

Professor R.P. Vyas Memorial Lecture

Surat as the Major Port City of Western India 1600-1750

A Monograph
by
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Mahila P.G. Mahavidyalaya, Jodhpur

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The Historian and His Historiography

Born on August 12, 1922 at Jodhpur, Dr. R.P. Vyas belonged to a traditional Pushkarana family. He took up his early education at Sujangarh and Ratangarh and higher education at Jodhpur. After completion of his education he served the various colleges of Rajasthan, including S.M.K. College, Jodhpur, Government College, Didwana and Government College, Sardashahar, as Lecturer in History. On the establishment of the University at Jodhpur in 1962, he joined its Department of History and continued to serve it till attaining the age of superannuation in 1982. He also headed the Department, though intermittently, for not less than five years.

I. The Historian

Research Supervision :

Ph.D. Degree awarded to students enrolled and worked under his supervision :

- (a) Dr. Hans Raj Beniwal—"History of Rathores"
- (b) Dr. Mangilal Mayank—"History of Marwar from Rao Shia to Rao Maldeo."
- (c) Dr. Prakash Vyas—"Nobility of Mewar".
- (d) Dr. Shiv Dutt Dan—"Maharaja Bijai Singh and His Times."
- (e) Dr. Vidhya Sharma—"Administration of the State of Alwar."
- (f) Dr. Tara Mangal—"Maharaja Kumbha and His Times."

Thesis of these students were published. Dr. Tara Mangal got publication grant from I.C.H.R.

Original Works :

1. Role of Nobility in Marwar (1800-1873 A.D.) published in 1969. It was highly appreciated by the scholarly world (opinions of the renowned scholars were printed on cover page of the book. It is being reprinted by Mehrangarh Museum Trust, Maharaja Man Singh Pustak Prakash Shodh Kendra.
2. Maharaja Raj Singh of Mewar (Published in 1984) Recommended in the Syllabus for Post Graduate study courses by the University of Rajasthan. It is reprinted which is available in the market.
3. An Integrated History of Rajasthan from 1707 to 1950 in two volumes—An assignment from the Hindi Granth Academy, Jaipur

- (i) Volume I – Adhunik Rajasthan-Ka-Vrata Itihas (1707-1818 A.D.) published in 1986. Its third Edition is available in the market.
- (ii) Volume II – Adhunik Rajasthan-Ka-Vrata Itihas 1818 to 1950 A.D. published in 1995. Second Edition is available in the market. These volumes are recommended for M.A. course in the University of Rajasthan.

4. Rajasthan Ra Itihas Ratan – Inder Raj Singhi (in Rajasthani) published in 1994 by Mehrangarh Museum Trust Maharaja Man Singh Pustak Prakash Shodh Kendra.
5. Rajasthan Ke Lok Nayak – Jai Narain Vyas. Published in 1998 by Rajasthan Sahitya Sansthan, Jodhpur. Second Edition is available in the market.
6. Maharana Pratap – Published in 2000 A.D. by Hindi Granth Academy, Jaipur. Honoured by Pratap Sahitya Award as cash prize of rupees five thousand. It was considered as the best book on Maharana Pratap.
7. Rajasthan Me Swantrata Sangrama Ke Amar Purodha-
(i) Mathura Das Mathur
(ii) Dwarka Das Purohit
Published by Rajasthan Swarna Jayanti Samiti, Jaipur
8. After retirement he worked on a project – Trade Routes and Commercial Centres in Rajasthan, approved and financed by the Indian Council of Historical Research.
9. A major project for three years sanctioned and financed by University Grant Commission. By the material collected under these projects research papers were published in journals of national and state level.
10. He added last three chapters in the history of Jaisalmer written by late Dr. Mangi Lal Mayank. It remains incomplete due to his sad demise. He was Prof. Vyas's student.
11. Samaj Ratna Harvilas Sarada Parampara special issue of 125 pages.

Other Contributions :

1. Gazetteer of India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur District Chapter II History – Early History, Medieval Period, Rathores, Modern Period – Political unrest (PP 13-66)
2. Chapter – II Section (a) & (b) for Rajasthan Gazetteer Department, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

3. (i) Edited six volumes of Rajasthan History Congress proceedings.
(ii) A book entitled British Policy towards Princely States of India.
4. Nine entries were contributed in the Dictionary of National Biography, a project executed by the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta. It was published in several volumes.
Personalities included : G.D. Birla, Damodar Sethi, Mathura Das Mathur, Ram Niwas, Dr. P.K. Sethi, Dr. Kasliwal, Dr. Sita Ram Lalas, Shri Achleshwar Prasad, Dr. Laxmi Mal Singhvi.
The work was appreciated at the national and international level.
5. Reviewed the books published in the Journal of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta and other journals of repute. A book in two volumes Marwar Ke Raj Parivar Ki Sanskritik Parampara written by Dr. Mahendra Singh Naggar.
6. Radio talks on the culture and history of Rajasthan. For number of years.
7. Wrote forewords for several books.
8. Detailed historical backgrounds of Dingal poem books have been written. These books are (i) Girari Gaurva (ii) Jaita-Kumpa Satsai (iii) Marwar Ke Abhilekh in two volumes and other several books.
9. Presidential Address delivered at the Bikaner Session (1984) of the Rajasthan History Congress (Copy enclosed)
10. Extension Lectures delivered :
(i) Harvilas Sarda at Sodh Sansthan, Chopasni published in Prampara No. (125 pages).
(ii) Jivaji Rao Sindhia Memorial lecture at Gwalior. It was on Maharana Sangram Singh. Raj Mata Vijaya Raje, along with her two daughters was also present.
(iii) Jagdish Singh Memorial lecture - Rajasthan History Congress held at Jodhpur.
(iv) Extension lecture on Freedom struggle in Rajasthan at Chittore during Chittor session of Rajasthan History Congress.
(v) Presided over the extension lecture delivered by Prof. Satish Chandra, U.G.C. Chairman. It was Nathu Ram Khagawat Memorial lecture in the year 1984 at Bikaner.
(vi) In 1985 Prof. Divijendra Tripathi delivered Nathuram Khagawat Memorial lecture. Again he presided over it.
(vii) As visiting professor, he delivered ten lectures to the post graduate students in the History Department of Vikram University, Ujjain.
(viii) Extension lectures in the University of Jodhpur, Now Jai Narain Vyas University.

Congress & Seminars attended :

More than fifty Seminars were attended by him where he presented research papers. A few important Seminars / Congress attended mentioned below:

1. All Indian Congress, Session held at Vallabh Nagar, Allahabad, Patiala, Bhagalpur, Aligarh etc. Papers presented.
2. American History Congress at Allahabad and Bhagalpur – Paper presented.
3. Regional Seminar on Major issues in American Government and Politics in the 20th Century at Mount Abu. Paper presented.
4. Rajasthan History Congress – All sessions were attended by him in every session he read paper as delegate or resource person. In all 24 sessions were held so far he attended all except last two sessions held at Bikaner and Sujangarh (23 & 24).
5. Attended the sessions of the Indian Historical Record Commission at Panji (Goa) 1973, Delhi 1981 and Ahmedabad 1983.
6. Attended sessions of Institute of Historical studies, Calcutta at Jodhpur, Kurukshetra, Kolhapur, Madurai and Nagpur. He presented papers at all the sessions. This is All India History Organisation parallel to All India History Congress.
7. Seminars organized by the Centre for Rajasthan Studies, University of Rajasthan at Jaipur were attended every year in the eighties. Papers presented.
8. Seminar on "Socio-Economic History of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh during Medieval and Modern Period" at the University of Udaipur organized by I.C.H.R., New Delhi (1979) paper presented.
9. Seminar on Gujarat, Rajasthan and Malwa in the 17th] 18th & 19th Centuries "Problems and prospective in social Economic and Political History" at the M.S. University of Baroda, U.G.C. sponsored 1979. Paper presented.
10. Seminar on "Problems of Youth and Youth Welfare" held at Srinagar University, Kashmir 1978.
11. Attended National and International Seminars organized by the History Department of Jai narain Vyas University, Mahila P.G. Mahavidyalaya and Mehrangarh Museum Trust. In these Seminars he was either key speaker or resource person. He also presided over in one Session of each seminar.
12. Organized a Seminar under the auspices of the Deptt. of History, University of Jodhpur. It was sponsored by the U.G.C. worked as a Cordinator. Theme of the Seminar "British Policies Towards the Princely States of Rajasthan and its Neighbours" 1981 Paper presented.

13. Organized a Seminar in the Department of History, J.N. Vyas University, Jodhpur. Sponsored by I.C.H.R. worked as coordinator. Theme of the Seminar History of Rajasthan 700 to 1200 A.D.
14. I.C.H.R. Seminar organized by the Mehrangarh Museum Trust, Jodhpur, presented key paper etc.

Text Books :

1. Itihas Pradeep for under graduate students. Published by M/s Ramesh Book Depot, Jaipur.
2. Bharat Ka Rajneetik Va Sanskritik Itihas, Recommended for the under-graduate classes of the University of Rajasthan (P.U.C.) - Published by M/s Ramesh Book Depot, Jaipur.
3. Vishwa Ka Itihas Approved for the students of Secondary Examination by the Board of Secondary Education, Rajasthan, Ajmer - Published by Ramesh Book Depot, Jaipur.
4. Bhartiya Itihas Ki Roop Rekha for Secondary students - Published by Ramesh Book Depot, Jaipur

Association with Professional Bodies :

1. Founder Member, Rajasthan History Congress established in 1967.
2. Local Secretary of the First Session of the Rajasthan History Congress, 1967 held at Jodhpur.
3. Organizing Secretary - Eighth Session of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta 1970 at Jodhpur.
4. Joint Secretary 1967-70 and Secretary 1970-76 of Rajasthan History Congress. Member of the Executive Committee 1969-80. Presided over the 14th Session held at Bikaner in 1984. It is a rare distinction that he is offered second time to preside over the 25th Session to be held at the Mahila P.G. Mahavidyalaya, Jodhpur 2009.
5. Member of the Indian History Congress 1966-80.
6. Member of the Institute of Historical Studies (Calcutta) 1970-84. Member of its Executive Committee 1979-85.
7. Member of Advisory Board of 'Parampara' an academic Journal of the History and Culture of Rajasthan, Published by Sodh Sansthan, Chopasni, Jodhpur.
8. Member, Advisory Committee to the government of Rajasthan for writing the History of the Freedom Struggle in Rajasthan.
9. Member, Editorial Board - Book entitled "Reading in Indian History", Department of History, Jodhpur 1976-79.
10. Member - Editorial Board - Maharaja Ganga Singhji Centenary Volume. Also presented a paper.

11. Member, Advisory Board - Gazetteer Deptt. Government of Rajasthan for near about 10 years.
12. Member, Rajasthan Hindi Granth Academy for three years.
13. Member, Board of Studies in History, Jodhpur University, Udaipur University and Rajasthan University, Jaipur.
14. Faculty Member of Jodhpur and Rajasthan University.
15. Member of the Committee of the Group of the Rajasthan Gazetteer Publications Branch, Government of Rajasthan.
16. Member/Convenor remained Board of Studies, Faculty, Academic Council Senate, Library Board, Sports Board etc. in the University of Rajasthan.
17. Member of the advisory Board of Maharaja Mansingh Pustak Prakash Research Centre Mehrangarh. He is actively associated with the academic activities like seminars, lectures, exhibitions etc.

Administrative Experience :

1. Worked as the Head of the History Department, University of Jodhpur for 8 years.
2. Worked as Additional Superintendent / Superintendent of Examinations, Welfare Officer, Advisor to Student's Union 1969-73, NCC Officer (Rank Captain), Warden of a Hostel 1969-73, Chief Proctor 1975-1979 during he stay in the University of Jodhpur.
3. Captain Jaswant College team, Jodhpur State team and Rajputana Team in Volley Ball, which represented in Indian Olympic at Lahore and Bangalore 1962 and 1945 respectively. Remained Secretary and Chairman of Jodhpur District Volley Ball Association for a number of years Local Secretary in the West Zonal Inter University Volley Ball Tournament held at Jodhpur in 1970. A large number of tournaments held at Jodhpur in 1970. A large number of tournaments in volleyball were organized by him. For proficiency in games he was awarded Colpar, Star Medals, Cash prize etc.

Social Worker :

1. He was a trustee of Pustikar Education Trust which is managing four institutions S.S.P. Sr. Sec. School, Shri J.N. Vyas Sr. Balika Vidyalaya, Shri J.N. Vyas Public School English Medium and Jai Narain Vyas B.Ed. College, Barmer. Secretary/ Manager of the Management Committee of these four institutions 1987-2001. The Schools which were at the verge of closing, are considered to be among a few top schools of the city of Jodhpur. Within short period

of 14 years the development works worth near about one crore have been executed.

2. Founder member Jai Narain Vyas Shikshan Sansthan and the Mahila Mahavidyalaya. Mahila Maha-vidyalaya was established in 1987, worked as Honorary Principal for initiated period. The College is one of the best administered institutions of the city of Jodhpur near about 2500 girl students are reading at present. Worked as Vice Chairman of the Governing Body of the College. At present he is the Chairman of the Governing Council. The College is declared as a model College by the state Government and graded as B+ by the UGC Team (NAAC). He is also the Chairman of the Sansthan and the Governing Council of Mahila Teacher's Training College.

List of a Few as specimen Articles Published in Various Proceedings, Journals and magazines of State and National level.

1. Origin and Graduation of Nobility in Marwar (PRHC Session I.P. 36 Jodhpur 1967.
2. Maharaja Man Singh and His Anti British Feelings Proceedings of Indian History Congress 30th Session Bhagalpur 1968.
3. The Role of Thakur Sawai Singh of Pokaran in the Politics of Marwar - Journal of Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research, Jaipur, Part 6, March, 1969.
4. America and the Kollogg Briand Pact - Published in American Government and Politics 1970 P. 256. The paper was presented in a Seminar at Mount Abu.
5. Marwar in 1857 - Jodhpur University Magazine. 1970.
6. The Crisis in Marwar in 1828 - Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress - P.R.H.C. Ajmer Session 1972, p. 103.
7. The proposed Marwar people's Conference October, 1929 PRHC Session 6, p. 111 Beawar, 1973
8. District Gazetteers - Jodhpur District 1973 Chapter II on history of about 100 typed page 3
9. Anti-British feeling in Rajasthan between 1818-1857 An appraisal of Bardic Literature - Journal of the institute of Historical studies Calcutta, 1973.
10. Banera Papers by Dr. K.S. Gupta - Revised in the Quarterly Journal of the institution of the historical studies, Calcutta.
11. Anti-British Feeling among the People of Rajasthan 1818-1857 A.D. An appraisal of Contemporary Bardic Literature. The

Quarterly Review of Historical Studies 1974-75 Vol. XIV No. 4 p. 203.

12. The Walterkrit Rajputana Hitkarni Sabha and its impact PRHC Session 8, p. 103 Ajmer, 1975.
13. The Walterkrit Rajputana Hitkarni Sabha and its impact, All India History Congress 38 Session Aligarh, 1975.
14. Agrarian Movement in Rajasthan by Dr. Ram Pande - Reviewed in the quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Calcutta, Vol. No. XV 1975-76 No. 2, p. 129.
15. Bardic Literature as a source of History - A paper presented at the 11th Session Kolhapur of Institute of Historical Studies, 1975-76 Published.
16. Umarmkot a part of the Rathore State of Jodhpur - A case for the Government, PRHC Kota Session 9 p. 113, 1976.
17. Political condition on the Eve of the Accession of Maharana Pratap - p. 87. Battle of Haldighati Centenary celebration, 1976.
18. Jodhpur in a Historical Perspective (Published in Several Souvenirs and Journals)
19. Social life of the Charan Community viz a viz the Rajputs in the Medieval Period - Paper accepted for the 39th Session of the Indian History Congress held at Osmania University, Hyderabad 1978.
20. The Position of Charans in the Social life of the Rajputs and other people PRHC Session 11, p. 84, Jaipur, 1978.
21. Social and Religious Reform Movements in the Nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Western Rajasthan published in a book 'Social and Religious Reform Movement in the 19th and 20th centuries' Edited by Dr. S.P. Sen Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1979, p. 177.
22. Historical Biography in Indian Literature Edited by Dr. S.P. Sen Institute of Historical Studies 1979 Biographical Sketches in Rajasthani Literature p. 179
23. Sources of the History of Ancient Rajasthan p. 3 Published in sources of the History of India Vol. II Edited by Dr. S.P. Sen Institute of Historical Studies, 1979
24. People's Movement in Rajasthan published in Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Rajat Jayanti Granth 1952-1977, p. 185, 1979.
25. Pali - An Emporium of Rajputana. The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Calcutta Vol No. XVIII, 1978-79 Number 3, p. 184.

26. Bankidas as a Historian - Paper presented at the Seminar entitled History and Historians of Rajasthan held at Jaipur (18th and 19th Feb., 1978) Published.
27. Rajasthan and its Contribution in the Rise of Nationalism during 19th century - paper presented at the Conference held at Madurai 1978 (Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta).
28. Sources of Feudalism in Rajasthan in the 19th century - A paper presented at the seminar held at Jaipur under the auspices of the centre for Rajasthan studies, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur 78-79.
29. Feudal structure of Marwar p Historical studies - published by Shodh Sansthan, Chopasni, 1979.
30. Studies in Medieval Rajasthan History by Dr. Manjeet Singh Ahluwalia - A Review Published in the quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Vol. XIX, 1979-80 Nos. 1+2.
31. Rajasthan Literature as a source of History, 1979 Published in Parampara.
32. Rajasthan and its Contribution in the rise of Nationalism during the 19th century p. 25 Shodh Sadhana, 1980 Sitamau.
33. The Role of Maharaja Ganga Singh in the Formation and stabilization of the Chamber of Princes p. 8, Maharaja Ganga Singhji Centenary volume, 1980.
34. A Study of the Social Evils in Rajasthan in the 19th century and the British impact - paper presented at the seminar held under the auspices of Udaipur University, 1980.
35. Changing Political scenes in Marwar during 19th century paper presented at the Seminar held in Baroda under the auspices of M.S. University, Baroda, 1980.
36. Public works of Maharana Raj Singh - Three hundredth death anniversary of Maharana Raj Singh Volume, 1980.
37. Rajasthan Gazetteer Chapter II section A sources of History of Rajasthan from Earliest Times to 700 A.D. 1981. Published in Gazetteers.
38. Administrative and Political Developments in the Princely State of Rajasthan Paper presented at the Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, Published in 1981.
39. British Diplomacy towards Marwar during the reign of Maharaja Man Singh - A paper presented in the Seminar organized by the Department of History, University of Jodhpur under the U.G.C. Special Assistance Programme (Dec. 5.6 & 7, 1981).

40. Trade and Commerce in Sirohi (1820-1920) . A paper presented in a Symposium held at Sirohi at the time of the 13th session of the R.H.C.
41. Karmyogi Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar - Paper presented in the Seminar organized by Jai Narain Vyas University, Published in the book printed by the University.
42. Maharaja Ajit Singh Ke Palankarta - Jaideo, Published in P.R.H.C.
43. Freedom Struggle in Marwar - An Early phase (1921-1931 A.D.) Published in the Journal.

II. His Historiography*

Magnum Opus of R.P. Vyas : Role of Nobility in Marwar (1800-1873 A.D.)

Dr. R.P. Vyas has produced several monographs and numerous research papers, the most important of them being his doctoral dissertation entitled, "Role of Nobility in Marwar (1800-1873 A.D.)" in which an attempt has been made to give a comprehensive picture of the nobles of Marwar as an institution. His work depicts the origin, growth and relations of the nobles vis-à-vis their sovereign in historical perspective. Vyas has rightly remarked that "the history of Marwar is the history of its nobility." He had maintained that the nobles were the real architect of the 'House of Marwar'. The ruler was mere Primus Inter Pares. However, the Mughal supremacy over Marwar converted this relationship into that of master and servant. The decline of the Mughal paramountcy emboldened the nobility and they developed a hostile attitude towards their sovereign. Vyas has presented an account of this attitude of the nobles by citing examples of Pokaran Thakur Sawai Singh and others.

According to Vyas, factional rivalries among nobles and officials brought turmoil in Marwar. He has pointed out that during this period of turmoil, the nobles being politically segregated, economically bankrupt and mentally disturbed, preferred to remain by and large in their own jagir or in exile, occasionally appealing against their sovereign to political agent and when there was no favourable response, they restored

* The writing is the contribution of Dr. Shankar Goyal, Associate Professor, Dept. of History, J.N.V. University, Jodhpur

to a life of freebooters, plunder and were devastating their own country. This point is proved by the prolonged conflict between Maharaja Man Singh and his nobles. During his reign, the Naths further complicated the problem. Rivalry among Nath's fraternity itself made the problem more complex, which ultimately brought the British into the politics of Marwar. Vyas has rightly examined the sobering effect of the British on the administration, law and order situation in the State.

Vyas has studied the age of Maharaja Takht Singh who succeeded Maharaja Man Singh. According to him, he ignored the nobles of Marwar in the management of the State and appointed Gujaratis on all important posts of the State. This created dissatisfaction amongst the nobles of Marwar. Before the British could intervene, there occurred the upheaval of 1857. Certain nobles like those of Auwa, Asop and others rose against the British. The Maharaja faithfully helped the British in suppressing the revolt. Taking advantage of the situation the Maharaja also settled score with dissatisfied nobles. There was peace for sometime but ill will and mistrust between the two continued.

Vyas has also studied the post-mutiny era when the British intervention led to the settlement of pressing needs of administration vis-à-vis nobles amicably. After the death of Maharaja Takht Singh, Maharaja Jaswant Singh II took over. It was during his reign, Vyas observes, that the rule of law replaced the rule of person and many outstanding issues between the nobles and the Maharaja were settled.

Vyas has written at length on the fights, privileges and honours enjoyed by the nobles along with the duties they had to perform. He has given the various categories of nobles such as Rajawis and Mustaddis. Rajawis were further divided into Sirayats and Ganayats, etc. He has described their order of precedence and certain customs to be followed in the durbar.

He has also described the role played by the nobles in their own jagirs enjoying exclusive administrative, military and executive powers. More interesting is his description of lagbags (cesses) that were levied by the jagirdar upon their ryot. Unlike earlier writers of Marwar such as V.N. Reu, J.S. Gahlot, G.H. Ojha and R.K. Asopa, who wrote from the point of view of rulers, Vyas has tried to be impartial in putting the facts of history in a critical manner without any bias. The subject of this monograph and his methodology and approach inspired other scholars to work on the role of nobility in other states of Rajasthan. For example,

Prakash Vyas has worked on the nobility of Mewar (1778-1884 A.D.) under the supervision of R.P. Vyas himself for which he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. Later on, the study of nobility in the erstwhile states of Bikaner and Jaipur was taken up by some scholars in the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

Rajasthan ka Brihat Itihasa (in Hindi)

Among other important works are included a two-volume study of modern Rajasthan, namely Rajasthan ka Brihat Itihasa (1707-1818 A.D.) and Adhunik Rajasthan ka Brihat Itihasa (1819-1950 A.D.). As the canvas for this theme is very vast and a historian working on it has to give attention to so many princely states, it was a difficult task indeed, but he has certainly succeeded in presenting a coherent picture of it. During this period, Rajasthan passed through many phases viz. relations with later Mughals, Marathas and Pindaris and lastly with the British. Vyas has presented an authentic and readable history of this period. Besides this, he has written about the peasant, tribal and Prajamandal movements in different princely states which demonstrates his capabilities to build up a picture out of the jungle of vast material.

Other Significant Works

Apart of from these monographs, Vyas has published a few other works on the life and achievements of some of the important personalities of Rajasthan, namely Maharana Raj Singh, Samajratan Har Vilas Sardar, Inderaj Singhvi, Rajasthan ke Lok Nayak Jai Narain Vyas and Maharana Pratap. In the book on Maharana Raj Singh, he not only traces the early history of Mewar but also describes the Maharana's relations with Aurangzeb and also the his nobility in greater details. Samajratan Har Vilas Sardar delineates many a significant services of Diwan Bahadur to our country as a writer, publicist and social reformer. Indraraj Singhvi gives an accurate and detailed account of the administrative and chivalrous deeds of the more important diwan of Maharaja Man Singh. Rajasthan ke Lok Nayak Jai Narain Vyas is written in such a style that it reads like a novel and is much of history than a compilation of historical facts. It is undoubtedly as a successful politician and social reformer that Shri Jai Narain Vyas will be remembered longest all over Rajasthan. Maharana Pratap gives a glimpse of Rajput glory. The work tries to correct, though at times unsuccessfully, a number of misrepresentation of past and present

historians regarding Maharana's relations with Akbar; before and after the battle of Haldighati. R.P. Vyas has also edited a work entitled, *British Policy Towards Princely States of India*. It is a proceedings of a seminar on the theme. Vyas has also written numerous research papers on modern Rajasthan most of which are characterized by the same approach which is found in his books. It is quite apparent from his writings that he belongs to the school of R.G. Bhandarkar who, following Ranke, advised the historians not to indulge in surmises and inferences and leave the facts to speak for themselves. It is but natural because Vyas was educated in the decades in which Rajasthan history writing was dominated by the School of Bhandarkar.

