gurus also promoted urbanization by founding autonomous towns. The emergence of the new centers of power during the late eighteenth century their unification under Ranjit Singh in the early nineteenth century was equally conducive for urban growth. Colonial rule, however, was far more pervasive than all the previous regimes put together. The residential, administrative, military and economic needs of the British centered on cities and towns tied together by the railway system and the new means of communication. With the technology at their command, the British could construct towns on hill tops and excavate canals in the arid western plains of the Punjab, and construct the *mandi* towns to systematically siphon off the surplus agricultural produce to other parts of the sub-continent and Europe. In the process, the natural environment of the Punjab region was substantially altered, and polity got precedence among the factors influencing the urban pattern. The post-Independence period broadly reflects the continuation of the colonial urban pattern with an increase in the number and size of urban units and substantial growth of the cities, reinforcing, thus, the 'top heavy' urban structure and involuted urban pattern.

Notes

1. Reeta Grewal, *Colonialism and Urbanization in India*: *The Punjab Region* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2009), p. 19.

2. Dilip Kumar Chakrabarti, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 26.

3. The ensuing discussion is largely based on ibid., pp. 82, 83, 86-87, 92-94, 109-10, 114-15, 130-31, 133-34 and passim. See also Suraj Bhan, 'Harppan Urbanism the Sutlej-Yamuna Divide', in *Five Thousand Years of Urbanization*: *The Punjab Region*', ed. Reeta Grewal (New Delhi: Manohar/Institute of Punjab Studies, 2005), pp. 55-61.

4. Chakrabarti, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, pp. 242, 244, 267-68 and passim.

5. For an overview of the second urbanism, see R.S. Sharma, 'Urbanism in Early Historic India', in *The City in Indian History*, ed. Indu Banga (New Delhi: Manohar/Urban History Association of India, 2005, rpt.), pp. 9-15.

6. For some detail, Kukum Roy, 'Taxila in the Mauryan Empire', in *Five Thousand Years of Urbanization*, pp. 63-78. See also R.S. Sharma, *Urban Decay in India (c. 300 – c.1000)*, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987), pp. 11-13.

7. Chakrabarti, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, p. 262.

8. Sharma, *Urban Decay in India*, p. 185.

9. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 133.

10. Zahid Khan Ansar, *Al-Beruni*: *His Times, Life and Works* (Karachi: Hamdard Foundation, 1981), p. 84.

11. Minhaj-ud-din, Abu Umari-i Usman, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*: *A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia including Hindustan*; from A.H.194 (810 A.D.) to A.H.658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam, tr. Major H.G. Raverty (New Delhi: Oriental Books 1970, rpt.), pp. 533n, 537n, 538n, 611n, 613, 645n, 678n.

12. *1bn Batuta*: *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb (London: Kegan Paul, 1953, 3rd impression), p. 190. See also Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Batuta* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1953). p. 24.

13. R.C. Jauhri, *Medieval India in Transition*: *Tarikh-i- Firozshahi* (New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 2001), pp. 93, 96-97, 143, 182, 187, 189, 247-48, 287.

14. Shaikh Rizqullah Mashtaqi, *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*: *A Source of Information on the Life and Conditions in Pre Mughal India*, tr. I.H. Siddiqi (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre/ICHR, 1993), pp. 22, 55, 56, 81, 85, 108, 126-27, 166, 209.

15. For a discussion, see Reeta Grewal, 'Urbanization in Medieval India', in *The State and Society in Medieval India*, ed. J.S. Grewal, History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), vol. VII, part 1, pp. 400-1.

16. K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1969). See also Reeta Grewal 'Urbanization in Medieval India', pp. 398-99.

17. Gavin Hambly, 'Towns and Cities: Mughal India', in *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I: c.1200-c.1750, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1984), p. 436. Hambly qualifies that the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries were 'a veritable golden age of urbanization, at least for much of northern and central India'.

18. Zahir-ud din Babar, *Babarnama*, tr. A.S. Beveridge (New Delhi: Oriental Books, 1970, rpt.), pp. 480-81, 485-88.

19. Abul Fazal Allami, *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. II, tr. H.S, Jarret, revised by Jadunath Sardar (New Delhi: Taj Publishers, 1989), pp. 285-86, 299, 318-19.

20. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, tr. George S.A. Ranking (Patna: Academia Asiatica, 1973), pp. 21n, 37n, 44n, 46, 48n, 66-67n, 137n, 185-86, 325-26, 366n, 383n.

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22. William Forster, *Early Travels in India* (New Delhi: Oriental Books, 1985, rpt.), pp. 123-24, 155-56, 169-70.

23. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. William Crooke (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001), pp. 76-79.

24. Information on Lahore collected from H.K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India 1556-1803* (Bombay: Asia, 1968), pp. 26-26, 75-79; S. Abdul Quddus, *Punjab*: *The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism* (Karachi: Royal Book Co., 1992), pp. 347-52.

25. For an overview, see Fauja Singh, *Sirhind Through the Ages* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972).

26. Based on Jauhri, *Medieval India in Transition-Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, p. 6.

27. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, trs. and eds., *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*: From Ganesh Das's *Char Bagh-i Panjab* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1975), p. 30.

28. For a discussion, Reeta Grewal, *Colonialism and Urbanization*, pp. 30-36.

29. Rohilla Tabssum, *Urbanization in Medieval Punjab*, Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2010, p. 114.

30. Reeta Grewal, 'Polity, Economy and Urbanization in the Early 19th Century Punjab', *Journal of Regional History*, vol. IV, 1983, pp. 56-72.

31. Information on Gujrat collected from *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*: From Ganesh Das's *Char Bagh-i Panjab*, pp. 28, 56-57.

32. Reeta Grewal, *Colonialism and Urbanization*, pp. 64-65.

33. Ibid., pp. 66-72.

34. Ibid., pp. 78-79.

35. See Indu Banga, 'Karachi and its Hinterland under Colonial Rule', in *Ports and their Hinterlands in India*, ed. Indu Banga (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992), pp. 337-58.

36. This understanding of the post 1947 period is based on the work of Rupali Bhalla, *Urbanization in Post Independence India*: *A Comparative Study of Punjab and Haryana upto 1991*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2000.

Appendix: Towns Identified in the Punjab Region

The Indus Civilization

Agroha; Ajaram; Bagrian daTheh; Banawali; Bhagwanpura; Chak Purvane Syal; Dadehri; Dhalevan; Gurni Kalan; Harappa; Hasanpur; Kalibangan ; Katpalon ; Kotla Nihang Khan; Lakhmirwala; Mitathal; Mohenjodaro; Mohrana; Nagar; Rakhigarhi; Rangmahal; Ropar;Sanghol; Sugh; Sunet; Thaneshwar; Vainiwal.

Early Historical Period

Argan-Manga; Bara; Chanda Kheri; Chawinda Ghari; Deel Chappar; Fattehpur; Ghugatwind Hinduan; Ghurram; Kakrauni; Khabba; Kotli Mallian; Makhanwindi; Mattewal; Raja Karni ka Kila;Rajputan; Ropar; Saikhan Dheri; Sanghol; Saundha; Sirkap; Singh Bhawanipur; Sirsukh; Sugh; Taragarh; Vadall-Dogran.

Seventh-Tenth Centuries

Adampur; Ajodhan; Akkbar; Ambakapi or Ammakatis; Aminabad; Atak; Bhairowal; Bhakkar; Bhatnir; Bhatinda or Tabarhind; Bhera; Chamba; Chinapatti or Patti; Daulatnagar; Dipalpur; Doraha; Fazilabad; Ganaur; Gharaunda; Ghuram; Gujrat ; Hansi; Harappa; Hasan Abdal; Hazara; Hoshiarpur; Jahwal; Jhelum; Jalandhar; Jhang; Kalanaur; Kapurthala; Karnal; Khushab; Kohram; Kusawur or Kasur; Lohawur or Lahore; Machhiwara; Masudabad; Mong or Nikea; Multan; Nagarkot; Nakodar; Nandana; Narela; Panipat; Peshawar; Rahon; Rajgarh; Rawalpindi; Ropar; Sadhaura; Samana; Sarsuti or Sirsa; Sakala or Sialkot; Satghara; Shahdara; Sirhind; Shorkot; Taki or Asarur; Talamba; Taxila; Tohana; Narsingha or Ransi; Uchh;Wazirabad.

