

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE
of the
MUGHAL EMPIRE IN NORTHERN INDIA
and
ITS PRACTICAL WORKING UP TO THE YEAR 1657.

Ibn Hasan.

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A B S T R A C T.

"The political structure of the Mughal Empire in Northern India and its practical working up to the year 1657."

Geographically the thesis is limited to Northern India, historically to the period falling between the year 1560 when Akbar began to rule and the year 1657 when Shāh Jahan ceased to rule, and topically to the political structure of the Mughal Empire.

It is divided into three parts.

The first part which deals with the Central Government is divided into two sections, the one deals with the king and his position in the state, the transaction of state business by the king and his Farmāns; and the second with ministers as Heads of Departments and the transaction of the business of the Central Government by them.

The second part deals with the structure of the Provincial Government and its relations with the Central; and the third gives an outline of the judicial system of the Empire.

A final chapter deals with Imperial service.

Two introductory chapters have been added to show the geographical features of the country and their effects upon the people and the form of government, and to give a summary of the experiments and lessons of three centuries of Muslim Rule in Northern India prior to the Mughals.

The thesis is based entirely on original sources most of which have not been utilised at all by any other writer for this subject. The material, thus collected, is supplemented by the accounts of the contemporary European travellers and substantiated by historical facts scattered through thousands of pages of/annals of the period, many of which have not been translated into English.

The thesis throws fresh light on a subject which has very rarely been dealt with and never in this precise form by writers on Indian history.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

'Afīf = Shams-i-Sirāj (Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī).

Āīn = Āīn-i-Akbarī by Abul Fazl.

A.N. = Akbar Nāma Do.

Bev. = Beveridge, Translation of the above.

Beni Pd. = State in Ancient India.

Bloch. = Blochmann, Translation of the Āīn.

Brahman = Chandra Bhān Brahman, author of Chahār Chaman.

Barnī = Zia-ul-Dīn (Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī).

Ghoshāl = Contributions to the Political Theories of the
Hindūs.

Lāhorī = Abdul Hamīd (Bādshāh Nāma).

Sālih = Muhammad Sālih Kāmbu ('Amal-i-Sālih).

Tauzak = Tauzak-i-Jahāngiri.

I N T R O D U C T O R Y

THE SCOPE AND THE SOURCES.

The Scope

Geographically the subject is limited to Northern India, historically to the period falling between the year 1560 when Akbar began to rule and the year 1657 when Shah Jahan ceased rule and topically to the central structure of the Mughal Empire.

The object of the present work is to give an outline of the organisation of the administrative machinery of the central government of the Mughal Empire under Akbar and trace its practical working under his two immediate successors who successfully followed his policy, carried out into practice the principles set by him and gave his institutions a permanent character which lasted even after the power which established and worked them had gone.

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first part is divided into two sections (a) The king and his position in the state, (b) The king and the transaction of state-business by him. The object of the first section is not to describe the Islamic theory of state or the position assigned to the king by Muslim jurists as their khalifa, but to present the ideal held before an Indian Monarch, the duties assigned to him, and the expectations held of him by the political thinkers of the Hindus and the Muslim contemporary writers and the conception of the Mughal Emperors themselves about their own position.

The second section describes the practical steps which Akbar took to carry out the functions of kingship from an

Indian standpoint and the routine he established for the life of an Indian monarch to fulfil the peculiar needs of the country and the expectations held of him by the Indian people over whom he ruled. A chapter included in the same part deals with the legal procedure of the draft of Farmāns or Royal Orders.

The second part deals with the re-organisation of vizāra under Akbar, the determination of the position of the vakīl (the Prime Minister) of the Empire, and the division of the powers and functions associated with a vazīr in a Muslim state into four ministers of nearly equal power, rank and status. Accordingly this part is divided into five chapters:-

- (1) The Vakīl (Prime Minister).
- (2) The Dīvān (the chief minister) in charge of Revenue and Finance.
- (3) The Bakhshī - the minister in charge of the Military Department.
- (4) The Mīr Sāman - the minister in charge of kārkhanas (factories) and stores maintained by the Central Government.
- (5) The Sadr - the minister in charge of the Ecclesiastical and Judicial Department.

The scope of these chapters is not limited to the description of the powers and functions assigned to the minister as Heads of Departments, but the internal working of each department has been described and substantiated by the historic facts of the period. Hence these chapters cover the greater part of the thesis. A sixth chapter has also been added to the same part which deals with the relative position of the

ministers and checks imposed upon their power in the state.

The third part gives an outline of the judicial system of the Empire in which the judicial structure of an Islamic state as laid down by Muslim jurists which served as ~~xxx~~ mode for the Mughals and was substantially retained by them has all been described.

The final chapter of the thesis summarises the conclusion.

It may be pointed out that no attempt has been made to draw parallels between modern institutions and those of the Mughals nor ~~is~~ an effort made to find in them the traces of all that the modern world has achieved in the sphere of state organisation and administrative efficiency in this age of science, of wireless and aeroplanes. Accordingly ~~xxx~~ the ~~neither~~ institutions of the Mughals are/ judged in this thesis by modern standards nor condemned for the lack of modern ideals and conceptions of state duties and functions in them.

On the other hand, the thesis starts with the idea that the constitution and the form of a government, its functions and its scope of activities are determined, to a very great extent, by the geographical characteristics of the country and by the ideas, the character, and the standard of intellect of its people. The institutions of a particular country at a particular given period together with the measure of support given or the resistance offered to them by the people of that country are like a mirror in which are reflected the ideas and character of those people. The greater the conformity of those institutions to the peculiar needs of the country whether

military, political or economic the better would they be for people. Hence with a view to explaining these features a part of the introduction is devoted to the description of the geographical features of Northern India and their effects upon the people and Form of Government and to give a summary of the experiments and lessons of three centuries of Muslim Rule prior to the Mughals. An attempt has also been made to show side by side how far the Mughals maintained the continuity with the past of India in ideas and in practice and to what extent they were influenced by their own ideas and conceptions or by the examples of other Muslim kingdoms outside India in the political organisation of their Empire.

In dealing with the subject, I have throughout kept in my mind that a contribution to the materials for a decision is more useful than deductions formulated on the basis of scanty material. Hence I have concerned myself more about marshalling of the facts and setting forth the conditions under which these facts are found than with formulating theories or passing judgements. The conclusions recorded at the end of each part of the thesis are only those which the study of the material contained in that part has yielded.

Originally it was intended to include the Provincial administration also in this thesis and add a chapter on "Imperial Service" as well, but the amount of the material which the study on the subject produced and the volume the

present work assumed, it was not found possible to include those topics here. These materials would occupy two supplementary volumes to the present work, if it is approved by the University.

In the end I have to express my gratitude to my Tutor, Sir Denison Ross, for the keen interest he has taken in the progress of my work, the useful suggestions he has offered at each stage, and the valuable time he has spent in going through every chapter of the thesis.

The Sources.

The thesis is based entirely on original sources, most of which have not been utilised at all by any other writer for this subject. The material thus collected, is supplemented by the accounts of the contemporary European travellers and substantiated by historical facts scattered through thousands of pages of the annals of the period, many of which have not been translated into English.

The sources utilised for the thesis can be divided into eight groups:-

- (1) Chronicles of the period.
- (2) Contemporary Persian works.
- (3) Persian Manuscripts on the various aspects of the administration of the Mughal Empire.
- (4) Collections of Letters and Correspondence.
- (5) Biographies.
- (6) Works on Political Theory by Muslim Jurists and other writers.
- (7) European Travellers.
- (8) Modern works.

The Akbar Nāma of Abul Fazl forms the foundation of the Chron-
icles study of Akbar's institutions. It is a mistake to begin with
the Āin-i-Akbarī as is generally done. The latter work embodies
the result of the experiments made during the reign of
Akbar and a record of abstract facts. The spirit which led
the establishment of the institutions, the initial difficulties
encountered in bringing them into existence and the capacities
of ministers who finally worked them and gave them the final
shape can only be studied in the Akbar Nāma and fully under-
stood after a patient, sustained and connected study of nearly
1700 pages which the voluminous work contains. Though the two
works are distinct yet they are not unrelated. The two should
be read together as Mr Moreland has rightly pointed out,
"neither tells us all we want to know but nearly ^{all} is contained
in one or the other."

The Akbar Nāma is not only the most authentic history of
Akbar's reign but it is an accurate record of the varied activities
of the State in which its every phase is accurately and
vividly brought out. The position of the author, his training
in various administrative works, his personal touch with every
important affair of the Empire, his access to all official pa-
pers combined with his scholarship and his marvellous powers
of expression make both of his works invaluable. Mr. Blochmann
says, "Abul Fazl has far too often been accused by European
writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts
damaging to the reputation of his master. A study though

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perhaps not a hasty perusal of the Akbar Nāma will shew that the charge is absolutely unfounded . . . His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book . . ." (Introduction to the Āīn, p.vi).

Every author has his own style and peculiar method of expression and it can be grasped by a careful study of his works. Abul Fazl's style is at times certainly difficult to understand but when set phrases and expressions frequently occur, their significance becomes clear and the difficulty disappears.

It is not difficult to see how he disapproves of Māham Anga's putting to death the two innocent girls who were in possession of his son Adham Khān in Mālva and whom she put to death lest they should speak out the truth to the king. Akbar overlooked the offence. Abul Fazl records the fact and at once begins to praise the king's quality of Forgiveness (be nāzam bar hausla-i-daryā āshām ke . . . chunīn khatāhāi fāh rā nā karda angārad, II. p.143). The meaning is quite clear. There was no other way for the author to bring this event on record, and he deserves the credit to have done it. Similarly he disapproves of Husain Mirza's being put to death in Gujrāt after his defeat. It is definite he was put to death by Akbar's orders. He cannot criticise him. Hence he adds it was done on the suggestion of Rāja Bhagwat Dās and he was not justified in recommending it.

Neither Mun'īm Khān, vakīl escapes his criticism nor Rāja Todar Mal. None was too high for him. His criticism of

Muzzaffer Khan's policy in Bengal and putting responsibility of the revolt upon Government officials and his ten arguments in support of his own views not only prove his frankness but his grasp of the real situation and of his conception of a responsible officer's duties in a distant province.

Similarly his criticism of Jahāngīr's action and his disapproval of his conduct towards the close of Akbar's reign proves his frankness and boldness as a chronicler.

The amount of material which Akbar Nāma supplies for Akbar's institutions and their practical working would become clear from the perusal of the following chapters of the thesis.

part

The Āin-i-Akbarī forms the third of Akbar Nāma. The nature of its contents is very lucidly expressed by Mr. Blochmann, "In the Āin, we have a picture of Akbar's government, its several departments and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects . . . We have in the Āin, the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful and therefore vivid colours." (Introd. p.v.) However, it may be added that the study of the Āin-i-Akbarī without the supplementary study of the Akbar Nāma cannot yield the result expressed in Blochmann's words. The two should be read together in proper order.

The absence of Abul Fazl begins to be felt soon after

his death and one can at once notice the change in the latter part of Akbar Nāma which was written by Ḥāyatullāh. There neither that command in the pen nor that force in statements nor boldness in the criticism. However it is the best authority for the last phase of Akbar's life and of the events of that period.

Tauzak-i-Jahāngīrī.

It is only a fortunate accident that Jahāngīr took up the work of writing his memoirs, and left behind him a record of the greater part of his rule from his own pen. It forms the chief authority for his reign and personality. Full accounts of wars, with motives that actuated them, the defeats of royal armies in the Deccan, the lack of unity among imperial generals, their successive changes, their failings in their duties are all fully described. From the administrative point of view, the work is invaluable. Jahāngīr at every stage of his rule and on every important occasion emphasised his desire to rule on the lines chalked out by Akbar and expresses a sort of pride in his father's achievements and in his own anxiety to follow him. All administrative regulations of the reign are fully recorded. The incidents of king's life, his daily routine and all matters connected with his personality except a few incidents are frankly and faithfully recorded. The faithfulness of statements is fully impressed upon the reader if he follows them step by step. The first fifteen years of Jahāngīr's reign were the best years of his life. The beginning of the 16th year marks the beginning

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of his reverses, bad luck and ill-health. As these anxieties increase, the memoirs become less and less descriptive till at last the crisis arises and Jahāngīr falls into the hands of Mahābat Khān, the touch of the Emperor's pen disappears from the memoirs, and they cease to be written on his behalf. Those events were too humiliating to be recorded.

The memoirs are of immense value for the careers of the Empire's prominent ministers and officers and they are shown in their true colours and views expressed about them carry the weight which could not be attached to any other writer's views.

Another important contribution of the memoirs to the history of the period is the account of King's Tours to Ajmāre, Mālva, to Gujrāt, the Pānjab, and Kashmīr. The account gives an idea of the different parts of the Empire, of provincial matters and conditions of villages which seldom find place in the chronicles of kings.

The value of the memoirs for Jahāngīr's own life and personality is conspicuous from the perusal of every page. For this purpose the work has been fully utilised by Professor Beni Parshad in his book "The History of Jahāngīr". The material relating to his administration and its various phases has for the first time been utilised in this thesis and critically examined for forming definite opinions about it.

The memoirs from Jahāngīr's pen continued till the 16th year when the work was entrusted to Mu'atamad Khān Bakhshi

when he returned from the Deccan. He continued it till the 19th year in the king's name who supervised it. After the 19th year Mu'atamad Khān continued it in his own name which forms the part **of** his independent work "Iqbāl Nāma." The memoirs have been completed and brought down till the close of the reign by Maulvī Muhammad Hādi and the complete work published by Sir Sayed Ahmad Khān. Rogers' translation is based upon this work but the translation is carried up to the 19th year only.

Bādshāh Nāma.

Like Akbar, Shāh Jahān also took a special care of having an authentic history of his reign and a regular staff was maintained for the purpose. The Bādshāh Nāma written by Abdul Hamid Lahorī covers the history of the first twenty years of the reign. It is a voluminous work of about 1600 pages published in two volumes by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, none of which is as yet translated into English.

Another work on the same lines is found in 'Amall-i-Sālik' by Muhammad Sālih Kambu. Though it is not so voluminous yet the two volumes already published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal which bring the narrative to the 20th year of the reign contain about 1200 pages. The third part is not yet fully published. For the rest of the period, I have used the

British Museum MS. Add 26,221. , which is one of the most beautifully illustrated manuscript of the museum. It is a

delight to read the work in such a beautiful and cheerful handwriting.

Thus Sālih's work in this manuscript is brought to the close of Shāh Jahān's reign but the latter part of the work is very brief and gives very little information beyond the king's movements and important events of the reign. The study of the last five years of Shāh Jahān's rule cannot be complete without a reference to other contemporary source of the period. Both the authors Lāhorī and Sālih were in government service particularly employed for writing the works they produced. Though a complete history of the first twenty years is continued in the Bādshāh Nāma yet Sālih has included it in his work. Lāhorī is more useful for detailed information than Sālih though the latter surpasses him in his style and literary achievement. Both the works include a list of the high officers of the state together with the poets, and scholars of the period.

The study of these sources, yields ample material about Shāh Jahān's administration and they form the chief sources of the history of the period but their study further impresses upon the reader the value of Abul Fazl's work under Akbar. One lacks of the masterly description of the prevailing conditions, and the bold criticism of the officers who held the power and carried out the Government. However, Shāh Jahān's chroniclers are also minute observers of events and the forces of the time and they give a full picture of the life of their monarch whose hand in the administration is as prominently brought out as of Akbar in

his time by his favourite chronicler.

The difference between the position of Shāh Jahān's paid chroniclers and that of Abul Fazl is chiefly responsible for the lack of that frank and bold criticism of every high officer which is found in Akbar Nāma.

Contemporary Persian histories

These chronicles are supplemented by the works of some eminent writers under each reign. Tabqat-i-Akbarī of Nizām-ud-dīn and Mantakhabat-ul-Tavārikh of 'Abdul Qādir Bādāoni are most useful for Akbar's reign. Both the authors were like Abul Fazl connected with the Government and wrote about events which passed before their eyes and with which they were personally acquainted.

For the purposes of administrative affairs, I have found 'Abdul Qādir more useful than Nizām-ud-dīn. Bādāoni's work has been chiefly used for the religious controversy of Akbar reign which he has brought to the forefront in his work as the champion of the old orthodox Hanafī school, but the abundant material which he supplies on different branches of the administration have now been for the first time utilised in this thesis. In most cases, he presents the other view of the picture and in certain cases also supplies useful details which are not recorded in the Akbar Nāma. The information he gives about the working of the department of the Chief Sadr is invaluable and is not found in such details in any other contemporary work. Though he himself belonged to the school of theologians yet he is very frank in criticising and condemning the representatives of that school whom he thought

~~They~~ were bringing discredit upon that class as a whole.

Similarly ~~historicism~~ of high Government officials supplements the work of Abul Fazl in this direction and in certain cases serves as a corrective. For example, Abul Fazl is entirely silent about Khvāja Jahan's conduct in the administration under Mun'im Khan and Muzzaffer Khan while ~~he~~/openly speaks Badaoni condemns him for bribery and corruption. Abul Fazl/highly of Qāzī 'Ali Baghdādī as an efficient officer who served in different capacities at different times but in Badaoni's work he appears an instrument of mischief in the hands of Akbar, who fully utilised him against the theologians. In other respects his statements are mostly corroborative and his work on the whole is a very useful supplement to Abul Fazl's ^{of them} works, and a critical study of both/greatly helps in forming definite views about important matters and personalities of the period.

Under Jahāngīr, the Iqbāl Nāma of Mu'tamad Khan is a very useful supplement. Since the 16th year of the reign, he was attached to the court and moved with the king, and wrote ~~the~~ memoirs for Jahāngīr up to the end of the 19th year as noticed above, and till that year, his work is more or less a summary of the memoirs with a few additions. He mentions I'timād-ul-Daula's removal from the office and his imprisonment in the 4th year of the reign for his son's connection in the conspiracy to release Prince Khusrau for which he was executed and I'timād-ul-Daula was released after some time on the payment of a heavy fine. After the 19th year of the

reign, when memoirs of Jahāngīr ceased to be written, Mu'tamad Khān is the only authority for that period. He was present in the Royal Camp as Bakhshī when Mahābat Khān surprised Jahāngīr and he took active part in the efforts which were subsequently made to release the Emperor. In this position he was also in touch with all the activities of Nūr Jāhān and her influence in the administration. He is equally frank in criticising Nūr Jāhān and her brother Āsaf Khān who opposed her candidate to the throne. He brings a bold charge of corruption against I'timād-ul-Daula and accuses his successor Khvāja Abul Hasan of bad temper (tursh-rūī).

Mohammad Hādī who completed the memoirs has mostly relied upon Mu'tamad Khān.

Maāsir-i-Rahīmī supplies much useful information for the reign of Jahāngīr but it helps little in matters directly connected with administration.

Zubdat-ul-Tavāikh of Tahavvūr Khān (MS. Add 100580) gives very useful information about important events and complications connected with Jahāngīr's accession to the throne and the part which Sheikh Farīd played in it as Mīr Bakhshī of the Empire.

Under Shāh Jāhān much useful information about the affair and the officers of the Empire is found in Tārīkh-i-Shāh Jahānī by Sādiq Khān (MS. Or. 174). It contains 201 folios. The author himself occupied the high rank of 6 thousand Zat and Savār. He is a very reliable authority for the latter

part of the reign in which Sālih is very brief. Sādiq Khān conducted the negotiations with Aurangzeb after his occupation of Āgra, on behalf of Shāh Jahān. The account closes with the end of his master's rule and he says that the recording of the events of the remaining eight years of the Emperor's life which he passed in imprisonment is a disrespect to the master and disloyalty to the salt (tahrīr ān mahiz be adabī va namak harāmī ast).

Another contemporary writer and the most useful authority for the period is Chandra Bhan Brahman. His work Chahār Chaman from the point of view of its utility for the practical working of the administration of Shāh Jahān's reign, is second to the Akbar Nāma only. The author was officially connected with the four great Dīvāns who occupied the office for the greater part of the reign, and was on highly intimate terms with them. Under Sa'dulla Khān, and after him, he held the charge of the draft of the Farmāns and in this position was in direct touch with the king as well. Throughout this reign he remained connected with the Chief Minister department in one capacity or the other, and thus none was more qualified than him to express views upon the internal administrations of the chief department of the Empire, and none better acquainted with its details. He also occupied a distinguished position as a Persian scholar and is included in the list of the prominent ones of the reign. In this respect the value of his work for the purposes of this thesis surpasses that of the works of Lāhorī and Sālih and he also

gives an interesting account of the lives and the views of the chief ministers with whom he worked and mixed which nowhere else is found. The importance of his work both for the king's attention to work and chief minister's share in the administration would become clear from the perusal of the following chapters. (MS. 1892. F.236) This work has not been utilised by any writer on Indian History for the administration of the Mughal Empire. Another copy of the MS. is contained in the volume Add. 16863 in Miscellaneous Collection (F.1-83). It bears the Kātib's name as Bishnāth Brahman Kāshmīrī who copied it under Shāh 'Ālam (1123 A.H.). Tārīkh-i-Jām Jahān Nūmā contains a brief account of the author. He was removed from the Dīvān's office under Aurangzeb and made the superintendent of the mausoleum of Queen Mumtāz Mahal, a befitting service for a loyal officer of Shāh Jahān (MS. Or. 2059, F.242).

The rest of the contemporary Persian histories are of minor importance and they have been included in the bibliography.

Per- Another class of Persian works includes original ~~Persian~~
sian
Manu- Manuscripts which deal with administrative regulations and
scripts
on Ad- other matters connected with the internal working of the var-
minis- ious departments of the Empire. The most important of them are
tra- the following which have helped a good deal in framing the
tion internal working of the departments recorded in the following
 chapters.

MS. British Museum:- Add. 6599. Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Aurangzeb.

It contains a ~~the~~ gist of the important administrative regulations and the procedure followed in the transaction of state-business. The gist was prepared in the 3rd year of Aurangzeb's reign. The regulations contained in this manuscript are more useful for provincial administration than for the central structure. However, the procedure followed in different Kārkhānas and stores under Mīr Sāmān is more fully given in this^{volume} than in any other manuscript of this kind.

(Fs. 58-109).

Add. 6598. Another copy of the same manuscript, with the same title. The importance of this volume consists in its second part which is quite a different work not quoted in the catalogue (Fs. 129-208). It is marked on F.129 as Dasturul-'Amal, but it is a copy of Zavābit-i-'Ālamgīrī which forms a separate volume noted below.

Or.1641. This bears the title of Zavābit as noted above and is another gist of the regulations prepared in the 34th year of Aurangzeb's reign. This work is of much higher value than those noted above. It covers a greater field and gives more useful details connected with the departments of the central government. It contains 189 folios as marked in Persian figures which, in most cases, are different from the pencil marked English figures. Of these 67 folios deal with the regulations and the division of work among various officers in the departments of the Dīvān, the Mīr Bakhshī and the Mīr Sāmān together with the regulations governing the salaries of mansabdārs including the changes made under

Shāh Jahān. The routine of work followed by the prominent Chief Dīvāns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb is given on Fs. 89-97. The rest of the work contains the titles of Princes and ministers under Shāh Jahān, revenue returns of Provinces distances between the capital and various important towns and outposts and a summary of the important events of Aurangzeb's reign.