His Approach to History

However, of late when various other schools of history have begun to make their impact on Indian historians, R.P. Vyas has also been influenced by the newly emerging trends of history writing. In his Presidential Address of the XIVth Session of the Rajasthan History Congress, delivered at Bikaner in 1984 he shows his familiarity with recent developments in historiography and emphasizes the need of studying social and economic history of Rajasthan. Stating his view on history and on the task of a historian he writes: "History is a search for truth, an approximation rather than a final formation."

For R.P. Vyas, history is, by its very nature, an incomplete discipline, not only because new evidences are always coming to light but also because each generation has fresh interests and puts forward new questions to unravel the past. Here Vyas approvingly quotes Marc Block and E.H. Carr to support the view that history has no meaning in a static society. Following Carr's formulation that 'history is a dialogue, continually going on between the past and the present, with an eye to the future,' Vyas emphasizes that the task of historian is 'to seek truth and nothing but truth, but at the same time he must inform and inspire the present and help the process of shaping a glorious future.'

In his Presidential Address, Vyas also emphasizes that the old approach of writing history of Rajasthan, wherein Kings, Ministers and General figures prominently, should be given up and social, economic, religious and cultural aspects of the history of the region should be emphasized. In his words, "all these aspects are so inter-related and interwoven that they form the very basis of a social organization."

Elaborating the view point that such studies have become essential now-a-days he cites examples of the works of G.N. Sharma, Kalu Ram and Pema Ram which focus exclusively on socio-economic and religious life of Rajasthan of different periods instead of dealing with dynastic accounts. He also mentions S.P. Gupta and Dilbagh Singh for their statistical study of the rural economy and the agrarian society in eastern Rajasthan during the medieval and later medieval periods. Such studies throw light on cultivation, agricultural production, revenue rates, fluctuation of prices, structure and composition of the agriculture class, stratification and differentiation in the village society, the proportion of the land revenue demand on different sections of the agricultural community, the relationship of the peasant vis-à-vis the jagirdar or the ruler, agrarian indebtedness and so on.

Such a complex picture of the history on the peasant society of Rajasthan is indeed the need of the hour. Vyas himself has depicted in one of his articles entitled, 'The Peasants of Marwar and their Relations with the Ruler or the Jagirdar During 19th Century', the pitiable condition of the peasants of the region. As regards the definition of the term peasant studies together with its vagueness of scope and area have made the task difficult for the scholars to define the term peasant properly with the result that in certain quarters peasantry has been equated with the rural society as a whole. His paper throws light on one important aspect of the study of peasants namely how do they pay land revenue or surrender their surplus showing the relationship of exploited with the exploiting classes. He has given a comprehensive picture of the peasantry of Marwar as a class, throwing light on the nature of the soil, the amount of rainfall, the principal crops, the methods and the implements used for tilling the land, the main agriculturist castes like Jats, Kumbhars, Malis, Bisnois, Kalbis and Gujars etc. Besides this, the classification of the cultivators: Bapidars and Ghair Bapidars, their rights and privileges, the modes of assessment and the revenue paid in cash or kinds, lagbag (cess), indebtedness among the cultivators, the role of Mahajans and Bohras and the reforms introduced by the state. Vyas observes that the style of living of the cultivators as regards dress, food, houses and furniture, has been, more or less, the same for centuries.

Vyas also underlines the significance of the study of trade and commerce of the region. Here he mentions the important contributions in this field made by G.S.L. Devra, G.D. Sharma, H.C. Tikkiwal and B.L.

Bhadani, besides his own project on trade, trade routes and commerce of western Rajasthan during the 18th and 19th centuries. His work on the subject was published in the form of research papers in different journals. Here we may mention some of his more significant articles entitled, "Trade Centres of Marwar and Linked Trade Routes During 18th Century A.D." "Commerce in Sirohi (1820-1920)" and "Plai—An Emporium of Rajputana," which present a coherent picture of trade centres and routes joining them. In his last of the above-mentioned articles, he has discussed a few efflorescent marketing centres of Rajasthan in the beginning of the 19th century. He writes, "None of the erstwhile states of Rajputana was without traffic, each had her mart or entrepot, and while Mewar could boast of Bhilwara, Bikaner of Churu and Amber of Malpura, the Rathors of Marwar could be proud of Pali which was not only a rival of the places mentioned above, but could also rightly claim the title of the emporium of Rajputana. Vyas has given details to prove that as a commercial centre, Pali has been linked with a network of roads connecting it with the big flourishing commercial towns of Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. Plai lay on the route through which the Malwa opium was exported to China and Western Asia. It was the collecting and distributing centre of the area, a clearing house for the whole of RAjputana. Besides Pali, Nagaur, Jodhpur and Merta were also important centres of trade in Marwar. Rulers of Marwar gave patronage to the traders. Certain facilities, such as exemption from commercial duties, grant of free land for the construction of shops of havelis, protection against the harassment by the government officials, etc. were provided to them.

Vyas is also aware of the fact that the study of the tribals has not been given sufficient attention by the historians of Rajasthan. He also urges for a study of the urban history of Rajasthan which has been practically ignored by the scholars. Every great city has a history of a complex growth. The complexity in all its features has to be analyzed. A thorough study has to be made of the social, economic, political and cultural forces which have made various communities come to the city and settle there. According to him, various phases of the development of the city with its cultural ethos, have to be examined in a proper historical perspective.

He has also drawn our attention to the fact that much works still to be donw on the historical archaeology of Rajasthan for a study of ancient

and medieval histoy. Further, we need a detailed analysis of the socio-economic and political significance of ancient temples as an institution. Also, there is a plenty of scope for archaeological studies in relation to the temple based settlements in different parts of Rajasthan at different times. Then these findings could be corrected with those coming from other sources. The Archaeological evidence may contradict or support the descriptions adduced by the literary sources and compel us to abandon or revise our various pre-conceived notions. Following of these two complimentary sources, i.e. documentary and archaeological, that a balanced account of urban history can be written.

According to Vyas, while writing the history of Rajasthan, the findings arrived at by the historians working on Rajasthan may be correlated with the findings of the scholars working on other regions. Thus alone shall we be in a position to assess them in a coherent and a compact manner on the national level.

R.P. Vyas is of the view that no historical analysis is without a point of view or a commitment to some particular values, though it is obviously against his belief in the Bhandarkarian myth. According to him, a history book on Rajasthan with what he calls "an integrated and policy-oriented approach within a broad national spectrum" is an urgent requirement.

Surat as the Major Port City of Western India 1600-1750

Abhay Kumar Singh

Nature's gift to Gujarat is its ideal midpoint location on the western Indian Ocean. It acted as perennial life line to connect Gujarat with Indian Ocean world, inter-oceanic world and transoceanic world. Maritime trade became the life blood of maritime, proto-industrial and agrarian population of India. Major ports became the nucleus of this maritime circulation system. Maritime merchants, maritime entrepreneurs, maritime diasporic entrepreneurs, maritime financiers, maritime insurers and maritime brokers operate as regular circulatory mechanisms and instruments in this maritime circulatory system. As a corollary of Gujarat's ideal midpoint location, Gujarat became the original perennial home of maritime, navigational and shipping traditions almost simultaneous to Mesopotamian and Egyptian maritime trade and shipping traditions. The continuum of maritime trade and shipping traditions became the backbone of its towering and robust developmental economy during early modern and modern periods. Bustling maritime trade stimulated Gujarat to evolve regularly imaginative maritime entrepreneurial leaders to take maritime innovations and risks, and set examples for the evolution of future entrepreneurs. Entrepreneur as agent of profit maximization and as exploiter of maximum competitive advantage to create maximum incremental wealth acts imaginatively, innovatively and adaptively. Multitudinism, therefore, is the most fundamental characteristics of entrepreneurship. It is clearly reflected in multiple economic, managerial, proto-industrial, industrial, commercial and artistic activities of proto-industrial and commercial entrepreneurs.¹ Gujarat especially Surat and Cambay are the original homes of commercial, proto-industrial and maritime entrepreneurs.

Maritime entrepreneurial tradition in Gujarat is oldest, rich and lively. It had been injected in their genes. This inherent microscopic trait had been reflected in shipping architecture, shipping technology, maritime technology, marketing management, strategic management, finance, insurance and so forth. Maritime entrepreneurial spirit also instilled hospitality spirit for inviting foreign imaginative maritime entrepreneurial leaders to settle in ports of Gujarat without any religious, racial, cultural, regional, and linguistic reservations. Ports of Gujarat, therefore, emerged as hectic centres of multi-culturalism, multi-religiosity, multi-racialism, and multi-linguistics to offer ample

opportunities for business through freedom of mobility, legal freedom, maritime and shipping concessions, maritime retail finance, and maritime insurance. This Gujarati maritime entrepreneurial spirit along with their accommodative nature attuned well in the evolution of trade diaspora,² maritime diaspora and maritime trade diaspora in Gujarat from primordial times.

With the origin and evolution of cross-cultural trade, with commercial specialist like cross-cultural brokers as the central figures in the management of master merchants maritime trade by transferring themselves to the commercial towns of the host community commenced the process of trade diaspora. To manage masters' business in the host community's ports and commercial towns, the cross-cultural brokers learnt their language, customs and commercial strategies and techniques. Thus, simple commercial settlements turned into complex ones by emanating an interrelated net of commercial communities- a trade diaspora. Trade diaspora is ubiquitous in the Indian Ocean. Marine archaeology offers testimony of the existence of trade diaspora in the Middle East as early as 3500 BCE.³ Maritime trade diaspora, entrepreneurial diaspora and their diasporic networks had their antediluvian roots in the western Indian Ocean at least from 2400 BCE (mature Harappan period).⁴ The natural seasonality of the Indian Ocean subtly shaped three interdependent maritime movements and crossings: traveling schedule, fishing schedule and mercantile marine schedule.⁵ The Indian Ocean natural seasonality offers ad infinitum fillip to the development of maritime merchant diaspora. The persistence and continuum of maritime trade diaspora from primeval times up to 1750 in Gujarat injected cosmopolitanism in their social fabrics, enlarged their magnitude, diversified their profession, instilled professionalism in them and made them more creative, imaginative, innovative, and risk bearing. This truism is accurately applicable in cases of trade diaspora of Surat in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The trade diaspora of Surat learnt the smelling of available business opportunities through out the Indian Ocean, modalities and techniques of their rational exploitation and applying accurate and adequate strategic management tactics to acquire incremental wealth to reach to the peak of business pyramid. Surat's diaspora experimented with new, novel and more practical art of entrepreneurial acumen, entrepreneurial decision making and entrepreneurial accounting. As a repercussion, they established hegemony over Indian Ocean trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries even without state support. They actually played most cardinal role in establishing Surat as the most hectic hub of the commercial theatre of the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century.

Entrepreneurial and diasporic environment is impossible to flourish without hospitality spirit. Maritime entrepreneurs of Surat were well aware of this and applied their all possible concerted effort to develop hospitality spirit to attract world innovative, imaginative and creative entrepreneurs to exploit business opportunities available at Surat in the early modern period. It accompanied multitudinous interdependent mercantile, constructional, architectural, technological, oceanographic, navigational and cultural activities at Surat and in its hinterlands. It originated cultural entrepreneurship at Surat. They identified opportunities to yield incremental wealth from an array of constructional activity.⁶ To accomplish the task of hospitality to visiting foreign maritime entrepreneurs, Surat's cultural entrepreneurs constructed entre-gates, markets and market places, living buildings, sarais at Surat and at enroute cities, towns and qasbas.⁷ Sarais at towns and qasbas were sold to privateers for accruing profit. Jain merchants' and cultural entrepreneurs' names figured prominent in such transactions. As a repercussion, structural architecture boosted and bloomed at Surat.

Cultural entrepreneurs of Surat were consecrated with well-planned constructional and housing structures according to contemporary architectural, structural engineering and road transport standards to serve two indispensable purposes. First, it must offer appropriate hospitality to foreign maritime diaspora entrepreneurs, visiting to port city Surat in search of business and maritime mercantile opportunities. It should also tender hospitality to those entrepreneurs who were on business trip to the port city. Second, it should serve the services of market, emporiums, business meetings and conferences, and so forth. The port city should be blessed with appurtenant emporiums for diversification of trade, accumulation of commercial intelligence and capital, the ways and means of sharing risks and many other features of maritime mercantile life. Specialized emporiums rendering specialized maritime business could evolve in port city. This is spatially true of the emporia⁸ of maritime trade, which were more attuned to overseas business networks. In fact, a consummate type of a maritime emporium might well be an island with equal access to all maritime entrepreneurs and a minimum of governmental interference. But, most maritime emporia were ports, conveniently a port located on the mouth of a river like Surat, rendering easy access to a prosperous hinterland. Maritime emporium would emerge as a town, perhaps a fortified one, to keep pirates, and brigands at Bay.

Maritime merchants and entrepreneurs of Surat also found avenues of incremental wealth creation in varieties of philanthropic

works. Jain, Nagar Brahmin, and Muslim maritime entrepreneurs and merchants especially involved in philanthropic activities. As a consequence, temples, mosques, hospitals, schools, gardens, ponds, stepping wells, tanks, lakes, etc. erected in Surat and in its surroundings. Some of them also helped famine-stricken regions of India by generous donations of money, grains and clothes.⁹ This philanthropic tradition is age-old in Gujarat. Jagadu Shah of thirteenth century Bhadrashwar and Samar Shah of fourteenth century Patan carried this philanthropic tradition, followed by maritime entrepreneurs of Cambay and Surat.¹⁰ The aim in such generous philanthropic acts was to gain in social reverence and power, to fetch economic and financial concessions from ruling states and to yield entrepreneurial profits.

Another dimension to constructional and structural engineering, ship architecture, maritime defence, oceanography, and maritime technology had been provided by the European intruders in the realms of the Indian Ocean since 1498. The fundamental motive was to achieve optimal maritime security from natural, marine and man made disasters and hazards in the oceans as well as at ports, port cities and maritime cities. Ocean crossings needed multiple types of maritime security.¹¹ Maritime disasters and accidents, ship wrecks, piratical engagements, maritime military engagements and pathogenic microbial and epidemical outbreaks in merchant ships were maritime insecurities experienced by oceanic and trans-oceanic crossers. Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Ostenders, Danish and Swedish Indiamen almost regularly suffered by such marine insecurities and give detailed qualitative and quantitative descriptions of these in their seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marine business accounts, diaries and marine logs. Major port cities must make available symptomatological, therapeutic and medical facilities to treat maritime patients. Surat in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries offered medical facilities to visiting European maritime entrepreneurs, maritime diasporic entrepreneurs, and maritime workers.¹²

As safe, secure, thriving and hectic hub of maritime entrepreneurial and diasporic spirit, as centre of business globetrotters and as melting pot of multi-culture and multi-culturalism, Surat's name in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century world market was omnipresent. The global ubiquity Surat is the testimony of its of maritime trading, maritime entrepreneurial, and proto-industrial vitality, respectability, and prestige. The cosmopolitan culture, entrepreneurial environment, innovative, technological and scientific spirit and temper, and secular and tolerant social attitude and behaviour were persistently practiced by mercantile community of Surat. In

seventeenth and eighteenth century Surat became a hectic theatre of cosmopolitanism as a consequence of its communal tolerating spirit and its pro-pluralism, pro-cross-cultural and pro-multicultural attitudinal spirit. It became a safe, secure and ideal place of professional freedom. Consequently, multiple types of maritime diaspora (maritime trade diaspora, maritime entrepreneurial diaspora, maritime financier diaspora, maritime insurance diaspora, etc.) from Middle East, Armenia, Egypt, Southeast Asia, China, etc. had flocked to Surat to act as maritime operators. European companies, European privateers, European independent maritime entrepreneurs, diaspora, European adventurers, too, started operating their maritime ventures from Surat. A balanced synthesis of cosmopolitan, cross-cultural, multicultural, entrepreneurial, thalassographic and maritime mercantile imagination and creativity in seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Surat offered an ideal environment for its growth as major port city of western India.

The booming Gujarati economy in the early modern period was boosted by contemporaneous state policies. Mughal state's commercial, fiscal, and shipping policies together with local states and rajas's administrative and governmental policies, too, were supplemental to this business-friendly environment of Surat.

An attempt will be made to elaborate these traits of major port cities especially in context of Surat. One of the most vital ingredients in studying port city is to highlight their fundamental characteristics both general, and special in individual case. It is not indispensable to observe all the traits rather maximum of them. Some traits might adequately be applicable in case of Surat, while others are only partially. Generally, maritime and port historians have followed two extreme explorations of port and port cities: first, there are works dealing with port activities such as shipping, and trade, second, there are works dealing with the city as a whole but neglecting maritime activity.¹³ One of the aims of the present paper is to apply a combinational holistic approach to study port city Surat.¹⁴ An attempt will be made in the present paper to analyze objectively the contribution of forgotten ports, small ports, unimportant ports, and coastal fishing villages in making Surat a major port city in western India. The prosperity of maritime cities was hardly independent. For most parts, it is dependent on small ports, forgotten ports. Maritime historians of the world have targeted to study elite maritime merchants, big ports, maritime cities, and maritime transport. They have neglected the small ports interspersed among the larger ones.¹⁵ Little critical analysis have been done about the modest shipyards, coastal shipping, small-scale fishing and coastal populations. It, therefore, becomes requisite to give due weight to small ports, modest

shipyards, coastal shipping, small-scale fishing and maritime communities surrounding Surat. An attempt will also be made to explore the relevance of port city in originating and developing maritime entrepreneurship, maritime diasporic entrepreneurship, maritime trade diaspora and trade diaspora. It was through the intermingling of mariners, shippers, maritime transporters, navigators and captains of different nationalities at port city Surat that the diffusion and injection of new and novel innovations in the realms of maritime technology, shipping technology and navigational technology diffused, mastered, and practically used in different proto-industries. These aspects of Surat will constitute an essential organ of the present research paper. Maritime merchants had certain social responsibility to perform. Surat through its entrepreneurs played a dynamic role in regional social change. It is an inherent aim of the present research is to highlight Surat and its multiple types of entrepreneurs' role in regional social change. Many of them acted as both philanthropic entrepreneurs and social entrepreneur for their community as well as for the whole of the region. They became the real harbingers of the regional social change. Others acted as harbingers of cultural change. Apparently the prevalence of communal harmony at Surat forms the backbone of its bizarre, stentorian and sustainable development.

Vitality of Smaller Ports in the Making of Major Ports

Maritime and port historians globally neglected the vitality of forgotten, small and unimportant ports in the making of major port cities. Since 1980s this segment of maritime historiography received some attention. French and English researches in maritime history focused on "small hands" of maritime activities better known as "myriads of ports". French maritime historians weighted heavily on interrelationship between maritime communities and the sea by diagnosing maritime identity of coastal communities.¹⁶ Additionally, small-scale coastal fishing and coastal shipping acquired concomitant research stimulus.¹⁷ In India in general and Gujarat in particular this genre of maritime research is still in its infancy. Darshak Itihas Nidhi has taken lead in promoting such types of maritime research by organizing two International seminars in 2011 and 2012 on maritime history of Gujarat.¹⁸

International maritime historians forum has revised the tradition of studying single ports in isolation by seeking to understand the development of "port system". Forgotten ports formed foremost segment of the port system. Forgotten ports, once the cradle of brisk maritime trade, forgotten or went into oblivion for decay of favourable factor endowments as corollary of changed hinterlands as well as

forelands, new foreign trade and transshipment from new ports, disastrously shifting coastline or withdrew them away, and persistence political turmoil. Some “forgotten ports” were never much, whilst others are the remnants of mercantile past glories superseded by proto-industries, industries, markets, regional functions, and a few old merchant houses.¹⁹ Gujarat has glorious past of a chain of ports on Gulf of Cambay, Saurashtra and Cutch. Before Surat many of them functioned as ports. Lothal, Prabhas, Weraval, and Ballabhi may be designated as forgotten ports of Gujarat. The vitality of forgotten ports in catalyzing the origin and development of major port and maritime cities lies in following manners. First, the emerging port city generally benefitted from maritime technological, scientific, geological, oceanographic, marine biological, marine environmental and marine climatic knowledge of mariners, navigators, captains, shipwrights, merchants, and entrepreneurs of the forgotten ports. Such knowledge was of utmost value in constructional activity of the port city, in navigational activity and in fabricating marine environment and marine biodiversity preservation modalities. Second, mercantile wealth poured in emerging port city from forgotten ports along with its maritime merchants, maritime entrepreneurs, and maritime diaspora entrepreneurs. Third, maritime business and shipping traditions may be reestablished with minor or major modification at emerging port city. This provides background, basis and germane grounding for emanating novel, new, imaginative and innovative maritime and shipping traditions. And, finally, forgotten ports inspire and instill a sense of maritime business ethics in the minds of maritime merchants and entrepreneurs of the emerging port city.

“Transportation is the life blood of commerce” definitely gives sense to “Romance of ports”. Maritime trade, therefore, is not only a romance; it is also a mystery to those observing and perceiving it in time or space. In ports this meant the attractions of what is now called the “Sea-land interface”. Unimportant ports were those operating with a poor or backward hinterland and few external connections, with a scant or no share of national imports or exports, small share of coastal trade, with exceptions they owned and built some ships, inadequate facilities for berthing larger ships, few warehouse, no comprehensive mercantile community or direct foreign marketing networks or linkages, few industries, and small population. Some of the unimportant ports were not only significant but also crucial to economic development as it occurred in Gujarat. All ports are servants of a regional and national economy, with widely differing functions. The specialist nature of unimportant ports determines its vitality in complexity of trade and

inter-port relationships. It emphasizes the interconnectedness of the whole of maritime history. Unimportant ports offer supplementary functions to major ports such as shipment places, as places involved in the harvest of the sea, as fishing villages with suitable harbor and beach, etc. Unimportant ports acted as servers for larger ports in many different ways. Provisioning of shipping, supplying needed navigators and mariners, and Providing required maritime labourers to major port cities are some of them.²⁰

As the term portus means opening, passage, and refuge; or a natural shelter and a certain appropriation, domestication and restructuring of space, small ports were primarily and fundamentally meant a place for coastal shipping and coastal fishing. The extraction of halieutic resources by fishermen hardly required major constructional restricting and development along the coast. Small craft, boats and ships could run a ground on a beach, between cliffs or in a sheltered site rather than using a formal port. Alternatively, shelter might be found in estuaries, rivers, inlets, bays, or coves. Characteristically, small ports are very different from those of larger harbours. They are autonomous secondary ports, while servicing their larger counterparts. Furthermore, there were numerous ephemeral or seasonal country ports. Some of the small ports emerged as solely loading and unloading ports or places for small scale shipbuilding, while others were anchorages for small vessels. Some small ports performs the function of entrpoints. Rivers could serve as transshipment points between river traffic and ocean transport. Quantitative indicators of small ports incorporate following features: “Small tonnage of coastal traders and fishing boats and ships, the modest size of the hinterland and foreland, the mediocrity and late arrival of the installations, and the relatively small scale of the investment”.²¹ Indeed, small ports comprised the compulsory sub-strata of the economic, socio-professional and cultural organization of the coastal fabric, the pertinent perspective provide their exploration in interrelationship with major port cities.

Small ports fits into the port dynamics of shoreline and an essential component of system and networks of different scales. The relationship with major ports-the centre of gravity-is not necessarily one of dependency rather interdependency, and the links between the ports are not unidirectional rather symbiotic. The interdependency, the interrelationship and the symbiotic links between ports determine the evolution of individual port, which translate into promotion, integration, disengagement and withdrawal.²² The coastal civilization (i.e., relationship of coastal population with sea through fishing, coastal shipping and various uses of the foreshore) assimilates small ports

communities ever present pluriactivity (i.e., the capacity of coastal populations to manage their territory and time) and existence of local fleets, finance and crew recruitment. In each step of development a process of upgrading or downgrading involved, catalyzing the disappearance of some maritime activities. Most ports stood the test of time.

