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Mughal Bengal: Revenue, Rivers, and Regional Power

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Introduction

This book argues that Bengal's rivers did not merely carry boats and goods; they carried the very logic of Mughal rule. Revenue, rivers, and regional power were mutually constitutive in this deltaic province, forging one of the most profitable heartlands of the empire. By tracing how fiscal structures were built atop watery geographies, how naval logistics made administration mobile, and how agrarian change expanded the taxable base, the chapters that follow present a tightly interlocked story of economy and governance in early modern South Asia.

The delta's braided channels, seasonal floods, and shifting chars produced a landscape where movement by water was cheaper, faster, and more reliable than overland transport. Administrators and merchants alike exploited these hydrological rhythms, timing assessments, collections, and shipments to the monsoon's pulse. The state's presence traveled in fleets: imperial orders arrived by boat, grain and textiles moved along canals and distributaries, and customs posts looked seaward and inland at once. Understanding this aquatic infrastructure is essential to understanding why Bengal generated high yields for the imperial treasury and how authority could be projected across a mutable terrain.

Revenue institutions translated this ecology into coin. The diwani bureaucracy counted fields and households, measured embanked paddies and newly reclaimed lands, and stitched local assessments into provincial budgets. Monetization—sustained by mints, sarraf houses, and dense market networks—enabled distant remittances to the imperial center while nourishing a vibrant regional economy. Intermediaries—zamindars, jagirdars, brokers, and scribes—did not simply transmit orders; they negotiated, interpreted, and sometimes resisted them, shaping how imperial categories met village realities.

Bengal's prosperity rested on agrarian expansion as much as administrative finesse. New embankments and irrigation works stabilized cultivation in flood-prone tracts; settlement spread onto fresh alluvium; and rice ecologies diversified to match micro-regional soils and water regimes. These changes reconfigured rural labor and tenancy, strengthened some lineages while displacing others, and fueled the growth of haats and bazars that tied hinterlands to river ports. At the same time, the province remained vulnerable to cyclones, anomalous floods, and harvest failures, which periodically tested the resilience of institutions and communities.

This was also a province where war, diplomacy, and commerce unfolded on water. Mughal commanders fought mobile campaigns against riverine adversaries, policed waterways with chokis and patrol boats, and bargained with maritime powers

operating from estuarine margins. European companies insinuated themselves into these circuits—not only as exporters of textiles and saltpeter but also as participants in local credit, forwarding, and information networks. Their rise sharpened competition for customs and toll revenues and complicated provincial sovereignty without wholly displacing it, at least in the period covered here.

Methodologically, the book places fiscal records and administrative manuals alongside travel accounts, company correspondence, maps, and local narratives to reconstruct a spatial history of governance. It treats revenue schedules as artifacts of negotiation, not simple mirrors of reality; it reads hydrology as a political constraint and opportunity; and it uses the lens of logistics to show how authority was assembled, provisioned, and moved. By doing so, it hopes to provide students of early modern South Asian economy and administrative geography with a cohesive, empirically grounded framework for thinking across ecology, institutions, and markets.

The chapters proceed in three arcs. The first establishes the ecological and administrative foundations of Mughal Bengal. The second follows money, commodities, and information through markets, mints, flotillas, and courts. The third examines shocks, contests, and transitions that reshaped provincial autonomy and connected Bengal to wider oceanic and imperial worlds. Together they make the case that in Bengal, revenue flowed because rivers did—and that Mughal power became regional power by mastering the channels through which people, goods, and orders moved.

Chapter One: Bengal at the Confluence: Geography, Rivers, and Frontiers

Bengal, in the early modern period, was less a static geopolitical entity and more a dynamic canvas painted by the ceaseless brushstrokes of its immense river systems. This was a land fundamentally shaped by water, a vast deltaic plain where the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, along with their countless tributaries and distributaries, converged before emptying into the Bay of Bengal. This unique hydrography dictated everything from settlement patterns and agricultural practices to communication networks and military strategies, making the "Confluence" not just a geographical description but a metaphor for the intricate interplay of natural forces and human endeavor that defined Mughal Bengal.