Add 6588. This can be divided into three parts, the first includes a summary of revenue reforms of Akbar from the Akbar Nāma and Badaoni, and revenue returns of Provinces including distances; the second records important sayings of Aurangzeb together with certain important facts of Shāh Jahān's reign as related by Aurangzeb; and the third includes regulations mostly connected with account keeping and the preparation of various sheets required for the Dīvān's department. The third part covers Fs. 64-94 and the pen of the Kātib of this portion is different from that of the first two.

Or.1690. Another copy of the Dastūt-ul-'Amal of a much later date than those noted above. The object of the writer appears to be to give a brief history of the Muslim kings of Northern India rather than to give a gist of the regulations of the Mughal Empire. However the portion dealing with Shāh Jahān's reign is very useful for brief sketches of/lives of ministers and secretaries of the reign. Like other Dastūrs it also includes a list of provinces and their revenue returns. It contains 197 Fs.

On. 2011. An official Manual for the guidance of the revenue officials, bearing the title of *Dīvān Pasand*, compiled by Chahtar Mal. The author in his preface writes about his own practical experience in revenue administration. The work is divided into four parts and contains 214 pages. It includes the revenue regulations of the Mughals which had become established in Northern India and the author describes every part of this work in a very lucid style and explains all the technical terms giving illustrations in each case. This manuscript does not appear to have been used by any writer of Indian History. I have fully utilised it for my purposes but the work is more useful for Revenue and Provincial administration of the Mughals.

Add. 6585. Bearing the title *Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khāni*, written by Shākir Khān the son of Shams-ud-Daula Lutfulla Khān Bādiq in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. It is a contemporary history of that reign and deals with the political conditions of the Empire at that time, but it incidentally supplies very useful information on administrative matters connected with previous reigns. It has references to events as late as the vikālat of Mun'īm Khān under Akbar. It further shows the continuity of Akbar's institutions in all their essential details up to that period. Its value is much enhanced by the fact that it is from the pen of a man who sees everything himself, feels the pitiable condition of the Empire and condemns the existing conditions. All relevant material for the period covered by this thesis has been incorporated

in its proper place in the following chapters.

Add. 22,831. This contains an account of the Subas, Sarkārs and Mahāls with historical notices, and will be found very useful for provincial administration. It bears the title of Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Shāhanshāhī compiled by Mānshī Thākur Lāl about 1140 A.H., but the appendix contains the chronology of the Mughal Emperors up to 1192 A.H.

Add. 6586. Part IV. contains an account of the administration of Bengal from Akbar's time to the governorship of Shujā-ul-Daula.

Or. 1813. Mir 'at-ul-Istilāh. The greater part of the manuscript contains the explanations of poetical terms and literary phrase by Anand Rām Mukhlis, but Fs. 26-43 are very useful for administration. They contain the rules and regulations governing the salaries and mansabs of the officers, and rules for conferring titles and an account of the position of the vakīl of the Empire.

Or. 2026. Is another copy of the Dastūr-ul-'Amal written after the reign of Aurangzeb.

Or. 1906. This contains the list of various grades of ranks and salaries of mansabdārs in a tabular form prepared by Najaf 'Alī Khān and bears the title of Sharah-i-Manāsib and is very useful for the topic with which it is concerned.

Add. 6603. Fs. 40-84. Contains a glossary of technical terms used in the collection of revenue compiled for the use of English officials under the E.I. Company by Khvāja Yāsīn.

Add. 7689 (Insha') and Add. 9697 (Fs. 1-16). Contain Forms of

official Documents, civil contracts, and of letters to persons of various classes. Both of them are very useful in determining the duties of officers and understanding the nature of their work.

Add. 6580. Mir 'At-i-Ahmadi by 'Alī Muhammad Khān. A connected history of the province of Gujrāt up to the defeat of the Mahrattas at Pānipat (A.H.1174). The author was appointed Dīvān of Gujrāt towards the close of the reign of Muhammad Shāh but from the age of 8 or 9 he had lived at Burhanpur and had been taking historical notes of the passing events and collecting historical information from trustworthy persons. The work is a voluminous one and contains 460 Fs. For the purpose of this thesis its importance consists in the fact that the author has, as far as possible, included in his work the copies of the Farmāns sent under different reigns to that province. They deal with various topics and show the hand of the Central Government in the internal working of a distant province. Secondly, the author has dealt with the internal administration of the province in such detail as is nowhere found. I have fully utilised it and I feel that it is invaluable for provincial administration, and also for understanding how rapidly the institution collapsed after Aurangzeb. The decay of the province of Gujrāt in prosperity in the author's own time has also been very lucidly explained. The last portion of the work gives a very clear idea of the administration of a provincial town under the Mughals.

A portion of it has been translated into English under the title of "Political and Statistical History of Gujrāt", by James Bird but it is not enough even to give an idea of the value of the work and of the abundant material it contains.

It may be noted that this list does not include manuscripts of minor importance utilised for this thesis, and that only the first four of these have been used by E. Thomas for figures of revenue returns of the provinces in his work, "The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire", and one (Or. 18) besides them by Mr. Irvine for "The Army of the Mughals". Professor Sarkar has used only one (Or. 1641) for "The Mughal Administration", as he says under Sources (p.43 and 44).

Letters.

Another source of information is found in the collection of letters of the period. I have found the following useful for my purpose in several respects.

Exerton 695. Latifa-i-Faizi. Letters of Faizi collected and edited by his own cousin Nūr-ul-Dīn.

Add 6548. Makātibāt-i-'Allāmī Abul Fazl. Edited by Abd-ul-Samad Afzal Muhammad.

Add 16863, Pt.II. Fs. 84-103. Also contains extracts from Abul Fazl's letters.

The letters of both of these brothers apart from their other utility are very useful for the relations of the Empire with the Deccan States, the condition of the country they travelled through, and for the literary atmosphere of Akbar's court.

I.O. Library, No. 283, contains a glossary to Abul Fazl's letters.

Add. 26,141. Inshā-i-Brahman, by the author of Chahār Chaman noted above. This collection contains petitions addressed by the author to Shāh Jahān and letters written to ministers and secretaries with whom he was intimately connected. The relevant matter contained in these letters has been included by the author in Chahār Chaman also. The rest of the portion enables the reader to form an idea of the relations of the high officials as among themselves, and of their social gatherings and of the literary atmosphere of their society.

Or. 178. Bahār-i-Sukhan. A collection of letters and prose compositions of Muhammad Sālih Kambū the chronicler of Shāh Jahān.

Or 177 and 18,881. A collection of letters of Aurangzeb. These also contain letters addressed by Aurangzeb before and after his accession to Shāh Jahān.

Add. 16859. 'Arzdasht. This contains a collection of letters of Muzzaffer Khān Jahān addressed to Shāh Jahān and the replies received from the Emperor. This is a very useful collection for the period it covers of Shāh Jahān's reign. In one of his letters, he openly criticises Shāh Jahān for distrusting the officers deputed in provinces and points it out as a chief cause for the lack of unity among such officers. In another he criticises with equal frankness his own appointment to the command of an expedition. The author was an old man at that time and held the post of Governor of Gwaliār and

and had a military career throughout his life. The latter portion of the volume contains letters written and received by him from his friends including zamindārs. In this connection letters of one of his friends who was a Mir 'Adl supply very useful information about certain judicial cases he had to deal with.

Biographies.

These form another class of material and supply additional information connected with the lives of chief officers and amirs, and their relations with the king and the various activities of their lives which are not found in other contemporary works.

Maāsir-ul-Umara is the well-known published work of Samsūn-ul-Daula, which gives the lives of the nobles and officers of the Mughal Empire in three volumes. The chief defect in the work is that it contains no references and no source of information. In order to overcome this difficulty, I myself prepared the biographies of the officers I needed for my purpose from the original sources I had in my study, but in the end I found that the Maāsir was indispensable as it contains much which is not found in the now available material, a fact which conclusively shows that many of the authorities on which the author worked have perished since then.

MS. Or.233. Irshād-ul-vazara by Sadr-ul-Din Muhammad. It contains short biographical notices of Muslim vazirs. Fs. 64 and 65 deal with some of the prominent ones of the Mughal Empire. The author is usually very sarcastic in his remarks.

The work bears no date but the author's father Zabar Dast Khān was the Subedār of Oudh under Aurangzeb.

MS. Add. 16703. Tazkarat-ul-Umara by Keval Rām. It also contains short biographical notices on the amīrs of the Empire brought down till the end of Aurangzeb's reign. The work is divided into two parts which deal with Muslim and Hindū amīrs separately. The names are arranged according to their rank. It is very useful for tracing the successive promotions of officers and the various duties entrusted to them at different times. The latter portion contains short notices on miscellaneous topics.

MS. Or. 203. The celebrated work Haft iqlīm of Amin Ahmad Rāzī completed under Akbar, contains a large collection of biographical notices geographically arranged.

Add. 16863. Chahār Chaman of Brahman of Shāh Jahān's reign noted above also contains useful biographies of the ministers of the reign.

Works on Political Theory.

The following works have been consulted for the theoretical portions of the thesis, connected with the duties of kings and vazīrs.

MS. Or. 253. Sulūl-ul-Mulūk. A treatise on the mode of governing in accordance with the Islāmic Law. This is the most useful work on this subject. The author Fazl bin rozebahān Isfahānī belonged to the Hanafī school. He has dealt with every part of the structure of an Islāmic state and summarised the views of all leading Muslim jurists on every topic. The

work is divided into 15 chapters and contains about 200 pages. The author has fully utilised Al-Māvardī's work *Ahkām-i-Sultaniya*.

Add. 7618. Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk. Another work on the same subject by 'Alī bin Shahāb Hamdānī. It contains ten chapters of which the fifth and sixth deal with the duties of kings, rights of subjects and the conception of khilāfat. The work appears to have been written in the 8th century A.H.

Or. 254. Sulūk-ul-Saltanat. (Art of Government), by Gazzali. It is a translation from the original manuscript of the 8th century A.H. It contains 71 pages.

Reputed of
Or. 256./ Nasāih/Khvāja Nizām-ul-Mulk to his son Fakhr-ul-Mulk on the duties of a vazīr.

Or. 1920. Āsār-ul-Vuzarā. Lives of celebrated vazirs of different Muslim kingdoms, brought down to Timūr and his immediate successors. The work contains very useful material and includes the sayings of the vazirs based upon their experience. Ādāb-i-Saltanat va vizārat. An anonymous work dealing with the duties of kings and ministers, supposed to have been written in the 10th or 11th century A.D. It has been published and edited in French by Ch. Scheffer, Paris (1883).

Ahkām-i-Sultāniya. A work in Arabic on the Art of Government by the well-known Muslim jurist Al-Māvardī. I have used the French Translation of the work as no English translation exists. Muqadma-i-Tārīkh-i-Ibn Khaldūn. Another famous work on the subject in Arabic which also has not yet been translated into English. It has ~~also~~ been translated into French and Urdu.

The work is very useful for the different branches of the administration under various Muslim kingdoms.

Siyasat Nama by Nizām-ul-Mulk, the famous vazir of Alp Arsalān and Malak Shāh under whom he held the office for 30 years. The work is published in Persian. (MS. Add. 23516)

European Travellers.

These form the most useful source of information and serve the purpose both of corroboration and correction. Their accounts of kings and the court, and of towns and cities they visited and the high officials with whom they came in contact are very useful and in such matters they supply additional information also, but as far as the administrative system of the country is concerned they neither show any correct knowledge of it nor do they add any useful material to its study. Even an acute observer like Father Monserrate says that jāgīr were hereditary and Abul Fazl was the Prime Minister (p. 89 and 54). I have fully utilized the accounts of the following Father Monserrate under Akbar, 1585.

<u>Hawkins</u>	,,	Jahāngīr, 1609 - 1611 at Āgra.
<u>Finch</u>	,,	,, 1610 ,
<u>Sir Thomas Roe</u>	,,	,, 1611 at Lahore.
<u>Sir Thomas Roe</u>	,,	,, Ajmere and Gujrāt
<u>Edward Terry</u>	,,	,, 1616-1619
<u>De Laet</u> (work based on the accounts of the travel- lers of this period)	,,	1625
<u>Pelsaert</u>	,,	1622-1627 Āgra

Bernier Close of Shāh Jahān's reign 1658. Ahmadābād
and
Shāh Jahānābād

Of these, Father Monserrate is the most useful authority. He is an acute observer and an accurate writer, fond of details and precision. Except for matters connected with the religion, either of the Hindus or Muslims, in which his views are obviously prejudiced, he is very reliable in all that he records by his personal observation. His friendly relations with Abul Fazl whom he mentions on several occasions appear to be responsible for useful information on several points. His description of Akbar's councils, method of deliberation and the nature of discussions held during his stay, together with Akbar's method of administering justice and the award of punishments in criminal cases are very useful contributions to the study of the period. In several other matters, his work gave me certain useful suggestions which I could follow and substantiate with historical facts. Next

Next to him is the work of De Laet which can very profitably be utilised for certain aspects of the administration. Sir Thomas Roe supplies very little information besides the matters connected with the court. Terry is on the whole not very reliable and it is not very safe to accept any of his versions which are not corroborated by any other contemporary writer. Mr Foster has pointed out the sources of his information in his introduction to his account which among others include the gossips of Sūrat as well. Pelsaert method of criticism and the trend of his arguments takes

away much of the value of his account. Bernier is an intelligent observer but he judges everything in the light of the conditions of France and tries to prove them better than everything Indian.

However these accounts supply very useful information which has been fully utilised and incorporated in this thesis after a critical examination.

Modern works.

Historical works of modern writers on this period of the history of the Mughals have also been utilised and in order to avoid repetition they have been noted in the bibliography only.

It may also be pointed out that the portion of the introduction which deals with the Delhi sultanate and all references that have been made elsewhere to the administration of the Delhi sultans are entirely based on original sources of that period, of which the following may be mentioned:- (1) *Tabqāt Nāṣīni*. (2) *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Barnī, (3) Another work of the same name by Sirāj 'Afīf, (4) *Tārīkh-i-mubārak Shāhī*, and (5) *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*.

GEOGRAPHY AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON
PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT.

Outline.

Geography: and Nature of its influence.

Geographical divisions of India.

Northern India: its boundaries - The Himalayas - the Plains -
The Vindhya's.

Influence of the Himalaya's:-

1. Protection on a long line of defence.
2. Contact with Central Asia through its passes and the nature of that contact.
3. Supply of rivers and rains to the Plains.

Characteristics of the Plains:- vast, flat, alluvial, fertile

Influence of Mountains and Plains upon the people's occupations, habits, activities and general outlook.

Effect upon the form and character of the Government.

Conditions favourable to the growth of Monarchy.

Monarchy becomes a political necessity.

The character and type of Monarchy.

The activities of the government determined by Geography.

Its functions as established by geography and tradition.

The effect of the Vindhya's and the policy of aggression.

Conclusions.

Nature of influence. No one will deny, however firmly he may believe in "Free will", that the destinies of men are to a large extent determined by environment. Among the many influences covered by this term, the most powerful are the geographical.

Geographical facts influence the course of History. Climate determines man's food and other wants. The physical features of the earth, sea and mountains fix the occupation of the people inhabiting a particular area. The aspect of nature about the colours and suggests their ideas and beliefs. The possession of a sea-coast with satisfactory harbours, and the protecting or isolating influence of frontiers determines their character, their activities, the extent of intercourse with other nations and therefore the extent of the influences exerted by foreign ideas.

History is thus unintelligible without geography. In order to fully understand the history of a country, the character of its people, the growth of its institutions and civilisation, it is necessary to prepare the background of geography and fully realise it before attempting any description or formulation of any kind.

"In no country in the world has geographical position relatively to surrounding continents and seas shaped the history of the destinies of the people more surely than in India."⁽¹⁾

India is geographically and historically divided into three parts. Northern India, between the Himalayas and the Vindhya, the Deccan plateau lying to the south of the Narbada as far as

(1) Holdisch, p.1.

the Krishnā and the Tungbhudra; and the Far South, beyond these rivers.

North-
ern
India The first of these divisions,- the Āryavarta of the Vedic Age and the Hindustān of later times is the part of the country with which the subject of this thesis is mainly concerned. The plain of Northern India lies between the sub-Himālayas and the Vindhyās and from the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra on the East to that of the Indus on the West.

The
Himala-
yas The Himalayas not only form a double wall along the long frontier of Northern India but at their western and eastern extremities send out ranges to the South which protect its north (1) eastern and north-western frontiers.

The main wall is pierced at the N.Western corner where it strikes southward from the Himalayas by an opening through which the Kabul river flows into India. This contains the famous passes through which India's contact has been maintained with Central Asia. Except in this quarter the Himalaya has in all ages given protection to India on its long line of defence. But this exception is a great one, and it is through these passes that Northern India has received its invaders.

The ancient and medieval history of Northern India is based principally on two geographical facts,- the one that the North-Western barrier is not complete, and the other that when once an invader crosses the passes, he finds no physical barriers to check his advance.

The fertile valley and the open plains with all the lavi

(1) On the N.East against the wild tribes of Upper Burma; on N.West the mountains run down the entire length of the west line of the plain down to the sea. (Encycl. Br. p.470)

gifts of nature on the one side, and the hilly tracts and cold climate and soil less favoured by nature on the other, at once suggest the relations of the people of the plains and the hill men of the North. "Where the barren mountains and rich low-lands adjoin, it is the same old story:-

The mountain sheep are sweeter,
But the valley sheep are fatter;
We therefore deemed it meeter
To carry off the latter." (1)

It is this opening and this contrast which attracted foreigner. It brought in the Vedic tribes who gave the "race type" to Indian civilization, the Greeks who left an impress on Indian art. It led to the advance of the Scythians and finally to the Muslim invasions and the introduction of an element no less potent than the Aryan. To these, India owes all its culture and past civilisation and no less all its complications.

Thus from historical and administrative point of view the Himalayas are both an advantage and a disadvantage. Their position determines activities of the government and the people of the country. They are neither immune from external danger nor are always exposed to it on its long line of defence.

Mountains are of importance in all countries, but in India they dominate the economic life of the country and even influence the methods of administration. "To her mountain ranges, India owes her rivers and streams, the distribution of her water supply and in great measure of her rains, the varying fertility of her soils, the method of land-tenure and cultivation, the distribution and relative comfort of her population". (2)

(1) Bunting, p.54.

(2) Joseph Challey, p.4. Also Strachey, p.31.

The
plains

Below these mountain ranges lies the wide plain stretching with an unbroken surface for some 1700 miles West to East, watered by three great river systems, the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The mountains and rivers, thus combined together, make the flat and level area of this part of the country extremely fertile.

Effects upon
people's
habits and
character

The fertility of the soil determines the occupation of the people and thus makes it predominantly agricultural. The occupation of agriculture draws the population to rural areas and thus scattering it into villages and attaching it to the land, it moulds their habits and character.

Agriculture above all occupations creates a sort of conservatism, and an aversion to adventure and enterprise, and where the soil yields sufficient food without much hard labour, it creates a sort of contentment as well.

The tropical climate requiring little shelter against the ravages of nature limits their wants and makes their life simple.

The fixity of the population, its attachment to the land dependance upon it leads it to avoid all risks and dangers that might interfere with its peaceful pursuits. Thus the cultivator becomes peaceful by habit, by profession and by interest. He will be slow to go to war. He would avoid conflict and clash at every stage of his life; but at the same time, he would always be willing to cast in his lot with the strong hand that would secure peace in the country when none exists.

This tendency explains the reason why strong foreign invaders who showed capacity, strength and readiness to free the land from the rival local claimants and to establish peace and security

the country have uniformly succeeded in establishing their sway over the whole of Northern India without much difficulty, opposition or resistance from the people at large. It also accounts for the rapidity with which weak governments and dynasties have disappeared in this area.

Effect upon the form and character of the government

The plain of Northern India is vast, and extensive. It is alluvial and fertile. It is flat and has no high hills, no passable barriers hindering the movements of the people or the army from entering any part of it from any place within it. These features decide that the country cannot be divided into separate kingdoms and small principalities. The establishment of power at one centre would always enable the holder of that power to carry its arms farther and farther in proportion to its strength and to complete the subjugation of the entire plain.

The vastness of the area to be conquered from one central point and the danger of dividing the energies into different directions tempts the conqueror to accept the acquiescence of the local chiefs and rulers readily offered at his advance. Thus in every direction a large number of such semi-independent chiefs and rulers is allowed to exist and maintain its power and local influence. This explains the existence of military chiefs in Northern India at every stage of its history and particularly under the Muslim rule.

The entire plain thus brought under the direct power or influence of one central government requires sufficient military strength to maintain it, and the need of military strength is

(1) For the characteristics of the plain, see the famous and often quoted words of Richard Strachey, Encycl: Br. "Article on Asia". p.736.

constantly felt and impressed by the external danger and internal fears justified by the existence of military chiefs ever ready to take advantage of every central government's weakness or mistakes.

These conditions decide that the central government or the chief power in the country must necessarily tend to be military in form, and highly energetic and vigilant in character.

The weakness of the military power and the slackness on the part of the government at once lead to the process of disintegration and the distant parts of the kingdom begin to fall off one by one thus the power and the prestige of the centre is reduced at each stage. The vastness of the country does not allow the weak government to make its force felt at distant quarters. The ample resources combined with the vastness of the country enable every component part to be carved out into a separate and independent kingdom or small principalities. The process ultimately leads to the condition which justified the remark that "every head becomes a chief and every dog a *darbār*" (*har sar-i-sardār-i-har dar-i-darbār-i*).

The peace and security afforded to the people of each of the newly formed kingdoms under its strong founder is soon destroyed by mutual conflicts and wars of aggression. The country is gradually thrown into confusion till at last any one of the rival claimants able to prove himself stronger than the rest, establish peace and claim the allegiance of the millions, or any foreign invader appears and takes their place. Thus the history of Northern India is the history of the struggle of these centripetal and centrifugal forces. "The unifying idea has struggled unceasingly with the deeply rooted tendency towards disruption and hence empires of greater or smaller duration and extent have alternated with a bewildering maze of pet-

(1) states." The empires of Asoka and Harsha and their natural fate, the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi following the same course in its rise and fall, succeeded by the Empire of the Mughals with the same fate, are positive proofs of these forces which were the result of the geographical conditions of the country. They continued to exist till the modern age achieved its victory over Nature.

Thus geographical conditions, on the one hand determined the profession, the scope and nature of the activities of the people, and on the other created difficulties in their peaceful pursuit. Hence the ever-pressing need of peace and the difficulty of maintaining it are the chief factors which have led to the establishment of monarchies and given them absolute powers to ensure it. Protection becomes the chief motive and in consequence the chief duty of the monarch. This is the main theme of all the ancient political writers of the Hindus and the chief problem with the monarch in every age. Protection was the chief function of the king and it was so much esteemed that the king's duty in Mahābhārata "was held to be equivalent in moral values to the duties of the four castes and the four orders put together."

(2) "A kingless state is overcome by robbers, their (people's) virtue does not become settled and the people devolve

(3) one another." The two "rob the one and many others rob the two, he that is not a slave is made a slave."⁽⁴⁾ The importance

(1) Ghoshal, p.1.

(2) Do. p.6. and Beni Pd. p.26-27 for the character of kingship

(3) Do. p.170.