Eleventh-Fifteenth Centuries

Ambala; Badi; Bahlolpur; Bajwara; Batala; Bhatinda; Bhatnir; Bhera; Bhakkar; Chamba; Dhatrath; Dipalpur; Fatehabad; Firozabad; Ferozepur; Hansi' Hanikhera; Hasan Abdal; Hazara; Hisar-Firoza;Jwalamukhi; Jind; Jhajjar; Kaithal; Kalanaur; Kaliana; Kangra; Khizrabad; Khushab; Lahore; Ludhiana; Machhiwara; Malot; Malkahans; Multan; Nagarkot; Nakodar; Narnaul; Panipat; Peshawar; Pind Dadan Khan; Qabula; Qasur; Rawalpindi; Sadhaura; Samana; Sunam; Sarsuti or Sirsa; Satghara; Shahabad; Shahpur; Shamsabad; Sialkot; Sirhind; Sultanpur; Talamba; Tilla Balnath; Tughlaqpur or Safidon; Tughlaqpur Kasna; Tughlaqpur Malul Makar; Uchh.

Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries

Ahroni; Ajodhan; Ambala; Aminabad; Attock; Badarpur; Bahlolpur; Bajwara; Balachaur; Ballabhgarh; Balot; Bamnikhera; Banur; Basohli; Batala; Bel Ghazi Khan; Beri Dulbadan; Bhadra; Bhairowal; Bhatinda; Bhatnir; Bhera; Bhimber; Bhimnagar; Bhakkar; Bilaspur; Bilaura; Chamba; Chichawatni; Chima Chatha; Chima Gakhar; Chiniot; Dadial; Dadrala; Dadri Taha; Dahota; Daulatnagar; Dharmkot; Dera Ghazi Khan; Dera Ismail Khan; Dhameri; Dhamlok; Dhankot; Dhatrath; Dhaunkal; Dipalpur; Dipalpur Lakhi; Dodai; Faridkot; Fatehpur; Fatehgarh; Firozabad; Ferozepur; Ganaur; Garhdiwala; Gakhar; Gharaunda; Ghuram; Goindwal; Gujrat; Guler; Hajjipur; Hansi; Harappa; Hasan Abdal; Hazara; Helan; Hiantal; Hisar-Firoza; Hoshiarpur; Indrahal; Jahanabad; Jahangirabad; Jhelum; Jalalabad; Jalandhar; Jamia Gakhar; Jammu; Jasrota; Jaswan; Jwalamukhi; Jhang; Jhand Sialan; Jind; Jhajjar; Kahlor; Kaithal; Kajakot; Kalabagh; Kalanaur; Kalapind; Kangra; Karnal; Khanna; Khanda; Khari; Khairabad; Khatpur; Khizrabad; Khushab; Kiratpur; Kishtwar; Kotkehr; Kullu; Kumaon; Lahore; Lakhanpur; Leiah; Ludhiana; Maham; Makhiala; Malot; Mangewal; Mankot; Mansurpur; Marikala; Margala; Masudabad; Masur; Mauj; Mihirabad; Mihirpur; Multan; Mustafabad; Nagarkot; Nahan; Najafgarh; Nakodar; Nandana; Nadaun; Narnaul; Nawanshahar;Nawan Bhera; Nilab; Nimrana; Nurmahal; Nuruddin; Pakka; Pharwala; Pathankot; Patti Haibatpur; Peshawar; Phagwara; Phillour; Phul; Pind Dadan Khan; Pinjour; Pir Kanu; Purmandal; Qabula; Qasur;

Qiyampur; Rajouri; Rahon; Ramdaspur; Rangpur; Rewari; Sadhaura; Salimabad; Samana; Samba; Sunam; Satghara; Sehwan; Shahabad; Shahpur; Shakarpur; Sham Churasi; Shamsabad; Shergarh; Sherpur; Shujatpur; Sialkot; Sirsa; Sirhind; Sohna; Sukhet Mandi; Sukkar; Sultanpur; Talwandi; Tanda; Tilla Balnath; Tohana; Wazirabad; Zafarwal.