Surat is blessed with the presence of a chain of unimportant, forgotten and small ports in its circuit, functioning supplemental roles to it. They were feeder and servicing ports to Surat. Broach, gogo, gandhar, Swally, Randere, Cambay, Daman, etc. were acting as feeder and service ports for Surat in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Characterizing Major port City

Port city refers to a city whose prime economic base for its non-local market as well as its sustenance is its port.²³ This limits the horizon of port cities. It seems pertinent to reverse the divisive analytic, and concentrate on a more holistic vision with an aim to specify politico-socio-economic, and cultural life of that city under predominantly deterministic purview of port function. Port cities are complex superstructure structured to create both the challenges, and the possibility to assess its functionality. The specificities of its functionality were deterministic of its character, and identity. It was these specificities of functionality that were deterministic of their interactions with hinterlands, and forelands. Port cities, therefore, have essentially multi-directional impact, in part as centres of economic growth and development, in part as vibrant urban communities with linkages inland, to other foreign destinations, etc. The Asian port cities evoked more suitably, and effectively gateways of Asia. It was through these gateways that Euro-power and dominance, economic hegemony, and technological modernization penetrated from overseas to the remotest corners of the Indian Ocean world. They were the most vital linchpins in the development of the hegemony of modern world system.²⁴

The concept of the port city refers to a city situated at a port. The specific nature and character is determined by its major products or services it offers to its forelands, hinterlands and internal and external markets. Logically put in this perspective, the port city assimilates complex operational interactions amongst socio-economic, structural engineering, cultural, medical, and maritime moorings etc. both within the port itself and between the port and the city.²⁵ Annalistes approach view port city as a “distinct form of environment”, a particular milieu within which specific occupational groups exist and operate, and with which other groups have to co-exist and co-operate. Port city is a specialized urban settlement organizing, performing and providing

specialized functions and services. In the port city, therefore, port is the “organizing principle”. The port must, therefore, be at the centre of any consideration of the port city. All comprehensive internal superstructures at port city have structured to serve fundamental services. In this sense, Gordon Jackson, the leading port historian recognized “Ports as living organisms”, and hence, must adapt to changing circumstances if they are to continue to prosper and grow.²⁶

Putting analogy in comparative perspective, major ports are generally rounded ports, trading multi-directionally and multilaterally in the world market, with many commodities. To handle such a vast world class business, major ports provides innumerable services. Consequently, there always existed limited major ports. Major ports were and still are situated on great rivers, and great coastlines, operating as collection and distribution centres for great hinterlands, and forelands, great fairs, and great populations by monopolizing trade routes, markets, capital, mercantile expertise, and shipping through means fair and foul. But, while such ports and people were the major actors, players, and operators in the development of complex commercial world, theirs was by no means the whole story. Nor were the great maritime merchants lone players in the complex global maritime trade and transport.

The location of major ports at the head of a bay and also on a major or large river has the most ideal, and favourable location possible.²⁷ The river port more generally has a better hinterlands than the other three types of ports. Most of the great sea ports are located on river. Surat must be incorporated into this category of port, as it located on river Tapi, and on the western Indian Ocean. As a consequence it was multi-functional and handled huge traffic of goods for its hinterlands as well as for its forelands.

In an age of continuously expanding modern world system, “the world economy, and a world economy”,²⁸ there emerged two fundamental perceptions about the major port cities. These perceptions are situational, geographical, functional and structural and represented by Braudel and Wallerstien at one pole and Ashin Das Gupta and Sanjay Subrahmanyam on the other.²⁹ Both the connotations of world economy are contextually pertinent in an analogy of major port cities. In the process of establishing hegemony over the contemporaneously globalizing modern world system, the cities and ports had to play well-defined roles and accomplish well-defined services. The globalization of modern world system had been both localized and globalized in its impact. This determines the stature of a major ports according its service role in simultaneously globalizing and also localizing modern world

system. Few cities within the international urban system, therefore, had come into existence as “World cities”, dominant centres and subcentres of transnational business, international finance and international business services-the basing points of global capital. These world cities were not necessarily the biggest according to established contemporary standard within the international system of cities in terms of population, employment, or output, they were the control centres of the world economy: places that were critical to the articulation of production and marketing under the contemporary phases of world economic development. It is possible to identify dominant, major corporate headquarters, international institution, communication nodes and concentration of business services.³⁰ These issues of major port cities have found sufficient elaboration in Braudel’s explanation to construct a typology of world economies. It would be appropriate to cite some excerpts in its original to thrust weight on the following articulations and reasoning.

“It invariably has a centre, with a city and an already-dominant type of capitalism whatever forms it take. A profusion of such centres represents either immaturity or on the contrary some kind of decline or mutation. In the face of pressures both internal and external, there may be shifts of the centre of gravity: cities with international destinies-world cities-are in perpetual rivalry with on another and may take each other’s place...

A world economy always has an urban centre of gravity, a city, as the logistic hear of its activity. News, merchandise, capital, credit, people, instructions, correspondence all flow into and out of the city. Its powerful merchants lay down the law, sometimes becoming extraordinarily wealthy.

At varying and respectful distances around the centre, will be found other towns, sometimes playing the role of associate or accomplice, but more usually resigned to their second-class role. Their activities are governed by those of the metropolis: they stand guard around it, direct the flow of business toward it, redistribute or pass on the goods it sends them, live off its credit or suffer its rule. Venice was never isolated; nor was Antwerp; nor, later was Amsterdam. These metropolises came accompanied by a train of subordinates; Richard Hapke coined the expression ‘an archipelago of towns’, an evocative image. Stendhal was under the illusion that the great cities of Italy had treated the lesser cities kindly out of generosity. But how could they have destroyed them? They certainly subjugated them, but no more, since they needed their service. A world city could not reach and maintain its high standard of living without some sacrifices, willingly or unwillingly made

by other large towns, which it resembled-a city is a city after all-but from which it stood out: the metropolis was a super-city. And the first sign by which it could be recognized was precisely its assistants and subordinates...

Any town of any importance, particularly if it was a sea port, was a ‘Noah’s Ark’, ‘a fair of masks’, ‘a Tower of Babel’, as president de Brosse described Livorno. How much more so were the real metropolises! They were the scene of fantastic mixtures, whether London or Istanbul, Isfahan or Malacca, Surat or Calcutta...

This colourful cosmopolitan population had to coexist and work in peace. The rule in Noah’s Ark was live and let live... But the miracle of toleration was to be found wherever the community of trade convened...

Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of all of these super cities was their precious and pronounced social diversification. They all have a proletariat, a bourgeoisie, and a patriciate, the later controlling all wealth and power and so self-confident that before long it did not even bother... Patriciate and proletariat indeed grew further apart, as the rich become richer and the poor even poorer, since the besetting sin of these pulsating capitalist cities was their high cost of living, not to mention the constant inflation resulting from the intrinsic nature of the higher urban functions whose destiny it was to dominate adjacent economies. Economic life flowed spontaneously towards their high prices. But caught in this high-tension system, the city and the economy concentrated upon it ran the risk of being burned...

And yet these great urban centres appealed too strongly to interest and imagination not to be heard, as if individuals hoped to be able to take part in the spectacle, the luxury and the high life of the town and to forget the problems of everyday living. These world-cities put all their delights on display. Seen through a reminiscent glow, the image reaches absurd proportions...

Dominant cities did not dominate for ever; they replaced each other. This was as true at the summit as it was at every level of the urban hierarchy. Such shifts, wherever they occurred (at the top or half-way down), whatever their causes (economic or otherwise) are always significant; they interrupt the calm flow of history and open up perspectives that are the most precious for being so rare. When Amsterdam replaced Antwerp, when London took over from Amsterdam, or when in about 1929, New York took over London, it always meant a massive historical shift of forces, revealing the precariousness of the previous equilibrium and the strengths of the one which was replacing it. The whole circle of the world-economy was affected by such changes and the repercussion was never exclusively

economic...”³¹

Braudel has incorporated almost all compulsory ingredients of a global or world class city or port into his schema. He especially mentions Surat into the category of world class metropolis. Braudel's minute observation about global cities compelled Satish Chandra to devote one full length paper on “Fernand Braudel on Towns”, as an Occasional Paper in the Occasional Paper series of the Urban History Association of India: Ed.

Ashin Das Gupta has propounded the concept of maritime city to study Surat.³² His conceptualization of maritime city is rooted in his understanding of the West Indian Ocean spatially by concentrating on Surat in about the early eighteenth century. He visualizes maritime city differently on situational specifications. The maritime city in different oceanic, sea, and terrestrial regions or periods or polities would have different characters. Its size and magnitude may vary from region to region, from area to area, from place to place, from time to time, and even from season to season. Only flourishing ports with affluent merchant communities hardly imperatively fit in the framework of Indian maritime city, though, of course, they are the compulsory ingredients of a maritime city. Maritime cities served much broader arena, much complex function, and had much complex distinctive features in the Indian Ocean.³³

The maritime city must be boasted by dissimilitude of money market, and easy accessibility to available highly developed credit system irrespective of ethnicity, and other caste, clan, region, religion, nationality, and language affiliations, with appropriate legal protection of permanent nature to both lending, and borrowing communities. Money in maritime city was the nerve cell, controlling multiple maritime businesses. The cardinal vitality of money had been identified even Brahmin and other social groups from affluent to down trodden almost in every sphere of socio-economic and cultural life. This identity of money was ubiquitous in India.³⁴

Maritime loans on interest must be available on easy terms and conditions. The vicissitude of rates of interest on borrowed money must depend favourably on character, and confidence commanded by borrower in the money market. Monetary impersonality was making real headways in a maritime city with restricted world of known loaners, and borrowers. It was the rule that loaners lending on respondentia must be redeemed their principal with interest first on the return of the ship, whilst later the other creditors. At the death of borrower, it was his eldest son who had to settle his father's debts. The son was not bound by law, but impersonal power of credit-relation in dissolving credit disputes was

unlikely to achieve this, but the expectation of the community, the quest for character could.

Maritime cities must be well-equipped with the well-developed facility of money-market. The institutions of finance were operative in India from ancient times, incorporating an array of financial transactions primarily of retail nature into its ambit. At Surat maritime merchants, both local as well as foreign, were compulsorily, and heavily dependent on dalals, a man of sound financial standing. They often extended loan on interest. Bania, mahajan, shahukar, saraff, and Jains were mainly involved in retail financial transactions. Normally, high interest rate was charged on maritime loans, as high risk was involved into it. Surat was considered the most secure market for borrowing loans by European maritime merchants. Loans up to two lakhs were extended by local saraffs to Europeans. Money exchanging and money changing were highly advanced institutions in Surat. The Mughals employed concerted efforts to control and regulate the money market by circulating standard coins throughout the empire. But, exceptions did exist. Maritime and port cities out of necessities allowed private merchants to be engaged actively in exchanging and changing money.³⁵ Purchase, procurement, supply, and transport of commodities to maritime and port cities from production and median centres, and from port and maritime cities to inter-oceanic, trans-continental and trans-oceanic markets required the involvement of gigantic amount of ready money. The supply of this gigantic amount of ready money from state mint was usually delayed. The involved merchants in such maritime businesses were left without substitute to depend on local private money changers. Hence, these institutions were emphatically needed in maritime and port cities to finance myriads of maritime business. Financial and insurance environment had been made consummately operative through ubiquitously prevailing financial security in Surat.³⁶ As a corollary, financial and insurance entrepreneurs mushroomed in Surat. Gujarat, especially major port and maritime cities like Cambay and Surat had developed, and maintained money-market for centuries.³⁷

Major port, port, and maritime cities should be endowed with mint or should be located in near propinquity to mint. Establishing a mint is an administrative need, and act, but it performs monetary functions for maritime trade too. The merchants would produce their sarrafs or money merchants, and the administration would respond to their need because it would add to the revenues. Such installations one can find in a maritime city.

The major port and maritime city is quintessentially fitted into the

rubric of a dynamic city, promotional of ushering, and shaping continuum of societal change. But, he was pessimistic about certain anti-dynamic traits of maritime cities. His pessimism revolves around Surat, where no evidence is available to show that ranks of the merchants were being swelled by entrants from other professions, say agriculturist or artisans. It was all within the mercantile society, which recruited only from its rank and file. The maritime city may open, but its society was not. Prof. Ashin Das Gupta's this perception of maritime city needs closer survey, and scrutiny of local sources to substantiate.

Undeniably, major port and maritime city offered opportunity for inspiring multitudinous entrepreneurial spirit by metamorphosing entrepreneurial mentalité especially mentalité of imaginative, creative and innovating entrepreneurs. Gujarati savvy investors especially Jain, banias, Parsi, Parikh, Muslim, and later Patel made their euphoric presence felt by synchronous world entrepreneurial community. Gujarati maritime and Gujarati diasporic entrepreneurs made a bountiful entrepreneurial imprint on Indian Ocean world economy during our period. The legacy of Gujarati entrepreneurial spirit still persisted in their emergence as the largest wealth creators as a community in India. Major port and Maritime city served as training, and grooming ground for entrepreneurial development at two levels: first, at port and maritime city, and second, in its hinterlands. Progressive social attitude had been instilled in entrepreneurs' mind regarding range of entrepreneurial response in maritime cities. Positive entrepreneurial balance sheet of entrepreneurial profits largely depends on magnitude of entrepreneurial uncertainty, present in maritime trade environment. Increasing maritime trade motivated maritime entrepreneurs to induce innovational performance, essential to improvise technological competence. Since the maritime entrepreneurs operated in an environment of constant entrepreneurial uncertainty, the maritime cities also groomed them to accept, and utilize easily methods of adaptation and learning from dealing with uncertainty.³⁸

Maritime merchants especially the shipping-merchants of the major port and maritime cities enjoy independence to pursue their trades. Preparing balanced operative maritime commercial and administrative environment in major port and maritime cities is a major challenge. The city would, of course, look very different depending on who dominates-the merchant or the official. First Cambay and the Surat enjoyed sufficient freedom to manage their commercial, social, and cultural problems.

A maritime city must preferably be situated at a particular spot convenient to command easy and spontaneous flow of commodities. A

long stretch of the coast with connected river or canal networks was relevant in this context. Most of Gujarat's ports especially Surat were actually so connected to develop coastal, port-to-port, and river mercantile networks of intra-Indian nature. Complementally, maritime city must be located at a spot which was connected most conveniently with land-routes as well as oceanic lines to exporting regions to pass on their cargoes. If the terrain permitted only a narrow outlet, there would develop a port in that area from period to period.

Major port and maritime city must possess a large population on permanent basis, though there was a seasonal ebb and flow of people there. The emergent and emerging multitude varieties of business opportunities, multiple varieties of occupational opportunities, multitudinous varieties of professional opportunities and general employment opportunities attracted entrepreneurs and professionals from different regions of India to settle at Surat on permanent, temporary and seasonal basis. Forgotten ports of Gujarat like Lothal, Dwarka, Prabhas, Somnath, Mangrol, Porbandar, Vallabhi and Broach, and declining port like Cambay supplied not only needed capital but also gifted, imaginative and innovative entrepreneurs, artists, artisans, handicraftsmen, technocrats, mariners and navigators, and a host of other professionals to Surat. The prevalent social fluidity in port city Surat hardly had any hesitation in assimilating and assigning appropriate social ranking to permanently migrated entrepreneurs from forgotten ports of Gulf of Cambay.

The process of social fluidity became faster and complex after fifth century especially in Gujarat as a corollary of intensive spread of Buddhism and Jainism. Upward social mobility or gaining in social status of merchants commenced in Gujarat in the Maitraka and Post-Maitraka periods. This is more clearly visible in maritime and port cities of Gujarat.³⁹ Even in state apparatus, ksatriyas were increasingly replaced by the appointments of vaisyas to high offices. The founder of Chavda dynasty, Vanaraj adopted this policy and appointed merchant Jamba his mahamatya or chief minister, the merchant Ninnaya his prime counselor and Ninnaya's son Lahara, the general of his armies. This trend of social and professional transformation continued with more openness and strengthened during Chalukya period. Jainism provided ideological and religious basis to the social fluidity. It is reflected vividly in the writings of Amarchandrasuri (thirteenth century). According to him ministers must be enrolled and recruited from the ranks and files of merchant class. Other synchronous Jain colophons describe many ministers and generals who were from the merchant community. The stabilization of Cambay as maritime city

under the able administration of two Jain merchant brothers Vastupal and Tejpal during Vaghela period attracted maritime merchants and entrepreneurs from coastal and littoral regions of Saurashtra, Kutch, Maharashtra, and Konkan to settle at Cambay on permanent basis. The chauvinist charisma, diplomacy and check and balance policy of Vastupal during his chief ministry and later, during his governorship of Cambay established long term peace and security in the western Indian Ocean by crushing, suppressing and depressing piracy. He created a congenial business and entrepreneurial atmosphere by recovering arrears of revenue from recalcitrant officials and stabilized good financial health of the state. Tejpal, too, managed financial affairs of the state with great dexterity.

Merchants from landlocked regions, too, migrated to Cambay to settle permanently there to be engaged in maritime entrepreneurial business with a view to accrue incremental wealth. There is sea of epigraphic source and Jain text from Rajasthan to support this line of argumentation. The merchants of Rajasthan especially from Sekhavati, Jalor, Sirohi, Kiradu, Nadol, etc. were involved in intraregional and interregional terrestrial trades, maritime trade and trade networking, encompassing maritime Gujarat particularly Cambay and Surat into their business orbits.⁴⁰ According to early medieval Jain texts, Ninnaya of the Pragvata family originally descended from Srimata or Bhinnal was invited to settle in Anhilvada. The individual members of the family were endowed with official designations like mahamatyavara, dandapati, dandadhipati, mantri, saciva and so forth. The movements of land bound merchants to maritime city like Cambay was both directly and indirectly through agent to establish business networks. In both the cases, they came to Cambay on permanent basis. They also contributed to the growth of Cambay indirectly by establishing their business networks in near by cities like Anhilvada, Candravati, Ghauligrama, Dahadagrama, etc. Their contribution involved the functionalities of transportation of imported goods to Cambays' hinterlands as well as transportation of export commodities from hinterland to Cambay. Through both these functions, too, they were contributing to an escalation of permanent population in Cambay.⁴¹

Two almost simultaneous transformative processes in Gujarat and south Rajasthan were working in the nucleus of creating mercantile ethos in Gujarat. The first was a social process, extending the social basis for mercantile community by amplifying social prestige of merchants itself. The milestone of this social transformation started around seventh and eighth centuries. Post Chalukya bandic traditions, khatpatras, and lekhpadhati documents are suggestive of the entry of Kshatriyas and

Rajputs into the rank and file vaniks. Some these Rajput vaniks accepted Jainism like Oswal Rajput merchants. The merchant prince and Ahmedabad nagarseeth Shanti Das Javeri is a burning example. His family originated from Sisodiya Rajput of Mewar, and later became Vishva Oswal Jain. Their abstinence from violence compelled them to adopt commerce. Some of such Rajput merchants must have shifted to Cambay permanently.

Brahmin, specifically, Nagar Brahmin opted business particularly retail financing. They entered into the business financiers, money changers, money lenders. Khatpatras of seventeenth century Gujarat are especially valuable in this regard. Mallik Gopi was a Nagar Brahmin business man of Cambay.

The commencement of the twelfth century envisioned a social movement leading to social conversion of a plethora of community in Gujarat. Several communities in Gujarat converted to Muslim sect under the religious and ideological influence of Sufis and Pirs. Bohras, Memons, and Khojas are such communities of Gujarat. Khojas, and Memons were the converts of Lohana from Saurashtra, Kutch, and Sindh. They embraced business, primarily maritime after conversion. The affluent Memon businessmen of present day India and Pakistan hail from such community of converts. The adoption of maritime business by non-traditional business community of India, and automatically gaining of complete freedom from the restrictions on upper-caste Hindus against ocean crossings, Indian oceanic, inter-oceanic and trans-oceanic trades made port and maritime cities more dynamic, and more maritime-friendly business centres. These converts involved in myriads of maritime business as shipwright, ship-owners, navigators, maritime traders, maritime financiers, maritime insurers, maritime equipment suppliers, maritime financial service providers to Euro-explorers, and so forth. The opportunities to such maritime service providers in the major port and maritime cities like Cambay in the sixteenth century and Surat in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in multitude. They permanently increased the maritime populations of Cambay and Surat.

The legacy of social prestige continued well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, attracting entrepreneurs from rank and file of almost all socio-cultural groups of Gujarat. Societal prestige and power to entrepreneurs and merchants in Gujarat persist even today. The echo of social prestige and power of entrepreneurs and merchants can easily be heard in medieval writings. Following quotation is sufficient to support my point:

“Tijarat [trade] is better than imarat [government] by several degrees. In imarat one becomes subordinate, and in tijarat one can lead

life of a ruler. The riches that accumulate through imarat are a misfortune, and the money one gets through tijarat is a lawful livelihood.”⁴²

These words of Anand Ram ‘Mukhlis’ (d. 1751), a khatri educated in Persian letters and accounting (siyaqat) give a clear vision of the relationship between trade and state building in early modern South Asia. According to him trade was more honourable, safer and secure than statecraft or government. The fortunes of the nobility were fluctuating ones, and the means of their accumulation were of questionable legitimacy. Popular imagination in Gujarat centred around the hero of maritime commerce, returning from trans-Indian Ocean regions in merchant ships with huge riches round the “moral and the peaceful, round the charitable, the philanthropic and the worldly and the worldly wise.” The stories of kings hardly appealed the commercial classes of Gujarat. These maritime commercial and popular socio-romantic imagination turned into dharmakatha, dealing with the love affairs of nagarsetha or a wealthy man’s daughter, with acquisition of wealth as a substitute of heroism and renunciation, according to jaina tenets as the end of life, caught the popular imagination.⁴³ Buddhist texts especially jatakas, too, attached special significance to maritime merchants and maritime mercantile activity. According to Suparaka Jataka the bodhisatva was born as an accomplished blind navigator who steered a ship of 700 merchants to safety. In the opinion of the Kundaka-Kuchhi-Sindhava Jataka bodhisatva was born into a traders family.⁴⁴ This popular mercantile socio-romantic imagination lingered well into the early modern period in Gujarat, inspiring serious maritime commercial entrepreneurs to yield incremental wealth through the exploitation of multi-variety business opportunities available during this period. New business opportunities were also evolving in the realms of collaborative trade, diasporic trade, finance, insurance, marketing, shipping, and so forth.

A major port and maritime city would also have its custom house which is why it existed as far as the administration was concerned, especially the port, and custom administration. Surat had an elegant custom house known as furza, located close to the castle, facing river Tapi. The remnant of the custom complex is untraceable today, but during Mughal period it was busy location, housing many officers, namely mutasaddi, shahbandar, and mir-i-bahr. It had housed large warehouses into its compound and in its near surroundings. Incoming passengers were checked at the entrance gate of the custom house. Manual staff most generally used canes to prevent mingling of smugglers with local people. The custom clerks were comprised of

Muslims, Hindus and Jains and were proficient in Persian and Gujarati languages, as the accounts of the custom house were written and maintained in Persian and Gujarati languages. In bihchak (account book) the custom accountants kept all relevant information about incoming and outgoing merchants, travelers, and merchandise. Other clerks opened consignments for inspection. After thorough checking by the inspectors, these officials closed the bundles and applied official seals called chopping. Most necessarily, professionally highly skilled and specialized Muslim and Hindu goldsmiths and money changers were recruited to operate at the Surat custom house to determine the value of bullion and foreign currencies. Thevenot gives a vivid description of the operation at Surat Custom house in January 1666 in following terms:

“I went with the rest of the passengers and entered the hall where the customer was waiting for us to be searched... The Chief Customer sits on his diwan, after the manner of orientals, and the clerk underneath him. Indian Diwans in this place are like those of Turkey and Persia. The passengers enter into this place one after another and the clerks write down in a register the name of him that enters, and he is closely searched. He must take off his cap or clothes, if the searchers think fit. They feel his body all over ; and handle every least inch of staff about him with all exactness. If they perceive any thing hard in it , they immediately rip it up, and all that can be done, is to suffer penalty. That search is long and takes about a quarter of an hour for every person. If they find gold or silver, they charge two and a half per cent and give back the rest. Then the party is let go, but must leave his goods for the next day. He that has been searched marches out by the wicket of a gate that opens into the street, where there is guard that suffers him no to pass without orders from the customer.”⁴⁵

The next day, the passengers collected their goods safely. The wooden cases and cloth sacks containing merchants goods had already been examined, their value for custom duties fixed, consignments rearranged, covered and properly sealed. Merchants goods were well secured, nothing had been lost or stolen. The Europeans praised the honesty and civility of the custom officers. Pietro Della Valle (1623) praised the Surat custom officers for observing the custom procedures meticulously.⁴⁶ But Europeans were critical of the fixing of value of merchandise to extort extra money. Possibly, this might be operated under a secret understanding between the victim, the victimizer, a chain of corrupt officers ranging from the mutassadi, and shahbandar to the mir-i-bahr, the dewan, and the confidential reporters. But, this was not typical of Surat only rather a universal phenomenon.