(4) Do. p. 50.

of this function is further emphasised by exhorting the people to take up arms in self-defence "when the king's power wanes, and the social order vanishes", and in the last recourse to submit to anyone, "even a sudra who saves society from anarchy".

Monarchy a necessity Monarchy was a political necessity and the ideas of the writers reflect the conditions of the country in that age. Accordingly, monarchy was further supported by the social organisation of the Hindus. The division of the society into four castes and their dependence upon one another prevented any one class from acquiring such a power as to dominate the rest and oust the monarchy. On the other hand, caste dividing the society into water-tight compartments eliminated the chance of democracy which requires at the outset the equality of all. The vastness of the country, the problem of distance, the dispersal of the population into rural areas left no scope for representative institutions or for that spirit and activity which creates demands for them. Thus Monarchy became the rule and a political necessity in Northern India.

The similarity of geographical conditions and the uniformity of occupation created uniform habits, uniform needs, uniform customs and uniform beliefs and ideas. The fixity of life and the unchanging conditions of normal routine of life gave those habits and customs a force known by the term tradition, and those traditions acquired a rigidity which no power could venture to interfere with.

Like customs, the religion of the Hindus also affected their outlook, because it affected their life from birth to

(1) Beni Pd. p.11. "The principle of caste is the negation of the dignity of man as man."

ashes. Thus religion and customs passing from generation to generation acquired the status of a rigid constitution. No interference of any kind was possible or desirable in it.

Thus Protection and Toleration became the primary duties of a sovereign.

The activities of the government determined the military character of the government. The predominance of agriculture and the engagement of nearly ninety per cent of the population in it made the government dependent for its revenues upon the rent of land. Thus the maintenance of, or the provision for, large armies and the collection of revenue became its most important functions. The level plains, and the navigable rivers afforded facilities for internal trade. The North-Western passes connecting the country with Central Asia and the western and eastern openings into the sea provided scope for commercial relations with other countries. It required the attention of the government, and created the necessity of good roads, safety in transit and patronage for home industry, and art.

The fertile area watered by rivers must be thickly populated. It must become the chief centre for people's different occupations and activities and the centre of governmental machinery and attract its attention more than the less fertile and thinly populated areas. Thus the Panjab, the Doab, and the Brahmaputra valley would be more conspicuous in history than the rugged and hilly areas of Baluchistan and Orissa or the sandy Sindh.

The hill men, on the other hand, by the nature of their

position and the military art of the age must be more troublesome than the peaceful people of the plains. The chiefs in these areas would be turbulent, and a constant source of trouble to the government, and, on the whole, a menace to the peace of the country.

The distant provinces, like those of Bengal, Behar or Gujerat, possessing ample resources to offer resistance and having the advantage of distance would present another difficulty to the government. They would be a source of strength to a strong government and a menace to the weak. They will be a problem by themselves.
(1)

The effect of the Vindhya's Thus the internal features and geographical characteristics determined the scope of government's activities and decided its functions; yet another feature left a scope for its aggression. The Vindhya's forming the southern boundary of the plains allowed the government to deal with its problems freely and efficiently without any serious danger of attack or invasion from that side, but the defence was not complete. North is not wholly cutoff from the south. The Vindhya's do obstruct an easy intercourse between the two parts of the country but the passes are open to those imbued with the spirit of adventure and equipped with the means of overcoming the hardships. Hence whenever a government in the North was able to cope with its own difficulties and succeeded in establishing peace in the plains, it always fell an easy prey to the temptation offered by the nature of the Vindhya hills. This explains another feature of government's activity and the history of wars and invasions of

the Deccan. It placed an ideal of conquest before every monarch. It created a spirit of aggression and still more emphasised the military character of the government. It led to heavy taxation and ultimately affected the efficiency of the political institutions.

Con-
clu-
sions.

These are the geographical forces which have directed the course of the history of Northern India, and the ancient and medieval monarchies uniformly followed the same course. A king who was able to surmount the initial difficulties, establish peace and security, and afford facilities for the peaceful pursuit of agriculture, trade and commerce and maintained a paternal attitude towards the priest and the peasant, - he established the "Golden Age" in this land of rivers and mountains. Nothing more is expected of the king and the government. No further endeavour and no further enterprise for the amelioration of the people is required of him. He establishes these conditions and leaves them to follow their own ways of simple happiness and contentment. He receives their implicit obedience which political necessity, their profession, their daily life, their interest and their religion emphasised.

Thus monarchy is established fully equipped with military strength and absolute political powers necessary for a definite object. People at large acquiesce in it, and support it as long as that object is fulfilled. When the king fails in his duty by his tyranny or oppression or by his negligence, he loses the justification for holding that power. The process of disintegration follows in which people take an active part till one

appears on the scene to save the country from chaos and thus the circle moves.

Such were the forces and such were the conditions which moulded the history of Northern India and shaped its institutions; and it is on these lines that the following chapters are based.

Three Centuries of Muslim Rule.

Its experiments and lessons.

Political conditions which gave Northern India a unity unparalleled in its history had become dim by the latter half of the 7th century A.D. The

unity disappeared with the power that had created it. The disintegrating forces began to take their normal course and the country became divided into numerous states big and small. Their boundaries were determined by their military power, and their aggressions were checked only by the power of their rivals. The existence of such independent states with no higher ideals to be maintained or preserved begets mutual jealousies and rivalries leading to perpetual warfare. The geographical features of the plains on which they played their part and planned their future activities facilitated their tasks and encouraged them in their ever-increasing ambitions.

The four centuries preceding the Muslim domination "were (1) a period of small and historically obscure states." The condition of India at this time resembled that of Germany at the end of the eighteenth century... . the Rajput kingly families fell as the Germanic states severally fell before Napoleon. But while Germany was never finally conquered, and subjected to foreign domination, Northern India was laid (2) prostrate for all time."

(1) Beni Prasad, State in Ancient India, p.305.

(2) Vaidya, Downfall of Hindū India, p. 362-363.

The causes that led to this situation are obvious from the political and social conditions of the Hindus at that time. The aspirations of the Rajput princes to be called chakravarti and their consequent rivalries and wars divided their energies and left no possibility of a common and united action by the ruling monarchs. The rigidity of caste divided the society into further smaller groups. It created aloofness and left no scope for common interest among them. It reduced the fighting strength of the population and finally checked the creation of national sentiment. "Lastly the Hindūstate, parochial, short-sighted and isolated from the rest of the world, failed to keep abreast of the times and to organised the resources of the country against successive foreign invasions. At last in the 13th century, it shipwrecked in the storms it was incapable of weathering." (2)

The Sultanate

The establishment of the sultanate as an independent power created a new element in Northern India, and entirely changed the course of its politics. The new kingdom with its foreign army and foreign aristocracy had its own peculiar difficulties. But with all the differences of religion, race, culture and language, the new rulers had two things in common with the people of the Aryavarta.

Two Factors

The first was the desire to establish peace, overcome the disintegrating forces and create a sort of political unity which might guarantee the security of the country in future, from foreign invasion and local warring elements,- a work which

(1) "He who conquers the country from Kumaripura to Bindusara lake is called chakravartin." (Vaidya, p.8)

(2) Beni Pd., State in Ancient India. p.513.

the Rajput chiefs had failed to accomplish. This object could not be achieved without the subjugation of the whole of Northern India. The common interest of the rulers with the people gave the Delhi sultans, on the one hand, considerable facilities in overcoming the selfish princes and chiefs who had perpetuated warfare in the country, and on the other, led them to change their attitude and notions, racial or religious, in their treatment of their Hindu subjects. Mr. Vaidya, in discussing the causes of the fall of the Hindu state, reaches the same conclusion, though from a different line of argument ". . . the people, as a whole took no interest in the national struggle and without demur offered their submission to the foreign yoke, especially, because . . . the Mohammedan rulers did not adopt any coercive measure for the spread of their (1) religion."

Peace and one political power in the country

The work of peace was accomplished by Shamsud-din Iltutmish and Balban. The former put an end to the rival claims of his co-religionists and completed the conquest of Aryavart while the latter consolidated the new power and put an end to the activities of the local chiefs of every type. Both of them created a power which justified its existence, gave the country and the people peace and security, and taught them to respect one power and to look to it alone in times of danger.

The second feature common to the rulers and the people was that they believed in Monarchy. Like the Hindus, the rulers had their own religious Law which set certain limits of

(1) Vaidya, p. 365.

the autocratic powers of the despotic monarch. Protection of life and property, and the maintenance of peace is the primary duty of the king and the primary concern of the people and the primary function of every government. The difficulty of securing and maintaining peace under the peculiar conditions of Northern India gave the monarch absolute powers to deal with the subversive elements and led the people to acquiesce in it as a necessary evil. Whether the sanction to such a power was religious, or derived from the Divine nature of kingship or from the commands of God to the believers or a political necessity, the result remains the same. Both the new rulers and the people of the country were familiar with this necessity and both had practical experience in their respective spheres.

Three dangers to the three dangers. Firstly, against foreign invasion from the North West - the doors were open, the example was set by the conquerors themselves. Secondly, against the ambitions and adventures of the ruling section itself. Every one of those who surrounded the king, was equally entitled to the throne acquired by the force of Muslim arms. It was within the reach of all. Anyone possessed with a little courage, unscrupulousness and tact was sure to get some support and encouragement to hazard the risk. Thirdly, against local powers and various elements which could combine at any time against the newly established power. They were always prepared to take advantage of the weakness and difficulties of the ruling class. These dangers combined with the peculiar conditions of

the country and needs of the people made the government rely upon military strength and keep the members of the ruling section attached to it, either through fear or favour, and to give the minimum chance of resistance or provocation to the people. Thus military strength, unity at the centre and non Policy interference with the affairs of the people form the three guiding principles of the sultanate. Its history is the record of its experiments, efforts and struggles to achieve this object.

The sultans of Delhi made three experiments, to achieve their objects and maintain the solidarity of their kingdom. First experiment The first experiment which Shams-ud-din made consisted in the division of the kingdom into several parts and their allotment to different amirs of the ruling section. This award of land to the amirs carried with it the duties and rights which are generally associated with Feudal system. Besides the division of the country among military chiefs which created in them an interest in the security of the kingdom and established military outposts to keep the local warlike elements within control, Shams-ud-din also created a body of loyal supporters to the throne and kept it at the centre. It was intended as a check upon the powers and ambitions of the military chiefs who divided the resources of the country and the army among themselves. The body of these loyalists is known in history as "The Forty".

It was a very useful device and it worked very well under the Slave dynasty. It gave full support to the dynasty and

1

in spite of the weakness of Shams-ud-din's successors the throne remained in his family. The changes were made in the interest of the kingdom and the throne, weak and worthless kings were always replaced by stronger and more capable ones. The experiment limited the ambitions of the Muslim element of the kingdom to a very small group and a tradition of dynastic rule was established.

But the success of the device and the experiment depended upon the unity of the party at the court together with the military chiefs who held the different parts of the country and remained away from the capital. This became impossible and the domination of the group of "Forty" was later on represented and opposed by other sections of the ruling class. (2)

The struggle continued till Balban came to power under Sultan Nasir-ud-din. He was one from among the "Forty". He not only overcame the disintegrating forces but dominated the king as well as Barni says, "Sultān rā namūna mī dāsh̄t va Pādshāhī Khud mī wānd." (He kept the sultān a puppet and himself exercised royal powers.) He went entirely against the policy of Shams-ud-din and regarded the powerful party at the court as a source of danger to the throne, and during his long term of office both as the Naib (deputy) of the kingdom and as king, he crushed the party altogether and no

(1) For such changes, Tabqāt Nāsiri, p.182, 185, 191, 194, 197, 2

(2) For the effect of its domination, Barni, p. 25-26.

(3) Barni, p.27.

group was left in the kingdom which could dictate to the king or make him yield if necessary, as was done before him.

Balban believed in the dynastic rule and crushed the party to safeguard the interests of his dynasty but by crushing it he crushed the only power which could support the throne in times of danger and preserve it under weak and inefficient rulers. The step proved fatal and his dynasty disappeared
(1) within five years of his death.

The accession of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī to the throne and the manner in which it was brought about gave a blow to the tradition of the dynastic rule. The murder of Jalāl-ud-dīn and the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī added the element of force in it, and it created a bad precedent. Though he tried to justify his action by his efficient rule and good administration and did certainly raise the prestige of the throne he occupied yet the damage he had done to the sultanate could not be undone. The example he set was followed by his own relative
(2)

in his own lifetime. His own favourite Naib made a bold attempt though/unsuccessful attempt to set aside his sons. Malik Khusrau, the deputy of his son Mubārak Shāh followed the same path and did away with his master and ascended the throne. Though he could not maintain it yet his activities completed the ruin of the Khaljī dynasty and the Tughluqs took their

(1) Barnī, Balban's work, p.123; regarded as champion of the weak after his death, also p.137, 138, 151, 171. Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, "Not more than three years have elapsed since his death . . . and I do not see in this assembly more than three or four faces of his assembly", (p.179).

(2) Barnī, p. 282. Akaṭ Khān, Malik 'Umar and Malik Mangū.

place. Thus the tradition of the dynastic rule established under the Slave Dynasty was finally set aside and onward no respect was shown to it. The attempts of Malik Kafūr and the success of Malik Khusrau dealt a blow to the tradition of racial superiority as well. The successive changes of dynasties during the rest of the period of the sultanate together with the wars of the amirs to secure it for themselves were the result of the tendency which Shams-ud-dīn had intended to check by his device.

The second part of Shams-ud-dīn's policy of leaving wide powers and retaining the prestige of military chiefs in the part of the country placed under them was actively opposed by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. His administrative reforms, his resumption of fiefs, the creation of a standing army, the system of espionage, were all directed towards the development of the policy which Balban had initiated. The result of Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn's policy was that the generation which lived under them failed to produce any man of outstanding merit, and not a single individual came to the top who could be expected to play the part which, at times, men of position are required to play under monarchies. 'Alā-ud-dīn followed Balban and his dynasty suffered the same fate.

(1) ~~Thābit~~ and Barnī, the contemporary views about the fall of 'Alā-ud-dīn's dynasty, p.378.

Second Experiment The second experiment was to maintain the military fiefs with all their rights and duties but to make the fief-holder responsible to the central government as far as the revenue matters were concerned and accordingly they were required to render the financial account to the vazir's department. This appears to have continued throughout the Tughluq period. Muhammad Tughlaq's advice to his revenue department to treat the fief-holders politely in demanding the accounts gives an idea of the position of the military chiefs in this matter. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq made a free use of this practice and gave different parts of the country to different persons purely of his own choice on fixed sums. Firuz Tughlaq reverted to the old system of raising the prestige of military chiefs and reconciling them to the throne but the practice of requiring them to render financial accounts appears to have continued. It was only in the period of confusion which followed the death of Firuz that military chiefs acquired their full power and the political conditions of the country enabled them to retain it for a long time and Bahlul Lodi found no alternative to confirm the prevailing conditions.

Third experiment Bahlul⁽¹⁾ was the third experiment of ruling Northern India on tribal lines in which the king was only one among the chiefs and held the power by their consent. ⁽²⁾ This reduced the

(1) Barni, p.431.

(2) Daudi, F. 7. His position before the amirs.

prestige of the monarchy to a great extent, and Sikander Lodi in spite of all the extended kingdom and enhanced resources found himself unable to change the existing conditions. When his son and successor Ibrāhīm Lodi risked the struggle with his military chiefs, he found his position untenable and (1) lost the kingdom.

Thus the history of the Delhi sultanate is the record of the conflict of the Monarchy with the fief-holders of the kingdom in one form or other. During this struggle the kingdom lost that unity which was essential for its security in a foreign land. Even the early Turks after Shams-ud-dīn did not exhibit any anxiety to maintain it. When the country was not in a position to oppose them they fought among themselves, and personal aggrandisement or selfish ambition to gain the throne dominated their entire group of amīrs.

The struggle for power could not be carried on without the support of the local warlike elements and they were included in it as early as the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. They were conspicuous after the death of Firūz Tughluq and their power finally revived in the 15th century. At a time When it was aspiring for royal power the accidental success of Bāber at Pānīpat and again at Kanvāha put an end to their ambitions.

The different experiments of the sultāns to rule a vast country without a constitution of any kind and with no form of

(1) Dāūdī, F. 53 and 59. Opposition of the amīrs; Ibrāhīm's efficiency, F. 62; his courage in the field, F. 61. ~~و~~ digar sū-i-ravaman khud na mardist
Na kār-i-surkhrūyān rū zardist.

government other than Monarchy known either to the rulers or the subjects had their own respective merits and there is no doubt that the devices made by Shams-ud-dīn, Balban, 'Alā-ud-dīn, Firūz Tughluq and Bahlūl Lodi were in the interest of the country and the country did benefit by their rule and work yet they failed to solve the problem or to make any definite or permanent contribution to the solution of the problem.

Lessons

They left behind precedents of all kinds, and there was not a single tradition which was not set aside at one or the other time. The successive changes of dynasties did not let the principle of dynastic rule take root in the sultanate. Within a particular dynasty no tradition for succession was established. The throne was open to all. The murders of the monarchs did away with the idea of the sanctity attached to their person. Kings were set aside by ministers and minister (1) got rid of by kings through secret murders. The prestige of the monarchy was lowered and no power was created to take (2) its place.

(1) Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, Fs. 251, 254, 261-262 for the intrigues of Sarvar-ul-Mulk finally leading to Sultan Mubārak Shāh's murder and the efforts of his successor Muhammad Shāh leading to the murder of Sarvar-ul-Mulk.

(2) Firūz Tughluq like Shams-ud-dīn tried the experiment of Ghulāman (slaves) but it also failed after him. 'Afif, for Slaves:- p.268; separate Department, p.270; as archers and swordsmen, p.271; in offices, p.72; Divān-i-'Arz 'Imād-ul-Mulk a slave of the king, p. 443 -44 for his position. Tā' Mubārak Shāhī, F. 162, 164, 171 for their domination at the capital after Sultān Firūz, and the result, F.180.

No effort was made by any dynasty or monarch to establish a direct contact between the crown and the people. The division of the country into military fiefs which except for a short time under 'Alā-ud-dīn in a small part of the country remained the dominant feature, left no scope for any such direct connection. Hence the monarchy never received the support of the people as a whole. Loyalty to the chief or to the salt remained the only inspiring motive of the loyal, the respectable and the God-fearing subject.

The Muslims showed no unity among themselves. They never regarded the throne as a common heritage and never made a common cause for its support. The people as a whole exhibited no national consciousness, and gave no proof of national spirit at any stage or crisis.

Bāber's description of the country, as he found it, and his account of every class of people clearly gives an idea of the conditions in which the Mughals entered the country and (1) the material with which they had to deal.

Bāber had no time for any reconstruction. Humāyūn got no chance to make a start in that direction. The old system continued under them. The defeat and expulsion of Humāyūn and his re-conquest of the country emphasised the ephemeral character of the dynasties, and further brought to light the result of the lack of unity among the ruling section.

Sher Shāh favoured the centralisation of power in the hands of the monarch and like 'Alā-ud-dīn he was opposed to the rise

(1) Bāber Nāma, II. p.195-208; 241-247.

of any powerful group in the country. His measures were calculated to leave no scope for it, but his reign was short and the experiment did not get full chance. However his reforms suggested certain lines of actions to his successors.

It was reserved for Akbar to take up the work of reconstruction in the light of the lessons and experiments recorded by three centuries of Muslim rule in Northern India.

P A R T I.

CHAPTER I.

T H E K I N G

A N D

H I S P O S I T I O N

I N

T H E S T A T E

Chapter I.

The King and his position in the State.

Outline.

The origin of the State:- Hindū and Muslim conception.

The need for a King:- Protection and Preservation of Society.

The king an absolute Monarch:- Supreme in State.

The Divine Element:- The object of the political thinkers in introducing it.

Requisite qualities of a King: as determined by Abul Fazl.

Abul Fazl's Ideal King:- His conception of Hākim-i-'Ādil (the just Monarch).

His ideal upheld by Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

The element of Chance:- Success depending entirely upon King's personality and political exigencies

Leads out at midday and has until 6 P.M.

Chapter I.

Afternoon walk from 12 M. - ends off to night off

coffee to coffee break from 2 P.M. to 3 P.M. break off

leaves at 3 P.M. - leaves school at 4 P.M. off

at 4 P.M. first class off to school off - friend's arrival off

at 5 P.M. off

last time to dinner off as 5 P.M. to 6 P.M. off

(lunch) 6 P.M. - 7 P.M. to coffee break off - 8 P.M. Isobell comes off

(dinner) off

last time bus 8 P.M. - 9 P.M. to Isobell off

and bus 9 P.M. bus 10 P.M. to Isobell off

second bus 10 P.M. to Isobell off

The theory of state in India both under the Hindū and

Muslim rule is the theory of monarchy. All the political ideas and functions of state are centred round the person of the monarch. Geographical features and peculiar characteristics of the country which emphasise the need of peace and security to an enormous extent, as noted in the first two chapters, are prominent in the ideas and theories of political writers as well.

The origin of state or the need of kingship takes its root in the same dominant problem of peace. In Mahābhārata, in Sāntīparvan, with Manū and with Kautīlya, the idea of justifying king's authority is inspired by the anarchical condition of society - in which people having no king, in early times, "met with destruction devouring one another as the larger fishes devour the smaller"⁽¹⁾. People having become completely worn out by the vices of intoxication, greed, wrath, and self-indulgence, "the world was disturbed and the vedas as well as justice perished"⁽²⁾. People "without a chief were perishing"⁽³⁾ because "in the absence of one who wields the sceptre the strong man devours the weak" - "as creatures would plunge in dense darkness owing to the non-appearance of the sun and the moon, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a safe place would fight one another and assuredly perish, so would these

(1) Mahābhārata Ghoshal, p.174. Benī Pd.(Mahābhārata)p.27-29 (The)

(2) Sāntīparvan Do. p.176. Do. (Manū)p.74-75 (The)

(3) Kautīlya vide Benī Pd. Origin of the State, p. 95.

(4) Kautīlya - Ghoshal, p.154.

people die without the King and they would sink in utter darkness like cattle without herdsmen."⁽¹⁾

Muslim jurists and writers offer the same justification in their own way. Man's selfish and perverse nature is the chief obstacle in the preservation of order in society and peace in the country. Low qualities and base morals, like cruelty, oppression, injustice and insurrection have become a part of man's nature. Hence God has ordained that, from among the people, there should be one Ḥākim-i-Ādil who might direct the actions of the sons of Adam and the affairs of the people of the world on the right path and keep them ~~safe~~⁽²⁾ and secure. If a just king is removed, "different swords are drawn and blood flows. The one who possesses a strong hand does whatever he likes. It is like ~~a~~fire which spreads in a reed-bed and burns all that is dry. The green plants are also reduced to ashes by the nearness of dry ones."⁽³⁾ Abul Fazl also starts with the same assumption. "If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction, the world . . . would lose its prosperity and the whole earth become a barren waste."⁽⁴⁾

Anarchy, confusion, man's selfish nature and the tyranny of the strong being the justification for royal power, "Protect

(1) Sāntīparvan Chapter LXVIII - vide Ghoshal, p.90

(2) Zakhīratul Mu'lūk, p. 28-89. MS. Add. 7618.