The physical boundaries of Bengal, broadly speaking, encompassed the modern-day Indian state of West Bengal and the sovereign nation of Bangladesh, with extensions into parts of present-day Bihar, Jharkhand, and Odisha. Yet, these administrative lines often blurred in a region where rivers constantly reshaped the terrain. The term "Bengal Delta" itself speaks to this fluvial dominance, an expansive lowland created and sustained by the deposition of over a billion tons of silt annually from the Himalayan giants.

Imagine a landscape in constant flux. The major rivers, particularly the Ganges (known as the Padma in its lower reaches) and the Brahmaputra (or Jamuna), did not always follow their current courses. Geographers and historians note a long-term eastward migration of Bengal's primary river systems. This meant that regions once thriving along a main channel might find themselves "moribund" as the river shifted, while new lands, known as *chars* and *diaras*, emerged from the receding waters, ripe for cultivation. This inherent dynamism was both a challenge and an opportunity for any ruling power, including the Mughals.

The western part of the delta, for instance, once saw the Ganges flowing primarily through what is now the Bhagirathi-Hooghly channel. This historic course made cities like Satgaon important ports. However, over centuries, silting caused the main flow to shift eastward, eventually leading to the prominence of the Padma-Meghna system in linking eastern Bengal with North India. This eastward movement had profound implications for economic geography, facilitating direct river communication and reducing transport costs for goods between East Bengal and the imperial heartland.

This sprawling riverine network was the lifeblood of Bengal's economy. While roads did exist, particularly the Grand Trunk Road that the Mughals extended, they were

primarily earthen and often became impassable during the monsoon season. Bulk freight and passenger movement overwhelmingly relied on boats navigating the extensive web of waterways. This natural infrastructure made Bengal a hub for inland and maritime trade, connecting it to Southeast Asia, China, and the wider Indian Ocean world.

The abundance of water, while a blessing for agriculture and trade, also presented unique challenges. The annual monsoon brought with it predictable, yet sometimes devastating, floods. This constant threat of inundation meant that human settlements and agricultural practices had to adapt. Embankments, both naturally occurring and man-made, were crucial for protecting villages and fields. The very flat topography of the delta, described by ancient Indic astronomers as *samatata*, meaning "land that is level with the sea," further amplified the impact of these hydrological cycles.

Beyond the fertile plains, Bengal's geography extended to its frontiers, which were equally defined by natural features. To the north lay the foothills of the Himalayas, feeding the mighty rivers that shaped the delta. To the east, the region bordered kingdoms like Arakan and Assam, often leading to skirmishes and campaigns that inevitably involved riverine warfare. The conquest of Chittagong in 1666, for example, saw the Mughals defeat the Arakanese, re-establishing Bengali control over that crucial port city.

These frontiers were not always clear-cut lines on a map but often dynamic zones of interaction and conflict, influenced by dense forests, swamps, and less navigable river channels that offered refuge to various local chiefs and dissidents. Mughal rule in Bengal, which began in earnest in the late 16th century, was thus a protracted affair, taking several decades to consolidate, as imperial forces grappled with both the natural landscape and the persistent resistance of local powers.

The Mughal administration, accustomed to the more arid plains of North India, had to learn to govern a province where water was both ally and adversary. Forts, typically symbols of static power, often had to be adapted for riverine defense, strategically placed at river mouths, elevated lands, or the junctions of secondary rivers. The very logic of governance, from revenue collection to military campaigns, had to bend to the rhythm of the monsoons and the shifting river courses. This geographical reality meant that Bengal was often seen as a distinct, even somewhat remote, part of the empire, yet its immense wealth ensured its strategic importance.

The interaction of these geographical factors with administrative ambition would ultimately forge a unique provincial identity. The inherent mobility afforded by the river systems, coupled with the challenges of controlling a constantly changing landscape, meant that Mughal governance in Bengal was rarely a top-down imposition. Instead, it was a constant negotiation with local realities, a dance between imperial decree and deltaic demands, making Bengal truly a land at the confluence of

natural power and political will. The sheer fertility of the land and its agricultural productivity, particularly in wet rice cultivation, contributed significantly to Bengal being the wealthiest region in the Indian subcontinent during this period, often referred to as the "Paradise of Nations" by Mughal chroniclers.

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