There might be a ship-yard either on the coast or on river bank

with a particular spot for ship-building, and ship repairing. The fishing villages in the neighbourhood would be firmly linked to the maritime city to supply the city with its most needed skilled navigators, mariners, sailors, and maritime workers to man the shipping or food, in so far it could be spared. Finally, maritime city must have such large constructions which posed no serious preventive problem in dismantling it, and reassembling it in a more appropriate, and suitable location.

Prof. Ashin Das Gupta's conceptualization of maritime city is a dynamic one, open to revision, correction, and incorporation in its domain as he himself accepts in conclusion,

"There are many things about a city of this kind that we do not understand. We may dodge a general discussion by making things specific, but we can not help the city changing nor can we find the same city everywhere. Things seem to come apart even in one's backgarden."⁴⁷

From these concluding remarks it seems pertinent to make some relevant and vital points in study of maritime city.

The true dynamism of maritime city appeared to be based not only its internal functions-size, tonnage, acreages of water, and so on, but also on its vitality within two extended system: the collection and distribution of goods within its hinterland, and economic development due to it at local, regional, and national levels. Maritime city with superior proto-industrial connections supported the development of the modern economy by organizing the importation of raw materials, manufactures and foodstuffs, and by handling a large proportion of national exports. Employment and ownership of a large share of total shipping, employment of shipping intelligence, and employment of up-to-date mercantile and maritime services were compulsory services provided by maritime city. Such maritime facilities could not be offered unless the leaders of maritime city collaborated to improve their facilities by appropriate harbour and dock engineering, handling system and storage. Maritime city, trading multilaterally with multifarious commodities on three or four coastlines, and maritime routes were always few and rare, but of utmost maritime trading and thalassographic advantages.

If a maritime city was fed, and served by two or three feeding supplementary unimportant ports, the vitality of maritime city in handling monstrous oceanic transportation, providing shipping services improved substantially. Small ports acted as servers for larger maritime cities in many different ways. The most unexpected service provided to maritime cities by small unimportant ports was, perhaps, the required additional provision for shipping, since the major maritime cities were the major ship-owners, but not self-sufficient in shipping. Ship-owners

minimized risk in owning and deploying vessels by spreading their investment over several ships. Ships in India particularly at Surat could be farmed out on *ijara*. Small unimportant ports' server role was vital in shipbuilding both merchant ship, and fishing ship. Shipbuilding, even of quite sizeable vessels, was constructed on contract basis in favourably-situated small ports in the age of wood and sail and sold. Small and unimportant ports near Surat, engaged actively in shipbuilding were Bharooch, Gandhar, Hansot, Swally, Gandevi, Daman, and a host of ship building ports located on the coast of Gulf of Cambay.⁴⁸ These ports were also acting as hectic proto-industrial producer centres. Multi-variety cotton, silk, ivory, agate, lacquer ware, etc. were manufactured. Best and good quality of teak and timber for shipbuilding was available in forests surroundings these ports.

Malabar teak timber was also imported through coastal navigation to Surat and its servicing ports sufficient quantity.⁴⁹ Ship-owners of maritime cities contacted specialist shipwrights of long experience of small ports to procure contract for ship construction on advance contract basis. These feeder ports performed services of repairing ships.⁵⁰

The maritime city must be consecrated with well-planned housing structures to serve two indispensable purposes. First, it must offer appropriate hospitality to foreign maritime diaspora entrepreneurs, visiting to maritime city in search of business. It should also tender hospitality to those entrepreneurs who were on business trip to the maritime city. Second, it should serve the services of market, emporiums, business meetings and conferences, and so forth. The maritime city should be blessed with appurtenant emporiums for diversification of trade, accumulation of commercial intelligence, and capital, the ways and means of sharing risks and many other features of maritime mercantile life. Specialized emporiums⁵¹ rendering specialized maritime business could evolve in maritime city. This is spatially true of the emporia of maritime trade, which were more attuned to overseas business networks. In fact, a consummate type of a maritime emporium might well be an island with equal access to all maritime entrepreneurs, and a minimum of governmental interference. But, most maritime emporia were ports, conveniently a port located on the mouth of a river, rendering easy access to a prosperous hinterland. Maritime emporium would emerge as a town, perhaps a fortified one, to keep pirates, and brigands at Bay.

Transport is the life blood of commerce of the maritime city. The oceanic, inter-oceanic, and trans-oceanic transportation as realms of operation of many maritime nationalities operators were

characteristically intense quarrelsome. Hence, varieties of codified maritime laws were indispensable to provide maximum maritime safety, and security. Maritime city must promulgate, and abide by such codified laws. Such codified laws became part of western Indian Ocean trade from early tenth century.

The seasonal nature of middle Indian Ocean and China Seas increased insecurity that could be combated by thalassic disaster management. Melaka was a hectic hub of maritime trade. There was a sizeable number of communities of resident foreign merchants. From original Malay prose epic Hikayat Hang Tuah, it becomes evident that foreign resident maritime merchants and entrepreneurs garnered a high social status in Melaka society. This simply confirms that maritime trade was indeed the lifeblood of the kingdom. A complex system of taxes differentiated ships coming from the lands of west of Melaka from those coming from the east. The forer paid customs-duties, while the later were liable to taxation under the complex system of *beli-belian* in which goods were sold to the Melaka Sultanate below market price, and other goods were purchased above market price. Maritime interlocution between Bay of Bengal and middle Indian Ocean islands, therefore, was catalyzed by regulation of a unique marine safety law, discussed in some detail in a Malay digest of early modern period namely *Undang-Undang Malaka*. According to the digest, a person rescued in middle Indian Ocean region should not be enslaved, and sold accordingly rather rescuer was entitled to receive half of his property on the ship, or he was required to pay sufficient sum of money to the sea captain for the food he consumed on the rescuing ship. Ransom was customarily paid to anyone who recovers a boat at sea unless it was stolen. A man who recovered a *sampan* carrying valuable goods was supposed to get either one third or one half of the value of the goods in it, depending on whether the *sampan* was visible from the shore at the time of recovery.⁵²

Aden on the Arabian coast emerged in the ninth century acquired a high place of prominence in the course of tenth to fourteenth century. In the twelfth century, the Ayubid dynasty codified the port duties (*ushur*). These Sultans also instituted a system galleys to patrol the coast and the mouth of the Red Sea with an aim to protect merchant shipping from pirates. This system of maritime security persisted well into the sixteenth century. *Mulakhkhas al-fitan* (1411-1412)⁵³ provides at some detail the administration of the port, the nature of the resident communities, the extent of revenues and so forth. Aden was also credited with the introduction of the another system of individual detail body search of passengers and detail examination of the goods at customs houses of the port.

Tarikh al Mustabsir of Ibn al-Mujawir⁵⁴ gives detail version of these port administration rules. In seventeenth century Surat, these laws of port administration, custom regulation custom duty fixation, and varieties of detail searches were introduced.⁵⁵

The early Mughal from Humayun to Shah Jahan almost invariably and articulately crafted their maritime policies with an intention to exorcise the foundation of a favourable general atmosphere for maritime trade mainly concentrating on Surat. Humayun, through Imperial orders instructed his officers to specifically promote maritime entrepreneurs. Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan were no exception to this Mughal general Rule.

Mughal imperial, princes' and nobles' ships were minimally exposed to human made oceanic hazards like piratical molestations, fire and so forth. Especial tutelage was paid to guard against fire, and not let anyone light a fire close to the ship or for any reason harm the ship. Neither a stranger should be allowed to visit near the ship nor any mistake should be committed in guarding the ship.⁵⁶ One of the prime purposes of the Mughal imperial ships was to replenish optimal safety to it from natural oceanic hazards. Thus, regulation regarding setting ship on voyage at the very commencement of the shipping season was strictly maintained. The cargo of royal establishment, maritime merchants, passengers, etc. were brought to the port, examined and scientifically loaded to reach the destinations safely.⁵⁷ Specialized and experienced experts were consulted and due weight was accorded to their advises. Yet ships were set on sail late and sank. A *farman* of Shah Jahan made provision for salvage to the merchants. It also provided salvage to the ship if possible and the expenses incurred on this should be funded from the imperial treasury. If the ship was salvaged safely, it was repaired and prepared for plying in coming season and if could not, it deemed to be sacrificed for imperial good fortune.⁵⁸ As a consequence, maritime entrepreneurs and passengers preferred to purchase shipping space generally on Mughal imperial ships to load their cargoes for asian markets. The rates for *naul* (freight) were sanctioned under imperial laws. Additionally, the passengers were to pay *kiraya* (fares) and charges for carrying provisions on journey.⁵⁹

Recently discovered Persian documents from British Museum, Add. 24039 and 29095, and *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris) supp. Persian No. 482 give balanced picture of Surat port administration especially the valuing of merchandise, fixing rate of custom duty and the collection of customs duty. The inherent aims of early Mughal fiscal laws were to strictly instruct port official for granting concessions and improving facilities to increase the volume of maritime trade by attracting more

maritime entrepreneurs to Surat port. This substantially enabled competition maritime entrepreneurs of different nationalities. This maritime competition was further intensified by increasing the value of merchandise by only 25 per cent of its prime cost at the time of custom-assessment; by founding regular thanas (ports) on the routes and finally, by facilitating the caravans with gaurds (badarqa).⁶⁰ To maximize safety to Euro-Asian merchant ships from Euro-Asian piracies in the Indian ocean, the early Mughals promulgated two rules: first, the European should always station a high ranking captain at surat, who would leave the place only after a substitute has arrived and second, they should at least invest Rs. 12 lakh in the imperial domains.⁶¹ through these maritime measures, the early Mughals had acquired an advantage of ensuring effective check over European maritime powers as a leverage against their marine superiority. The leverage could be employed to bargain against any European threats to the imperial ships or the ships of the Mughal officials. The effectivity of this leverage was largely dependent on other two regulations of the early Mughals: first, they were not to bring weapons with them and arm their factories; and second no to fortify their settlements.⁶² these fiscal rules had an ephemeral impact on the maritime activities of the Europeans in the Indian ocean.

Coincidentally, the early Mughals prescribed a general code of conduct for the Mughal port officials. They were prohibited to misuse their official position for purchasing commodities from maritime merchants at lower market prices. Any contumacy of this general rule could be intercepted by going in appeal to the emperor. The Mughal emperors paid serious thought over European complaints against Mughal official's malpractices.⁶³ The Dutch, too, gained various concessions and advantages concerning marine transportation, *chaukidari*, *rahdari*, customs, etc. by petitioning against *mutasaddi* and *amilis*.⁶⁴ The Mughal officials were also interdicted from imposing any sort of monopolies during early seventeenth century.⁶⁵ Any gross defection of established imperial rules and customs by European merchants were complained at the imperial court which was responsible to settle the dispute. Thus, the English and the Dutch were ordered by imperial *wazir* on 10. 9. 1645 not to bring weapons and reside peacefully and prohibited them from erecting a fortress.⁶⁶

The early Mughal maritime policy and these port rules hardly proved effective in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. English maritime might frequently shattered this Mughal rule. Later Mughals policy of avoidance of English maritime prowess in the western Indian Ocean had so emboldened them not to inhesitate even in molesting and plundering Auranzeb's ship *Ganj-I- sawai* in 1695.⁶⁷ Auranzeb confessed

his weakness in evolving effective administrative and maritime strategies to secure the freedom of Indian Ocean highways.

Fiscal laws both codified, and traditional to try cases of *haq-i langar* (encharge dues), an illegal cess, prohibited by the imperial court, but nevertheless exacted by the port officials and *naul*, an authorized cess sanctioned by the court had been promulgated at Surat during early seventeenth century. The implementation and eclectic effect of these imperial fiscal laws were very meager.⁶⁸ Maritime cities should strictly implement some rational codes of these fiscal laws.

Piracy was at centre stage in maritime transportation throughout world of ocean throughout history. The Euro-incursion in Indian Ocean did not invent a new maritime trade, and politics for the Indian Ocean rather continued Mediterranean, and West Indian practices, modeled on Venetian maritime strategies of domination of maritime space, for instance, sale of permits, the pass system, etc. The question of boundaries between separate ocean worlds, the question of labeling the boundaries of "Atlantic Ocean", and "Indian Ocean" by representing multiple seas, determining boundaries between oceans through regional maritime trading patterns, and flexible Indian Ocean and Atlantic conventions to demarcate boundary lines between Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean simply add to our confound, and blur.⁶⁹

What degree of international maritime law reigned in the late medieval and early modern Indian Ocean is puzzling to maritime scholars, and was also a matter of some confusion among synchronous mariners, and navigators. Philip Steinberg postulates that prior to Portuguese incursion in the Indian Ocean, no power in the region held a view of maritime jurisdiction that parallel that of the Euro-Mediterranean, and later, Euro-controlled Atlantic.⁷⁰ That is, ships in the India were not regarded as extensions of land-based power, and Indian Ocean seas were non-militarized space. The Sultunates of Gujarat and Mughal Empire were no exceptions, and followed this maritime legal tradition after a series of dramatic demonstrations of European maritime superiority in the Indian Ocean.⁷¹ But, many accounts of early European maritime law provide substantial areas of agreement about the foundations of maritime legal order, emerging from two alternative preoccupations: freedom of navigation, and definitions of territorial sovereignty of seas. One source of continuity was the recognition of a broadly similar configuration of ship's law in relation to the law of European sovereigns by jurists. The legal authority of ship captains was one typology of a wider array of subordinate, and semi-autonomous maritime legal authorities, authorizing ship captains, and military commanders on overseas mission the judicial and magisterial

authorities even with right to conduct inquiries, and to inflict punishments on their crews. These European shipboard semi-autonomous judicial and magisterial authorizations were compulsory to regulate the harsh shipboard disciplinary order,⁷² such as mingling with free sailors, and port workers, loosening or breaking ties to their masters, desertions of slaves from the interior to port cities for joining rank and file of local slaves, characterization of hierarchy both on Atlantic, and Indian Ocean deep blue sea vessels, and so on. Euro-merchant ships' these dual role as sources of order in the oceans were in the main targeted to fight and control menaces of piracy in Atlantic, and Indian Oceans.

Neither late Sultanate state, nor Mughal state found maritime law and state semi-autonomous legal authorization to ship captain germane in palliating piracy in the Indian Ocean. The Mughal neglect of seaports has been recognized by Moreland and M. N. Pearson.⁷³ Akbar had personal view of Cambay and Surat around 1570s and had considerable opportunity to obtain information of both the ports and the maritime trade. Akbar took keen interest in ship construction and management at both the ports. The Portuguese naval power and supremacy was so indomitable in the western Indian Ocean that they were not at all hesitant in regularized blackmailing. Mughal officials had some fears, and worries of Portuguese maritime might in the western Indian Ocean as is evident from Persian narratives of a hajj undertaken by very high imperial ladies of Akbar's family under the leadership of Gulbadan Begam in 1576. According to Abu'l Fazl, such worries are attributable to inexperienced persons, accompanying the party, who spread such rumours among the pilgrims.⁷⁴ The financial burden of the Portuguese carat system upon Indian shipping was not inconsiderable.

Mughal royal ships, the ships of Mughal royal women, Mughal grandees', and magnates' mercantile ships enjoyed maximal maritime security on different sea lanes, and sea basins of the Indian Ocean up to early eighteenth century with few exceptions. The realms of open Indian Ocean, and piracy were left to the ship-owners to manage.⁷⁵

Gujarati maritime diaspora entrepreneurs and maritime entrepreneurs of maritime city nowhere had shown hunger for grabbing political power, nor did they eager to shape the policies of continental states in a way to accrue advantage to their trade in general or to their community in particular. Contrariwise, not all trades, and ship-owners of substance of Gujarat share the same mentality. Maritime merchants of two opposite poles do exist in Gujarat. At one pole, there were merchants like Mallik Ayaz, himself a great trader, and governor of Junagadh and Diu, a manumitted slave of the Sultan of Gujarat, and may have been of either Slav Turkish, or Persian origins, fought against

Portuguese in western Indian Ocean waters jointly with Amir Husain al-Misri, sent by the king of Egypt to oust the Portuguese from Diu and Hormuz. Western Indian Ocean was the hectic theater of maritime trade during early sixteenth century, and the sultans of Ahmedabad hard pressed by Portuguese to maintain their position as lords of the sea. Mahmud organized and maintained a large fleet to keep western Indian Ocean waters safe and secure for maritime trade and transport. It was natural enough for the Sultans of Gujarat to make the Gulf of Cambay more and more safe for trade.

On the other pole, there were merchants like Mallik Gopi who cooperated with Portuguese for his selfish petty pecuniary gains, and tyrannized local Muslim population by using his access to the state machinery.⁷⁶ Besides being a great trader, Mallik Gopi was a major actor in that era's politics of the Gujarat Sultanate. Entrepreneurs and merchants of maritime city must devise mechanisms to fight piracy⁷⁷ both Asian and European in the Indian Ocean waters to pursue maritime trade without much hindrance in absence of any legal and naval supports from the state. The life of such maritime city is not precariously disturbed by other maritime operators, and remains stable for longer time.

Piratical encounters often involved armed engagements inflicting wounds to sailors, mariners, navigators and captains. It required organized medical system with adequate medical aid to manage sick and wounded sailors, navigators, mariners and maritime workers. The English Indiamen usually carried surgeons and medical chest. The surgeon's stores frequently ran short. European merchant ships were deficient in surgeons skill and the medical chest furnished.⁷⁸ Even the hospital ships were not well supplied with qualified naval surgeons and physiicians, equipments, surgeons' mates, medical chest, and quality of food. Campbell gives a real picture of food supplied to hospital ship. J. J. Sutherland Shaw has put it in the following ways:

"Campbell had known bread to be put on board that brout the skin off our men's mouths; and so spoiled their gums, and loosened their teeth, that they could not chew their victuals." Beer was often bad, the oatmeal, flour, and biscuits frequently bitter, mouldy, and weevily, beef and porkover-boiled and oversalted to conceal its initial state of putrefaction. Such conditions were general to the whole fleet but they were especially dangerous on board the hospital ships and proposals were made by James Christie, surgeon of the Jeffreys, for the "better vittling a Hospital Ship with fresh provisions". These suggested not only direct purchases of meat when the ships touched at a port., but also the shipping of live stock, sheep, calves, and fowl. And over and above this

Christie pleaded that the sailors suffering from infectious diseases should be transferred to the hospital ships at once, not, as was customary, when they were, “almost past hopes” and that care should be taken that they did not suffer from exposure but have their clothes and bedding sent with them”.⁷⁹

Oceanic, trans-oceanic and inter-oceanic trade generally accompanied infectious diseases and epidemics. Consequently, maritime populations were much more at risk of death than land based populations. Maritime sickness, shipwrecks, maritime accidents, piratical encounters, and sea wars were most probably the causes.⁸⁰ To this must be added three most potent maritime mediums, promoting the multiplication of microorganisms at a faster rate: overcrowding of the ship, insanitary and unhygienic ship environment and frequent ecological changes where exposure to extremes of heat and cold, storms and the movements of the ship had direct effects on health.

Anis-ul Hujaj of Safi bin Wali Qazwini offered some idea about diseases suffered by crew members of Indian ships bound to western Indian Ocean regions.⁸¹ Anis-ul Hujaj warns the ship’s passengers especially those with bilious (safrawi) humour to avoid staying on the outer side of the deck, since it is productive of giddiness. Staying near the main mast was prescribed to minimize the impact of all movement and avoid accentuating sea-sickness.

Provision for fresh water was another problem discussed in the Anis-ul Hujaj as distasteful and contaminated water of the fintas was causative of gastrointestinal diseases, typhoid, dysentery, etc. Many sailors developed inguinal hernia as a corollary of handling heavy weights of water—an ailment of European sailors. Preservation of provision was primarily an European maritime phenomenon though Indian Ocean ships did suffer from such problems. The problem of preserving salted and smoked fish imported from Thatta, in Sindh and Maldiv islands respectively though undeniably was acute on Indian Ocean ships, went unnoticed by out contemporary chroniclers. The harm often done to cereals by water especially during bad weather, though productive of gastrointestinal, liver, kidney and other diseases, too, was unrecorded. The menace caused to provisions, timber and human health by infesting rats on Indian Ships has also largely been neglected.

In terms of cleanliness, Indian ships may be worst. To avoid foul odour and terrible stench which were further intensified by vomiting and retching all round. Only passing references to washers of the ships have been given in the Anis-ul Hujaj.

Records of long distant maritime transportation by European

mercantile marine offer accurate statistics about maritime morbidity and mortality. From available Portuguese statistical data maritime morbidity and mortality rate on Portuguese Indiamen during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be calculated. The mortality rate on 2,76,000 Portuguese voyages has been worked out at only slightly over 10 per cent. Certainly among the two elite groups, ship captains and Jesuits, the mortality rates were slightly lower compared with the gante baixa (Common folk). Of captains on 1,274 voyages during 1497-1700, there were 66 known deaths, a rate of 5.2 per cent. During 1497-1700, there were 117 recorded deaths in about 2010 personal voyages, a rate of 5.8 per cent. Out of this, shipwreck and its consequences accounted for 45 per cent of the captans’ death, 33 per cent died due to outbreak of various diseases on merchant ship and 22 per cent died as a result of maritime accidents, combat or during stopover ashore.⁸²

During the years 1541-1600, the Jesuitstook 429 personal voyages in which total death toll reached to 34 at a rate of 7.9 per cent. But, mortality rate was little lower for the 2054 voyages in the extended period 1541-1750, when 141 deaths were noted at a rate of 6.8 per cent. The combined mortality rate for Jesuits and captains in the sixteenth century was 5.8 per cent or 100 deaths in 1703 voyages (fig.1). Nutritional advantages, blood-letting Portuguese ship surgeons and guaranteed safe space on the merchant ships longboat may be the causes of their reduced mortality rates.⁸³

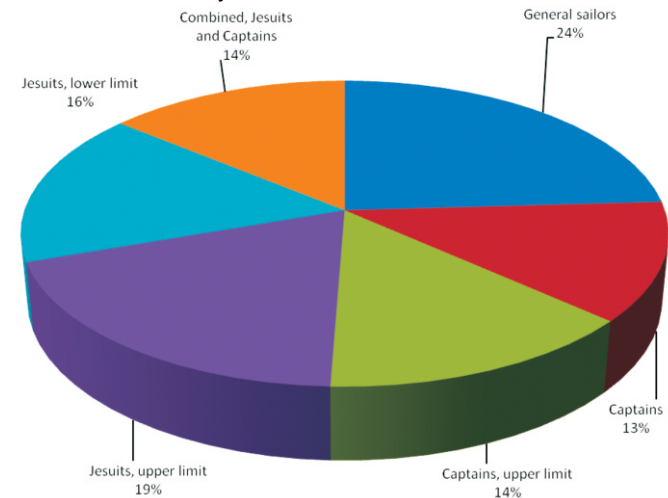


Figure 1 Mortality rate on Portuguese Indiamen during sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

Maritime morbidity rate on most of the Euro-Indiamen due to New and Old World diseases and malnutrition often reached to 50 per cent, while the maritime mortality rate was apt to run as high as 20 to 30 per cent.⁸⁴ The maritime mortality was increasing at a faster rate, sometimes reaching to 50 per cent (fig.2).⁸⁵

Maritime morbidity and Mortality rate on English Indiamen ran high during seventeenth century. Sickness and disease had in many ways provided the most persistent of all the obstacle to early English or European expansion. In 1635, Luke Fox described the lot of English seamen as “ but to endure and suffer ; as a hard cabin, cold and salt meate, broken sleepes, mould(y) bread, dead beere, wet clothes, want of fire”.⁸⁶ Scurvy was an epidemical menace on all European Indiamen because of the lack of vitamin C in tradition naval diet. The crew members of the English Indiamen were vulnerable to wet beri beri, food poisoning, plague, typhus, malaria, yellow fever, dysentery (the dreaded blood flux). Maritime morbidity and mortality rate on English Indiamen have been greatly reduced as a ramification of the application of superiorbio-medical, surgical, pathological, medical alchemical and medical iatro-chemical technologies. Scurvy⁸⁶ accounted around 19 per cent of deaths in the British Royal Navy; by 1782 the proportion had declined and remained static at 6 per cent.⁸⁷ Reduction in scurvy mortality rate was due to the putting of lime juice in the grog. East India lime juice was used profusely. This medical and dietetic innovation came from India, but its adoption on European Indiamen was a slow process.⁸⁸