(3) Siyāsat Nāma. p.6.

(4) Āīn, p.2. Blochmann, I.ii; also Āīn, iii.p.290 for similar plea.

The
need
for a
king

becomes the chief duty of the monarch. "One should first have the king, then the wife and afterwards wealth, for if there were no king, how could one enjoy the wife and wealth." ⁽¹⁾ "A king who duly protects his subjects receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit, if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also will fall on him." "The king receives revenue as his fee for the service of protection." ⁽³⁾ "He who does not properly protect his subjects is a thief among kings." ⁽⁴⁾

The duty of Hākim-i-'Ādil is to curtail the hand of the strong upon the weak. It is the sovereign who closes the doors of mischief, troubles and sedition. God makes his awe and fear penetrate the hearts of the people so that they may live in peace under his justice and desire the stability of his power. ⁽⁵⁾ "By the light of imperial justice, some followed with cheerfulness the road of obedience whilst others abstain through fear of punishment and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude." ⁽⁷⁾ To Shāh Jahān Pādshāhī consisted in making the life of subjects easy who are the treasures and deposits of the creator. The courage of the monarchs should be devoted to the well-being of the weak and the love of the worshippers of

When protection is guaranteed and peace is established,

(1) Sāntīparvan LVII.41.

(2) Ibid. vide Ghoshal, p.90 and 185.

(3) Kautilya, vide Ghoshal, p.137.

(4) Manū VII. 144, Ghoshal, 185.

(5) Zakhīratul Mūlūk, p.88~~89~~ MS.

(6) Siyāsat Nama, p.5.

(7) Āin, p.2. Bloch. I.ii. Protection & worship for the household of sovereignty. Akbar Nama, II.p.132.

(8) Lahori, I. p.387 and p. 32 Pt. II. Vol.I. Begum Sāhib (Shāh Jahan's favourite daughter to Aurangzeb in a letter.

blessings follow, and the blessings or conditions following peace and protection enumerated by the writers indirectly give us an idea of their conception of king's duties and the scope of state activities. People sleep with the doors of their houses unbarred, the women decked with all their ornaments and unguarded by males, fearlessly walk about the streets, the people practise virtues instead of harming one another; the three classes perform great sacrifices of various kinds; the science of agriculture and trade which is the root of this world exists in good order." So with Abul Fazl under the rule of a true king "sincerity, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity . . . are the result." He is continually attentive to the health of a body-politic and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof. The object of state under him becomes to remove oppression and bring out latent faculties or utilise the capacities of subjects under him, and "by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body. "Rule and power, sword and conquests are for shepherding and doing the work of watch and ward and not for gathering treasures of gold and silver or decorating the throne and dia. "The hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and celestial armour" for the sincere and lover of peace and "life slaying

(1) Santiparvan - Ghoshal, p.91.

(2) Ain, p.2. Bloch. page iii. Vol.I.

(3) Ain, p.4. Bloch. p.iv. Vol.I.

(4) A.N. III. p. 497. Beveridge, p. 755. Akbar's letter to the ruler of Turan in the 31st year.

sword and heart rending dagger" for the seditious and the
 (1) wicked. The sum and total of the desires of just princes
 is that all mankind and every creature should abide in peace
 and tranquillity and should strive strenuously in obeying God
 (2)
 and in the ways of a well-intentioned life.

Thus the existence of the people, their happiness, the institutions of society, the rules of morality and religion depend upon king's office. Hence it is no wonder that king's importance is emphasised. He becomes supreme in his sphere.
He represents sovereignty in his person and all the "seven elements of sovereignty are absorbed in one."

The
Divine
ele-
ment

The political writers and jurists were not content with merely emphasising the importance of the office, but forced the conditions under which they were living, they deliberate introduced in it the divine element to strengthen the principle of authority, and thus obedience to the king was made a religious duty. According to Manū, the king is created out of the particles of eight guardians of the world. "He therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre." He is a great deity in human form. (3) Bhisma declares him to have absorbed the essence of God Visnū. Hence "the world bows down to one man a (4) to a God." With Kautilya kings occupy the position of the

(1) A. N. III. p. 466. Beveridge, p.703.

(2) A. N. III. p. 498. Beveridge, p.757.

(3) and (4) Ghoshal, p. 181-183.

Gods of Indra and Yāma. Therefore they should not be slighted. To Abul Fazl, "Royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun, . . . modern language calls this light farr-i-izidi (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it kiyān khwarah (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one and man in the presence of it bends the forehead of praise (2) towards the ground of submission." Akbar in connection with the pardon of Dāūd, says "We, by virtue of our being the shadow of God" receive little and give much. Our forgiveness (3) has no relish for vengeance." Shāh Jahān in his farmān to 'Ādil Khān calls himself "shadow of God", mā ke sāya-i-khudā (4) aim.

Requi-
site
quali-
ties
of a
king

The king thus exalted must naturally possess requisite qualities for the fulfilment of his task. Kautilya's ideal (5) king rules according to Dandāntī and establishes the Golden Age. Abul Fazl's ideal is traceable from scattered passages in his voluminous work. He does not believe in racial superiority or royal lineage as the chief claim to royal power. In connection with Mirzā Hakīm's ambitions and efforts against Akbar, he slightly disposes it of - "race and wealth and the

(1) Ghoshal, p.134.

(2) Āin, p.2. Bloch. I.p.iii.

(3) A.N. III. 19th year, p.97. Beveridge, p.136.

(4) Lahori I. p. 174, 9th year.

(5) A.N. II. p.285. Beveridge.

Benī Pd. (Theory) p.21. Literally it means the "science of coercion" generally translated as Political Theory but preferably it should be the Science of Government.

(1)

assembling of a mob are not enough for this great position." Basing sovereignty on divine origin, he makes the essential qualities much broader and of a universal type. "Many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light." A paternal love towards the subjects in which thousands find rest. A large heart which includes courage and divine firmness. Neither the king is daunted by the high position of the offerer nor is unmindful of the needs and wishes of the lowest. A daily increasing trust in God. He considers God as the rea- doer and himself the medium and thus a conflict of motives can produce no disturbance. Prayer and devotion. Neither the success of his plans would lead him to neglect nor would ad- versity cause him to forget God. (2)

When Abul Fazl expresses his views in the light of his- torical facts happening before his eyes, he is more lucid, more definite and less rhetoric. In connection with Mirzā Hakīm's attempts referred to above, he says:- "Kingship is a gift of God and is not bestowed till many thousand good qualities have been gathered together in an individual." Few among the holy qualities (sifāt-i-Qudṣī) are magnanimity, lofty benevolence, wide capacity, abundant endurance, exalted under standing, innate graciousness, natural courage, justice, rec- titude, strenuous labour, proper conduct, profound thoughtful

(1) A.N. III. p.285. Beveridge. *Mirzā Hakīm*. Vol. II. p. 112.
especially regarding his attitude towards the people. It is
furtherly it should be the behaviour of the ruler.

(2) Āin, p.4. Bloch. I. p.iii.

(1)

and laudable overlooking of offences. On another occasion Abul Fazl treats those qualities exhaustively and to those enumerated above he adds a few more to complete his ideal. Besides being courageous, just, benevolent and forgiving, the king must be above religious differences. They must not withhold him from his duty towards all classes of men. All must have repose under him so that "the shadow of God may confer glory." He must possess an ever-increasing love towards all of his subjects and must bring choice deliberation to bear upon his work and do what is proper for the time. He must possess a hatred of sequacity (taglid). Let the love of inquiry always precede and the cult of proof (Dalīl Parastī) be his method.

(2)

Thus Abul Fazl's monarch should take no notice of religions. He should act as time demands. He must follow inquiry and not be led by sequacity. Thus both Islamic law and Hadīs cease to be the code of his government. The bond thus removed, he speaks more frankly. "In spite of these qualities, he (king) cannot be fit for this lofty office if he does not inaugurate universal peace (toleration). If he does not regard all conditions of humanity and all sects of religion with the single eye for favour and not be mother to

(1) A.N. II.p.285, - importance of right intention and proper behaviour of kings is emphasised also on p.39, III. A.N.

(2) A.N. III. p.452-453. Bev. p.680.

some and be step-mother to others, he will not become fit for
 (1)
 the exalted dignity.

The position of the king in this respect is further emphasised in one of Akbar's letters to the Shāh of Persia. "The sections of mankind who are a Divine deposit and treasure must be regarded with the glance of affection. It must be considered that Divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-garden of 'peace with all'. The eternal God is bounteous to all souls. Hence it is fitting that kings who (2) are the shadow of Divinity should not cast away this principle.

The ideal king

In this manner Abul Fazl's ideal king or just monarch is a wise enlightened, just, and God-fearing man - a lover of all people, cherisher of all sects and religions, shepherd of his subjects, iron fortress and celestial armour of the weak. A subject-grading ruler, bringing out the faculties of man, utilising their capacities for every good, uniting the multitude into one common whole and striving for that unity through the "ray of unanimity and concord" with the watchword of "Peace for all.

He is the "shadow of God". He receives light directly from him. He fears Him alone and trusts in Him alone. He seeks His help, receives it, and attributes success to Him.

(1) A.N. III. p.285. Bew. p.421.
 (2) Do. III. p.659. Do. p.

God is to him the doer and he only the medium. On earth he is supreme in his sphere. His power as a ruler is absolute and indivisible because "ascetic sages and politicians who have regard to the repose of mortals" regard that repose "bound up [] with one ruler, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought."

Jahāngīr also regarded sovereignty as a gift from God. In connection with Prince Khusrau's revolt and his partisans, he says "they overlocked the truth that acts of sovereignty and world rule are not things to be arranged by the worthless endeavours of a few defective intellects. The just creator bestows them on him whom he considers fit for this glorious and exalted duty and on such a person doth He fit the robe of honour."⁽²⁾

Shāh Jahān in his letter to Shāh Safī on the occasion of his succession to the throne expresses his views about the requisite qualities of a just monarch.⁽³⁾ They are nearly the same as those explained by Abul Fazl as far as practical administration and its principles are concerned.

But both Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān regard themselves, at least in theory, as Muslim kings. They do not think themselves above Islamic Law. This idea finds its expression on

(1) A.N. III. p.4. Bev. p.6.

(2) Tāuzak, p. 24.

(3) Lāhorī, I. p.284-85.

(1)

several occasions under them.

The ideal set by Abul Fazl had full support of Akbar. His long reign gave it a full scope of experiment, and he succeeded not only in establishing his principles but in creating a tradition and left the mark and stamp of his policy on every branch of the administration. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān respected his name and his work. He was their ideal and they followed him with pride.

The element of chance But the working of such principles and the achievement of such an ideal through monarchy with no well-defined constitution and efficient safeguards necessary in such cases, must ultimately depend upon the temper of the monarch and the political exigencies of the time.

The following pages contain an attempt to bring out the effort of these monarchs to achieve their ideal through an organised administrative machinery and to examine how far success was achieved in that direction.

(1) Lahori, I. Pt.II. p. 130. Farman to Qutbul Mulk demanding the discontinuation of certain practices against the Sunnī faith is very conclusive on this point (9th year).

CHAPTER II.

The King and State-business.

Outline.

The division of time.

- (1) Jharoka-i-Darshan and its importance.
- (2) Dīvān-i-khās-o-‘Ām - and business transacted in it:-
 - (a) Inspection of animals.
 - (b) The work of the kārkhānas.
 - (c) Appointments and interviews.
 - (d) Prisoners of wars, etc.

Procedure followed in the Dīvān.

- (3) Ghusal Khāna (Private Chamber).

Its significance - Business transacted.

- (4) Shāh Burj (Royal Tower) and Business.
- (5) Afternoon and Evening meetings.
- (6) Separate day for Justice.
- (7) Regularity in routine.
- (8) Attention to Business.

The
di-
vi-
sion
of
time

The King is the Khalifa of God. He rules by virtue of Divine Right. Sovereignty is a gift, and the King is God's elect. The robe of kingship fits on him. He is supreme in his sphere. He is the head of the Government, the Commander of State forces, the fountain of justice, the Chief legislator and the final authority in the country.

As the recipient of God's gift, he owes to Him worship and thanksgiving and "for monarchs the best worship consists in the proper discharge of their duties towards their subjects".⁽¹⁾

The absorbing interest of kings in state affairs and their attention to the details of administration is traceable under each able and vigilant ruler of Northern India from the earliest time. Magasthenes observed that king's whole time was for the people.⁽²⁾ His doors were always open. Under the Muslim rulers, 'Alā-ud-dīn while centralising all power in his own hands, devoted all his time to the minutest details. He himself fixed the price of the smallest article. He watched the market prices and supervised them through his boy-servants and pages.⁽³⁾ Ibn-i-Battūta describes the working of the Court under Muhammad Tughluq.⁽⁴⁾ Sikander Lodi himself supervised t

(1) A.N. II. p.207.

(2) Vide Beni Pd. p.181. Strabo says that the king never slept during the day time and that the hearing of cases occupied him the whole day.

(3) Barnī, p.318.

(4) Battūta, p.197.

(1) administration and kept himself in touch with all its affairs. Sher Shāh was his own minister and transacted the business himself. But it is not possible to trace the regular routine fixed by them.

Akbar while regulating the state machinery felt the necessity of regulating his own hours as well. He set down a routine for himself and followed it with such a regularity that it became a tradition in the dynasty. Abul Fazl has recorded it in the Āīn, and it is mentioned on more than one occasion, in Akbar Nāma as well, but the~~e~~ records do not agree with one another. It appears that they were changed, at least, twice in his reign. (2) However, it is definite that Akbar appeared three times every day for state business. (3)

The first appearance was in the morning after sun-rise to give Darshan, after which a Public Darbār was held and people had direct access to the King.

The second was in the afternoon when he reviewed the condition of the animals maintained by the Central Government and attended to the business of the Kārkhānas and other routine work. If the business was heavy, he continued to sit till after sunset.

(1) T. Mubārak Shāhī F.S.F. T. Dāūdī MS. F.22-24.

(2) A.N. III. - 23rd year, p.256 and 31st year p. 717.

(3) A.F. says in the Āīn (p.155) twice only. He has not included the night meetings in it.

The intervening time in the day was allotted to the affairs of the female department and it was spent in the female apartments where the affairs of the ladies of the Harem as well as of other females who made petitions to the king were attended to.

(1) The night time was reserved for private assemblies in which "the learned, the wise and the truth seekers" assembled together and held discussions on various topics. Sometimes state business was also conducted at this hour. In that case only the officers of the State connected with the business and (2) a few attendants were admitted.

Generally Akbar retired late at night after hearing (3) music.

Jahāngīr has left no such record of his routine in his memoirs but as he was always anxious to follow Akbar and the ideals set by him, he must have continued the same routine. Besides this suggestion, the scattered facts of this period and the accounts of the European travellers of his reign positively show that he continued it.

Shāh Jahān gave considerable attention to every sphere of the state activities. Slackness of administration in the latter part of Jahāngīr's reign and the presence of the element of opposition to Shāh Jahān must have necessarily demanded his

(1) Akbar spent in all 2 pahars (6 hours) in the female apartments in twenty-four hours. A.N. III. p.257.

(2) Āin, p.155. Lines 5-6.

(3) Ibid. Lines 6-7.

unusual attention. The chroniclers of his reign have recorded his routine with greater accuracy than Abul Fazl. Though he followed the tradition set by Akbar of appearing three times every day yet he made substantial changes in the programme and usually gave more time to these meetings than his predecessor.

Lowell says that in order to understand the government of a country it is not enough to know the bare structure of its institutions. It is necessary to study the actual working of the system and "although this depends chiefly upon the character, the habits and the traditions of the people, it is also influenced in no small measure by details . . . that are too often overlooked on account of their apparent insignificance." (1)

Though it is not possible with the material at our disposal to trace the actual working of the Mughal Administration in every department with the same thoroughness for which Lowell's work is valued yet some idea of it can certainly be given by piecing together the scattered facts of Mughal rule under each head.

Jharoka-i-Darshan This was the institution which Akbar established in his time. Abul Fazl says that the idea was to give the public a chance to appear before the king and have free access without any obstacle or interference. (2) It became an established tradition of the Empire and those who believed in it assembled

(1) "Continental Governments and Parties", Chapter I. p.1.

(2) Ain, p.155; Lahori says the same, I. p.143.

every morning since dawn at the foot of the Jharoka. Soldiers traders, merchants, artisans and peasants, all alike, flocked together to get the darshan.

Badaoni attributes it to the influence of the Hindus who saw in Akbar a type of their ancient monarchs and chiefly to those Brahmins who regarded him an incarnation of Rama and Sri Krishna. "Low people who could not get into the Daulat Khana flocked together below the Kharoka at sunrise. Unless they saw the 'sacred face' they regarded food and drink prohibited to them."⁽¹⁾

Akbar appeared at the Jharoka and after giving the darshan, held an open court in which Hindus and Muslims, high and low, men and women, all were allowed to present petitions and represent their cases in person, and the king did justice in these cases on the spot. "Huge crowds assembled and there was much bustle."⁽²⁾ Akbar generally spent one and a half pahar⁽³⁾ (nearly four and a half hours) every day in this meeting.

Jahangir continued it and on one occasion, he says that in spite of his illness he did not miss it.⁽⁴⁾

De Laet says Jahangir appeared every morning after sunrise at the window of the Jharoka - "the King looks down into this every day when the sun rises and himself greets the sun, the nobles gather here to greet the king and take their stand on so

(1) Badaoni, II. p.236.

(2) Do. p.326 A.N. III. p.257.

(3) A.N. III. p.256.

(4) Tazuk, 13th year, p.232.

rising ground. . . and the common people stand in the court-yard. He is then greeted by the people with the cry of Pādshāh Salāmat (Long live the King) . . . On each of these occasions audience is given to anyone bringing a written petition." (1)

Lāhori says that "this institution was the innovation of Hazrat 'Arsh-i-Āshyānī and it has been continued by His Majesty also so that the people might get the blessing of seeing the King before beginning their daily work and the needy and the oppressed may get justice and redress without any formalities or hindrance." Shāh Jahān usually sat in the Jharoka, after the Darshan for about two garhīs (nearly forty-eight minutes) or more or less as the business required. People submitted their petitions and presented their cases. The clerks of the judicial department took notes and laid them before the King in the Daulat Khāna-i-khās-o-'Ām or Khilvat Khāna when the King retired there. Thus Shāh Jahān did not deal with the cases on the spot like Akbar, and this change accounts for the difference in time allotted to this meeting by Shāh Jahān. (3)

Some other business was also transacted at the Jharoka. Monserrate saw elephant fights under Akbar. De Laet mentions the same practice under Jahāngīr. There are

(1) De Laet, I. p.92,93, 97. Morning prayer and afterwards Darshan.

Hawkins, p.115.

(2) Lāhori, I. p.143-144, and Sālih, I. p.242-243.

(3) Ain, p.155, Line 20.

Monserrate, p.61.

(4) De Laet (p.97) says the King looked at these in the afternoon, when contests of elephants, lions, buffaloes and other wild beasts were held every day except on Sundays. Hawkins, p.106-108, for tamed Elephants and elephant fights.

several cases in which he reviewed the soldiers of the Mansabdārs from the Jharoka. I'timād-ul-Daula's army passed before him in the maidān of the Jharoka of Darshan. (1) Lashkar Khān had his men reviewed from the same Jharoka. (2) Similarly Khān Daurān's men were inspected. (3)

The same practice was continued under Shāh Jahān. He did not hold elephant fights on Thursday which was his coronation day. The most famous case under him is one in which Aurangzeb exhibited his exemplary courage and presence of mind when he was attacked by one of the furious elephants during the contest, and he won the title of Bahādur from his father. (4) Furious elephants and also the horses which could not be brought in the Daulat Khāna for inspection were reviewed there, and also the soldiers of the Mansabdār's passed before the King in the same maidān. (5)

Divān-i-khas-o-'Ām After the morning work of four hours and a half, Akbar retired, and appeared again in the afternoon and held a full darbār. This meeting was held in the State Hall and the routine work was transacted, and "as rulers are bound to attend to the helpless dumb", so he spent some time in inspecting the animals maintained by the Central Government. (6) It appears from

(1) Tāuzak, 12th year, p.185.

(2) Ibid. p. 186.

(3) Ibid. 13th year, p.257.

(4) Lahori, I. p.489, 6th year. Elephant's name was Sudhkar, Aurangzeb's age was 15 years.

Hawkins also mentions the cases of persons thus injured.p.1

(5) Lahori, I. p.144.

(6) Āin, p.155; A.N. III. p.257.

the scattered facts in Akbar Nāma that Akbar attended mainly to the affairs of the Kārkhānas and ordinary routine work of the State in this meeting. Hence he spent here only four garhī (or one hour and thirty six minutes). It also appears that sometimes the time was changed for the meeting and the King appeared late in the afternoon and at times after sunset, but on all such occasions a large drum was beaten and thus all (1) could get notice. Jahāngīr continued the afternoon meetings but they were longer and the nature of the business transacted at this hour was more varied than that of Akbar, and according to De Laet, common people had access to the King at this hour (2) also like the morning darbār. Shāh Jahān made certain alterations in this programme and he did not retire from the Jharoka-i-Darshan but entered the Jharoka of the Dīvān-i-khās-o-'Ām, (3) and held full darbār. The nature of the work was nearly the same as under Jahāngīr and he sat there usually for four garhīs and if the business was heavy, even five (i.e. an hour and 36 minutes to two hours).

Business

Animals. Akbar first inspected the animals. A fixed number of elephants, horses, camels, cows and mules were presented in a fixed order every day. Later on in the 41st year of the reign, a separate day was allotted for the inspection of each

(1) A.N. p.257. Badaoni also mentions of full darbār being held at night and it appears from his suggestions that Akbar also admitted the common people seeking interviews at this hour. (Vol. II. p.157)

(2) De Laet, p.93-4. "The King shows himself to the people thrice every day, on each of these occasions audience is given to anyone bringing a written petition."

(3) Called also Daulat Khān-i-Khās-o-'Ām.

of them. On one occasion Akbar was inspecting the elephants and giving one thing or another to each animal passing before him. He said to Abul Fazl, pointing out to one, "You will be in charge of this." The animal did not approve of the suggestion and at once refrained from eating. ⁽¹⁾ Jahāngīr mentions his inspection of the elephants caught for being tamed. "They were higher than the Akbarī and ⁽²⁾ Jahāngīrī elephants."

In the same meeting the prices of newly purchased animals were fixed, condition of the old reviewed and their keepers fined or rewarded. ⁽³⁾ The practice continued under both of Akbar's successors and there are several cases recorded of the purchase of horses under Shāh Jahan in which he was chiefly interested. ⁽⁴⁾ Animals received in peshkash or given to princes and officers and others by the King were also exhibited here.

Karkhānas, i.e. factories and stores maintained by the Central Government. Every type of work and workmanship in arms, jewellery, cloth, embroidery, painting and calligraphy, portraits, translations and original literary works were put before the King. Shāh Jahan inspected them in the Private Chamber in the morning sitting. ⁽⁵⁾

(1) A.N. III. p.575.

(2) Tāuzak, p.234 - 11th year.

(3) Āin, p. 161-163.

(4) "His horses and elephants are here brought before him and are tested by certain servants to see if they are in good health." De Laet about Jahāngīr, p.99.
Hawkins, p.107.