Eighteenth-Early Nineteenth Centuries

Adampur; Ahmadabad; Ahmadnagar; Ajodhan; Akhnur; Alawalpur; Alipur; Aminabad; Amritsar; Asamabad; Attock; Aurangabad; Bahlolpur; Bahrampur; Bajwara; Ban; Bangal; Basirpur; Basohli; Batala; Bhatinda; Bhatnir; Bhera;Bhimbar; Bhakkar; Bilaspur; Bilga; Bijrawal; Birtala; Bishanpur; Bodhiana; Bundela; Chakwal; Chamba; Chaprar; Chaubara; Chawinda; Chehbaer; Chiniot; Chittorgarh; Chuharkana; Chunian; Dadri; Darman; Dangli; Daska; Dasuya; Datarpur; Daulatnagar; Daudkhel; Dera Baba Nanak; Dharmkot; Dinanagar; Dhan; Dinga; Dipalpur; Dunpur; Dunyapur; Faridabad; Faridkot; Fatehpur; Fatehgarh; Ferozepur; Firozwala; Gangrawal; Garhdiwala; Garhshankar; Gharaunda; Ghuram; Gondalawala; Gujrat; Hafizabad; Hallowal; Harappa; Hasan Abdal; Hazara; Hazara Gujran; Hazro; Helan; Hoshiarpur; Hujra; Ibrahimabad; Jhelum; Jalalpur; Jalalpur Bhattian; Jalalpur Pir; Jalandhar; Jammu; Jandiala; Jhang; Jind; Kahror; Kaithal; Kakkar; Kalalwala; Kalanaur; Kaliana; Kamalia; Kangra; Kapurthala; Kapuri; Kersar; Khairabad; Khaun; Khem Karan; Khushab; Khangarh; Khudian; Kiratpur; Kotli Loharan; Lahore; Lakhanpur; Leiah; Lohana; Lopoke; Lukka; Machhiwara; Maghiana; Majitha; Makhad; Makhiala; Malot; Mamdot; Mancher; Mandiali; Manga; Manj; Miani; Mianwali; Midh;Mukerian; Mirari; Mulian; Multan; Mustafabad; Muzaffarnagar; Muzang; Naiwala; Nakodar; Nainakot; Nadaun; Narali; Narowal; Naunar; Nawanshahar; Nilab; Neengan; Nizamabad; Nurmahal; Nurpur Tiwana; Panipat; Pariwala; Pasrur; Patti Haibatpur; Patti; Peshawar; Phagwara; Pind Dadan Khan; Pindi Gheb; Qadirabad; Qila Sobha Singh; Qila Suba Singh; Qamalia; Qasur; Rahela; Rahon; Rasulpur/Ramnagar;Rawalpindi; Ropar; Rori; Sadhaura; Sahiwal; Samana; Sambrial; Sandha Kalan; Sardarpur; Sarai Khwas Khan; Sarai Sidhu; Satghara; Sayyidpur; Sayyidwala; Shahabad; Shahpur; Sham Churasi; Shamsabad; Shujabad; Sialkot; Sirsa; Sirhind; Sujanpur; Sukho Chak; Suliani; Sultanpur; Surdera; Takht Hazara; Talwan; Tanda; Tarn Taran; Thabool; Tibi; Udhorana; Una; Urmar; Wadala; Wal Sachharan; Wazirabad; Vairowal; Vainke; Zafarwal.

Colonial Period (1849-1947)

Abbotabad; Abohar ; Adampur; Ahmadgarh; Ahmadpur; Ahmadpur Lamma ; Alawalpur; Alipur; Ambala; Amloh; Amritsar, Akalgarh; Anandpur; Arifwala; Attock; Baffa; Bahadurgarh; Bahawalnagar; Bahawalpur; Bahlolpur; Bahrampur; Bakloh; Balanwali; Ballabhgarh; Balun; Banur; Banga; Barnala; Bassi; Batala; Bawal; Beri; Bhadaur; Bhakkar; Bhalwal; Bhatinda; Bhaun;