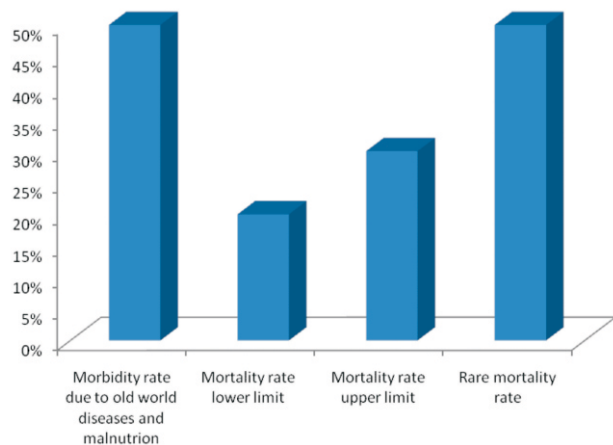


Figure 2. Maritime morbidity and mortality on European Indiamen, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

In French Indiamen, the average mortality rate was perhaps between 13 and 20 per cent. Overloading and Dutch ship design made the ship slow-moving and long, tedious voyages led to a great amount of sickness.⁸⁹ In the Dutch eastward bound vessels it was as low as 6.7 per cent in the seventeenth century that rose to 7.3 per cent in the eighteenth century.⁹⁰ The mortality rate on VOC outward ships was 6.8 per cent in 1710s and 8.9 per cent in the 1720s. Maritime mortality was high on the homeward legs. Sickness was by far the most frequent cause of death on both out-bound and return legs.⁹¹

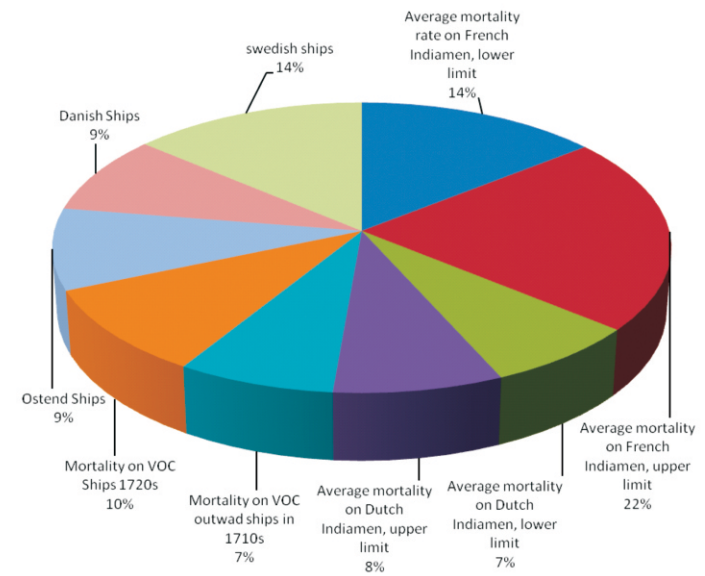


Figure 3. Mortality rates on different East India Companies ships

Maritime morbidity on Ostend ships was well within the range found among their competitors. It was less awesome 7-8 per cent. The mortality rate averaged 8 per cent on Ostend Indiamen and 8.5 per cent Ostend Chinamen. Ostenders merchant ships suffered the most by scurvy, and carried lemen juice as is evident from information in a few surviving victualing lists. Several ships’ journals mentioned outbreaks of scurvy between Surat and Copenhagen. On Danish Inadia and Chinamen, the overall mortality rate was 7-9 per cent range which on Chinamen was steady just under 10 per cent. This was equivalent to about 50 per thousand per annum.⁹² The predominant cause of death on Danish India and Chinamen was contagious diseases like cholera and dysentery. On Swedish East Indiamen, a high mortality rate of 12.56 per

cent for the period was recorded in original sources.⁹³ Additionally, bad teeth were omnipresent and led to secondary, internal infections.

India has its own diseases, from which Europeans visiting were bound to suffer. We lack systematic record. Extreme Indian climate had a powerful effect on European constitution and vital organs especially liver. Enteric fever (typhoid), smallpox, cholera, malaria, kalajar, dysentery, inflammation of the bladder, plague, measles and various undiagnosed fevers and infections were some of the diseases of early modern India.⁹⁴

The maritime city as teeming terminus of trade on oceanic routes, coastal routes, river routes, and intra-Indian and inter-continental overland routes actually accomplished the task of multi-loculars of multi-culturism, and composite culture. As crossroads of commerce, and multi-loculars of multi-culturism as well as composite culture, the maritime city operates as maritime and overland transmitter of disease microbes, epidemics, and sometimes lethal epidemics. Another negativity of the maritime city had been its contribution to regional and global environmental degradation, to regional and global warming and to climate change. It also made serious contribution to increased incidents of Al-bedo, El-Nino, and ENSO. The cumulative repercussion of all these is the emergence of some climate change-related and increased global warming-related diseases. Qualitative and quantitative data to elaborate these issues historically are very hard to collect.

Most of the European Indiamen demoralized by smugglers. Maritime smugglers engagements with Indiamen crew members had many health hazards as many of the crew members suffered injuries and aftermath infections. The customs officers and companys officials were forcibly prevented from doing their duty. Enquiry reports and their cross examination record regular collusion between officials and smugglers.⁹⁵ This regular collusion between officials and smugglers represented fundamental challenges to the system established to facilitate the safe and secure transit of the company's goods from India and Chena to their respective destinations. Consequently, the senior managers devoted concerted effort to measures designed to counteract the damaging activities of pilfering, smugglers and thieves.⁹⁶

The healths of the shipkeepers, shipwrights, artisans and maritime labourers were constantly in danger of accidents, wounds and infections. Shipbuilding dockyards and ship repairing yards were the cites of frequent accidents generally of a minor character.⁹⁷

Major port city must provide regular medicare, fresh fruits, fresh vegetables, fresh protein (fish and meat), and fresh milk and dairy products to ailing national and international maritime people. The most

pressing motivation for investigating tropical medicines was to keep mariners, sailors, planters, troops in good physical shape and healthy. It was in the surroundings of Surat that Portuguese experimented with their agricultural and horticultural experiments. Surat and its surrounding villages supplied the Europeans with the most needed fresh Provisions and victullings. As a corollary, there developed provision trade in surat.⁹⁸ Ancient and medieval healthcare professionals, doctors and athletic trainers weighted cardinally dietetic for both moral and physical well being.⁹⁹ Food and drink were used to combat diseases on merchant ships. Consequently, botany in early modern period was "big science and big business" an essential part of the projection of military might into the resource-rich East. Naturalists and plant mercantilists saw cinchona, coffee, cacao, ipecauanha, jalap, etc. as moneymakers. Medical botany was greatly valued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of the biocontact zones and bioprospecting in this period centred on material ailmentaria, material luxuria and material medica. Portuguese, Dutch and English took lead in this regard in India. These were the "green gold" that compeled participants to impose monopolies, and secrets bred a counterforce of bioespionage and bio-piracy.¹⁰⁰

Trade in medicines having both bio-medicinal, al-chemical and iatro-chemical and chemical efficacies developed in Surat in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. These medicines had demand in Europe. Medicines and medicinal drugs had great demands amongs Europeans in India for their maritime medication. Manuel Godinho in the seventeenth century remarked that some medicinal drugs were sent to dispensaries in Europe from India. Among such medicines mention must be made of miramulanos as a foetida, spikenard, opium, China root, mercury as calomel, etc. Dr. j. Anderson, the medical botanist of Madras introduced the Nepal plant or nople plant as an effective medicine for scurvy. The list of medicinal plants and drugs in imported into England in the seventeenth centuries is comprehensive. The medicinal efficacy of many of the spices made them vital articles of trade. Robertson noted their medicinal vitality in following words:

"We find it difficult nowadays, to imagine the importance of sipces in the sixteenth century...when neithr refrigeration nor winter stock feed was available to provide anything but spiced or salted meat in winter, when there were few vegetables to add to vitamins and variety to the diet, and when spices or other eastern drugs formed the main material medica, they held a real important place in Europe's trade".¹⁰¹

As medicine spices were used in vast range of illness. Different spices were considered to cure disorders of the stomach, the intestine,

the head, the chest, paralysis and the digestion. Da Orta, the Portuguese healer has much more to say about the medicinal efficacy of spices.¹⁰²

Surat housed three types doctors and surgeons in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Ayurvedic, Yunani tibb and allopathic medical systems were practiced at Surat. Among Ayurvedic vaidyas, Dahyabhai Ikchubhai, Tilakchand, Tarachand, Bappalal, Garbadas, Jivadhjee Hadvaid, Bhimjee hadbaid, Brajabhushan das Mehta, Ranjeetram Narayanjee Desai, Ramlal, Lalubhai, Maganlal bhagwanjee desai, Bhagvat Shubhrao Pawar, Sir Mangaldas, Tulabhath Kevalbhatt, Teenabhai, Balvaid, Svak Bhatt, etc. were very famous.¹⁰³

Barber surgeons were practicing bloodletting. The blood letters were called jarrah (Those who tend wounds jarahat). A jarrah rose to high status under Jahangir was Muqarrab Khan, who successively became governor of Gujarat, Bihar and Agra. Still it was the physiician who prescribed how much blood was to be sucked out. The profession of jarrah was hardly esteemed though the professional jarrahs of any status did not in fact pursue the occupation of barbers. Vaidyas hardly practiced surgery.¹⁰⁴

Parsi practicing doctor, too, were offering medicare. In certain diseases they were considered as the specialized experts. In case of unbearable pain, they were the known expert doctors. Among Parsi doctors mention must be made of Kekhuru kuwarjee baliwala, Sir Jamshedjee Nasarvanjee, Dosabhai Palanjee, Dhanjee Meharwanjee Hathikhanawala, Nasarvanjee Navrojjee Khambhata, Barjorjee Baheramjee, Behramjee Pestanjee, etc.

Hakeems generally practiced al-chemical and iatro-chemical therapy. Yusufbhai Mohammad Qasim Chichiwal, Baburali Saheb, Khwaja Ibrahim, etc. were well known.

Alopathy was also practiced in Surat by European doctors and surgeons.¹⁰⁵ Vaidya, hakeem and European doctors and surgeons were cooperative to each other.

Most of professional doctors, surgeons and barber surgeons at Surat follow concomitant medical ethics in their treatment of patients as has been discussed in Akhlaq -i-Jahangiri and Nijatu'r Rashid. According to contemporaneous Islamic medical ethics in India, the wealth and official position was hardly deterministic of medicare. Poor, needy, and the destitute must have primacy.¹⁰⁶

The development of maritime cities to the highest possible water mark is impossible to achieve without the deep rooted grounding of ethical business. Kumarpala (CE 1142-1173), practically an ardent convert and proponent of Jainism created conducive atmosphere for

ethical business. A new business and administrative value system was introduced by him through his amarghosana (proclamation). Citizens were instructed to abstain from animal killing, animal sacrifice, hunting, alcoholism, and animal combat and betting. He preached the gospel of non-violence, which became the code of ethics for elites, especially Hindu merchants of maritime Gujarat. Jain preachers and teachers also preached the code of ethical business. According to them, merchants must follow truthful and peaceful means of yielding wealth. Merchants were instructed to neither cheat on weight nor charge more. He should deliver the goods of the same quality as seen and approved of by the customers and, therefore, should never indulge in adulteration or unethical business.¹⁰⁷ Through military business policies, king provided safety and security to merchants and his property. King could prove both efficacious service or inefficacious disservice to business, hence, required to maintain good relations with him by frequently respectfully inviting him, by flattering him, by reciting good qualities, by not refraining him and by refuting the company of king's opponents. Money lenders were advised to never extend loan the sake of greed. Similarly, creditors were ethically not allowed to use pledged items such as bullocks and carriages for his personal benefit without making a payment. Peaceful settlement of disputed loans rather than fight recognized as the natural norm of the business ethics of the age. Business ethics of the period was essentially promotional of peaceful practicing of mercantile profession, and peaceful coexistence of all professionals at maritime cities, as converse strife, strain and provocation were extremely injurious to the professionalism and business.¹⁰⁸

The Gujarati businessmen and entrepreneurs at maritime cities were enthusiastically obsessed with this business ethics by internalizing a combination of ethics, morality, value system, real synchronous politik, fair business practice, and maintaining working relationships with the power of the day. Ethical business practices of the Gujarati mercantile affluent rooted in fair trade and honest dealings gained an international reputation for them as trustworthy. This international acclaim for Gujarati merchant elite established them as "the best merchants in the world, and the most truthful". Additionally, "if a foreign merchant who does not know the ways of the country applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they will take charge of these and sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to bestow."¹⁰⁹ There were exceptions. Oceanic, inter-oceanic, trans-oceanic and trans-continental trade of mammoth magnitude would have been impossible only on basis of such value system. Written

contracts, therefore, were usually utilized in maritime commercial operations.

The Situation and Site of Cambay

The emergence, evolution, and growth of a maritime city depend on many physical and cultural factors. Among the physical factors location (situation) plays a dynamic role because major port and maritime cities are vital links in the global transport system. The selection of location of maritime city had been dictated by an interaction between geographical features, historical development and economic considerations. The relative weight of each element varied, of course, through time, but depended predominantly on economic viability, and transport accessibility.

Surat is approachable equally comfortably from deep blue ocean, western Indian Ocean, middle Indian Ocean and via middle Indian Ocean from east Indian Ocean. It had connectivity to inter-continental and intra-Indian regions through river, overland, and coastal routes. Ports with natural deep-water harbours were not often detected in the coast-land of Asia. The selectors of the location for maritime city, therefore, had no option but to compromise with estuarial waters of a large river providing some shelter from the force of elements, wind, and wave, in a circumstance of limited maritime technological development during early modern period. Inland maritime cities could also sufficiently be defended against pirates and hostile armed ships either by stretching iron chains across the rivers or by gun powder, with guns mounted on short batteries, after the invention of gun powder. Another advantage of Surat's location on river was that that river acted as highways for the transport of goods produced in areas far from the port of shipment. But, this very advantage in long run converted into disadvantage for the maritime city when navigation in the estuaries of silt-carrying rivers became most hazardous, and eventually the sea became so far away. Economic viability, and safe transport accessibility, therefore, diminished considerably.¹¹⁰ Hence, concomitance of appropriate water and land situations played most decisive role in developing of major port and maritime city.¹¹¹

Site comprises another important physical feature of a major port and maritime city. The site consisted of the area of land, and the associated waters on which the port and the maritime city were actually developed. Local topography, drainage and soil, land stability, the depth, temperature, and the movement of the waters within it had been incorporated into the ambit of site. The development of a major port and maritime city was also determined by the water as well as land site. Initial stimulus to the development of the major port and maritime city

comes from water-site, but, its ultimate prosperity and superiority depends on land-site, water situation, and land situation. The land-site controls the extent, and pattern of the urban expansion of major port and maritime city. Hence, four dimensions associated with site and situation determine the spatial development of port city: water situation, land situation, water site and land site.¹¹²

A natural complex and complicated networks of around 48 ports in the Gulf of Cambay functioned as feeder ports previously for Cambay, and in the seventeenth century for Surat for loading and unloading goods and berthing of ships in their docks and shipyards. Little distant feeder ports like Agasi, Kaavi, Kolvad, Ghogha, Gandhar, Chol, Okha Peerambet, etc. were vital for Surat in May.¹¹³ Almost all of these feeder ports of Gujarat were blessed with natural and man made shipping docks, owned and managed by Sultans and maritime merchants of Gujarat. Ghogha was the most vital feeder port of Cambay, and later of surat where ships of 1500 tons weight were loaded and unloaded. European Travelers were of the opinion that channel leading to Ghogha provided a harbour for the largest ships.

The "Mughal blessed port", or "The door to the house of God", or "The queen of the East", or "A home only for gentlemen of quality", or "a Dagerous place with resemblances to a pig-sty", Surat was the major or principal Indian port at the turn of the eighteenth century, located at the mouth of the western Indian Ocean (Arabian Sea), a few miles away from its waters.¹¹⁴ River Tapi conferred this privacy upon Surat, with infrequent but usually heavy flood during rainy season. For some years it was menace to the inhabitants, while for some years it proved boon to the its maritime merchants, maritime entrepreneurs and maritime trade diaspora.

Surat had suffered from a major marine disadvantage: there was notorious sand banks criss-crossed the estuary. It was only with the spring tide that vessels and mercantile ships would venture freely into the Tapi. Sand-banks near village Omra, immediately below the town created narrow passage dangerous to cross. Navigation up and down this stretch of channel was perilous. Some nakhudas, on their return in the Indian Ocean threw their ballast of shingle or sand into the river to cross the river. The best course was to follow northern channel to approach Surat between the sand deposits at the mouth of Tapi from the sea. Here one found 28ft of water, with scattered fishing hamlets, stretching up to swally, a harbor little north of it. On southern bank was situated village Dumas and Omra, imperial wharf, wher Mughal ships waited out the rains and were fitted for the sea. No private citizen could aspire after a marine establishment. One of the richest merchant/ship-

owner, Mulla Abdul Gafur had his wharf at the village Athwa. Between Athwa and the city on the right the French wharf and garden were located. This was followed by the settlements of African clan, the siddis, the Turkish merchant chelabi and the Dutch. The outer wall was after this. Cambay had suffered from a major maritime disadvantage, the tidal bore, that is, a wall of water rising up to, and even above seven fathoms, and capable of wrecking ships in an instant. This made the roadstead on the entrance to the river of Cambay perilous even for sloop. The constantly changing sandbanks of the river made it more shallow, and perilous. This might seem one rational reason why Cambay was undertaken by Surat around 1620.¹¹⁵

Rise and Growth of Surat

The midpoint transit route location of Surat on the western Indian Ocean offered multiple maritime advantages and vitalities to it, though, of course, through times. Additionally, historical development and economic considerations provide relative weight in Surat's development as hectic hub of maritime trade and incremental profiteering.¹¹⁶ Major port cities as gateways and true brides of the sea act as living organisms to adapt to changing circumstances. If they are to continue to prosper and grow, they have to evolve and function in unique dynamic union with their hinterlands and forelands¹¹⁷ through an evolving new type of urban communities in an integrative whole.

The morphology of major port city followed a planned as well as spontaneous action. The major elements of morphology include the identification and assessment of the natural features of the city, the impediments or advantages arising out of its topography, site, ecology and the distinction of the various land uses both public and private, etc. The structural morphology of major port city is determined by its functional needs as well as structural. In structural morphology of the major port city, planners, with their ideologies and visions, exercised paramount influence. Urban planning and control in the seventeenth and eighteenth century hardly had major influence on anarchic and unstructured process. Social factor played a critical role in shaping cityspace. Cityspace incorporates spatial appearance and architecture, design and decoration, style, imaginative incorporation of the human element, atmosphere of the place into its ambit.

External influences on the morphology of the major port city can easily be demarcated. There are three outside areas which interact with the major port city: the hinterlands, the forelands and the umland.¹¹⁸

Surat existed as a minor port in history between fourth and tenth century. Then it vanished. In thirteenth century Surat reemerged.¹¹⁹ The

general maritime and port promotional policies of Gujarat's late ancient and early medieval states prepared a port boosting environment in Gujarat. Cambay was the first port boosted by this maritime policy, followed by Surat. By adopting a policy of tolerance, Sidhraj Solanki nurtured Muslim merchants spatially Arabic and Persian at Cambay by offering maximum freedom of practicing their religious, and cultural faiths. Muslim merchants of Cambay were independent to erect their own mosques by utilizing Islamic architectural technologies, and forms. Other concomitant rulers of Gujarat followed almost similar maritime policies to encourage maritime trade, shipping, port construction and development, and so forth. After Cambay, Surat's development as major port city, therefore, was stimulated. Testimony to this can be have from contemporaneous scholar, Someshwar a Brahmin scholar patronized by Bhimdev II and Visalade in his *Kirtikaumudi*. According to *Kirtikaumudi*, two contemporary great Jain merchants namely Vastupal, and Tejpal were the personal friends of the kings of Patan. Vastupal, as finance minister had been entrusted the responsibility to develop important port cities especially Cambay.¹²⁰ Vastupal introduced some reforms in the functioning of the department of port with an innate motive to encourage navigators, and mariners *navittik* and *sayentrik*) preferably Muslim (*mlechhas* or *yavanas*) ones to settle at Cambay. Muslims were also a preferred lot of merchants to be encouraged to settle at Anhilwad Patan, and other centres of trade, and commerce. It was this Gujarati maritime business spirit that contributed significantly in acquiring them a high esteem in simultaneous business world. It was Muzaffar Shah who undertook the responsibility to develop Gujarat as a maritime state by realizing the vitality of rebuilding the naval forces for securing western Indian Ocean highways. For transshipping safely, and securely goods in this maritime theatre of trade of the Indian Ocean, he rebuilt naval forces. He was also credited with cleaning the silting of the channel for navigation at a high cost. Ahmed Shah, and Muhammed Begada (1459-1511) offered all possible catalysis to shipping, port development and maritime trade of Gujarat. Moorish diasporic maritime entrepreneurs from Alexandria and Damascus migrated to Gujarat especially Cambay and Surat. These Moorish diasporic maritime entrepreneurs were living at Cambay at the time of the visit of Hieronimo di San Stephano in 1487.

The development of Surat in the early sixteenth century had direct linkage with the difficulty in navigability in the gulf of Cambay. The islands and bars of the Gulf of Cambay made navigation risky for the larger ships and maritime trade. This was essentially the background to the rise of Surat. There were two contenders of Cambay in the early

sixteenth century: surat and Diu. Mallik Ayaz's concerted effort to develop Diu as major port city proved futile as its location on the peninsula was a great hinderance for consistent maritime and terrestrial communication. Reversely, Surat was naturally selected as the oceanic terminus of continental land routes. Surat consolidated its position as major port city and Diu inevitably joined the structure and supported such a metropolis.¹²¹ In the early sixteenth century Surat was helped by its Governor Malik Gopi in the struggle against Diu. Portuguese designs were aimed at destroying Surat for ever, but failed thanks to the efforts of Khwaja Safar. Khwaja safar in 1540s built the city's fort on the Tapi to fend off the Portuguese. Surat acquired a prime place of preeminence in maritime India during Mughal age. It was without doubt the gift of the Mughal empire.

Simultaneously, the establishment and expansion of three great Muslim empire in the western Indian Ocean during the sixteenth century provided optimal maritime security and safety to maritime, mercantile, entrepreneurial and diasporic operators. Mughals In India, Safavid empire on the Persian Gulf and Ottoman empire on the Red Sea attempted to make these maritime regions safe and secure.¹²² The prosperity of Surat was intimately connected with the liberation of the Persian trade, resurgence of Red sea trade under newly emerged Muslim empires. Maritime trafficking in the western Indian Ocean had noted revival trend. The speedy revival of western Indian Ocean trade made Surat a hectic hub of maritime shipping and trade.

Administration of Surat during Early Modern Period

The port city Surat is situated 21° 12' North latitude and 72° 52' East longitude. By 1720 surat boasted two walls: the inner wall called the shehrpanah (the safety of the city)¹²³ and the alampanah (the safety of the world). The walls were brick-built, about ten feet high when they began, pierced at irregular intervals. There were many entrance gates for the entrance of the city. Variao gate was followed by Mecca gate, the way hopefully across the Arabian sea. There were three main opening gates: first towards cambay and Ahmedabad, second towards Burhanpur and the third towards Navsari.¹²⁴ Immediately beyond the inner wall was the castle, followed by imperial custom-house, the furza.

Across the street and facing the custom-house was the spacious enclosure of the imperial mint. On the left of the imperial ment was a palace named daria mahal, the official residence of the mir-i-bahr, the harbor master and on the right the castle. The castle-garrison was meant to safeguard the life-line of the city. The commander of the castle was not allowed to come into the city at all. The governing of the town being left to the mutasaddi or port officer, the local governor. The large expanse

of grass called the maidan, the castle green where merchants and citizen of Surat mingled. Qafilas of commodities from upcountry unloaded here.