(5) Lāhorī, I. p.149.
Brahman, p.26-29.

Fresh appointments made, increments of officers granted, jagirs conferred. Abul Fazl has recorded his first appearance in the court in his (1) graphic way. Badaoni has recorded his first appointment and several other appearances before the King in this darbar. (2) Provincial governors and other officers proceeding on military duties or to their headquarters appeared before the King on the day of their departure and those coming back to the court reported their arrival in person in the darbar. Akbar once received Nizam-ud-din Ahmed the author of the Tabqat with his party of camel-riders who had done ^{one} hundred kos in twelve days from Gujrāt. They were ordered to enter in at once in the same condition. "It was a wonderful scene and was enjoyed by all." (3) Prince Khurram while proceeding to the Deccan presented his select men in full armour in the afternoon in the courtyard of the Diwan-i-Khas-o-'Am where besides other rewards the title of Shāh Jahān was conferred on him. (4) On his successful return from the same expedition, he was summoned on the Jharoka of the Divān and Emperor stood from his seat, embraced him and allowed him to sit there. Bakhshis were then ordered to present the officers who had served under him accord

(1) A.N. III. p.84-85.

(2) Badaoni, II. 366, 374, 375, 384.

(3) Badaoni, II. 372

(4) Tāuzak, p.167, 11th year.

to their ranks. When two days later Shāh Jahān arrayed his peshkash including select elephants and horses in the courtyard, the Emperor came down from the Jharoka and saw everything in detail for the sake of the prince.

Reception of a prince or an officer on the Jharoka was the highest distinction which could be shown by the Emperor in a public darbār. It was only the distinguished service performed and brilliant success achieved by Shāh Jahān which gained for him that distinction. The same honour was bestowed by Shāh Jahān upon Āsaf Khān, to whom he owed his throne, when he returned from Lāhore and did his first homage to him at Āgra,

(2)

after his Coronation.

Distinguished visitors and ambassadors from other countries and rulers were received for the first time in the public darbār, and later on admitted to private audience in the Private Chamber if so desired. Monserrate gives an account of his first appearance before Akbar and other interviews with him.

(3)

Brahman has given a very vivid account of the reception of Khusrū son of Nazar Mohammed Khān the ruler of Balkh by Shāh Jahān.

(4)

Prisoners of wars,
etc.

Sometimes prisoners of wars, defeated foes and subdued rebels were also presented in this darbār. Akbar received a party of prisoners sent by the Governor of the Punjab. They

(1) Tauzak, 12th year, p.196.

(2) Lahori, I.p.178.

Hawkins, p.115, 3-5. P.M. Darbār.

Finch, p.184-185. Do.

(3) Monserrate, p.28, 37, 50, 64, 133-34.

(4) Brahman, p.127-131.

were covered in bullock hides, with ears on. The scene excited much laughter. ⁽¹⁾ Shāh Jahān received Jagat Singh after his defeat and surrender with the bag of money which he had brought to present, hung round his neck. ⁽²⁾ In the 17th year, he received Rāja Partab Singh Zimindār of Palāyūn Behār, after ⁽³⁾ his submission to the Governor of the Province.

Proce-
dure

Abul Fazl has left no record of the procedure followed in the darbār for the transaction of state business, though the state machinery by the time of the completion of the Āīn had been fully established. He gives an account only of the seating arrangement followed in the darbār, and only casual references are found to matters put before Akbar by officers concerned and those who had the privilege to stand near the throne or who were entitled to speak before the King. Similarly no such account is available under Jahāngīr. Peisaert, who lived at Āgra and had chances to know about such matters, has left nothing definite in his records on that point. De Laet simply says:- "The King daily comes forward to this place between 3 and 4 p.m. . . . He stays here till evening hearing cases and listening to despatches from the various provinces which the Vazīr reads to him. ⁽⁴⁾ But Shāh Jahān's chroniclers have left a complete account of the procedure of business transacted in the darbār and other meetings. The elaborate

(1) A.N. III. P. 40

(2) Lahori - 5th year. I. p.256.

(3) Salih, III. MS. p.140-41.

(4) De Laet, p. 98 and 99.

arrangement under him must be regarded as the development of the procedure which must have been followed in the previous two reigns.

Shāh Jahān in the Jharoka of the Dīvān.

He entered it immediately after retiring from the Jharoka-i-Darshan. Here, as under Akbar and Jahāngīr, princes Amīrs and officers assembled and stood left and right according to their ranks.

The secretaries of various departments stood by the Jharoka where the King took his seat, and read out their notes on various subjects. The affairs connected with the Mansabdārs were put before the King by the Bakhshīs. Their increments were sanctioned and postings made. Mansabdārs and other officers proceeding to provinces or coming back to the court were also presented at that time. The Bakhshīs standing on the right, put forward all such cases of mansabdārs and took down brief notes of orders passed on them.

After the Bakhshīs, Sadr-i-Kul (the chief Sadr of the Dominions) presented the reports of the subordinate sadrs and placed before the King any other matter connected with his department. He also recommended the cases of deserving persons and obtained the royal sanction for their stipends.

On the left stood Mīrsāmān in charge of the State Kārkhāna and put before the King any matter he thought worthy of the King's attention. In the same manner the Dīvān of the same department placed before the King the papers and financial

matters connected with his duties. He was followed by the Bakhshī of the Ahadīs and Mīr Ātish (Commander of the Artillery at the capital) who put forward the cases of their respective departments and obtained necessary sanction.

After them the nobles were allowed to place before the King the cases of their own men (*tābinān*) and make necessary recommendations. It appears that they had the privilege of bringing to the notice of the King any matter they thought proper or worthy of the King's notice.

When every day's fresh business was thus transacted, the secretaries put before the King the summary of King's orders passed by him on the previous day. These included all matters revenue, finance, appointments, mansabs, awards of *jāgīrs* or cash salaries, government grants and orders of payments. In the same manner orders connected with the department of *sadr* were put before him, and revised.

After the review of these papers, the petitions of princes, governors, bakhshīs, *divāns*, *faujdārs* and other officers of the provinces were presented by those who had the privilege of being near the king (*muqarrabān-i-Dargāh*).

This procedure seems somewhat opposed to the principle of official responsibility and proper routine which is prominent in the system of the Mughals. It appears that private petitions and important matters requiring immediate attention of the King were sent through nobles at Court, and the said procedure was intended to avoid the delay which must be caused in official

routine, but officially every matter passed through the department concerned and reached the King through the proper channel and matters presented by individuals were also referred to the heads of the departments for opinion or decided on the spot with their consultation. This point becomes clear by a sentence of Lāhori in the same connection that the gist of the petitions of other servants reaches through the appointing officers.

Thus it was the privilege of high and responsible officials that their cases could also be placed before the King by persons of their own choice and their petitions read out or handed over to the King in full, while in other cases the responsible officer of the department put his note only before the King.

In the meantime, the dāroghas (superintendents) and mushrifs of elephants and royal stables kept the fixed number ~~hundred~~ of horses and elephants ready in groups for inspection and passed them by the side of the red parapet (of the second and the outer apartment of the Dīvān) and the King inspected them from a distance, noticed their condition and passed orders for reductions to be made from the salaries of their keepers in case they were found lean or in bad condition.

(1) P. 147, Vol.I.

(2) Abul Fazl while deputed in the Deccan, complains that reports sent by him were delayed or not fully read out before the King as the officers were not favourably inclined towards him. A.N. III. 44th year. p.753.

After this the officers in charge of Dāgh and Tashīhah (branding and verification) presented the soldiers and horses of Amīrs.

When the entire business was thus completed the King re-tired to Private Chamber. He usually took five garhīs (or two hours) to finish it.

In spite of the heavy work transacted in this meeting, Shāh Jahān read all important papers himself and at times wrote replies to urgent inquiries from his own pen on the spot. (1)

Ghusal Khāna: (Private Chamber).

Abul Fazl has nowhere explained the significance of the term nor has he mentioned it in connection with Akbar's night or afternoon meetings. He generally uses the word Daulat Khāna but in contemporary records this term is used both for the Dīvān and the private chamber. The use of the term is definite under Jahāngīr and properly used for private chamber. Lāhorī and Sālih explain how the term came to be used for that chamber. (2) Between the Dīvān Khāna and the female residences there was an apartment in which Akbar used to take his bath after which a few trusted persons were admitted to see him. Later on the Dīvān and Bakhshī were admitted for state business and gradually certain nobles of the court were also allowed in. Thus state business came to be transacted there, and the chamber by its

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- (1) Lāhorī, I. p.146-148.
Sālih, 244-246.
Brahman, 11-23 and 35-39.
(2) Lāhorī, I. p.148.
Sālih, I. p.247.

proximity to the bath room came to be known as Ghusal Khāna (or bathroom). Shāh Jahān gave it the name of Daulat Khāna-i-Khās and it became popularly known by this name under him. (1)

However, it is positive that Akbar devoted much of the night to these meetings. "His Majesty is accustomed to spend the hours of the night profitably, in the private audience hall. Eloquent philosophers and virtuous sufis are then admitted. There are also present in these assemblies unprejudiced historians who do not mutilate history by adding or suppressing facts and relate the impressive events of ancient times . . ." On other occasions matters referring to the empire and the revenue are brought up when His Majesty orders for whatever is to be done in each case. Abul Fazl's remarks under the regulation of Sijdah leads to the same conclusion. "However in the private assembly (Anjuman-i-Khās) where only a few of the fortunate receive order to be seated, they certainly perform the prostration." Hence it was the same assembly of the fortunate few which later on discussed religious matters. The religious discussions held under Akbar are well known, and need neither enumeration nor elucidation. A few examples are given below which suggest that the night meeting

(1) Lāhorī, I. p.148. Sālih uses the term Khilvat Khāna, I. p.247, and elsewhere he has constantly used the old term Ghusal Khāna. Brahman uses the same throughout. The term thus survived.
Sālih, Vol I. p.249-250. and Vol. II. p.512; 486, MS. BR.Mus.

were held for the transaction of the business also. Monserrate has referred to several meetings at which he was present but it is a matter of regret that he does not mention any subject other than the religious topics in which he was specially interested. "When a Council was being held or when he (Akbar) summoned them (the reverend fathers) to his private audience chamber for familiar conversation, he used to make them sit beside him . . . He frequently left the public audience chamber (1) to converse with them in private." Later on when Monserrate accompanied him in the Kabul expedition, he observed his busy hours and he describes his attention to every detail and refers to such meetings as well. "The King's nights were (2) spent in prolonged Councils of War, he asks each Counsellor privately for his own opinion, and then himself decides upon the course which seems to be supported by the largest number (3) and the most experienced." Abul Fazl incidentally refers to one night meeting though the object is to suggest indirectly that Akbar possessed supernatural powers. On the eve of the 22nd a meeting was being held. Suddenly clouds gathered and it was about to rain. "His Majesty said: Be gentle, o rain, and do not cause the dispersion of this spiritual assembly. Soon the air became clear and there was wonderful stillness. Everywhere else it rained heavily but it kept away from the palace."(4)

Jahāngīr uses the word Ghusal Khāna in his memoirs and

(1) Monserrate, p.64.

(2) Ibid. p.123.

(3) Ibid. p.203.

(4) AIN. III. p 71. Tr. P. 1060.

night meetings continued under him, though there is reason to believe that their regularity must have suffered by his continued illness and mental worries in the later part of his reign. De Laet says "From 7 to 9 in the evening he holds a private conference with his magnates in a most beautiful hall (1) called Guzelcan". Pelsaert says that strangers who had to make requests were also given audience in the private chamber (2) Jahāngīr incidentally records a night meeting in which an embassy from the Shāh of Persia was also present. "On the night of the 19th Ābān, after my usual custom, I was in the Ghusal Khāna. Some of the Amīrs and attendants, and by chance Muhammad Rizā Beg, the ambassador of the ruler of Persia, were (3) present . . . The meeting lasted for more than two hours." Another reference in the memoirs shows that like Akbar Jahāngīr also had regular arrangements for such meetings during his tours. "At this stage a strange affair was witnessed . . . a night when we halted, two large sāras (cranes) appeared making loud cries near the Ghusal-Khāna which they had placed on the edge of the tank, as if somebody were exercising oppression on them. They fearlessly began their cries and came forward. It occurred to me that certainly some kind of wrong had been done to them. Inquiry was made and it was found that their young had been taken." They were produced before the King and (4) restored to them.

(1) De Laet, p.93.

(2) Pelsaert, p.53.

(3) Tazuk, 11th year, p.166.Tr. 337. The reference in this account is to Jahāngīr's shooting an owl in the dark and applause by those who witnessed it outside, and after it to King's talk with the embassy about Shāh's getting his eldest son murdered.

(Note continued.)

Shāh Jahan held the private assemblies twice every day. One was held immediately after his retiring from the Dīvān-i-Khās-o-'Ām in the morning. Here the Vakīl and the Vazīr had the chance of private conversation with the Emperor, and they reported the cases and put before him matters which could not be discussed in the full darbār. Dīvāns presented the affairs of the Khālsa and the jāgīrs.

Reports received from provincial governors were handed over to a few of the trusted nobles who went through them and put the text before the King. Orders were passed on them and sent through the Vakīl or the Vazīr to the clerks who drafted the Farmān. Drafts of such farmāns were placed before the King in the same assembly, and he went through them personally and made necessary alterations or corrections.⁽¹⁾

The Chief Sadr presented the needy persons who could not be presented in the Dīvān and obtained orders for land or cash allowances.

After the transaction of this business, some time was devoted to the inspection of work done in the different branches of the Kārkhanās. Chander Bhān says that the King took keen interest in every art and workmanship. On the one hand were laid jewellery, works of gold and silver, on the other the diamond

(Note continued.)

Sir Thomas Roe also refers to this meeting.

(4) Tāuzak, 11th year, p. 169. Tour from Ajmer to Mālva. The reference is that even birds and animals had courage under him to demand justice and approach him fearlessly.

(1) Salih, I p. 248.
Lāhori, 148.

cutters and experts in every art talked with him and received instructions. Orders received from provinces for work in the royal factories and goods purchased for royal stores were also brought to his notice. Similarly literary works, translations copies of manuscripts, specimens of calligraphy, paintings and portraits were placed before him. In the same manner, various arms, swords and guns manufactured in the royal factories, were reviewed.

The Dāroghas of the building department in consultation with the engineers and architects presented maps and models for proposed royal buildings. The King went through them step by step and made most suitable alterations and often criticised them. The Vakīl Yamin-ud-Daula took down notes and details of alterations which were handed over to the officers of the department for necessary action and future reference.

Some time was also spent in inspecting the birds and other animals trained for hunt and also fine horses were paraded in the courtyard. ⁽¹⁾

Shāh Jahān usually spent four to five garhis (nearly two hours) in this assembly.

Shāh Burj After finishing the work in the Ghusal-Khāna, he retired to a still closer apartment called Shāh Burj. This was peculiar only to Shāh Jahānābad, Lāhore, and Akbarābād. This place was originally reserved for conferring with the princes but a

(1) Brahman, p.26-28. Lāhorī, 148-149.

Shāh Jahān had a very fine taste for architecture. The cases in which he criticised plans and buildings and ordered alterations are throughout recorded in his chronicles.

selected few were admitted on business for a short time and they always retired after finishing it. But the utility of this private assembly was much increased by allowing the Vakīl and the Chief Vazīr to see the King in private. The King himself summoned the minister, at times, to confer with him on important and confidential matters which could not be expressed in other assemblies for reasons of State. The King expressed his views and discussed such matters with him.

Similarly, some of the Farmāns of a confidential nature to provincial officers or Amīrs deputed in distant places which could not be shown to others were discussed and decided upon in this assembly.

Sometimes urgent business concerning the Khālsa or the jāgīr which could not be attended to for lack of time in the last meeting of the Daulat Khāna-i-Khās, the Vazīr was allowed to present here.

Usually two to three garhīs were spent here (or nearly 48 to 72 minutes).

From the Shāh Burj the King retired to the female apartments, offered his afternoon (zuhar) prayers, took his luncheon and after a short nap, resumed his work there. First the affairs of the ladies of the Harem were put before him and afterwards he dealt with the petitions of other ladies present

(1) According to Brahman he finished this work before taking the nap, (p.34-35), but a little rest immediately after mid-day meal is common in Northern India.

by Queen Mumtāz Mahal during the few years of her life after Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne and later on by her daughter Begum Sāhib. Sati-un-Nisā, a refined and learned lady of the court acted as Secretary to both the mother and the daughter till her death.

After-
noon
and
Even-
ing
Meet-
ings

The King stayed in these apartments till 'Asar prayers, after which he appeared in the Public Hall of Audience, took the salute of the Guards and received the Kornish of the "fortunate ones" present there, and entered the Daulat Khāna-i-Khās where state business of the same nature as transacted in the morning was attended to. But it appears that this meeting was more limited than the morning one and mostly the ministers and high officials attended it. Just as the Vakīl or the Chief Vazīr had an opportunity in the Shāh Burj, so the ministers must have got facilities to express their views on certain matters before the King at this hour. It was a meeting for merely the routine work. In such a case, the presence of the Prime Minister should not be considered necessary. It was after sunset prayers that the number of visitors and nobles increased. The King sat till sunset and rose for prayers which he always offered in congregation. Here the Ulamās and Sheikhs joined and accompanied him to the Private Chamber.⁽¹⁾

After the prayers the Daulat-Khāna-i-Khās was beautifully lighted and scented candles in gold and silver candle-sticks studded with precious stones added to the lustre of the

(1) Salih, T.249. Lāhorī, I.152. Brahman, 35-39. He is not very accurate here in his arrangement.

beautiful hall. The lighting time also formed an institution under Akbar and it continued under his successors. Abul Fazl has preserved a vivid account of the ceremony. Jahāngīr composed a couplet himself which was recited at the time. Shāh Jahān was always present on the occasion. Praises to God and verses of thanksgiving followed by couplets of prayers for the long life of the King and the continuance of the Empire closed
 (1) the ceremony. Chander Bhān says that Shāh Jahān resumed the
 (2) business again after the prayers. He did his work at this hour cheerfully and never felt tired or disgusted and rather looked refreshed. He spent four to five garhis or nearly two hours in the work after prayers.

Some time was spent in hearing the music. Special arrangements were made for this function also and since Akbar's time, particular attention was given to make the assembly cheerful
 (3) and to create a change after the monotony of the day's work.

(1) "When the sun sets, the attendants light twelve candles on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver and bring them before His Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. Āin, p.43. Bloch. p.49. Brahman, p.38.

بود بر آن تا هر رانور - بیام اعلیٰ اور لازم پڑتھ دو، (جہانگیر)

(2) Shāh Jahān was busy writing a farmān to some eminent amir when Salābat Khān the Mīr Bakhshī was attacked and killed by Rāo Amar Singh and the rowdy scene followed. It was the meeting after sunset prayers. (Lāhorī, 17th year, p.380)

(3) Shāh Jahān was himself good at dance and played on several instruments also like Akbar (Lāhorī I. p.152. Brahman, p.41. He refrained from music for two years after the death of Mumtāz Mahal. (Lāhorī, I. p.387).

The assembly broke up for the night prayers of "Ishā" and if any business was left, the King retired again to Shāh Burj to complete it. The chief Vazīr and Bakhshīs were admitted and thus this meeting again afforded an opportunity to the minister for a private audience with the King. This closed the business of the day and the crowded programme of the King, when he retired to the female apartments, and enjoyed music in their company for an hour and then entered his bedroom where story tellers and readers of good voice sat behind a curtain and read out works on history and biographies of prophets, saints and the famous monarchs of the world.

Just-
tice

All the three monarchs had a day set apart for personally attending to judicial cases. Akbar had fixed Thursday, Jahāngīr reserved Tuesday, and Shāh Jahān devoted Wednesday to the administration of justice. On that day, he retired from the Jharoka of the Darshan direct to the Private Chamber and no one except the officers of the judicial department and persons entrusted with the duty of giving the Fatvah and a few ulamās noted for learning, piety and honesty, were admitted.

(1) Extracts from Zafar Nāma, Babur Nāma were usually read out before Shāh Jahān. Brahman adds Akbar Nāma to the list. Akbar slept seven and a half hours, Shāh Jahān never took more than six hours. (A.N. III.p.257, and Lāhori I. p.153)

(2) A.N. III. p.717.

(3) De Laet, p.93.
Hawkins, p.116.
Finch, p.184.

(4) This section has been dealt with in detail under Justice.

Regularity - The transaction of State business by the King according to a definite and set programme was decidedly a contribution made by Akbar to the administrative machinery of the monarchy. The rules and regulations laid down by Akbar, followed by Jahāngīr and developed by Shāh Jahān show the attitude of these monarchs towards their responsibilities and position in the State. Lessons learnt and experience gained in the three centuries of Muslim rule in the country, together with the shock which the Mughal Empire itself received under Humāyūn were fully understood by Akbar and his immediate successors. In spite of all the rules and regulations established by them, they never forgot the dangers with which the Empire was beset nor did they under-rate the disadvantages under which they ruled. In the absence of any constitutional body or permanent authority in the State to control and supervise the administrative machinery, the only guarantee to avert, check or overcome the dangers to the Empire and to ensure the smooth working of the administration, was the vigilance of the ruling monarch. They realised it, regulated it and worked it out.

The routine once established became a tradition of the family and the Empire and it could be interfered with only by unforeseen or unavoidable circumstances of a nature which might justify the absence of the King from the Darshan in the eyes of the public and from the Public and private audience Hall before the nobles and officials. Hence there are only a few

numbered cases under each monarch on which he absented himself from one or the other. A few cases noted below will give the idea of the importance attached to the tradition thus established.

(1)
ed.

(1) Cases of absence from State business:

- Akbar. (1) King's fall from an elephant during his tour
34th year, A.N. III.
- (2) attacked by a deer - injured - remained in bed
for 29 days but continued to give audience to nobles and officers, 41st year, A.N. p. 713.
- (3) grief at the death of Rāja Birbal, 50th year.
A.N. III. p.487.
- (4) grief at the murder of Abul Fazl, 47th year,
A.N. III. p. 813.
- (5) illness before death - missed last 4 days out of
19; continued to take Kornish in spite of extreme
weakness (A.N. III. p. 841).

- Jahāngīr, (1) Illness at Ajmīr. Continued to appear at the Jharoka in the Divan and Ghusal Khāna for several days till overpowered. 9th year, p. 130.
- (2) illness at Ahmedābād but did not miss a single day of the Darbār-i-‘Ām and the cases of the public. 13th year.
- (3) grief at the death of Khurram's daughter - did not appear two days, 11th year. p.160.

Though much of the state business suffered during the last

(Note continued.)

The three daily meetings of the King had a profound

(Note continued.)

six years of Jahāngīr's reign owing to his illness and troubles yet he continued to give time to state business. Pelsaert condemns his administration but his remarks refer to the same period (1621-1627). De Laet, writing about the same time, records his appearance in public and private assemblies at stated hours. Pelsaert himself speaks of his attending to business in the Ghusal Khāna referred to above. Terry and Finch also speak the same. Hawkins' description of drinking parties refers to late night hours, 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. only.

Shāh Jahān.