Bhera; Bhiwani; Bilaspur; Budhlada; Bund; Burewala; Buriya; Campbellpur; Chachran Sharif; Chachrauli; Chak Jhumra; Chakwal; Chaklala; Chamba; Chawinda ;Chichawatni; Chishtian; Chiniot; Chuharkana; Chunian; Dadri; Dagshai; Dajal; Dalha; Dalhousie; Darman; Daska; Dasuya; Dera Baba Nanak; Dera Bassi; Dera Ghazi Khan; Dera Ismail Khan; Dera Nawab Shah; Dhanaula; Dhariwal; Dharmkot; Dharmsala; Dhuri; Dinanagar; Dinga; Dujana; Dunyapur; Edwardesabad; Ellenabad; Eminabad; Faridabad; Faridkot; Farrukhnagar; Fatehabad; Fatehgarh; Fatehjang; Fazilka; Ferozepur; Firozpur Jhirka; Fort Abbas; Gakhar; Garhshankar; Garhi Ikhtiyar Khan; Gharounda; Gidderbaha; Gobindgarh; Gohana; Gojra; Gujranwala; Gujrat; Gurdaspur; Hadali; Hadiabad; Harunabad; Hasilpur; Hidayatpur; Hafizabad; Hansi; Hariana; Haripur; Haripur(Kangra); Hazro; Hissar; Hodal; Hoshiarpur; Isakhel; Ilahabad; Jagadhri; Jagraon; Jaitu; Jajja Abbasian; Jalalabad; Jalalpur; Jalalpur Pirwala; Jampur; Jamke; Jand; Jandiala; Jalandhar; Jaranwala; Jatoi; Jhang-Maghiana; Jhajjar; Jhawarian; Jhelum; Jind; Jogindernagar; Jutogh; Jwalamukhi; Kahror; Kaithal; Kalabagh; Kalanaur; Kaliana; Kallur Kot; Kalka; Kamalia; Kamonki; Kangra; Kapurthala; Karnal; Karor; Kartarpur; Kasauli; Kasumpti; Kasur; Khan Bela; Khanewal; Khangarh; Khanpur ; Khanqah Sharif; Khairpur; Khanna; Kharar; Kharkhauda; Khem Karan; Khudian; Khushab; Kohat; Kot Adu; Kot Chhuta; Kot Kapura; Kot Moman; Kot Sabzal; Kulachi; Kunja; Kunjpura; Ladwa; Lahore; Lakki; Lala Musa; Lalian; Leiah; Loharu; Longowal; Ludhiana; Lyallpur; Machhiwara; Maghiana; Mahatpur; Mailsi; Majitha; Makhad; Makhu; Malakwal; Malerkotla; Mandi; Mandi Bahauddin; Mandi Guru Har Sahae; Mandi Pattoki; Mandi Sadiq; Mansa; Meham; Mian Chhanu; Miani;(Bist); Miani (Chaj); Mianwali; Minchinabad; Mitha Tiwana; Mithankot; Mitranwali; Moga; Mohindergarh; Montgomery; Morinda; Mubarakpur; Mukerian; Muktsar; Multan; Murree; Muzaffargarh; Nabha; Nagar Bhojpur; Nahan; Najafgarh; Nai Dabwali; Nainakot; Nakodar; Nalagarh;Nankana Sahib; Narnaul; Narot; Narowal; Narwana; Naushahra; Nawanshahar; Nawanshahar(Peshawar); Nurmahal; Nurpur; Okara; Paharpur; Pak Pattan; Palwal; Panipat; Pasrur; Pataudi; Pathankot; Patiala; Patti; Payal; Phagwara; Phillour; Phul; Phulerwan; Pehowa; Peshawar; Pind Dadan Khan; Pindi Gheb; Pundri; Qaimpur; Qila Didar Singh; Qila Sobha Singh; Radaur; Rahim Yar Khan; Raja Sansi; Rajpura; Rahon; Rajanpur; Raikot; Ramdas; Rampur Bashahr; Ramnagar; Rania; Rattia; Rawalpindi; Rewari; Rohtak; Rojhan; Ropar; Rori; Sabathu; Sadhaura; Safidon; Sahiwal; Sanaur; Sangla; Samana; Sambrial; Sanawar; Sanjarpur; Sangrur; Sankhatra; Sargodha; Shahabad; Shahar Sultan; Shahpur; Shankargarh; Shamsherpur; Sharakpur; Sheikhupura; Shorkot; Shujabad; Sialkot; Sillianwala; Simla; Sirhind; Sirsa; Sitpur; Sodhra; Sohna; Sonepat; Sot Samba; Sri Govindpur; Sujanpur; Sukhochak; Sultanpur; Sultanwind; Sunam; Tajgarh; Talagang; Talamba; Tandlianwala; Tank; Tarandah Din Panah; Taunsa; Tarn Taran; Thanesar; Toba Tek Singh; Tohana; Uchh Sharif ; Una; Urmar Tanda; Vairowal; Vehowa; Wazirabad; Zafarwal; Zira.