Beyond the maidan stood the darbar, the mansion where the governor lived. Diwan, the supreme revenue officer was next in rank to mutasaddi. The Mutasaddi with the imperial approbation appointed to the lucrative post of the daroga of the furza, the superintendent of imperial customs, and usually kept it in the family. He also appointed and removed the daroga of khuski, the superintendent of excise. Another profitable appointment within the governor's patronage was the daroga of the mint at Surat, usually kept within the family as well. Two imperial reporters were posted to report to the emperor about general public and secret events, and were called wakianavis and harkara, respectively. Their chronicles were carefully noted in the imperial chancery. All the principal merchants in town had their agents at the imperial court. There was a third man Sidi Yaqut Khan of Janjira, some way below Bombay. It was a title conferred by the emperor. Its holder was the head of the sidi fleet. It was inducted into imperial service and on that ground collected a salary from the customs of Surat. His agent was stationed at Surat and respected as its important citizens. Europeans called him Mughal admiral. Thus, the administration of Surat had been maintained through few districts such as furza, khuskilangar, jahajat, jihat gadi or marammat jahazat, etc.¹²⁵

In the administration of Surat, minor local officers also performed certain essential duties. Qazi was assisted by mufti in delivering justice and registering all kinds of deeds and declarations which the citizens of Surat were so fond of committing on paper. At the custom-house, the daroga was assisted by khasnavis. Qanungo was the spokesman of the local merchants, representing their rights and explaining their complaints. Shahbandar was the spokesperson of the foreign merchants. Practically, they were two hungry immortals demanding their sacrifice and not always conversant with custom. Kotwal of the city looked after the law and order by regular patrolling of the city through his appointed men. The duty of the faujdar was to patrol the immediate neighbourhood of the city.

The muhtasib was entirely a civil officer, and inspected goods, behaviour of the shopkeepers, and the justness of their rights. The halalkhores were under his jurisdiction for the purpose of preserving the town from filth, and nastiness, in default of which he was censurable. The erection of new edifice was liable to his control, and was answerable for all ununiform or improper buildings.

Beyond darbar and castle, there located Mughal officials locality

called sultanpura. The left of it was situated mercantile city, called saudagarpura. Within the saudagarpura, the rich ship-owners and some of the aristocrats had built their residential houses in a stretch along the river, named the mulla chakla. The English East India Company had constructed its factory here. In the neighbourhood lived the famous Turkish family of chellabies. The Portuguese and the French, too, lived the locality. Wealthy bania merchants resided in the saudagarpura. Nanavat was the oldest residential area of Surat. The hereditary nagarseeths family of Surat, the parak family lived here. The street referred to as the street of the sarrafs, the money changers and converters of the city. Nanavat was also a bazaar, with sarrafs' gadiis and shops combined with offices. Another locality was established by either a nobleman or a noblewoman called pura to immortalize his/her name. Jahanara founded an outstanding locality, named begampura, in the northern suburbs for her living in the eighteenth century. Profit yielding was one of the motives in erecting pura in the city.

Well-kept out gardens by noblemen, noblewomen, wealthy merchants and ship-owners was another speciality of Surat in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The large garden of Jahanara continued to be a famous landmark even long after Mughal rule vanished from Surat. There were begam gardens constructed by other noblewomen. Affluent Hindu and Muslim merchants maintained gardens in the suburbs. Mulla Abdul Gafur, Chellabies, and others maintained such gardens.¹²⁶ These were primarily perhaps pleasure and rest gardens rather than residential gardens.

Ordinary citizens, retail shopkeepers, maritime labourers, textile workers, weavers, dyers, textile painters, textile printers, general labourers, etc. were living in shacks of bamboo in the suburbs. Locality, community and even personal hygiene and sanitation were in a poor and deplorable state as is evidenced by synchronous travel accounts. Stinking in these localities was a continuous phenomenon. Provisions for garbage disposal, sewerage, etc. hardly existed at Surat.

Hinterlands of Surat

The development of a major port city and maritime city like Surat depends principally on its dynamically productive hinterlands, loosely connoted as the area served by the port in terms of exports, and imports, transport links, nature of commodity flows, and synchronous political policies controlling inland transport.¹²⁷ Port hinterlands are in the main an economic rather than geographical entity and represent a superimposition of overlapping layers or hierarchies. These layers can have singularity or plurality of commodities such as sugar hinterland, bulk cargo hinterland, export, and import hinterland, etc. Ullman and

Morgan have rendered two distinctive classifications of port hinterlands. Ullman has divided port hinterlands into primary, and secondary. The former comprised port's well established area, whereas later consisted of the area where rivalry among ports is a "free for all." Morgan puts forward a three-fold classification: primitive hinterland, raw material, and bulk cargo hinterland and the liner port hinterland. It was later reduced into two categories by Hoyle: primitive and complex hinterlands. On primitive hinterland a maritime city exercises undisputed control. The complex hinterland constitutes of an inland area with avenues of accessibility to two or more ports by lateral traffic. Occurrence of overlapping of hinterland is an innate property of complex hinterland.¹²⁸ A clear-cut demarcation line is hard to draw between the thin lines of the definition of hinterlands at least in case of Surat's hinterlands.

Hinterlands of Surat were not independent rather overlapping hinterlands: these overlapped between Broach and Cambay earlier, while later overlapped between Cambay and Surat. These hinterlands of Surat had some kind of specialized proto-industrial, and commercial agricultural identity. The centrality of Surat in Gujarat made it consummate maritime trade. The eastern hinterland of Surat up to Mahu-Bhopwar was connected by entry, collection and distribution centre of raw materials and commodities of inland and river Mahi, collecting varieties of agricultural, forest, and proto-industrial products and supplied to Surat. The hectic reverse traffic, though, of course, supplying goods and commodities of different sorts was also possible. Wheat, rice, varieties of timber, etc. of the regions of Ratlam, Pratapgarh, Udaipur, Durgapur, etc. were transported to Surat through River Mahi by local river boats (locally called *hodio*).¹²⁹

There were two other routes connecting Surat with Agra, and Delhi via Malwa. Heavy traffic between Agra-Cambay and Agra-Surat via Malwa and Burhanpur route made it more dynamic during seventeenth century. Two principal routes stretched ahead of Burhanpur entered Malwa through the fortress of Asirgarh. Shorter route to Agra crossed the River Narbada at Haldia, while the other crossed the Narbada at Akbarpur. If one heading from Cambay in winter, the best course would be turn right immediately after Baroda and strike north through Ujjain, Sipri, and Gwalior. Another route, though shorter, would lie along Tapi to Burhanpur and then would veer north to Gwalior. The eastern routes lay through well cultivated areas and across major streams.

These Mughal imperial overland highways being secure and safe were preferably traversed by mercantile qafilas and caravans throughout

the year except during rainy season. Brisk transit trade on Agra-Cambay-Surat routes was flowing during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The continuum of this brisk transit trade can not be maintained without trammel shooter-mechanisms. One such trammel-shooter mechanism was the networks of sarais, constructed predominantly of stones, but rarely of mud and unbaked bricks (sarai kham), by state, and privateers in villages, towns and cities situated en-routes. Chahar Gulshon has recorded 35 such sarais.¹³⁰ Private sarais were largely charitable and owned by jain merchants perhaps Gujarati jain merchants as is evident from their names such as sarai Badridas, sarai Mulukchand, sarai Balchand. A later source does suggest that almost the whole of the shahukars (soucars), sroffs (shroffs, bankers and money lenders), and a great portion of banias (bunnias, retail dealers) in central India, are either from Gujarat or Marwar and generally not very old settlers. The principal bankers at Ujjain (Oojein) of Gujarat origin migrated there three centuries ago and those from Marwar at later date. The chief firm at Shujahalpur has been settled three hundred years ago. Wealthy men migrated from Gujarat to Mandu (Mandoo) during the period of Raja Bhoja and the Khaljis such as the family of Guddasa, and Bysa whose traditions of the mercantile class in central India is still preserved.¹³¹ Utilization of river boats for en-route river-crossing posed serious problem for transit trade. Another trammel-shooter policy of the Mughals was bridge-construction on these rivers. Jahangir and Aurangzeb gave fillip to bridge construction. Consequently, overland transport by carts for carrying passengers, luggage and merchandise on Agra-Cambay-Surat route via Sironj, Ujjain and Ahmedabad had improved considerably. Police chaukis and posts had also been provided to provide optimal security to merchants and merchandise. Dutch sources are more specific about this.

Agra was a considerable market and a strategic entre of collection for the northern produce to be sent down catch the shipping in March and April at Surat. Feeder lines stretched from Agra to Lucknow, Banaras, Patna and almost whole east provinces, Multan, and Lahore in the west, and Delhi and its surrounding districts in the north. Cloths woven in these cities and their neighbourhood found their way to Agra. From Agra these export goods were sent to Surat either through terrestrial route or through river route. Dariabadi bed-spread, Banarasi Kinkhab, dosala, and pasmina shawls of Kashmir, Jamdani and Baluchari saris of Bengal, and other cloths so collected at Agra reached to Surat for export to Indian Ocean as well as trans-oceanic regions.

Many of the en-route cities were prominent manufacturing cities specialized in producing some sort specialized proto-industrial goods

such as Ujjain, Sironj, Gwalior, Agra, and Dariapur.¹³² Malwa was reputed for manufacturing varieties textile of high texture, while Sironj gained prominence for producing chintze “chintze of Sironj”, and very fine muslin. At Sironj, resident diasporic Armenian merchants dealt in these textile trade, whilst Europeans, too, were actively involved in the transit trade of chintze, lovely red linen, and muslin of Sironj. Good muslin and turban cloth were especially produced at Sarangpur, whereas Chanderi was famous for producing do-dami of flowered, fine, and delicate texture. Three types of chanderi saris: light muslin, saris with broader border, and do chasmi were also manufactured in Chanderi. The town of Sihore earned high esteem for manufacturing fine quality muslin. These cities and towns, though, acted as hinterlands of Burhanpur, never obliterated their overland transfer to Cambay for transshipment to Indian Ocean markets. Bayana indigo (Agra), dariabadi Chadar (Lucknow), Banarasi kinkhab, printed cloth from Gwalior, and cheap cotton cloth of twin towns Sipri-Colari were also transferred to Surat.¹³³

Surat was also well connected with proto-industrial manufacturing centres of Rajasthan through Mughal highways and local routes to collect commodities and distribute goods up to remote villages. Most frequently traversed route was Surat-ahmedabad-Ajmera-Jaipur-Agra. Jodhpur, Marwar, south-east Rajasthan were well connected with Surat through Mughal Highways. Many connecting proto-industrial and commercial qasbas and cities of Rajasthan acted as collection and distribution centres. Surat merchants appointed agents and brokers to collect manufactured goods from rural weavers and artisans on behalf of their masters and transported through secure overland routes to Surat.¹³⁴ These roads were generally safe on account of the maintenance and regulation by local kings.¹³⁵

Immediate hinterland for Surat started with Ahmedabad, a land bounded proto-industrial, and commercial city itself of considerable repute. Earlier Cambay and then surat depended heavily for the supply of cotton, the staple commodity of shipping comprised of Dholka, Jambussar, Petlad, Nariad, Limdi, etc.¹³⁶ Kinkhabs (brocades) of Ahmedabad, and Dholka (a taluka town of Ahmedabad) were the dream fabrics of India. Kinkhab with coloured silk, gold threads interweave and floral designs were truly the most gorgeous silken fabrics of India. Four types of kinkhab were manufactured at Ahmedabad and Dholka: first, the pure “cloth of gold” and “cloth of silver”, second, brocades with gold and silver threads, and coloured silk interweave to emphasize design, the true kinkhab of India, third, the bafta, that is mostly of closely woven coloured silks, with only selective designs in

gold, and silver thread and fourth, kinkhab with limited metallic threads.¹³⁷

The continuum of Dholka as buzzing centre of handloom textile production had been recognized from twelfth century. It was the repository for the production of varieties of cloths and major supplier to world market through its port Cambay and Surat.¹³⁸ Dholka's painted and printed kinkhabs were more durable compared to kinkhabs of Kashi and Ahmedabad. Kinkhab merchants of Dholka were specialized in dealing its wholesale as well as retail marketing. Various designs of kinkhab, namely chauras kotha, kalash designs, mohar kinkhab, tara mandali, lal badami, mor pankhi, etc. were manufactured at Dholka. Apart from this, 36 types of mashru were also manufactured here. Dholka had a great name in dying cloths. A separate specialized market place called the ranga bazaar or raja bazaar had been built at Dholka.

Petlad and Nadiad in the Ahmedabad district renowned for its textile production. Ahmedabad was bleaching, dyeing, printing, painting and general finishing centre before export. Clothes manufactured in Gujarat and Other regions were brought to Ahmedabad for these purposes.¹³⁹ Ahmedabad, therefore, was the nerve-centre for Gujarat's Production and the principal support of the port Surat.¹⁴⁰

Ahmedabad was also world renowned for its trade in jewellery through earlier Cambay and then through Surat at least from the time of Shantidas Zaveri (1585-1659), a Jain jeweler and sroff of international repute with business networks in Antwerp, Florence, London, Paris and Arab countries. He was a dealer in diamond, pearls, rubies, and emeralds and was truly a merchant prince. The settlements now recognized as tankashalni pol, sedagarni pol and manek chauk were spots, where business negotiation in jewels had been negotiated and undertaken. He exported his diamond and jewels to foreign countries through his trusted gumashtas on ships by purchasing English passes for safely and securely reaching to its destination.

There was two connecting roads to Ahmedabad from Surat: first, Surat-Broach-Baroda-Nadiad-Ahmedabad; and second, Surat-Broach-Cambay-through important qasbas of Nadiad-Ahmedabad. These country towns, mostly local administrative centres were connected through roads and were textile manufacturing centres. Weavers, dyers, printers, painters were their primary inhabitants. They supplied their finished goods. Broach was itself a major production centre. Masumpot and Ankleswar were important weaving centres. Dabhoi and Sinoor in Baroda were textile producing centres.

Surat also obtained indigo from its hinterlands namely Sarkhej

and Jambusar, an area of lower Gujarat, though the quantity supplied from Jambusar was inconsiderable but significant. The actual quantities involved in Surat's export transshipments were hard to gauge, but two types of indigo had been exported: silaponka nil (green leave indigo) and sukhaponkh nil (dry leave indigo). From Sarkhej and Jambusar, Surat secured largely second category of indigo in two shapes: round balls, and flat pieces. The indigo production centres, with carefully constructed cisterns, specialized workforce, brokers, contractors, indigo merchants, grower-manufacturers, etc. were found in the neighbourhood of Sarkhej.¹⁴¹

Cotton and silk cloths form other hinterlands of Surat such as Kathiawar or Saurashtra, Kutch, Broach and Rajasthan were brought by overland as well as by coastal routes either for local consumption or for transshipment. Saurashtra supplied banbhani saris and other bandhni cloths, atlase (Jamnagar silk cloth), Kutch supplied gaji and atlase (silk cloth of Mandvi), Kapadvanj supplied abhala bharat (embroidery with mirrors) and glass mirrors for using in embroidery and Rajasthan supplied pigment pichavai of Nathdwara to Surat. A special kind of cloth woven at the village of Sinor in the vicinity of Broach and baroj or baroji of Broach were also transferred to Surat for transshipment.¹⁴²

The most celebrated cloth came to Surat from patan called patola, woven by salvi weaver migrants from Rajasthan during Solanki period. Patola during our period was manufactured at Patan, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and later Surat. Patola was woven on ikat patterning and decorated by plant, zoomorphic, anthromorphic and abstract geometric motifs, borrowed from constructional motifs and designs. These motif and design patterns had regional variations and identified as Cambay pattern, patan pattern and Surat pattern. It was this regional decorative pattern that determined the identity of Patola. Cambay pattern was more export-oriented, while in Surat pattern border was usually green on dark red field, called the Bohra Muslim preference. Patan patterns were most conspicuous, striking and dominant types in India represented by animals. Traditional decorative designs and patterns were predominantly textile art form in vogue in patola. Japanese, Korean and Chinese tussar and eri silk both white and yellow were preferably used in weaving patola.¹⁴³ The inducement to the production of export quality patola at Patan had been offered by Solanki rulers like Sidharaj Jaisimha (AD 1094-1143) and Kumarpal (AD 1144-1173) by inviting professional weavers, dyers, textile painters and printers here from Rajasthan.¹⁴⁴

Surat played partially a dynamic role in preserving life at certain coastal ports of southwest India and South India like Goa, Chaul, Diu

and Cochin by supplying life-sustaining goods from her agrarian hinterlands in its coastal carriers. Surat's Muslim and Hindu merchants were actively involved in this coastal trade. Muslim high acumen in navigation made Muslim navigators and mariners superior in this sector of the Indian Ocean trade. Even Portuguese were highly impressed by their skill of piloting, their skill of determining wind direction in advance, knowledge of the nature of Indian Ocean wave system, knowledge of the nature of Indian Ocean and so forth. Gujarati navigators and seamen were no less a navigator and seamen than their Muslim counterparts. They were great pilots often navayats from the port of Rander. Surat banias particularly jain and Brahmins especially sarswat and nagar constituted the largest segment of this like mallik Gopi.¹⁴⁵ The high-handedness of in Indian Ocean economy is evident from a report of 1646, "there were 30,000 vanias in the whole of Portuguse India, primarily in Goa, Diu, Bassein and Daman. Some were reputed to have capitals of Rs. 400,000 at their disposal. The heart of the Gujarati economic position in Portuguese India was their sea trade, based the products of their homeland." The annual capital involved on Goa-Gujarat trade was well over Rs. 4 00,000 annually, whereas Gujarat's sea trade at the end of sixteenth century was worth about Rs. 8,00,00,000 per annum.

Surat as epicenter of transit maritime trade had also developed maritime trade with northwest Indian coast, supplying merchandise of different countries. Mansura, Debal and Multan were interconnected through overland routes. Mamhal is town situated on the extremity of desert, linking Debal and Bania to Surat by land route. Surat's maritime merchants also acted as suppliers of aromatic drugs and perfumes. Mercantile ships from China and Sind also visited to Bhroach.¹⁴⁶

Surat also maintained coastal trade with ports of Malabar. Malabari maritime merchants came to Surat with their pepper.¹⁴⁷ These pepper were purchased by Red Sea merchants, Cairo merchants, Persian Merchants, Arabic merchants and Gujarati merchants for transshipment to different regions of the western Indian Ocean. The hectic transit trade of Surat promoted Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Abyssinian, Egyptian, Armenian, and African diasporic settlement at surat.

Surat also maintained coastal as well as port to port trade with coasts and port of the Bay of Bengal. On Coromandel coast Masulipatam and Madras were important ports. It was from these ports that south Indian textiles brought to Surat for local as well as intra-western Indian Ocean distribution. It was actual limitedly direct and grossly indirect trade carried by European privateers, companies

servants on private account and companies trade.¹⁴⁸ Surat also developed coastal and port to port trade with ports and coasts of Bengal.

Surat's importance was, therefore, not only self-generative but also depended on its proto-industrial, agricultural and commercial hinterlands. Its sustenance as major port and maritime city was also determined by its forelands.

Forelands of Cambay

Forelands of major port and maritime city might be defined as land areas lied on the seaward side of the maritime and port city, connected with that maritime and port city by ocean transports. Coastal ports receiving goods from a maritime city, and sea port in coastal carriers or crafts are incorporated into the domain of the hinterlands of that maritime city, and sea port. Entrepots, antithetically, send and receive goods to and from forelands. It, therefore, is of prime relevance to study forelands either in terms of the shipping connections, and shipping lines, number of departure, net tonnage moving in a certain direction, or in terms of the origin, and destination of cargo moving through the maritime city. Cargo movement is considered more meaningful in an analysis of maritime city-foreland relationship. For better comprehension, the cargo data may be broken down by type (bulk or general) or nature (ore and grains) of commodities. The forelands, hence, are parts of umland.

The forelands of Surat were Indian Ocean-centric, and after sixteenth century inter-ocean-centric with south Atlantic, south-east Atlantic, and limitedly north-east Atlantic as dynamic centres of her maritime trade. The Indian Ocean-centric forelands of Surat had four major wings of maritime mercantile operations exploited primarily by Afro-Asian merchants.

First, western Indian Ocean wing of the forelands of surat was comprised of Persian Gulf, Red Sea and East African coast. For this sector of Indian Ocean trade of Surat served both brides of the sea as well as gateway¹⁴⁹ with its maritime entrepreneurs as linchpin actors.¹⁵⁰ The unity of the western Indian Ocean is given by the monsoon and rightly observed by Ibn Majid, the great Indian navigator as the "lands before the sea".¹⁵¹

Muslim maritime merchants proved powerful in the field of thalassography, and oceanology as oceanauts or acquanauts, navigators and mariners. Their maritime domination was interwoven and interdependent at least politically. The two regions of the Indian Ocean world namely Gujarat, and Arabia experienced urbanization during 1000-1300, as a corollary of political stability provided by Solanki rulers,

and the Sultans of Gujarat, and by early Caliphs by uniting warring Arab tribes into powerful empire after eighth century. The Abbasid empires at peak of its power assimilated some of the regions of Middle East, and Africa into its boundaries, controlled manufacturing centres of West Asia, and North Africa, exercised effective command over trade routes both terrestrial and maritime, and linked Mediterranean with Indian Ocean. The Arab maritime entrepreneurs enjoyed maximum safety, and security on these trade routes, and amassed immense accumulation of capital. The rulers, and maritime entrepreneurs of both the regions of the Indian Ocean cooperated, and coordinated with each other in managing maritime trade by implementing maritime policy of minimum militarization of the western Indian Ocean, maximum maritime freedom, security, and safety to each other's visiting maritime entrepreneurs in each other's areas of influence, minimum piracy, congenial maritime bureaucratic structure, propitious port bureaucratization, and so forth.

This Arabic-Gujarati Indian Ocean business congeniality became essential instrument in advancing ensemble maritime entrepreneurial spirit in the western Indian Ocean. Two pronged reflection of this can easily be visualized: first, Arabic-Gujarati linguistic assimilation. Arabic as universal language in the western Indian Ocean had been learnt by Gujarati maritime merchants. Consequently, Gujarati language came under strong influence of Arabic language during this long process of assimilation. Second, Stimulus to the settlement of Muslim merchants in Patan and in Gujarat's ports by Solanki rulers had been given.

During the period 200-1500, a set of city-states based in ports emerged, grew and came to dominate the maritime world of the western Indian Ocean. They provided all possible coastal protection to visting maritime operators. Gujarati maritime merchants of Aden enjoyed this coastal protection. Hormuz's case was different but maritime protection had been enjoyed by Gujarati maritime entrepreneurs here also. Gujarati goods were taxed leniently:

"All goods arriving in the Kingdom by sea paid 10 percent of their value and that all goods from Khorasan paid 5 percent. The Portuguese writers suggest a far more complex system, in which some Indian goods like raw cotton, rice, and butter paid no more than 5 percent, Indian textiles 10 percent, and textiles exported to Hurmuz via Melaka as much as 16 percent. It is interesting to note that the bulk of customs duties was collected on imports rather than exports; neither of the major exports in the eastward direction, namely horses (exported at the rate of two thousand a year in the early sixteenth century) and bullion (the major

component in Hurmuz's trade to India) seem to have been taxed."¹⁵²

These are some of the cases of port based state favouratism, and maritime protectionism to Gujarati maritime entrepreneurs in western Indian Ocean. This became one of the formidable spellbinds in making Gujarati maritime merchants the undisputed linchpin of western Indian Ocean trade.

Surat's export to Hurmuz, Mokha, Aden, and East African coast were primarily textiles of different qualities, predominantly general quality textiles. Specific textiles, for instance Patan's patola, Ahmedabad's and Dholka's kinkhab, Broach's Baroji, Cambay's khambhayati, patola, and chadar boral, black cloth of Ahmedabad and, Dholka collected at harbour of Surat, etc.¹⁵³ were exported for sale to affluent consumers. Other articles of export were leather goods, indigo, lac, myrobalans, ivory bracelets, agate goods, beads, sugar, Jaggery, molasses,¹⁵⁴ rice, butter, coconuts, mangoes, lemon, betal nuts, semi-precious stones, drugs, etc. The imports to Surat from these western Indian Ocean ports were bullion, horse, slaves, copper, quick silver, vermilion, coral, woolen and silken cloths.

Arab and Persian seamen lost ground to Indians in maritime transportation. Gujarati shippers, too, grew in importance and vitality throughout the Indian Ocean. Since In the mid-sixteenth century, Gujarat in general, and Surat in particular emerged as the nerve centre of colossal maritime trade, multi-directionally linking the India Ocean.¹⁵⁵

Surat maintained hectic maritime trade with islands of the Indian Ocean. Sri lanka figured prominently in this. Gujarati merchant ships regularly sailed to Sri Lanka with fine cloths made of cotton, and silk, and other goods. The imports from Sri Lanka were principally elephants, and cinnamon.