- (1) death of Queen Mumtāz Mahal, did not appear in the Dīvān and Daulat Khāna-i-Khās for one week (4th year)
- (2) the illness of his favourite daughter Begum Sāhib - absence for one day - appeared next day (the day of Sharf) for half an hour and for several days stayed for a short time only.
- (3) his own illness for 19 days - did not attend to business (16th year).
- (4) Brahman refers to one more occasion of illness but does not mention the year. The absence was generally considered so unusual that when Shāh Jahan appeared after a few days' illness congratulations were offered and Qasida's read. Brahman himself read one. (p.58)

خال مطیع نہان تو باد جانہائی رامی ہر قربان تو باد
چون ذات تو خلقت رکھیاں ہائی ہرجا باشی خدا نہیاں تو باد

The signifi-
cance
of
King's
rou-
tine

influence upon the general administration of the Empire. The institution of the "Darshan" at the Jharoka where the King sat with his face towards the rising sun was an innovation based upon an intelligent study of the Indian mind. It meant indirectly a respect to the practice of the worship of the sun. It afforded facilities to the Hindus to offer their prayer and recite ^{the} river hymn ⁽¹⁾ on the bank of the sacred river Jamna. It created the means of attracting the masses towards the person of the King and to impress his existence and his personality upon their mind. On the whole it appealed to the psychology of the mob and stirred the imagination of the masses. Mr Havell says, "Akbar was a profound student of Indian history and made a direct appeal to the deepest feelings of his subjects. When the Padshah appeared at the Jharoka window of the palace every morning . . . crowds of Hindus assembled determined to begin the day auspiciously with the sight of Vishnu's viceroy ⁽²⁾ on earth."

It forced the King, the princes, nobles and all high officials to rise early in the morning which is essential in the hot plains of Northern India for health and active habits. Thus it regulated their life and led them to attend to their daily

(1) "O ye Gangā, Yamunā, Godāvri, Sarasvatī, Satadrū (Sutlej) a Parusni (Rāvi) - receive ye my prayers, O ye Marutbindha joined by the Asikni, Vitasata and Ārjikiyā joined by the Susomā, hear ye my prayers!" R, Mookerji -"Fundamental Unity of India", p.21.

(2) E.B. Havell, p.516 and 518.

duties, the neglect of which had been the cause of the ruin of previous ruling dynasties.

The custom of open Darbār was a great step to create a closer contact and direct connection between the people and the king, a fact which was entirely ignored by the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate. Besides the state chroniclers, contemporary writers and European travellers who visited the Mughal Court at different times agree on this point that people had direct access to the King.

The practice of transacting the state business in the full darbār brought the King in touch with all the affairs and the officers of the Empire to a degree which in those days could not be achieved in the closed doors of an office.

It, in a way, curtailed the influence of Vazirs, of officials and of other persons who surrounded the King and possessed opportunities to influence him in private. When a matter was put before the King by a minister or brought to his notice by any other official, all those who had the privilege to be near the King had the right of speaking and expressing their opinion on it. This practice further minimised the chances of the domination of any particular person or group at the Court.

The King's appearance in the Ghusal Khāna (private Chamber) afforded facilities to the Ministers and heads of departments to advise the King on all important matters and to express their views which they could not express in an open darbār. Thus the King had ample opportunities of getting direct information on an important matter both from official and other sources and

to form his own judgement.

Shāh Jahān, under whom every institution and department received a new vigour, further created facilities for his ministers in a still closer assembly in the Shāh Burj.

The regularity with which the routine established by Akbar was followed by him and the importance which it had gained under him was a sufficient guarantee for its continuance under his immediate successors who had personally witnessed it. On the whole, it shows the spirit with which they started and the aims and objects they had placed before them. It also shows that they fully understood that the success of administration under monarchy depends upon the manner in which a King spends his time. The realisation of this important fact forms the keynote to the measure of the success which the three great Mughals achieved. They performed their duties cheerfully and themselves set examples for others on whom ultimately the carrying out of their desires and orders depended. Abul Fazl says "His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline, he does not reject that which superficial observers call unimportant, and counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, never suffers equanimity to be disturbed." Monserrate, who was highly impressed by Akbar's personality supports this statement. He says: "It is hard to exaggerate how accessible he makes himself to all who wish audience of him. For he creates an opportunity almost every day for the common people or for the

nobles to see him and converse with him, and he endeavours to show himself pleasant-spoken and affable rather than severe. . . . Though at times he may seem at leisure and to have laid aside public affairs, he does not cease to revolve in his mind the heavy cares of state."

Jehāngīr had the disadvantage of coming after Akbar and he is eclipsed by the glitter of his father's name and fame. He also lacks the pen of a chronicler who could record his activities and his devotion to work. However, the picture as presented by the contemporary writers and glimpses gained through his own memoirs show that as far as the first fifteen years of his reign are concerned, he devoted his time and energies to the state business which he performed with zeal and took pleasure in it. The last six years of his reign were full of troubles and anxieties, political and personal. His failing health was also responsible for the situation he had to face and during this period he must certainly have lost the zeal and also the balance of judgement. The remarks of Pel-saert that "he is King in name only" also apply to this period.

Shāh Jahān had to pay the price for his father's slackness and he was the target of all the politics and intrigues which centred round Jehāngīr in his last days. The difficulties which Shāh Jahān experienced in securing the throne and the condition he witnessed of the Empire in those days and the inherent weaknesses of the system which it brought to the

front made him more cautious and careful in the discharge of his duties. His personal attention to the work is obvious from the sketch of his daily life and the contemporary writers say "he never leaves to-day's work for to-morrow. No business before him suffers delay." Professor Sarkār writing about his daily life says "the royal throne was not exactly a bed of roses even in those days. . . . It was a strenuous life that Shāh Jahān led and he gave peace, prosperity and contentment (1) to his people.

خوبی دل زریں باریش - قنبران خواب زید ارشد

(2)

But it is a strange coincidence that all the three monarchs experienced difficulties and set-backs in their last days of life and rule. This glaringly points to the inherent weakness of the system which continued to exist in spite of the healthy influence exercised by their personal attention and devotion to work.

The effects of both the healthy influence and of the inherent weakness of the system will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

(1) Studies in Mughal India, p.15.

(2) I.O. MS. 1344.



P.46a.

A View of the Darbār of Shāh Jahān showing
 the appearance of Partāb, a rebel Zamīndār from the
 Province of Behār after his arrest by
 the Governor, I'tiqād Khān.

From 'Amal-i-Sālih MS. 26, 221.

CHAPTER III.

F A R M Ā N S .

Outline.

I. The Procedure in drafting. Three Stages.

(1) All orders passed by the King recorded in the Diary by the Vāqi'a Navīs.

Diary after inspection by officers concerned was approved by the King. Each order thus approved became Yād Dāsht (Memorandum).

(2) The Yād Dāsht of important orders after several stages and approved by the chief minister became Ta'liqa (the gist of the order).

Orders on which royal seal was necessary.

(3) The Ta'liqa retained by the Bakhshī and a certificate "Sarkhat" issued. The confirmation of the order by the King. The draft of the Farmān. Its inspection by the King in important matters. The seals of different officers and ministers. Three kinds of royal orders - farmā-i-sabtī and Bayāzī and Parvānchas (which did not require the royal seal).

II. The Royal Seal. Five kinds for different purposes, the most important being uzuk (the signet ring). The Charge of the royal seal - mostly in the hands of the royal ladies. Examples under different reigns.

III. Distinctions and marks of honour in Farmāns:-

- (a) Royal signatures on the Farmān in addition to the official seal.
- (b) Adding a line or two by the King - or a Farman in King's handwriting.
- (c) Placing the mark of the Royal Panja (the hand) on the Farman.

Examples of each - Facsimile of Shāh Jahān's Panja and seal.

The draft-
ing of the
Farmāns
and Proce-
dure

The Diary

The procedure in drafting the farmāns was very elaborate. Having regard to the conditions of the age in which the Mughal Farmāns ruled, every necessary precaution was taken to safeguard against frauds in this connection. A separate staff was appointed for recording king's orders, movements, and sayings in the Darbār and on all other public occasions. Fourteen news writers called Vāqi'a Navis were appointed for the Court. Two of them were required to be present every day. They recorded in the diary whatever the King said or did, and whatever the officers of the state brought to his notice. Similarly, they recorded all matters connected with the personal routine of the King, his time of rising in the morning, appearing in public, retiring, and entertainments (1) public functions and the like.

The Diary thus prepared was supervised by one of the high Amīrs present that day in the Darbār and laid before the King for approval.

The
Yād-
Dasht
(Memo-
randum)

After the approval of the King, it was handed over to the clerks who made out a separate copy of each order and report and signed it. It was also signed by the Parvānchi, Mir 'Arz and the Amir who had laid it before the King.

Thus the accuracy of the copy was secured and it was handed over to the person or the officer concerned as a voucher. The report thus prepared was called Yād-Dasht or Memorandum.

(1) Details given in Āin, p.193. King's orders, appointments, rewards, presents given, Nazar, Peshkash - audience granted - troops, horses reviewed - remarks passed, etc.

(2) Officer in charge of petitions. See under Mir Bakhshī.

This completed the first stage of recording orders and reports, and it was considered enough for the daily routine work and ordinary matters.

Important matters, such as appointments, conferring of jagirs and the like had to pass through several other stages according to their nature and importance.

The
Ta'liqa (the
gist
of the
order
signed
by the
Minis-
ter)

Besides the clerks mentioned above, there was a big staff of copyists who wrote a good hand and prepared a good summary in a lucid style. They received the Yād-Dāsh (Memorandum) when completed, kept it with them and prepared a proper abridgement of it. The abridgement prepared by them was signed by the Vāqī Nāvīs, the Risālahdār, the Mīr 'Arz and the Dārogha. This was given from this Office instead of the Yād-Dāsh which was deposited here.

The abridgement thus completed was called Ta'liqa and the writer Ta'liqa Nāvīs. The Ta'liqa was then signed and sealed by ministers of the state. A casual reference under the regulation of seals shows that it was also signed by the Prince on duty in
(1)
the Darbār.

This completed the second stage and it must have sufficed for matters of minor importance in which king's seal was not
(2)
necessary.

Orders on all the following matters required king's seal:-
(3)

(1) Appointments to the Vakīlship, Vizārat, Sadārat, the post of a Governor and Bakhshī, the rank of Amīrul-Umara, the tutorshi

(1) Blochmann, p.264.

(2) The Ta'liqa did not require king's seal.

(3) Āīn, p.194. Tr. 260-61.

Orders of princes, and a mansab.
 re-
 quir-
 ing
 King's (2) Appointments to Jāgīrs, with or without military service
 seal (3) Conferring of Sayūrghāls; grants for daily subsistence,
 and for beneficent purposes.

Procedure:-

Every order for such an appointment or grant passed through the Dīvān, the Bakhshī and the Sāhib-i-Taujīh (Military Accountant)

The Ta'- The Ta'liqa prepared for orders of this nature was sent to
 'liqa passing the Dīvān-i-Jāgīr who kept the Jāgīr account. If the Jāgīr
 into a Farmān was given for military service it was sent to the Bakhshī for
 inspection who looked to the fulfilment of the conditions
 necessary with such an appointment.

The The Bakhshī kept the Ta'liqa with him and granted a
 Sark- certificate called sarkhat, specifying the amount of the
 hat (certi- monthly salary duly signed and sealed. Sarkhats were entered
 ficate) in the daftar of other Bakhshīs also, and signed by them.

The Sarkhat issued by the Bakhshīs was sent to the Dīvān who kept it himself and prepared an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it, and referred it to the King.

If the King confirmed the order to confer a Jāgīr on the person specified in the Sarkhat, the Dīvān issued necessary orders to the clerks who made out the draft to that effect. The draft was inspected by the Dīvān and he ordered it to be entered, "The mark of the Daftār, and the seal of the Dīvān, the Bakhshī and the Accountant of the Dīvān" were put in order, (1) when the "Imperial grant" was "written on the outside".

The draft thus completed was again sent to the Dīvān for signature

(1) A. Blochmann, p. 261.

This was called Ta'liqa-i-Tan (Certificate of Salary).

This was forwarded to the Sāhib-i-Taujīh (Military Accountant) who kept that Ta'liqa-i-Tan with himself and wrote its details on the Farmān, and sealed and signed it. It was then inspected by the Mustaufī (Auditor) and signed and sealed by him. After his approval it passed through the Nāzir and the Bakhshī and the Dīvān, and after their seals and signatures it reached the Vakīl (Prime Minister) of the Empire, and received his seal. (1) This completed the third and the final stage.

Revi-
sion
of the
drafts
by the
King

The drafts of Farmāns issued to the Princes on duty, governors of provinces, Faujdārs and Dīvāns of the provinces and for all other important matters were put before the King who went through them personally, and made any corrections and alterations (if necessary, after which they were written out by the mumshīs.

Sayur-
ghal
Farmāns

In case of Sayurghāls, the Farmāns after having been signed by the Mustaufī, were sent to the Ecclesiastical Department where they were entered in the daftars of the Dīvān-i-Sā'ādat (3) and signed by the Sadr, and finally by the Dīvān-i-kul.

Farmāns
for
cash
pay-
ments

If an order was issued for cash payments, it followed the procedure of an ordinary Farmān, but after the signatures of the Nāzir, it passed through the Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt, and when it had passed through the hands of the Bakhshīs and the Dīvān, it was sealed and signed by the Khān Sāmān. (4) Before it reached the

(1) Āīn, p.194, Line 15.

(2) Brahman, F.6b and 7a. Sālih, I. p.278. If any mistake or slip of pen were detected by him, he never passed any remark nor ever got offended, but quietly made the correction.

(3) Āīn, p.195, Line 7.

(4) See details under Kārkhanas.

Vakīl, it passed through several hands of the Buyūtāt. In every case the estimate was sent along with the order for payment. Thus it could be checked and compared with at any stage.

Sabtī
Farmāns

A Farmān thus prepared was called the Farmān-i-Sabtī.
Farmān-i-Bayāzī.

Important
and
confi-
dential
Farmāns

Orders on important and confidential matters which could not be placed in the hands of each and every one, and which did not admit of delay received only the Imperial seal. Such a Farmān was called the Farmān-i-Bayāzī.

It was folded up and two edges were made to meet when a knot of paper was put over it and sealed in a manner that its contents could not be seen. It was then put in a golden cover, and despatched to the person concerned. Such Farmāns were carried by mansabdārs, Ahadīs or common foot-soldiers according to their nature and importance.

The details available in the following case show how fast the machinery could move on important occasions. Prince Khurram who was at the head of the Army in the Deccan sent a petition to Jahāngīr that a Farmān be issued to 'Ādil Khān, the King of Bijapur, in a manner suggested by him. The petition of the Prince was received at the court on the 3rd Shehrevar. It was put before the King the same day, and the order was issued for the draft. The draft was made, put before the King and approved by him. The fair copy was made out, signed by the King and despatched to the Deccan on the following day (the 4th of Shehrevar).

It appears that it was sealed in such a manner that its contents could not be seen. Hence a copy of the same was also sent with it so that the Prince might read it and forward the

original to 'Ādil Khān' (tā farzand Shāh Khumrām naql rā mulāha namūda asl rā ravāna sāzand). Similarly, two Farmāns for Sir Thomas Roe which he desired to be sent to Ahmedābād were ready
 (1)
 within two days.

Parvānchas.

Farmāns Certain orders, though of equal importance with other or-
 not re- ders requiring the Imperial seal, were not forwarded to the
 quir- King nor was the royal seal put on them. They were made out f
 ing the stipulated salaries of the Begums and Princes, for stipend
 King's under the Dīvān-i-Sa'adat, for the monthly salaries of Ahadīs,
 seal and of certain employees of the Royal Factories (Karkhānas), an
 (2)
 for the allowances on account of the food of Bārgīr horses.

In these cases, the treasurer did not demand a new sanad every year, but paid the salaries and allowances on the receipt signed and sealed by the ministers of the state.

The Mushif wrote the receipt which was sanctioned by the Dīvān. It then passed through the Mustaufī, the Nāzir-i-Buyūt the Dīvān-i-kul, the Khān Sāmān and the Mushrif of the Dīvān.

In the case of Ahadīs, the receipt was also signed by the Bakhshī of the Ahadīs.

The Parvānchas were not put before the King for his seal. The first two lines of such orders were not made short as was done in the Farmāns. Thus they could be distinguished from /
 them at a glance (3)

(1) Tauzak. 12th year of the reign, p.192.

Roe 1616. pp.94 and 97. Delayed further two days on account of necessary changes.

(2) Bārgīr - a person considered capable of military service but not required to maintain a horse. A separate stable was maintained to supply horses to such persons when required on duty. (Āin, p.144.)

(3) Āin, p.195. Lines 8-14. They were intended to avoid delay.
 (4) Do.

Other papers not requiring the King's seal:-

1. Sarkhat.
- (1)
2. Sale and Purchase Receipts.
3. Price-lists.
4. 'Arznamchas (statements of sums forwarded to the Court by the Collectors of the Imperial Domains).
- (2)
5. Qarar Namas.
6. Muqasa (Statements of accounts which Tahvildars took from the Mustaufi, showing sums which they had received as deposits had been correctly expended).

The procedure and process involved in the completion of the Farmans is likely to appear lengthy and complicated to a layman but one acquainted with the administrative technicalities and the requirements of the age in which the Mughal Empire existed cannot fail to appreciate the advantages it carried with it.

This procedure acted as a check upon high officials, and the minister of the department primarily concerned. A department forwarding a case of its own, had not the sole responsibility and authority to carry the order to its final stage. It could be checked, criticised or scrutinised by any of the high officers through whose hands it passed at different stages.

Though civil and military departments were separate, as far as the appointments and payments of salaries to mansabdars and officers of the state were concerned, the procedure created an important blending of the two, and checked the domination and undue importance of both.

(1) Ain, p. 195. Ibtiya' Namcha and Mabi' Namcha.

(2) Do. - specifying the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots. Tr. Blochmann, p.263.

It left no room for frauds which could be expected under a less vigilant monarchical government.

The tradition of keeping the Royal seal separate from the office of ministers and sealing the Farmāns in the Female apartments further created a safeguard against intrigue and fraud, Abul Fazl seems justified in saying that "His Majesty's object is that every duty be properly performed; that there be no und increase, or decrease in any department, that dishonest people removed, and trustworthy people be held in esteem; and that active servants may work without fear, and negligent and forgetf (1) men be held in check". The procedure described above provide means for the fulfilment of all these objects.

The Royal Seal.

The five kinds of seals

According to the Āīn there were five kinds of seals used for different purposes.

- (1) The round small seal known by the Chaghtai name of Uzuk (1) used for farmān-i-sabtīs (relating to titles, high appointments, jāgīrs and sanction of large sums).
- (2) A large one into which the name of the king and those of his ancestors up to Timūr were engraved - was used for letters to foreign kings and later on for all purposes.
- (3) For other orders besides the sabtī Farmāns, a square seal was used.
- (4) For Judicial transactions a seal, mihrābi in form, which

(1) Āīn, p.193. Lines 12-14. Blochmann, p.259.

Monserrate (p.209) says that the royal seal was put eight days after the receipt of the draft from the minister. "During this eight days' interval every document is most carefully examined by the confidential counsellor, and by the King himself, in order to prevent error and fraud. This is done with special care in the case of gifts and concessions conferred by the royal favour."

(2) This is also written as (Uzuk).

had the following verse round the name of the king, was used

Rāstī mūjib-i-Razā-i-khudā ast -

Kas na dīdam Ke gum shud azrah-i-rāst.

(Uprightness is the means of pleasing God:

I never saw anyone lost in the straight road.)

(5) A separate seal was used for all matters connected with
(1)

the Female department.

The charge of the uzuk seal

Of these the Uzuk seal was the most important and it is mentioned on various occasions in connection with the draft of farmāns. It was usually entrusted to the most trusted person and was not, as a rule, placed in the charge of Vakīl (Prime Minister) or the Dīvān (Vazīr). Abul Fazl has entirely overlooked the importance of the seals and has nowhere mentioned the person or the persons in whose hands the seal passed during the long reign of his master. It is only a casual reference in connection with the deposition of Khvāja Jahān in the 11th year of the reign ^{which} ~~that~~ reveals that during the early part of Akbar's rule after the fall of Bairām Khān, Khvāja Jahān had the charge of the seal.

Father Monserrate who was with Akbar in his Kabul expedition between 1581 and 1582, says that the Farmāns were sealed eight days after they were received from the Vazīr, "by one of the Queens in whose keeping is the royal signet ring and also the great seal of the realm."

This statement makes the arrangement very clear. The word used for the seal which was in the charge of Khvāja Jahān is
(2)

Muhr-i-muqaddas-i-kalān (the great royal seal). Thus the small

(1) Āīn, pp.47-48. Blochmann. p.52.

(2) A.N. II. 11th year. p.270.

signet ring (uzuk) was in the charge of one of the queens⁽¹⁾ and the great seal under Khvāja which was also transferred to a queen after his fall. Towards the close of the reign when Khān-i-Āzam Mirza 'Azīz Koka was made vakīl in the 40th year⁽²⁾ of the reign, he was given the charge of the great seal, and as he continued in office till Akbar's death, it must have remained in his charge till then.

Under Jahāngīr also the account is not complete. There is only one reference in the memoirs and it is in the first year of the reign. "When I was prince I had entrusted, as a precaution, my own uzuk seal to the Amirul Umara (Sharīf), but when he was sent off to the province of Behār, I made it over to Parvez. Now that Parvez went off against the Rāna, I made⁽³⁾ it over, according to the former arrangement, to Amirul Umara."

Sir Thomas Roe mentions the influence of Prince Khurram in the matter of Farmāns in 1616, but he does not say anything about the seal. Towards the close of the reign when Jahāngīr was in the custody of Mahābat Khān there is a reference that he sent his ring to Āsaf Khān with a message not to take the risk of making an attack upon Mahābat; but I do not think that it⁽⁴⁾ was the signet ring (uzuk). It must be his personal ring.

Under Shāh Jahan the account like that of other similar arrangements is complete. It was first in the charge of Queen

(1) Monserrate, p.209.

(2) M.U. I. p.685. The author says it was engraved by Maulana 'Ali Ahmad, but it was originally engraved by Maulana Maqsūd and afterwards improved by 'Ali Ahmad. Āin, p.46.

(3) Tazuk, 1st year. p.8. Rogers,p.18. Translation is not accurate. Roe. p.97.

(4) Tazuk, 21st year, p.404. The words used are "angushtari-i-mubārak".

Mumtāz Mahal and after the coronation of the king it was given Āsaf Khān at the request of the Queen herself. When he was sent to the Deccan in the 2nd year, it was again handed over to the queen and he received it back on his return. But when he went the second time to the Deccan after the death of the queen, it was given over to Begum Sāhib (the favourite daughter) and since then the charge of the seal and the duty of sealing the farmāns (1) remained with her.

Thus as far as the uzuk seal was concerned, it remained as a rule in the female apartment. It was only as a favour to the Queen Mumtāz Mahal that it was for some time given to her father who also happened to be the Prime Minister of the Empire.

Dis-tinc-tions in Far-māns

The study of royal Farmāns and letters reveals an interesting procedure followed by the Mughal Emperors in respect of the Farmāns issued to persons known to the King or to other ruling princes and feudatories. A Farmān, as a rule, was sealed by one of the royal seals according to the nature of the subject and the seal was put on the top of the Farmān below which the subject matter began. During the course of development three marks of distinction were established as a tradition by which the King, according to the rank of the addressee, and the extent of favour desired to be bestowed upon him, could exalt him.