Second, middle Indian Ocean wing of the forelands of Surat were constituted of several spice island with specialized spice production centres. Surat's maritime entrepreneurs have penetrated deep into the interior of these islands to collect spices cheaper for supplying it to western Indian Ocean, inter-oceanic, trans-oceanic and Mediterranean markets dearer through the mechanisms of re-export. Western Indian Ocean merchants and dealers, east Mediterranean merchants and dealers, and trans-oceanic merchants and dealers in spices were keen participants, and sharp competitors in the Surat's spice spot markets to purchase spices there for re-exports to their respective markets.¹⁵⁶ Gujarati merchants formed dominant group in middle Indian Ocean's spice trade. Malacca evolved as locational centrality for Chinese and Gujarati maritime merchants in spices. Locational centrality of Surat in

the Indian Ocean, too, was a boon for transforming Surat into a transit emporia. Gujarati and Arabic maritime merchants transported spices to Red Sea region whence they found their way overland to the Levant and then on to Europe.¹⁵⁷

Surat's exports to the markets of middle Indian Ocean were cotton and silk fabrics of different sorts, agricultural products, leather works, semi-precious stones, butter, and so forth. Of immense importance was the patola primarily for elitist consumers of the middle Indian Ocean and Japan Seas. The emperor of Japan, the king of Bantam and the ruler of Siam were the most powerful consumers of patola from Patan, Cambay and Ahmedabad. The main markets of patola were the middle Indian Ocean markets.¹⁵⁸ Some of the agents of these consumers bought patola even at Ahmedabad. Patola was rated in high esteem in the emporiums of Bantam, Grisse, Banda, Arracan, Pegu, Thailand, Combodia, Malay Peninsula, Atjeh, Sumatra, etc. at least during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Patola was in heavy demand in these markets to serve certain purposes at various ceremonial occasions. For instance, refined men wore patola as shoulder cloth, silk patolu nappies or silk patola swaddling cloth was used for the infants of noble birth, royal trousers or patola for official attire of Jevanese regents, patola belts for Javanese women for wedding and festive occasions, cover fabrics of valuable objects of sacred character, ceremonial garments and so forth. The patola influence in middle Indian Ocean area was so powerful that Surati Keling introduced Grisee ikat (weft ikat) technique in East Java. According to local textile art tradition, part of Grisee population originally migrated from Gujarat, first manufactured double ikat, and later ikat weft.

Third, Surat maintained direct and indirect maritime trading ties with eastern Indian Ocean. Recent marine archaeological discovery of a stone anchor in the Gulf of Cambay with a design similar to the ones used by Chinese and Japanese ships in the twelfth-fourteenth centuries offer first ample offshore evidence of direct Indic-Sino-Japanese maritime trade. With the emergence of trade between South China Sea and Persian Gulf, landfall trade was often conducted through western India in absence of transshipment of commodities. Western Indian ports acted as medial ports to supply and purchase of South China Sea goods. Though the Chinese authority regulated South China Sea trade at the Chinese ports, the main maritime operators were the Chinese and the Arabs. The great Chinese merchant ships called Junks sailed south through Malay world and on to India, and sometimes even beyond this. After fourteenth century, the Chinese maritime operators in the Indian

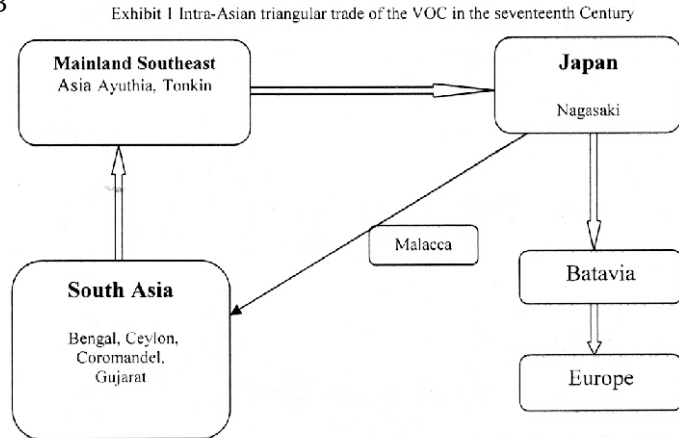
Ocean brought to a standstill. The role of middle Indian Ocean ports as median ports diversified and Surat exchanged Indian goods with that of Chinese ones through these mediate ports and mediate maritime merchants.¹⁵⁹

European Companies, privateers, maritime entrepreneurs and maritime trade and entrepreneurial diaspora were also major maritime actors in exporting western Indian silk and cotton fabrics to western Indian ocean, Bay of Bengal, middle Indian ocean and East Indian Ocean markets from Surat. The Dutch, the English, the French, and minor companies like Ostend, Danish, Swedish, Prussian, Triest, and many others were engaged in western Indian maritime trade either directly or indirectly. Surat was on the transit route and had developed emporiums and hospitality, it was also used as enroute or inway rest station. In the process some business had been carried, but of course of minor nature. Gujarat's famed and coarse textile had acquired great demand throughout the Indian Ocean.¹⁶⁰ Portuguese Company and privateers in the sixteenth century Popularised Gujarati goods throughout the Indian Ocean. Apart from traditional Indian Ocean markets, the Portugues were the hectic operators on the principal maritime theatre of Chines and Japanese routes. Maritime merchants and entrepreneurs of Surat and Cambay were indirect contributors in this trade operation.

The Dutch Company started its maritime business directly from Surat by establishing its factory over there in 1618, with subordinate factories in Cambay, Baroda, Ahmedabad, and Broach in Gujarat, and Burhanpur and Agra in northern India. These were the VOC's collection points. VOC exchanged Gujarati textiles for Japanese precious metals. Surat's advantage in VOC's intra-Indian Ocean and inter-Indian Ocean trade organization was the availability of Mughal mint, highly advanced private, and retail fincial and money market and limited involvement of state in monetary management. The alternative organizational arrangement of open private and retail financial and money market at Surat involved the entrepreneurial function being delegated to the sarrafs. Quality control of the coins was generally strictly managed by the government.

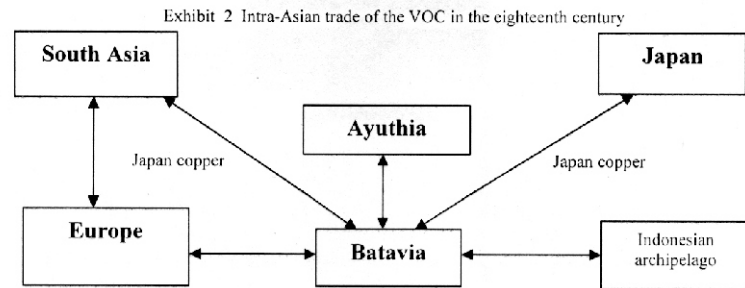
Surat trade with Japan through VOC in textile-precious metal was highly developed in the seventeenth century. It was actually a trade triangle involving Surat, Europe, and Nagasaki through Batavia and Malacca. Exhibit 1 and 2 demonstrate the operational mechanisms of the trade triangle. In South Asia, Gujarat with Surat as its nodal port formed the most dominant partner in both the peak periods 1676/1677-

1677/1678 and 1696/1697-1697/1698. Batavia and Malacca were midpoint transit ports. Malacca was a far more vital transit port than B



Source: Ryuto Shimada, *The Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2006), p. 17, fig. 1.

Most of the copper was directly delivered from Malacca to South Asia. During Japanese non-interference or limited-interference period, the VOC shipped at least three ships in this Japan-South Asia direct trade through Siam incurring shipment costs in Malacca and Batavia. Surat exported cotton and silk textiles to Siam and imported deerskins, rayskins, sappanwood and similar goods to Japan.¹⁶¹ The maintenance of VOC strong maritime trade connections with Surat and its subordinate factories depended largely on the import of Japanese precious stones. Advance money to dadni merchants to procure textiles for shipment to Nagasaki was managed by VOC's imported Japanese



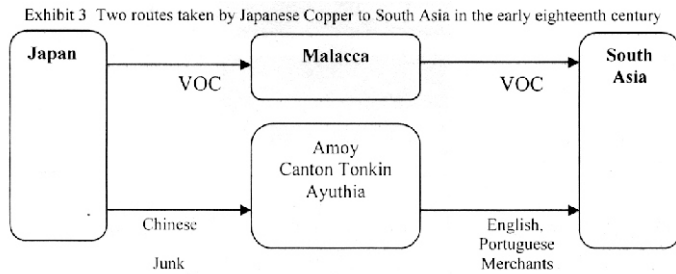
Source: Ryuto Shimada, *The Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2006), p. 19, fig. 2.

In first quarter of the eighteenth century the Japanese restriction (1715) limited VOC to two ships annually to conduct its intra-Asian trade. Batavia emerged as the most vital midpoint pivotal port in this trade triangle, performing redistributive function by unloading and reshipping Japanese copper to Surat. It has been demonstrated in exhibit 2. In the eighteenth century, Batavia assumed the role as “The pivotal point of fan” in the general intra-Asian trade of Japanese copper under VOC's flag.

For VOC Surat easily constituted by the largest single market in the Indian Ocean world for Indonesian spices and Japanese bar copper, in both of which the company enjoyed monopoly status. Any financial scarcity in procuring Gujarati goods Indian Ocean, trans-oceanic and inter-oceanic markets was supplemented by funds borrowed in the local money market, in which again Surat had attained a level of development and maturity hardly found any where else in the continent. Throughout the early seventeenth century, Surat was the hectic pivotal port of distribution of spices in the Indian subcontinent. The strategy utilized in the management of intra-Indian distribution of spices was through the collusion between the VOC's servants at Surat and a few leading merchants of the city. The collusion was operated through an understanding of consideration of selling the cheap cloves to a very small number of merchants by keeping wholesale price in secret. It offered opportunity of freedom of fixing retail price of cloves in the Surat market. The margin of profit earned on so retailed cloves was uniformly very high, and often most probably considerably in excess of the normal level.

The VOC also contributed considerably in Surat-Sino trade. Dutch records at Malacca reporting on the main cargoes of non-Dutch merchant ships simply are revealing of the European maritime entrepreneurial (Britain, Portugal) and Muslim maritime entrepreneurial involvement in carrying Japanese copper to South Asian markets via Amoy (Xiamen), Canton, Tonkin, and Ayuthia.¹⁶² The destinations of these maritime to 1900 Ad (Greenwood Press, London, 1997), pp. 110-135. entrepreneurial ships in India were Surat and Madras. The Japanese copper was first imported from Nagasaki by Chinese junks to Canton and then re-exported by non-Dutch merchants at the destination ports or ports of call in South China or South East Asia. In the 1710s and 1720s The participation of Chinese junk in South China and middle Indian Ocean declined offering a windfall for the VOC. VOC yielded large profits from her exclusive monopoly on Surat sales market. Hence, the VOC fetched tremendous benefits from this

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Source: Ryuto Shimada, *The Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2006), p.24

Dutch East India Company also contributed considerably in Surat-Middle East trade. Indigo, textiles and aromatic drugs were the main items of export from Surat.

VOC was one of the massive instruments of indirectly linking Surat to European markets and popularizing Surat's goods in north western European markets. Indirectly Surat was linked to Scandinavia, northern Germany, southern Holland through the mediums of VOC's foreign crew members. By the end of the seventeenth century, about 25 per cent of merchant seamen originated from abroad. In the eighteenth century this share had increased to 50 per cent.¹⁶³

The English East India Company, too, was involved in Surat's direct and indirect intra-Indian Ocean and trans-Atlantic or trans-oceanic trades. Surat in India as the land of opportunities for relatively well educated enterprising merchant, especially the younger son of merchant families and the lesser nobilities for amassing massive fortunes. It started in the early seventeenth century. The financial revolution rooted in England with London as its international centre inculcated financial acumen in merchants and financial entrepreneurs to identify lucrative investment opportunities in rising number of trading companies, various insurance companies and usher a substantial change in investment habits. Almost simultaneously financial innovations had been introduced in highly developed retail financing in Surat. Long-term investment was most frequently sought after financial sector. Thus, the natural choice for setting up the first English East India Company's factory in India was the Surat. Textiles and Sarkhej and Bayana indigo were the export articles to European markets. Calicoes imported from Surat command a regular item in the company's sales from 1613 onwards, and the 1620s witnessed a fairly rapid increase in the import list.

Surat, Cambay and Ahmedabad were also important centres of

precious stone and diamond cutting, angling and polishing. Raw diamonds were imported from 23 diamond mines in Golcond and 15 mines in Bijapur. Private diasporic Jewish merchant became the backbone of the raw diamond import to the city London by using private capital sent to India in the shape of silver and coral. Jewish diamond merchants in Madras or influential company servants managed the investment. Finished or cut, angled and polished diamonds had been mainly exported to French markets from Surat, the hub of diamond cutting, angling and polishing business. The diaspora structure was well suited to trade in diamond and precious stones of the English commission network, involving huge risks of immense financial loss as the business needing trusted partners to entrust capital. The construction of diaspora was an attempt to reduce phenomenally the risk by securing trustworthy partners. Common ethnic background and shared business ethics and value strengthened the mutual trust between individuals dispersed in time and space.¹⁶⁴

French east India Company, too, was a major maritime operator from Surat in the late seventeenth century. Between 1664 and 1719 company concentrated on Surat and Ponicherry for trade. Local French Company's trade was boosted by allowing the superior council at Pondicherry to buy 10 small ships for local trade. Surat and Pondicherry had both organized voyages by 1722 when the Company decided to abandon its Asian trade as part of its economies. Company's employee allowed to participate in this. Private trade was also developing at Surat and Chandernagore. Gujarat-Bengal route was made open for privateers by Martin of Surat. In 1730-1740 French private was further made flexible. French privateers maritime commercial influence can more vividly be visualized on the already established routes China, Persial Gulf, Mocha and Manila. French privateers often formed business partnership with Indian and Armenian merchants for raising sufficient capital for purchasing larger ships and bearing more expansive voyages. In Surat European Ship of the Company was detained in order to make voyage to the Gulf on private count. This was a well tested technique of French private trade. In this partnership business the participation of Indian business was meager. Profit margin on country trade was always below 73 per cent.

The French Privateers had two major partners other than Europeans in dealing country trade in Asia. Armenian were the most welcomed lot. The French maritime privateers were well aware of the Armenians omnipresence in the middle Indian Ocean, western Indian Ocean, Bay of Bengal and South China Sea. They were well known figures in ports like Surat, Madras, Chandernagore, etc. Indian

merchants acted primarily as creditors than as trade partners.¹⁶⁵

Minor European Companies, maritime privateers, adventurers, maritime entrepreneurs and maritime trade diaspora in the eighteenth century either directly or indirectly participated in Surat's trade in various capacities. The magnitude of these merchants' maritime operations were of small and transitory nature, but their regional origin and regional commercial penetrability left last imprint for Surat's goods. Ostend Company and privateers from Ghent and Antwerp were active in Southern Netherlands-Surat route in the seventeenth century. Flemish maritime entrepreneurs formed formidable segment of private east India ventures on Ostend-Surat route. After 1713, direct maritime trade with the western Indian, middle Indian and east India Ocean organized by maritime entrepreneurs of Antwerp, Ghent and Ostend. Between 1715 and 1723, nearly 40 merchant ships sailed from Ostend to China, India, Bengal and Mocha.

These ships were financed by private maritime entrepreneurs. The recruitment of crew on Ostend East India Company Indiamen sailing to Surat, Bengal, China was done from experienced foreign navigators, seamen, and sailors. On private expeditions, too, the same rule of recruitment was adopted. Hence, on Ostend Compagnie ships sailing to Bengal, foreign element constituted 34 per cent, whereas on Ostend private merchant ships, the foreign accounted for 41.4 per cent. Similarly, on Ostend Chinamen, the percentage of foreign elements was 50 per cent, average 40 per cent. The private shipowners (1715-1722) preferred Flemish seamen, whilst Antwerp shareholders preferred experienced well qualified primarily British seamen. Navigators and seamen from Den Kirk emerged as main formidable competitors to British Navigators and Seamen. Despite French prohibitions the Ostend Company recruited 15 to 17 per cent of its crews from Den Kirk.¹⁶⁶ Ostend Company and Ostend private maritime entrepreneurs most generally operated on Mocha-Surat-Ostend routes despite Dutch Opposition at Surat. Indian privateers and Armenians at Surat were Ostenders business partners and business dealers. Little opposition to Flemish participation in Mocha coffee trade had been experienced. Actually Flemish were welcome by Mocha as well as English and French merchants as their presence increased prices. Ostenders operated at Mocha through Arab brokers.

Ostenders return cargoes were sold through auction in Ostend by announcing the dates chosen carefully to attract foreign merchant bidders. The auctioneers ensured the dates to avoid Jewish holidays and published the dates in newspapers of Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels. Foreign correspondents of Flemish merchants received detailed cargo

list in advance.

These purchase and sale mechanisms of imported commodities created a name and goodwill for Surat's multitudinous facilities for maritime trade even up to minor ports like Monnikendam and Schiedam through small coasters not talk of metropolis like Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, etc. More northeast European regions had been encompassed into the ambit of major port Surat.

Swedish East India Company, a small or medium-sized commercial enterprise operated from Gothenburg contributed directly or indirectly and considerably or modestly to the development of the major port Surat in the eighteenth century. The Directors equipped three mercantile marine initially for Surat and then for China between 1746- and 1766. They attempted to develop a kind of country trade between Surat and Canton, transit trade between Surat and Malacca and coastal trade between Surat and Bengal, Surat and Coromandel and Surat and Malabar solely because of the situation of Surat on dynamic transit route. Swedish Indiamen *Gotha leyon* (1750-1752), the *Prins Carl* (1753), and *Riksens Stander* (1760) were so equipped by Directors.¹⁶⁷

The late eighteenth century companies like Danish Asian Company and the Prussian Companies of China and Bengal contributed in encompassing Adriatic sea ports like Trieste, Fiume, Leghorn, etc. into Surat's orbit. Both of these East European Companies were interested in coasting trade from Trieste and Leghorn. Leghorn was preferred for the route across the Mediterranean, a much shorter route and far off from the East African coast, a coast under the influence of terrorizing Moorish pirates. Surat proved dynamic transit port in connecting East Africa, Malabar, Goa, Coromandel, Bengal, Pegu-Burma and Canton. William Bolt bought seven ships to establish connection between East African and Indian coasts.¹⁶⁸

Maritime Entrepreneurs of Cambay and Their Ethnicity

In the making of Surat as major port in the western India, its maritime entrepreneurs had played most cardinal role. They originated from almost all the social classes India. The ethnic composition of the indigenous maritime entrepreneurs, their relative societal position, their social milieu, their ethics and their techniques of maritime trade management can best be studied by classifying them into four classes: the Hindu, the Jain, the Vaishnava and the Muslims.

Hindu maritime entrepreneurs of Surat were the brisk actors in the Indian Ocean trade but, restrictively participated in ship-owning and merchant shipbuilding business. Hindu maritime entrepreneurs of Surat belonged to multitude of castes, for instance, solanki, parmar, parikh,

gosai, bhatia, sindhi, rajput, malan, gohil, nagar brahmins, brahmins, and so forth. Some of them were local, whereas many migrated from Surat's hinterlands. Many were managing their family entrepreneurial firms, while others evolved from modest background and reached to very high water mark. These maritime entrepreneurs were creative, imaginative, innovative and enterprising. They were responsible for superior and appropriate technological innovations and their social application. They were, therefore, the dynamic portents of social change. Many of them migrated from Broach, Verawal, Ghogha, Kutch, Prabhas and settled at Surat. Only two figured in shipping lists of 1707-1708 in Surat: Tapidas Surji and Trimbakdas Trikamdass.¹⁶⁹

The Gujarati maritime entrepreneurs were actively engaged in western Indian Ocean trade. The Gujarati maritime mercantile network at the close of the fifteenth century had been found throughout the Indian Ocean: in the ports of Burma, or in Melaka, or in Bengal, or in Malabar coast, or in the Maldives, in Konkan ports of Chaul and Dhabol, in the Persian Gulf, in the Red Sea, and East African coast, everywhere they had to be reckoned with in great force. The referir of Francisco de Albuquerque, a Cairo-based Jewish merchant of 1518, who had served the Portuguese for some years in the Indian Ocean mentions bania of Gujarat as a low people but great merchants, and good account keepers. This Gujarati maritime mercantile legacy and traditions continued, intensified and diversified well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Surat became the hectic theatre.

Hindus were a domineering force in banking, and insurance, even marine insurance, a well developed institution in western India.

"If, because of the dangers on the routes, a person cannot convey sums of money to a near or distant place, the sarrafs take it from him, and give him a piece of paper written in the Hindvi characters, without a seal or envelop, addressed to their agents, who have their shops in the various towns and places throughout these lands; and this paper in the language of this country is known as hundi. The gumashtas of these honest dealers pay out the money in accordance with that document, without any argument or objection, though the distance may be two hundred leagues, and so they keep their dealings straight."¹⁷⁰

Retail as well as wholesale private finances were available in western India and were operated through hundi, money lending and money changing. Private bankers often money-changers themselves took the responsibility of transferring funds from one centre to another for a party on commission charged by the banker. The variable rate of commission was prevalent, depending on the route and the precise manner of the transfer of the fund. Broadly speaking, two modes

existed. The first was to draw money from a sarraf against a promise to pay him in another town when the hundi was produced there. The alternative was to pay money down, with a promise from the sarraf that money would be recovered in the other town, once the hundi was produced. The commission charge in the former was higher than the later, since first, the risk devolved now more on him, and second because there was a time element involved. The person who drew the money had use of it for a period of time while the hundi matured or was delivered. In case of certain hundis, they did not necessarily have to be cashed on sight and a grace period was permitted (often 61 days). Here the loan aspect became that much stronger.¹⁷¹ Huge amount to the tune of 3,00,000 were transferred through hundi. Mahajan capital could transfer huge sums by bills of exchange even across the smaller centres.

The money market of Surat during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries was highly developed, attracting merchants from all social groups. Vaishya, jain and Hindus participated in the financial business of the port. They acted as sarrafs, issued hundis, lent money on interest, accepted deposits, and ran insurance (bima). Many banias of Cambay and later Surat had a non-vaishya professional origin and background. Brahmins, Rajputs, nagarbrahman, etc. financed European Companies' during seventeenth century. The greatest among them was Virji Vora, the merchant prince of surat, reputed as the richest man of all Asia, a jain of the Sthanakvasi Lonkagacchiya sect and belonged to the Oswal-Srimali-Porwal "caste cluster".¹⁷² He was truly a financial and maritime entrepreneur, operating from Surat, with agencies in Agra, Burhanpur, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Broach, Gandevi, Navsari, Bulsar, Rajapur, Goa, Calicut, Golkonda, and Masulipatam in India and Red Sea, Persian Gulf, Sumatra and Malay overseas. He had his agents in all the great emporia around the Indian Ocean littoral.¹⁷³ He amassed immense profit on his financial capital by extending loans to English and Dutch companies to the tune of 2lakhs at 12 per cent interest rate. Besides the regular interest rate, he extracted 3 per cent as discount or difference in exchange. He also charged some percentage on depreciation of the value of coins. The financial upper hand was another arm of Virjee Vora to pressurize European companies in multiple maritime business transactions ranging from maritime transportation of his goods to finance and insurance. He was described by the English as a "costly creditor".

He was a wholesale as well as retail entrepreneur dealing in wide range of commodities. W.H. Moreland states that the syndicate dominated by Virji Vora bought entire cargoes valued between 5 to 10 lakh of rupees. An idea of the magnitude of his financial and business

wellbeing, strength and power can be gleaned from this.

To gain competitive advantage in the world market, Virji Vora mastered strategic management and innovated varieties of novel and imaginative strategic. Inbound logistics: activities associated with techniques of organization of production, methods of procurement, disseminating inputs to the products. Operations: activities associated with transforming inputs into finished product. Outbound logistics, activities associated with collecting, storing and physically distributing the products. Marketing, sales and services, activities associated with marketing of commodities, their sale and providing services to enhance or maintain the value of the product.¹⁷⁴ Virjee Vora utilized these strategies in acquiring above-average performance in the long run to sustain his competitive advantage. The insights in strategic management bolstered his multilateral maritime and terrestrial trade. He dominated the market by employing novel strategies associated with buying, saling, restraining others sale, and imposing restrictions on others purchase. His English, Dutch and local competitors were well aware of this.

Surat's economy bloomed to the very high level as a corollary of its loan capital. Its amplitude can be expressed by one example. While in 1669 English East India Company's debt to the Surat money-lenders was 60, 000 pound sterling, which increased to 80,000 pound sterling in febraury 1673, reached to 105,000 pound sterling in 1674 and touched the staggering figure of 257, 062 in 1694.¹⁷⁵ In 1697 complaints were filed against company's inability to repay the loan to its Surat bankers and money-lenders.