Firstly by putting his signatures in addition to the official seal.

Secondly, by adding a line or two at the top in his own hand. Shāh Jahān carried it further and at times wrote the whole of the Farmān himself. It was also done in important matters, irrespective of the favour.

(1) Lāhorī, I. p.406.

Thirdly, by putting the mark of the royal hand (Panja-i-mubārak) on the Farmān. The official seal remained at its proper place in every case.

In one of the Farmāns addressed to Abdul Rahīm Khān Khānā Akbar put his signatures and addressed him as son and put the words ('Abdul Rahīm Farzand Bedānad) above the tughrā. (1)

Jahāngīr sent one to his favourite officer Muqarrab Khān appointing him the Governor of Behār in the 13th year of his reign, (2) and when in the 12th year, he sent one to 'Ādil Khān, the King of Bijāpūr at the suggestion of Prince Khurram, he also addressed him as Farzand (son) and wrote a couplet on the top of the Farmān with his own pen.

Shudī ze iltimās-i-Shāh-i-Khurram
Ba Farzandi-i-māmashhūr-i-'Ālam.

"Thou' st become, at Shāh Khurram's request,
Renowned in the world as my son." (3)

In the 14th year when Khān-i-'Ālam returned from his embassy to the Shāh of Persia, Jahāngīr honoured him by sending every day a servant to receive him on the way to the court and exalted him by writing every time a couplet at the top of the Farmān. "Once I sent him some 'Itri-Jahāngīri (Otto de roses) (4) and automatically wrote this verse.

Ba sūyat faristāda am būe khaish
Ke āram turā zūdtar sūye khaish.

On important occasions he wrote out the entire Farmāh himself. He wrote one to Prince Khurram full of affection in connection with his success against the Rāna, (5) and one to Prince

(1) Maāsir-i-Rahīmi, II. p.113.

(2) Tāuzak, p.244.

(3) Ibid. p.192. Rogers, p.388.

(4) Ibid. p.284. Rogers II.p.115. (5) Lāhorī, I. p.141-142.

Parvez in the 17th year, when he summoned him urgently in connection with Prince Khurram's revolt. Similarly, another one to Prince Khurram in the 20th year in reply to his petition during the revolt, and one was also sent to 'Ādil Khān in the 18th year, on the suggestion of Mahābat Khān.

Such examples are numerous under Shāh Jahān as it was his usual practice to add a line or two on all important Farmāns or write out the whole himself. In the first year of the reign he wrote two to Āsaf Khān when he was at Lāhore and on in the 6th year to Mahābat Khān.

Muzzaffar Khān, one of the generals of Shāh Jahān, in his collection of letters gives copies of several Farmāns received by him. Two of these were entirely written by the King while the tughrās of the other two were in royal hand and one had royal signatures.

The mark of the royal hand was the highest distinction but I have not found ~~in~~ any case in which it was put on a Farman by any royal servant, nor have I been able to find any example of its use at all under Akbar, but the cases under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān indicate that it was a practice prior to them and a reference in Jahāngīr's memoirs about Akbar's Panja being engraved on the trunk of a tree in Shaikhūpūr village in the

(1) Tauzak, p.352.

(2) Ibid. p.397.

(3) Ibid. p.377.

(4) Salih, I. p.254.

(5) Lahori I.p.113-115, and Tauzak, p.425.

(6) Do. I.p.516.

(7) MS. Add 16859 (a) F.3. F.22B.(az awwal tā akhir ba qalam-i-khas-i-Mubārak.

(b) F.16 B.

(c) F. 7 B.

pargana of Daulatābād further gives clue to the same. Jahāngīr had its likeness together with the mark of his own Panja engraved on a marble plate and placed it on the same spot.

In the 9th year of Jahāngīr's reign Rāna of Udaipūr demanded the royal Panja as a condition of the treaty into which he entered after his defeat at the hands of Prince Khurram, and the condition was complied with.

Shāh Jahān himself offered it to 'Ādil Khān the King of Bijāpūr as a mark of distinction if he complied with the conditions of the treaty submitted to him; the Panja was given and the gist of the Farmān which contained the terms of the treaty was engraved on a gold plate at the request of 'Ādil Khān and sent to him as a special mark of favour.

Muzzaffer Khān in one of his letters requests that the Panja-i-Mubārak be sent to Jagat Singh against whom he was engaged, "though the royal Farmān was enough yet the Panja-i-Khāsa-i-Shahan-shāhī is necessary for him as a blessing and exaltation."

(1) Tauzak, p.178. Rogers, p.360. At the time when my revered father passed by this, he had made an impression of his hand

way of a mark at the height of $3\frac{3}{4}$ gaz from the ground. I ordered them also to make the mark of my hand 8 gaz above another root (it was a huge tree with several roots). In order that these two hand-marks might not be effaced in the course of time they were carved on a piece of marble and fastened on to the trunk of the tree (and a platform built round it).

(2) Tauzak, p.134.

(3) Lahori, I. Pt.II. p.124 and 203-4.

(4) MS.Add.16859. F.20. Probably it refers to the expedition of the 15th year of the reign against the fort of Taragadh in Kangrah (Punjab) but Lahori does not mention the Panja. Hence it is not certain whether it was given to him or not (Lahori II. p.285-291. Terms of his surrender).

The attached facsimile of Shāh Jahān's Panja on a Farman⁽¹⁾ gives a clear idea of the form in which the tughra⁽²⁾ on the left, the seal on the right and the Panja on the margin below it was stamped.

(1) The tughra of Shāh Jahān contained these words Abul Muzzafi Shahāb-ud-dīn Muhammad Sāhib-i-Qirān-i-Sāni, and the same words compose the upper tughra of the attached Farman.

(2) The attached facsimile is the copy of Plate II. (p.15) of Havell's Book, "The Agra and the Taj".



PLATE I.—A STATE DOCUMENT WITH SHAH JAHAN'S "ROYAL
HAND AND SEAL."

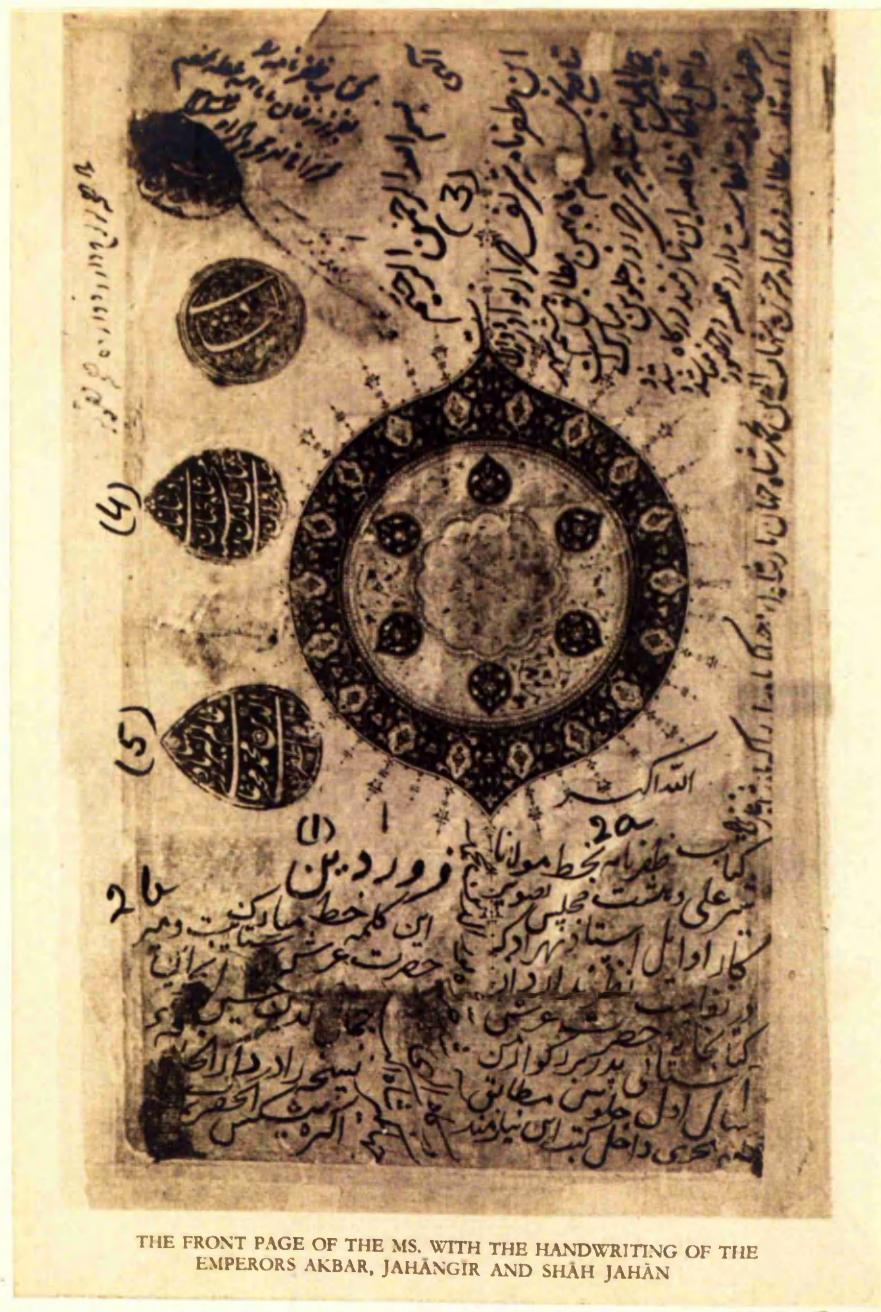
Shāh Jahān's Panja.

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Above the hand is the uzuk seal and on its left the Tughrā which corresponds with one given in Shāh Jahān's Chronicles.

The Farman is in the possession of the Rāja of *gidhour* from whom Mr. Havell obtained the copy.

This illustration corroborates several points about the draft of Farmāns contained in Chapter III.



THE FRONT PAGE OF THE MS. WITH THE HANDWRITING OF THE EMPERORS AKBAR, JAHĀNGĪR AND SHĀH JAHĀN

P62
The front page of the MS. Zafar Nāma of Timūr illustrated by the famous Persian painter Ustād Behzād. Presented to Akbar by Jamāl-ul-Dīn Husīn Anjū.

1. The word Farvadīn is endorsed by Jahāngīr to have been written by Akbar.
2. a - b is Jahāngīr's hand recording the importance, the date and the authenticity of the MS.
3. is Shāh Jahān's hand who acknowledges its importance and orders it to be kept in his personal Library so that he might, at times, study it.
4. is Shāh Jahān's seal and 5. that of 'Ālaṅgīr.
It is a unique page for its contents.

P A R T II.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ministers.

I. Theoretical:- The Views of Muslim Jurists.

Al-Māvardī:- Limited and unlimited Vizārat.

The position of the Vazīr in the State:- based on

- (a) Māvardī, (b) Ādāb-ul-vizārāt, (c) Siyāsat Nāma,
- (d) Nasāih-i-Nizāmul Mulk to his son (a MS.),
- (e) Āsār-ul-vuzarā (a MS. containing views of famous Muslim vazīrs of different kingdoms).

Eligibility of Non-Muslims:- generally not favoured in theory.

II. The Vizārat under the Delhi Sultanate:- Its three stages:-

- (a) Combination of all civil and military powers.

- (b) Separation of military - vazīrs thrown in the background.

- (c) Revival of vazīr's prestige but military kept separate.

III. The vikālat of Bairām Khān:- a unique position from administrative point of view - greater powers than Māvardī's first class vagīr.

IV. The determination of the powers of vikālat under Akbar:

Policy opposed to giving all powers in the hands of one vazīr.

The early adjustments - the vikālat of Atka Khān.

The vikālat of Mun 'im - power shaken.

The creation of the post of the Dīvān and the separation of Revenue and Financial powers from vikālat.

The establishment of the powers of the Dīvān under Muzzaffer.

The transfer of Mun 'im and review of his vikālat - the change in the position of the vakīl definitely established.

The vikālat of Muzzaffer.

The vikālat of Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān and Mirzā 'Azīz Koka.

Vakīls of Jahāngīr:- Amir-ul-umarā Sharīf, Āsaf Khān Qāzvenī, Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan.

Continuance of Āsaf Khān under Shāh Jāhān - the first and the last vakīl of the reign.

The transaction of the work by the vakīl. His work in the Dīvān in ^{the} early reign of Akbar.

Later on no responsible work - a post for show and honour.

Vakīls eclipsed by the Dīvāns.

Vikālat - an office of rank and dignity but with no power.

List of 100 years' vakīls.

The Ministers.

The state under an absolute monarchy like all other forms of government requires the aid of several brains. Even the most gifted men like Julius Caesar and Napoleon could not handle the problems of state single-handed. In Northern India, monarchs like Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī who believed in centralising all power in one hand, and controlled the administrative machinery personally, had to feel the need of ministers and to show respect to them. Under every despotism, the existence of a body of ministers or a council of advisers becomes indispensable.

The Hindū state in Northern India had a council of eight, and by the political thinkers of the age, it was considered inseparable from the monarchy. "A king without a minister cannot govern his kingdom even for three days!"⁽¹⁾ The "Council of Eight" of the epic age continued with the monarchy. Kautilya thought that it should consist of

(1) Sāntiparvan vide ~~Bal~~ Pd. Theory. p.47.

ministers and "wise men" could be consulted on occasions. "The number varied in practice as in theory. Probably generalising from experience, Munū counselled twelve, Brihaspatī sixteen, and Usuanas twelve. Their successor Kautilya only laid down that the council should consist of as many members as the needs of the state rendered desirable. Roughly the numerical strength varied from twelve to twenty."⁽¹⁾ The council was definitely an advisory body and acted under the king and the chief minister of the state. The chief minister, in the words of Dr. Benī Prasad, resembled "the Norman Angevin Chancellor, the Turkish Grand Vizier, and more than anything else, the Vakīl of the Indian Mughals."⁽²⁾

The Vazir

Under the Muslim monarchies, the term used for the council or body of ministers is Vizārat. But the idea of vizārat, under them, was primarily the idea of one vazīr only and the Muslim jurists have dealt with the problem pre-eminently from this stand-point. In the words of Al-Fakhri, the vazīr is one who is intermediate between the king and his subjects, so there must needs be in his nature one aspect which accords with the nature

(1) Benī Pd. Theory. p. 125.

(2) Do. Do. p. 127.

of kings, and another aspect which accords with the natures of the common folk, so that he may deal with both classes in such a manner as to secure for himself their acceptance and affection..." "Lexicographers say that *wizr* means 'a place of refuge', 'an asylum', and that *wazar* means 'burden' so that *wazīr* is either derived from *wizr* in which case it means that 'he bears the burden', or from *wazar*, in which case it means that the king has recourse to his judgment and counsel."⁽¹⁾

The Muslim jurists and notably Al-Māvardī distinguish two kinds of *Vizārat*:- (a) the unlimited *vizārat* and (b) the limited *vizārat*.⁽²⁾ The *vazīr* with unlimited powers, commonly called Grand *Vazīr*, was "the Major Domo and alter ego of the caliph." He wielded all the sovereign power and was only required to inform his sovereign of all he had done. He had the power of appointing officers in the name of the caliph. He sat as a final court of appeal in law-suits. But the difference of position was maintained by the regulation that he could neither appoint his representative or successor nor could he remove or transfer an officer appointed by

(1) Browne. Ldt. Hist. I. p. 256. ed. 1909. Tr. Ibn-i-Khaldūn. Tr. p. 97.

(2) Māvardī. Fr. Translation. p. 197. "Vézirat de délégation et vézirat d'exécution."

the Caliph.

The powers of the limited vazīr were not so extensive. He had no initiative power. He simply carried out the orders of the sovereign. "He was merely the intermediary between the ruler and the people." But his presence near the caliph and all orders passing through his hands and receiving the official character through his seal or signature gave him sufficient importance in the state. Von Kremer is of opinion that the limited vizārat was "the original form of this institution and that only with the increasing decline and decay of the authority of the caliph did the unlimited wazīr step into light. As affairs at the court of Baghdađ grew worse and worse, the more luxuriously did the buds unfold and the leaves grow of adventurous ambition."⁽¹⁾

The
Number of
Vazirs

The Arab jurists do not favour the appointment of several vazirs of the unlimited power but in cases of vast empires and the pressure of work they consider it permissible provided the scope of their work and their powers were fully defined or they acted "collectively as one administrative unit."⁽²⁾

Thus in theory the jurists favour the idea of one

(1)

Kremer, The Orient under the Caliphs. Tr. p. 226.
Māvardī. Fr. Translation. p. 198.
Sulūk-ul-Mūlūk. B.M. MS. Or.253 F 17-18.

(2)

Kremer. Tr. p. 225.
Māvardī, Fr. Tr. p. 221.

powerful vazir for the absolute monarch. Other officers would act as heads of different departments under the direction and the supervision of the vazir. It leaves no room for the existence of more than one vazir of equal status sharing equal responsibility in the administration.

In a saying attributed to Ma'mūn⁽¹⁾ the four important instruments of government are (1) an honourable qāzī, (2) a just chief of the police,⁽²⁾ (3) a business-like finance minister, and (4) a trustworthy post-master.

(1) Māvardī, Fr. Tr. p. 199.

(2) Sāhib-us-Shurtah - commander of the royal body-guards and later on an important courtier. (Ibn Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn, vide Kremer, p. 226)

In Qanun Namah, the fundamental laws of the Turks, the four pillars of the government are the vazir, the Qāzi-i-'Asker, the finance minister (Daffērder), and the secretary (Nishanji). Thus the number of vazirs is four but the Grand Vazir exists over them who has the royal seal in his possession. (Khuda Bakhsh, vide Jonquiere. L'Empire Ottoman, p. 181).

In Ādāb-ul-vizārat the chief officers necessary for the proper administration of the government are Vazīr, Amir-i-Dād, Vakil-i-Dar, Amir-i-Hājib, Mushrif, 'Ariz, Saheb-i-Barid. The Vazir is the head of the government. The author says that if honest, efficient and God-fearing men are appointed to these posts, the subjects will be happy, the country well-populated, the treasury full, the army strong and the enemies subdued. (p. 19-20) British Museum MS.

For the chief departments, see Amīr 'Alī:- History of the Saracens. p. 414-421.

The
Position
of the
Vazir in
the State

The vast powers of the grand vazir carried with them the vast responsibilities of the office which made his position extremely delicate. He was required to possess all the arts of an accomplished courtier besides the technical knowledge of the various branches of the administration. (1)

The author of *Ādāb-ul-vizārat* says that the vazir is the second king in the state and his duties are more difficult to perform than those of the king, because the king enjoys a dignity which is a screen before him. None can approach him, none can be rude to him. The vazir possesses no such screen. The stability of the kingdom is attributed to the ruler and its disintegration to the vazir. Hence a vazir should be wise like a philosopher, simple like a villager, cautious in spending like a trader, and brave like a warrior. (2)

The maxims laid down by jurists for the guidance of the vazir also give an idea of the chief duties attached to his office. He is expected to regulate the policy of the state directed for the purpose of (a)

(1)

The Arabs expected a great deal from him. He had to be conversant with the games of chess and polo and also expected to play the guitar, and to be proficient in mathematics, medicine, astrology, poetry, grammar, and history, and finally in the recitation of poems, and narration of tales. (Kremer. p. 22)

(2) P. 20-21.

populating the country, (b) equipping the army, (c) fixing the sources of revenue, and (d) making the life of the subjects easy.

Secondly, he should consolidate the finances of the state by spending wisely and keeping sufficient in reserve for emergencies.

Thirdly, he should be prepared to meet the enemy by (a) keeping the roads safe and in good condition. (b) maintaining a well-organised army. (c) making all weapons and instruments of warfare. (d) keeping different groups of people and servants of the state in their proper places.

Fourthly, he should also look to the means of improving the resources and averting the dangers, by (a) increasing the revenue without any hardship or injury to the cultivator because "land is regarded the treasury of the ruler, and its key in the hands of the obedient peasant". (b) extending the boundaries of the state. This can be achieved either through diplomacy or through force. Diplomacy is preferred to war but readiness for war is also essential because "large armies are not overpowered by the diplomacy of the wise".

The dangers to the state consist in (1) internal disturbances which may result either from the negligence or the incapacity of those responsible for the maintenance of peace; (2) the decline of the revenues of the state which may be due either to the power and the turbulence

of the peasants or to their destitute condition and incapacity to pay.

In either case the remedy is essential.

Thus the vazīr regulates the policy, controls the army and finances. However, it is to be noted that the author of Ādāb-ul-vizārat does not attribute any judicial powers to him. They are reserved for Āmīr-i-Dād and Sāhib-i-Barīd as far as their duties and qualifications given by him suggest. ⁽¹⁾ Nizāmul Mulk lays more emphasis upon the qualities and the vigilance of the ruler than upon the all-pervading vazīr. He thinks that it is the duty of the ruler to look and supervise every branch of the administration, appoint suitable persons to all posts, ⁽²⁾ and to be constantly in touch with them. However the importance of the vazīr is not ignored. "If the vazīr is upright and well-intentioned the country will be well-populated, and the army and the people satisfied and contented." Hence it is necessary that rulers should inquire into the work of the vazīr and see how he performs his duties. ⁽³⁾

(1) P.19-20.

(2) This point is emphasised also in Ādāb-ul-vizārat, p. 18, and is graphically put in Sāntīparvan. "Every servant should be appointed to the job for which he is fit. If a dog is placed in a situation above his proper reach, he is intoxicated with pride"..."A lion should always make a companion of a lion. Associated with a pack of dogs, a lion fails miserably in his duties." (CXIX, 3-9, and 11-12) Beni Pd. Theory, p. 49.

(3) Siyāsat Nāma. p. 18.

The vast powers entrusted to the vazir carry with the office equally vast responsibilities and his position was the most delicate in the state. As Eakhri points out, he was to deal, on one hand, with the king, and on the other with the people, he must combine in his person qualities acceptable to both. Besides these two, he was to deal with another and equally important element of officers of the state who had access to the king and were, at the same time, in direct touch with the people. The jurists fully realise the difficulties of his task and the delicacy of his position and they have devoted much thought to the problem and laid down maxims for his guidance.

The advice given by Nizāmul Mulk to his son for the discharge of the duties of vizārat are very instructive and they deal primarily with his position towards the above-mentioned three elements. He lays down that a vazir should keep his eye on four sides, towards God, king, persons near him and general public, ⁽¹⁾ . Thus he has to fear God and keep in his mind that he would be answerable for all his actions to Him. He has to please the ruler to maintain his position, guard himself against those who by the privilege of their high position have access to him, and look to the needs of the public at large.