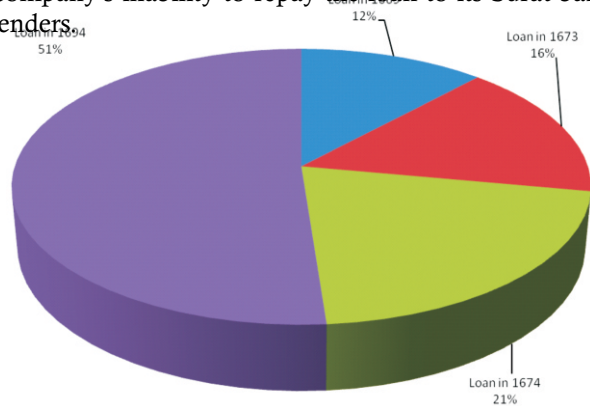


Figure 4. Surat's money-lenders and bankers loan on English East India Company Loan on Hari Vaishya, the contemporary of Virjee Vora, was primarily a grain wholesale and retail dealer, operating through his agencies in Gamroon, Ahmedabad, Bulsar, Gandevi,

Daman and Goa. He was a leader of business community at Surat.

Mohan Das Parekh another wealthy entrepreneur of Surat, functioning as the broker of VOC. The parekhs also operated as sarrafs, proficient accountants, and expert in currency conversion. As expert currency converters, they were closely connected with Surat mint. Bhimjee Parekh was another broker cum merchant of this community.

Piracy played prominenet part in introduicing the institution of marine insurance. In India, marine insurance evolved at Cambay. Marine insurance was a well-developed and elaborate institution in the seventeenth century western Indian coast. The marine insurer charged higher rates than land insurance as a consequence of increased incidence of loss or damage due to shipwreck, piracy, fire and other maritime accidents. Either goods aboard or whole ship was insured. A comparision with the inland insurance rate indicates that the marine insurance rate was definitely higher. Affluent insurance entrepreneur of Surat were running this business as the great profit as well as risk was involved in this. Risk bearing capacity must be of extremely absolute nature. The growth of shipping insurance business has intimate linkage with growing uncertainty, both natural and man made in ocean traffic. Consequently, fluctuations in insurance rates can easily be visualized. In 1643, following the rumour that a Surat ship was captured on the seas, the rate of freight insurance shot up from 3 per cent to 30 per cent. The incidence of loss or damage due to shipwreck, maritime accident, and worst marine condition were apparently larger than the risk of robbery on the land. Instances shows that not only the goods aboard were insured, but sometimes the whole ship, too, was insured. Incidentally this indicates that the insurer covered not only shipwrecks through adverse winds, or loss due to piratical acts, but also damage done to the vessels by fire. Bottomary as well as respondentia were in vogue in western India during the seventeenth century. If the ship is lost, the lender loses his money, but if it arrives safe, he receives the principal together the interest or premium stipulated, "However it may exceed the usual or legal rate of interest. Respondentia implies essentially the same practice with the minor difference that the loan borrowed was not on the ship rather on the goods aboard."¹⁷⁶ In this case the rate of interest was exorbitantly high without any consideration of time. Rate of interest also depended on the nature deep blue seas. It, therefore, was varying in character. In 1704, varying rates for bottomry and respondentia at Madras had been quoted.

Surat's Hindu maritime entrepreneurs figured prominent in its coastal trade during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They plied in small coastal craft, staying at Goa as long as they needed to complete their business. Some of the merchants acted as agents or factors for

bigger maritime merchants based in the ports of the Gulf of Cambay. Malik Gopi (Gopinath) was a nagar Brahmin merchant entrepreneur of sixteenth century Cambay. Later, he shifted his business to Surat. Tome Pires describes him as “Richer than all the men of the Orient”. Hindu maritime tiny entrepreneurs of Surat performed the duty of seafarers, mariners, and navigators. They belonged to Rajput caste. Somji Chitta and Chhotadas Thakur served English as brokers for nearly three decades were Rajputs. Similarly, Dayaram, nagarbrahmin of Surat was a broker and merchant. Travadi Shrikrishna Arjunji Nathji, a nagarbrahmin, financed the English Company’s trade to the tune of several lakhs of rupees in the late seventeenth century.

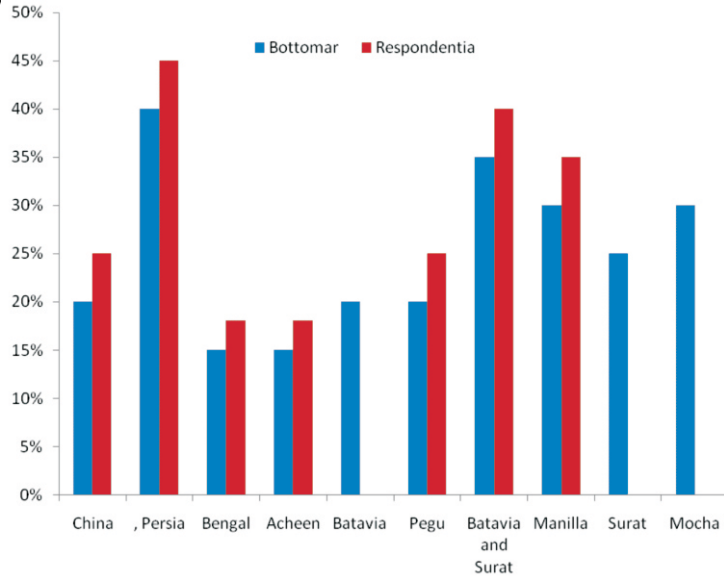


Figure 5 Bottomry and respondentia rate from Madras 1704

Muslim maritime entrepreneurs of Surat were omnipresent in the Indian Ocean. Gujarati shipping business was under their control. Among Muslims, the Arabs, the Mughals, the vohras, the chelabis were important in maritime trade. Bohra merchants were powerful at Surat. Muslim maritime entrepreneurs of Gujarat in general and Surat in particular were domineering force in the multilateral maritime trade of Gujarat, especially the western Indian and middle Indian Ocean trades. On shipping business of Gujarat, they exercised almost a monopoly. Right from the age of Saddiq (1220), a Muslim ship-owner of Cambay, whose ships were plying on all routes of the Indian Ocean, this maritime scenario was prevailing uninterruptedly. The names of Hazi Zahid Beg,

his son Mirza Masumm, and grand son Mahmud Araff were shipowning and maritime entrepreneurs, owning many ships and having influential contacts with political and mercantile elites in the seventeenth century Surat. Mirza Muazzam, Abdul Qadir, Haji Qadir, Agha Jafar, Haji Abdul Nabi and Mir Nizami were among other shipowners in the seventeenth century. Sheikh Ahmad Sheikh Abdulla owned nine ships, while Abdul Ghafur owned 20 ships of 300-800 tons. Vohra muslim community was dominant in shipping business. Abdul Ghafur, Kasim bhai, Haji Qadir and Haji Qasim belonged to the vohra community. The ismaili vohra community emerged exclusively as a trading community during the Sultanate and remained in that business during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Vaishnava entrepreneurs formed formidable segment of brokerage business in Gujarat, and operated as shahukars, mahajans, and munims of business tycoons. They were not accumulators of immense wealth, but possessed professional skill and business acumen as accountants, brokers, sroffs, and served as backbone of maritime commercial transactions. They were the life line of Gujarat’s Indian Ocean trade. Parikh, Bhatia and many others belonged to this group.

These indigenous maritime, shipowning, shipwright, financial, insurance and proto-industrial entrepreneurs during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries contributed cardinally in making Surat the major port city in western India. They were the facilitators to foreign maritime entrepreneurs and operators in the Indian and Atlantic oceans and Mediterranean Sea.

Maritime Trade and Entrepreneurial Diaspora of Cambay

Surat’s development as major port city also depended heavily on its both types of diaspora: diaspora resident at Surat and Surat’s as well as Gujarat diaspora resident in foreign lands. Foreign diaspora resident at Surat came from a host of regions of the Indian Ocean. Many of them also came from continental Asia, Africa and Europe. Surat diaspora settled at maritime cities of the different regions of the Indian Ocean. Many of them also participated in cross-cultural trade of the “port trade” (i.e., a town or small state not necessarily on the sea coast).¹⁷⁷

The rulers of Gujarat adopted a rational policy of promoting maritime mercantile diaspora by inviting them to operate from Surat either through establishing their headquarters or their agencies at Surat. Vastupal especially encouraged Muslims to settle down at Cambay and Anhilwad Patan. Jain texts offer special weight to this maritime commercial policy of Vastupal.¹⁷⁸ The accounts of Arab travelers like Masudi, Istakhari, Ibn Haukal and others, who visited Gujarat from the ninth to the twelfth centuries testify the settlement of Muslims in

Cambay. Merchant prince and tycoons of Vastupal's contemporary like Jagdushah of Bhadreshwar port (Cutch) too, adopted a policy of inculcating excellent maritime trading relations with Muslims by establishing communal harmony. As a corollary, Arab and Iranian settlements were founded at Bhadreshwar.¹⁷⁹

The continuum of this diasporic encouraging and attracting policy even in the seventeenth century increased the in flow of diaspora in Gujarat and out flow of diasporic elements from Gujarat.

The advent of Turkish rule in India was also marked by the beginning of the establishment and domination of Muslim maritime trade and maritime entrepreneurial diasporic elements at Cambay. Consequently, Turkish, Arab, Persian, Abyssinian and other Muslim maritime trade and entrepreneurial diaspora migrated to Cambay to exploit business opportunities by using their innovative, creative and imaginative business ideas. Business strategic management innovations and imagination was applied by these maritime trade and entrepreneurial diaspora to hegemonize maritime trade and industry of Cambay. The emergence and development of Arab science and technology especially maritime, shipping, hydraulic, chemical, mechanical, astronomical, medical and civil engineering and technologies made cardinal contribution in Muslim hegemonizing of the Indian Ocean space up to sixteenth century. The optimal security and safety provided by aggressive and optimistic Arab maritime merchants and navigators to maritime routes proved strategic in their domination of maritime space. Cambay served as Indian Ocean link for transit trade of the Muslims through networking with Ghogha, Veraval, Mandvi, Mundra, Bhadreshwar and Broach at one pole and Gomroon, Hormuz, Jask, Basra, Jiddah, Aden and Mokha at the other.

Amongst Muslim diasporic maritime merchants and entrepreneurs, mention must be made of Saddiq (1220), a foreign Muslim ship-owner of Cambay directly and actively involved in Cambay's gold trade. He was very influential amongst his contemporaries and received the title of "sayyaidkulkshaykrita". Najmuddin (1342), Sharif al Samri (1342) of Baghdad, Mallik ut Tumar al Kajefali, Sams ud Din, Mulla Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Chalabi, etc. were other Muslim maritime trade diaspora, operating their maritime business from Cambay during fourteenth century. Many of the Cambay Muslim diaspora changed their place of maritime diasporic entrepreneurial operations from Surat in the seventeenth century, while some of them remained at Cambay, but operated indirectly from Surat. They modestly contributed in making Surat as the major port city in Gujarat.

Muslim maritime trade diaspora played a critical role in Surat's and Cambay's maritime trade of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Safi Khan, Amir Changhizkhan Ibn Imadul Mulk, Mirza Beg (1638), Ali Akbar (1627), etc. were important example of this genre. Ali Akbar Isfahani and his father Haji Kamal Isfahani were maritime trade diaspora of Cambay, regularly supplying horses to the Mughal imperial courts via the Cambay, and Surat ports. Ali Akbar became so influential that he was appointed as mutasadi of Cambay and awarded the mansab of 500/300. Ali Akbar owned a number of mercantile ships and plied on western Indian Ocean ports. He developed intimate relation with the pasha of Basra to procure high quality horses from there. In 1646, he procured six excellent horses for Shah Jahan, costing Rs. 25,000 in total. One horse was worth Rs. 15,000 and it became the chief horse of the royal stables. As a reward, Shah Jahan bestowed on Ali Akbar a mansab and entrusted to him the administration of the ports of Cambay and Surat.¹⁸⁰ Hakim sadra, Masih Us Zaman, the governor of Surat (1635-1639) of Irani origin was important prier on Surat-Basra, surat-Gandevi, surat-Goa, surat-Malabar, Surat-Bengal routes. Mir Musa, Muizzul Mulk was another diaspora operator from surat, and dealt with the English, and the Armenians in articles like broadcloth, coral and horses. He owned a junk.

Muslim and Armenian maritime merchants operated through their fellow Muslim commercial specialists. The prime function of the Armenian trade diaspora radiating outward from Iran and India was invariably to export local products westward and import European finished goods. They integrated and expanded their trade networks from India, the Far East, the Ukraine and Russia to New Julfa. They played important role in Madras rough diamond tradewith the English. They were dynamic link in trade with Batavia, Manila, North Africa, London, Amsterdam, Madras, and Surat. They employed their diasporic acumen in exporing north African red coral in exchange for rough diamond of Golkunda.¹⁸¹ These commercial specialists served as cross-cultural brokers for their masters by establishing agencies at Cambay, Surat. These cross-cultural brokers played most dynamic role in boosting trade between host society and people of their own origin, in making their settlements complex and in advancing interrelated net of commercial communities forming a trade network, or trade diaspora. Armenians especially promoted such kind of trade diaspora at least in the western Indian Ocean.¹⁸² As a closely knit community, Armenians also preferred to manage their maritime trade under plethora formats of partnership, confined within the Armenian Community. The Ledger of Houhannes Joughayetsi is of immense pertinence in reconstructing partnership

diasporic practices of Armenian maritime merchants operating from New Julfa. The Armenian maritime mercantile tradition of sending out factors by maritime merchant entrepreneur to trans-continental and trans-oceanic regions promoted cross-cultural brokerage diaspora. These Armenian brokerage diaspora acted as privateers, entered the theatre of maritime and terrestrial trade through some benefactor by adventurously investing their capital and yielded a quarter of total profit on venture for himself. This was one major commercial mechanism through which Armenian brokerage diaspora fetched fabulous fortunes. Such Armenian factors were stationed at Surat who managed their business through their local servants. Armenians knew how to be merchant and financiers at the same time. To an extent credit was acting as a risk regulator. Houhannes Joughayetsi ventures at Surat were supported by baron Petros and baron Phanos. Armenian diaspora entrepreneurs were meticulously chosen to be the best intermediaries for rare goods in the trade between Asia and Europe. They mastered the processes and mechanisms to penetrate deep and capture the market. This was true of many trades of trade, with unbroken chain from one community to the next. Their regional implantation complimented and corrected the uncertainties long distance terrestrial and maritime trade.¹⁸³

Though culturally homogenous society, the Armenian colporteur or entrepreneurial networks encompassed even heterogeneous regions through their correspondence and straightforward partner. In the Surat of the 1660s, Khoja Minas vied with all the wealthy and influential merchants especially with Virji Vora. He owned some 10 ships which ploughed the seas from Surat to the Red Sea, and from Malacca to Batavia and Manila.¹⁸⁴

Other maritime trade and entrepreneur diaspora of Surat merit major cognizance were the Parsis. Their rare earlier mention is found in simultaneous (thirteenth century) Persian account of Sadid al-din Muhammad 'Aufi in context of Zoroastrian merchant's instigation against the Muslim merchants of Cambay. Parsi diaspora entrepreneurs were primarily shipwright, actively engaged in ship construction, port construction, brokerage and maritime trade.

There were other groups of maritime trade diaspora, more visible at Surat in during 1600-1700 namely Ismailis, usually divided into two groups: the Khojas and the Bohras. The Ismaili Bohras were also divided into two: the Sulemanis and Daudis. Daudis were largely the shii migrants from Yemen and settled at Surat and other places of Gujarat. A third group of Bohras were also present called the sunni Bohras. Khoja and Bohra maritime trade and entrepreneur diaspora were hugely

fortune seekers and fortune makers of Surat. They were engaged in ship-owning business of Surat and dominant in western Indian Ocean. Manmirji Ibrahimji, Habibullah Ishabai and Jeeva Bhai Shali Bhai were prominent members of Bohra community of eighteenth century Surat.¹⁸⁵ Chelabis of Turkish origin were important diasporic maritime entrepreneurs of Surat in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Ahmad Chelabi and Osman Chelabi were the prominent shipowning diaspora of this community.

The Gujarati maritime trade, entrepreneur and terrestrial trade diaspora operated in Persian Gulf and Red Sea ports. They were found there as sellers of Indian wares. In Mocha and Cairo, Indian merchant diaspora lived in constant fear of an Arab attack. Gujaratis could be found on the eastern side of the Arabian Peninsula. Concomitant Euro-travel accounts noted Gujarati presence in Muscat. By profession, they were banias. They can be classified into two classes: temporary residents and permanent residents. The temporary residents came and go every year, doing their own trade and handling the business of others. Surat's banias were doing much of the business in this fashion. Second category of bania was from the Gulf of Cambay, Sorath, etc. Banias from Gujarat used to visit Hormuz in the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁶ Statistically, in 1600, Hormuz consisted of 17 per cent portuguese residents, 10 per cent Indian Christians and Indo-Portuguese, 27 per cent Hindu, 7 per cent Jewish, and 40 per cent Muslim. Most of the Hindus and some of the Muslims would have been from Gujarat.¹⁸⁷

The Gujarati and Khambhati maritime trade diaspora and maritime entrepreneurial diaspora formed significant diasporic communities at Malacca. In 1500, about 1000 Gujarati merchants lived in Malacca and 4000 to 5000 Gujarati seamen visited every year.

Royalti used agents to purchase articles at western Indian Ocean ports like Hormuz, Mocha, Qihsn, Shaukin, Surat, etc. Personal servants and slaves worked on behalf of their masters. They purchased goods for their masters sent to India through the port of surat.¹⁸⁸

Surat Hindu and Jain bania diaspora in Yemen controlled merchandizing of coffee. They probably contributed to financing the cultivation of coffee, albeit in ways that remain to be discovered. These banias also controlled the allocation of credit in Yemen. Mocha exported more to the Gulf, Iran and India. In western India Surat handled coffee trade with Mocha.¹⁸⁹

Conclusion

Surat, therefore, in all probability was the major port the western India. In its making, its highly raw material and proto-industrial

productive hinterlands had played most cardinal role. Its ideal land and ocean bound situation was an additional quality in its morphology. Its small, minor, forgotten and unimportant ports, its own planning, multiculturalism, its Gujarati maritime entrepreneurial population, and maritime diasporic entrepreneurial elements were catalytic ingredients of Surat. Surat's midpoint transit location on the coast of the western Indian Ocean served as a dynamic collection centre of raw materials and finished goods from its hinterlands and distribution centre to forelands to inter-oceanic and trans-oceanic regions.

Asian maritime and diasporic maritime entrepreneurs transported the proto-industrial goods world market for trans-oceanic and cross-cultural exchange with a motive to create incremental profit and wealth. European major companies like Portuguese East India Company, the VOC, the EEIC, Danish East India Company and French East India Company and minor European East India Companies made Surat either their headquarter in India or Asia for their maritime, maritime transit and emporia operations. As a repercussion, Surat gained in dynamism from sixteenth century. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the Ostenders, the Flemish, the Germans, the Swedish, the Prussians, and the Austrians contributed considerably in connecting their ports with Surat through direct or indirect maritime trading and entrepreneurial networks. Indian and Asian products: textiles, spices, indigo, salt peter and exotica penetrated deep into the remotest world market by expanding businesses of European EI companies. This significantly created trade imbalances, capital transfers, monetary fluctuations and extension of Eurasian multilateral payment system.¹⁹⁰ These, in cumulation, became critical in making Surat a major port city in the western India in the seventeenth century. Its major port city status never vanished, rather declined.

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2. Diaspora is an ancient word, etymologically derived from the Greek term *diasperiem*, from *dia*-“across” and *sperien* “to sow or scatter seeds”. Hence, diaspora perhaps can be seen as a naming of the other. It has been historically referred to displaced communities of people, dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration or exile. It was first used to describe the Jews, living in exile in Alexandria from the homeland of Palestine. The term diaspora then has religious significance and pervaded medieval rabbinical writings on Jewish diaspora. See, Paul Gilroy, *Black Atlantic : Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 207. The term trade diaspora originated with the anthropologists Abner Cohen. He defined it as “a nation of socially interdependent, but spatially dispersed communities”, in “Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trade Diaspora”, in Claude Meillassoux (ed.), *The*

Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa (London, 1971), p. 267. Philip D. Curtin used the term trade diaspora as “ the merchants who might have begun with a sigle settlement abroad tended to set up a whole series of trade settlements in alien towns. The result was an interrelated net of commercial communities forming a trade network or trade diaspora”. See his *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984), p. 2. It is in the last sense that I have used trade diaspora in this paper.

3. Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, p. 3.
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7. See following for having detailed idea about en-route sarais, Rai Chaturman Saxena, Chahar Gulshan, M. S., Aligarh: M. A. Library, Habibganj Collection, No. 32/157. See specially ff. 136b-137a, (tr.), S. Bashir Hasan, “Routes and Trade in Malwa under Mughals”, *Cyclostyled. Masir-ul Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 781 and M’asir-I Rahimi, in 3 volumes, Vol. 2, pt. ii (Calcutta, 19240, pp. 986 and 1659. Also see, Steward Gordon, “Burhanpur: Entrepot and Hinterland 1650-1750”, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (hereafter cited as IESHR), Vol. XXV, No. 4 (1988), p. 431; S. A. Rahim, “Inscription of Akbar and Jahangir from Madhyapradesh”, *Epigraphica Indica*, (1968), pp. 51-54; and Annual Administration report, Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, 1932-33, p. 8.
8. Rai Chaturman Saxena, Chahar Gulshan, M. S., Aligarh: M. A. Library, Habibganj Collection, No. 32/157. See specially ff. 136b-137a, (tr.), S. Bashir Hasan, “Routes and Trade in Malwa under Mughals”, *Cyclostyled*.
9. Dietmar Rothermund, “Asian Emporia and European Bridgeheads”, in Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade*, C. 1400-1700 (Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 1-4. According to Dietmar, “An emporium is a market place in which a variety of goods is more or less continuously available and in which a plurality of buyers and sellers can meet without undue restraint under predictable conditions of supply and demand. In an incipient stage a seasonal fair may serve this purpose, but since goods may have to be stored for some time and ancillary activities such as transport, money changing and credit, insurance and exchange of commercial intelligence grow around the place”.
10. For Jagdu Shah see Maganlal Dalpatram Khakhkhar, *Jagdu Charita* (Bombay, 1896); for details about Samar Shah see, Amradevsuri, *Samar-Rasu* (Fourteenth century Jain text in Apabhramsha and Kakkasuri, Nabhinandan-Jinnodhar Prabandh (Jain text written in Sanskrit language around 1340s). For Cambay see Abhay Kumar Singh’s, “Cambay as a Maritime City of Gujarat 1200-1650”, forth coming and for Surat see, M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century* (Munshiram Manoharlal, New

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 24. The term port cities is interchangeably being used as image rather as a well developed concept by geographers and historians. Most scholars deal with ports rather than port cities or else discuss the city as a whole relegating the port to a completely subordinate position. It is due to this relegation that the so called "port city" is robbed of its maritime character. It is this characterization that made port city a city located on shoreline. See for details P. Reeves, Frank Broeze and K. Macpherson, "Studying the Asian port City", in P. Reeves, F. Broeze and K. Macpherson (eds.), *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the 16th-20th Centuries* (New South Wales University Press, 1989); their, *Ports and Port Cities* (Nedlands, 1982); and B. S. Hoyle, *Seaport of East Africa* (Nairobi, 1967).
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 28. Braudel has divided world economy in two expressions applied to the whole world. The world economy is much broader in its connotation and encompassed "The market of the universe", to "The human race, or that part of the human race which is engaged in trade, and which today in a sense makes up a single market". A world economy only concerns a fragment of the world, an autonomously section of the planet able to provide for most of its own needs, a section to which its internal links and exchanges give a certain organic unity. The second connotation has been applied by him to study the Mediterranean world in the sixteenth century-"a world theatre or world economy-meaning by this not merely the sea itself but the whole area stimulated by its trading activities, whether near its shores or far away. The Mediterranean region, although divided politically, culturally and indeed socially, can effectively be said to have had a certain economic unity, one imposed upon it from above on the initiative of the dominant cities of northern Italy, Venice foremost among them, but also Milan, Genoa and Florence. The Mediterranean economy did not however represent the whole of the economic life of the sea and its surrounding

- regions. It was so to speak the highest plane of the economy, whose activity, more or less intensive depending on place, was to be found along all the coastlines and some times deep inland." Such activity ignored the loose defined frontiers of empires as well as well-marked, well-defined and strongly-felt boundaries between the civilizations. See Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th century*, in 3 volumes, Vol. 3, *The Perspective of the World* (tr.), Sian Reynolds (Collins, London, 1984), pp. 21-22. For further detailed analogy see his, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (tr.), S. Reynolds (New York, 1972).
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