The most useful and valuable advice is contained in the

(1) MS. Br. Mus. Or 256, 43-44.

following maxim of Ādāb:-

"He (vazīr) should be attentive to the king so that he may be exalted. He should be friendly with the members of the government so that he may not fall from office. He should be kind to the subjects so that they may become attached to him and not carried away by his enemies."⁽¹⁾

**Eligibility
of Non-
Muslims to
the Vizārat**

Māvardī is considered the first Muslim jurist who expressed his view that non-Muslims were eligible for the post of the vazīr of the second class because in his case positive knowledge of law and theology could be dispensed with. He acted under the king or the chief vazīr and was not required to act on his initiative. This view is strongly opposed by an Egyptian writer, Ibn Jamā'ah, and he thinks that only those offices which were connected with the collection of the capitation tax or toll levied upon non-Muslims could be entrusted to the non-Muslims. Ibn Khaldūn is also opposed to Māvardī but his objections are based on political rather than religious grounds, and he feels that non-Muslims cannot have that regard for the glory of the nations and the stability of the kingdom which must result from common interests, common sympathy,

(1) p.

MS. Āsārul-vazrā also includes advices of the same nature, General maxims. Pages 1-8. Guiding principles based upon the advice of Rashīd-ud-dīn to his son Amīr 'Alī, p. 379, and to another son Jalāl-ud-dīn, p. 390-400, includes 19 points from military duties of Jihād to the respect of the ulamās and the upkeep of the mosques besides administrative duties. (Under the chapter of the vazirs of Chāngāz and his successors. Rashīd was himself a vazir for twenty years and had fourteen sons all employed on different posts of the state.)

and common sentiment.

But in practice non-Muslims were appointed to
 vizārat in Muslim states, even in Egypt. (1)

The
 Vizārat
 in the
 Delhi
 Sultanate

The above sketch of the duties and powers of the vazīr shows the importance of the institution under the Muslim monarchies. Kremer says, "In the East, in Turkey, Mongolia, Persia, etc., etc., it has remained precisely the same."(2) Mahmūd of Ghaznī had an administrative machinery of the same type, and his vazīrs (3) enjoyed his confidence and respect in his kingdom.

Thus the Turks came to India with a considerable experience of the practical working of the institution of vizārat; and its existence in the sultanate is traceable from its establishment as an independent power; and the office had the same importance which the name of the institution signified. (4)

The vizārat under the sultanate passed through three stages. The first which ended with the rise of Balbān to the deputy-ship was the period in which the vazīrs enjoyed full civil and military powers and wielded considerable influence in the kingdom. Khwāja Nizāmul Mulk

(1) Amir 'Alī's History of the Saracens. p. 413. Kremer, Tr. p. 225. Scattered examples can also be seen in "The Caliph and the Non-Muslims", chapter II.

(2) Tr. p. 226.

(3) Abul 'Abbās Fazāl. Abul Qāsim Ahmed, and Hasnak.

(4) 'Ainul Mulk Junaidī was the vazīr of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn.(Tabqāt. p. 179.) He opposed Rizzyat.(p. 186) 'Ainul Mulk Husain Ash'arī the vazīr of Nasirud-dīn Qabāchah became the vazīr of Ruknud-dīn. (Tabqāt, p. 182)

Junaidī and Muhazzab were conspicuous in this period,⁽¹⁾ and they remained unaffected by the creation of the office of the Nāib (deputy) to the king.⁽²⁾

The second period which continued till the fall of the Khaljī dynasty was the period in which the vazirs were entirely thrown into the back-ground, firstly by the all-dominating deputy Balban who continued his policy after his accession to the throne as well; secondly, by the separation of the military department from the vizārat; and thirdly, by the policy of 'Alā-ud-dīn who centralised all power in his own hands. Malik Kāfūr in the latter days of 'Alā-ud-dīn and Khusrav, under Mubārak Shāh dominated the affairs of the kingdom as Nāibs, and all the three Nāibs of this period can be said to have exercised the powers of the first class vazir of Māvardī, but the power they wielded was not the power of the vazir. Their office was quite distinct from him, and their existence, as such, did not give the vazirs of their time a chance to assert even under the weak kings like Kaikubād and Mubārak Shāh.⁽³⁾

(1) Both of the vazirs were responsible for the changes of monarchs after the death of Shamsud-dīn. Muhazzab was so powerful that all amirs combined against him and he was finally deposed and murdered. "bar mumlakat istila tamām yāft va jumla kārha az dast-i-umarā-i-turk berūn burda." (Tabqat, p. 198. Raverty, p. 663)

(2) Ikhtiyārud-dīn and Malik Kutbud-din Husain Ghori were the Nāibs.

(3) Khwāja Hasan Basarī the vazir of Balban is not even mentioned by Barnī among the prominent personalities of his reign while 'Imādul Mulk the Dīvān-i-'Arz is very conspicuous. (p. 112-123) Khwāja Khatirud-dīn was noted for efficiency and capacity in the Khaljī dynasty and was highly respected by the first two rulers of the line. Nasrat Khan was also prominent but the powers of both were limited to their own departments.

The third period covered the rule of the Tughluq dynasty. The founder of the line raised the status of his vazīrs but did not restore to them their lost powers. The military remained separate under the Dīvān-i-'Arz as in the second period. His instructions to both the heads of departments clearly show the division of the functions of vizārat and his determination to maintain them. Sultān Muhammad Tughluq's remark that he had no such vazīr who could save him from shedding the blood fully illustrates the position his vazīrs occupied, but all the same he had a great respect for his vazīr Khwāja Jahān.

Firūz app̄ointed Maqbūl Khān Jahān the assistant vazīr of the previous reign as his vazīr. The capacity, the loyalty and the devotion to work for which Maqbūl was noted gave him the first position in the state. The sultān himself used to say that Khān Jahān (Maqbūl) was the real ruler of Delhi.⁽¹⁾ The contemporary author 'Afīf says that in accordance with the principles laid down in Qābūs Nāma, Sultān never addressed anyone else in the open darbār when the vazīr was present there. Every order and every message

(1) 'Afīf, p. 400.

دادرستِ نظام ملک اور رہ بپر وہ تمام ملک اور رہ

The reins of government have been given into his hands. The whole country has been placed under him.

was

communicated through him. But with all the respect shown to him, his powers were limited to his department. (1) The Dīvān-i-'Arz was held by an equally powerful and trusted minister 'Imādul-Mulk.

Thus by the time of Firūz the administrative machinery of the central government was fully developed and powers of different officers clearly defined. The vazīr had become the head of the Revenue and Finance and ceased to be the chief executive officer of the state dominating all its affairs. This position determined his necessary qualifications also and the technical knowledge which his office now required made him eminently a man of pen (*Sāhib-i-Qalam*) as against the man of sword (*Sāhib-i-Saif*). The military efficiency ceased to be the necessary qualification for the post.

During the period of anarchy that set in after Firūz, there can be no question about the division of functions or powers. (2) The system of the Lodis had no scope for vazīrs in the presence of the Afghān nobles and fief-holders.

Bābar and Humāyūn came to India with the tradition

(1) 'Afīf, p. 412. His powers in his own department were defined in the case of 'Ainul-Mulk Ashraf-i-Mamālik who quarrelled with him and was removed from his office.

(2) Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, p. 167, 175, 213, 254 and 262, give some idea of the vazīrs, their position and activities, notably of Savarul Mulk and Kamālul Mulk in this period.

of one vazīr in the state and Nizāmud-dīn Khalīfa under the one and Amīr Vais and Hindū Beg under the other should be regarded to have occupied the same position. They held the charge of all civil and military affairs and took active part in the field, and conditions under them favoured the same.

Sher Shāh believed in centralising all power in his own hands and the condition of the Delhi sultanate under the latter Tughlugs and Sayeds must have afforded a sufficient warning to the prudent monarch. Besides the principles of policy and personal inclinations, the political conditions also demanded his personal attention and vigilance over every branch of his administration and, therefore, he conducted his own government. ⁽¹⁾

Bairām Khan

The conquest of Hindustān by Humāyūn for the second time and his death within a few months after the victory left the country and the ruling dynasty in a very uncertain condition. It was only the personality of Bairām Khān which established peace in the country and saved the dynasty; but from administrative point of view Bairām Khān's five year regime presents a unique example in the history

(1) Mr Qānūngō is justified in his remark that Sher Shāh's ministers were mere secretaries who only attended to the routine work. (p. 359)

of Northern India. He acted as a tutor (Atāliq) of the minor king and the Prime Minister of the kingdom (Vakīl-i-Saltanat). He exercised all sovereign powers in the name of the king and controlled the affairs of the state. "The king was behind the veil and the rule was that of the vakīl."

Appoint-
ments and
Dismissals
of highest
officers.

He was virtually the Grand Vazīr or the first class vazīr of Māvardī. He appointed and dismissed the highest officers of the state at his will. Pīr Mohammed Nāsirul Mulk acted as his naib, the revenue and finance matters were left to him. Abul Fazl says that he was not only Bairām's vakīl (representative) but virtually "the vakīl of the sultanate."⁽¹⁾ He was removed by him and though the action was not approved by Akbar yet he did not interfere.⁽²⁾ The order of dismissal sent to Nāsirul-Mulk by Bairām Khān clearly illustrates his position as Prime Minister of the state. "You were wearing the dress of a poor scholar when you came to Qandhār. As you appeared simple and honest and did good service you were raised to high office by me and from being a mullā you became a leader of armies. As your capacity was small you easily became intoxicated and got out of hand after one cup... . It is better that for some time you should draw in your feet under the blanket of disappointment, and sit down in

(1) A. N. II., Beveridge, p. 90.

(2) Do. Do. p. 132.

a corner. . . . for this is good both for yourself and whatever for the world. Thereafter/we shall determine with regard to you will be carried out."⁽¹⁾ Shaikh Gadāī was appointed the head of the Ecclesiastical department in preference to all Sayeds and he was given an undue importance in political matters in preference to all high and old Amīrs.⁽²⁾

Capital punishments

Bairām Khān set aside his rivals by capital punishments, and imprisonment, and simply informed the king of what he had done. The most conspicuous case was that of Tardī Beg who held the charge of Delhi when Hemū attacked it. After the deed was done, Bairām simply sent a message to Akbar through his assistant, representing that "the cause of his presumption was solely his devotion to the throne . . . He was much ashamed of his presumption in not taking permission . . . He hoped that he would approve of him with the glance of pardon so that other evil doers might take warning."⁽³⁾

Award of jāgīrs

He not only awarded jāgīrs at his own discretion but gave a chance of complaint to Akbar himself that his servants were neglected by the vakīl.⁽⁴⁾

(1) A.N. II. (Bev.) p.131. A.F. attributes it to Bairām's personal grievance, and he strongly supports Nāsirul Mulk. (p.130)

(2) Do. p. 132. His appointment and rise is strongly criticised in Akbar's farman issued at Bairām's removal from office. (p. 161-62)

(3) Do. p. 53.

(4) Do. p. 162. "To his own menial servants, whose condition and qualities were well known, he gave the titles. . . and presented them with...rich fief and productive territories whilst ~~sank~~ he...made the (Note continued)

Administrative changes.

Interference in king's personal matters

He sat in the Dīvān-i-khās twice a week, and put civil and military affairs anew into proper order" and he did what Māvardī would have liked him to do, "whatever was fixed upon there . . . was humbly represented to the Shāhin Shāh,"⁽¹⁾ and it was considered enough.

Not only did he exercise all the powers of the Grand Vazīr, but went a step farther and directly interfered in the personal matters of the king. He opposed his marriage proposal to the daughter of M. 'Abdullah Khān Moghul and it was only when "Nāsirul Mulk gave him to understand that opposition in such matters was very unacceptable" that he consented to it.⁽²⁾ On one occasion, he got the elephant driver/to be put to death on his own personal grievance, "though he was innocent", and later on had all the elephants of the royal stable distributed among the Amīrs.⁽³⁾

There is no parallel in the history of Northern India of this position and power of the vazir. Though Bairām Khān's services to the ruling family and the newly established kingdom of the Mughals cannot be ~~under-rated~~ ignored

(Note continued)

khans, the princes, the officers and the trusted servants ... whose rank, claims and qualifications are known to every one, to be in want of even dry bread."

(1) A.N. II. (Rev.) p.104. These matters refer to new regulations and not to routine work.

(2) Do. p. 88. Bairam regarded 'Abdullah as Kamrān's partisan.

(3) Do. p. 139-140.

yet the events of his regime conclusively show that after having got the strings of power into his hands, he failed to rise above the level of an ordinary administrator, and some of his actions were beyond doubt based on personal considerations apart from political exigencies, or the needs of the state. By the lack of tact and statesmanship, he failed to retain the confidence of the king and win the support either of the nobility or of the public. He neither looked towards the king nor to those who sat near him nor towards the public as required by the Muslim jurists for the success of a vazīr. His position became untenable and he was removed from office, and in spite of his loyalty, long service, and devotion to Humāyūn and Akbar, he remains condemned for his shortsightedness. His case added one more warning to the unrestricted use of a vazīr's power in the kingdom.⁽¹⁾

(1) Abul Fazl's judgment about him is very just and accurate.

"Bairām Khān who regarded himself as the unique of the age in regard to courage, administrative abilities, devotion and sincerity, and who in consequence of a crowd of flatterers had got the belief that affairs of India could not be managed without him, took from the bad advice of short-sighted associates, the path of destruction and did shameful deeds, such as should not have come from him." (A.N. II. p. 138)

and

HIS POSITION

Akbar's reign is a period of evolution and development of all the institutions which can be termed Mughal. Hence it is desirable to trace step by step the determination of the position of the vazir of the Empire and the division of functions and powers generally associated with the institution of vizārat.

Akbar had the advantage of the experience of three hundred years of Muslim rule in the country and it goes to his credit that he did not ignore it. Like the problems of maintaining peace in the vast area of the northern plains, the problem of vizārat of the great empire also presented difficulties. Akbar's personal experience of Bairām's vikālat was a sufficient warning against placing all powers in the hands of one vazīr. Bairām's position can be compared to the deputyship of Balban, Malik Kāfur and Khusrāu. Though they all differ from each other as far as their administrative capacities are concerned but two things are common to them. All the four were military leaders and had full charge of military power in the state. All of them dominated the affairs of the state and it was not easy to shake them off. Balban succeeded his master to the throne, Malik Kāfur prepared the way for it and set aside his master's heir to the throne. Khusrāu murdered his own master to fulfil his ambition. Whatever be the circumstances or causes that led Bairām to take up arms

after his removal from office, his position was not shaken off without having a recourse to arms. Thus in the light of these experiences, the deputyship of the sultanat¹ or the vikālat of Bairām Khān was out of question under Akbar and it is evident from the events which followed that Akbar started with this definite idea.

The Division
of the
power and
the dis-
tinctions
held by
Bairām

Immediately after the suspension of the powers of Bairām Khān, "political and financial affairs" were placed under the charge of Shihābud-dīn (governor of Delhī) and afterwards "Māham An̄ga was joined with him, and being entrusted with the vikālat represented matters to His Majesty."⁽¹⁾ Shamsud-dīn Atka Khān⁽²⁾ was given Bairām Khān's standard, drum, and tumantogh⁽³⁾. Mun'īm Khān who arrived from Kābul was given the title of Khān-Khānān, and ^{the} office of vikālat was also entrusted to him.⁽⁴⁾ Thus the powers and distinctions of Bairām Khān were divided and given to three different persons. This step was the definite indication of the tendency which was to follow.

The position held by Māham An̄ga and Shihābud-dīn

(1) A.N. II. (Bev.) p. 143-44, and 174.

(2) Do. p. M.U.II. p.531 - an old servant of Akbar - held the Punjāb.

(3) Do. p. 174. M.U. p.534. - held Kābul loyally.

(4) During the same period Bahādur Khān, brother of 'Ali Quli, was made vakīl to silence the opposition of his party to Shihābud-dīn. This was done by Māham as a political move and she continued to work with him also. When Bahādur's party was won over, he was given jāgīr in Etāvah and sent there. (p. 150-151)

The
early
adjustments

and the part played by them in the affair of Bairām Khān was sure to make them expect high power and influence and prestige under Akbar. But Mun'īm held the highest rank in the kingdom and he could not be ignored. Thus his position was recognised and at the same time Māham and her party were deprived of the instrument which might have proved dangerous.

Mun'īm was an experienced veteran and he realised the situation in which he was placed. He attached himself with Māham and thus not only silenced the opposition but gained the support of a party which he, as a fresh comer, needed at the court.

A few months after Atka Khān petitioned that after the service he had rendered against Bairām Khān, he expected that his office would also be conferred upon him along with other distinctions already bestowed upon him. His petition was accepted and the office of vikālat was conferred upon him.

The vikālat
of Atka
Khān

Thus the office passed through three different hands within a year and it was a sufficient proof of the power of the king and his freedom to use it.

Atka Khān's appointment not only deprived Mun'īm of his office but Māham and her party of all power and influence, because, as Abul Fazl says, "He (Mun'īm) was the ostensible vakīl who sat on the masnad and Māham Anga . . . regarded herself as the substantial Prime Minister." Thus two parties were formed at the court and the

antagonism was fanned by the rashness of Adham Khān who one day entered the Daulat khāna where Atka Khān was conducting the state business, and had him stabbed by a band of his excited followers. This act of rashness put an end to the life of Adham Khān also and later on to Māham Anga's, who could not survive the shock of the death of her son. Mun'īm and Shībabud-dīn fled from the court and thus they themselves completed their guilt.

This incident disposed of the party and decided the issue. The power of the king was definitely established and the manner in which Akbar carried it out by promptly punishing Adham Khān for his impudence definitely showed that he meant to rule. (1)

The
vikālat
of Mun'īm
Khān

Akbar further showed his tact and statesmanship by pardoning Mun'īm for his part in the incident. Mun'īm and Shībabud-dīn were not only pardoned but again restored to office. Mun'īm was made *vakīl* second time. Thus the veteran was not sacrificed but fully utilised at a time when the services of every experienced and loyal officer were needed to consolidate the new kingdom. Though Mun'īm occupied the office the prestige attached with it

(1) Prof. Rām Pd. Tripathī has very lucidly dealt with the position of Māham Anga in his article in the Journal of Indian History, vol. I., and shown that if she had any ambitions she was made to feel her position and that she never dominated Akbar.

was gone.

At this stage Atka Khān and Mun'īm Khān exercised full power in "the management of affairs, political and financial and disposed of matters relating to the army and the civil population,"⁽¹⁾ and they were the real head of the government in their term of office.

The creation
of the post
of Dīvān

In the eighth year of the reign Muzzaffer Khān was appointed as Dīvān and thus the revenue and financial matters were separated from the office of the vakīl and a further blow was given to its power and prestige.

The appointment of a person brought out from prison to this post was another assertion of power in the matter of appointment to vizārat.⁽²⁾

In the ninth year, when Akbar led an expedition in Mālvā, he took Mun'īm with himself and "left the affairs of the government under Muzzaffer and Khwāja Jahān."⁽³⁾ This step was necessary to give the new minister a free hand and full scope for work. Khwāja Jahān acted as his colleague and had the charge of the seal.

The joint
colleagues

In the 11th year, when Akbar went against Mirzā Hakīm in the Punjab, Mun'īm Khān was left in charge of Āgra but

(1) A.N. II. p. 230.

(2) Do. (Bev.) p.306.M.U.III. p.221. He was a partisan of Bairām and was imprisoned. In spite of the insistence of some of the Amīrs Akbar did not take his life. He was released, given the charge of a parganah, made dīvān-i-buyūtāt and finally Divan.

(3) A.N. II. (Bev.) p. 229 Text.

Muzzaffer was not placed under him. Their functions were defined and they were independent of each other.

Mun'īm held the government of the capital, Muzzaffer attended to his usual duties of the Dīvān. (1)

The position of Khwāja Jahān as a minister is not definitely established and no office appears to have been assigned to him. He had the charge of the seal and there are only two references to his connections with the affairs of government which show that he acted as a joint colleague of Muzzaffer. (2) Besides this a casual reference under the revolt of 'Alī Qulī Khān reveals that he held considerable influence at the court and had an equal share in the administration of affairs with the vakīl and the Dīvān. (3)

In the same year Mun'īm Khān together with Muzzaffer and Khwāja Jahān negotiated peace terms with 'Alī Qulī at ^{vv}Kanah. The presence of all the three ministers at one place appears to have created some complication. Muzzaffer reported against them. He became "suspicious of Mun'īm

(1) A.N. II. (Bev.) p. 276, Text.

(2) A.N. II. p. 229 and 259.

The es-
tablis-
ment of
the
position
of the
Dīvān

(3) Do. p. 259. Mun'īm and Muzzaffer were conducting peace negotiations with 'Alī Qulī at ~~Kanah~~ (Allahabad). 'Alī Qulī insisted that Khwāja Jahān should also be present at the meeting. His request was forwarded to the king, who sent Khwāja Jahān for his satisfaction, because "the affairs of state were managed by his counsels." Khwāja Jahan was highly intelligent and an expert in financial matters. He acted as Bakhshi of Akbar before his accession to the throne, and was his trusted servant. M.U. I. p.631.

Khān" and "explained the double dealings of the grandees", as a result of which Lashkar Khān Mīr Bakhshī who was also involved in the affair was removed from office.

Khwāja Jahān also lost his position. The seal was taken from him and he was ordered to proceed to Mecca.⁽¹⁾ But again regard was shown to Mun'īm's position and he was not injured, but the open punishment of his partisans was a sufficient injury to his prestige and Abul Fazl's remark is conclusive on the point. "The severity used towards these men . . . caused greater circumspection on the part of Mun'īm Khān. The reputation of Muzzaffer was increased."⁽²⁾

After the conclusion of the affair of 'Alī Qullī, Mun'īm was given a jāgīr in Jaunpur⁽³⁾ and asked to look to the affairs of the East. He left the capital in the 12th year of the reign and remained engaged in Behār and Bengal till the close of his life.

The transfer of Mun'īm from the political centre ended his career as vakīl of the Empire. He lost all connections with the affairs of the central government and continued in the service of the state as a military general placed in charge of the expedition and the government of the newly-

(1) A.N. II. (Bev.) p.401. M.U.T.631. He was afterwards pardoned but not restored to office.

(2) Do. p.401.

(3) His jāgīr extended from Jaunpur to the Chausa river including Benares and Ghāzīpur. (p. 298 A.N. III.)

The
transfer
of Mun'īm
Khān to
Bengal.

conquered territory. The rank and position which he held was personal and he continued to enjoy it till the end of his life.

The
review of
his vikālat

Mun'im's career as a vakīl was extremely unsuccessful. During the first term of his office, he placed himself entirely in the hands of Māham Anga and her party and by his weakness and complication in the murder of Atka Khān brought discredit to his office and position. Akbar realised his weakness and after appointing Muzzaffer as the Dīvān he always tried to keep Mun'im engaged away from the capital. Finally his transfer to the East was a very wise measure. His presence at the court after the ~~Kāsh~~^{rr} affair might have led to further complications and created a division in the higher rank of nobles. It removed him from the centre of politics to a quarter where his capacity as a military general was utilised to the utmost advantage and he also got a chance to regain his lost prestige and leave a name behind him.

The career of Mun'im also determined the position of the vakīl in the Empire. He ceased to be the chief moving spirit of the state and the motive power of the administrative machinery. The revenue and finance were separated from the office and placed under an officer who eclipsed the vakīl. However his position as the first man in the state continued, and he held the highest rank, but his influence in the state, further on, depended

not on his office, but upon his personality and the conditions of the time and the atmosphere of the court. The power was gone but the show of power and marks of outward distinction and prestige were retained.

Akbar continued his policy and the office could not regain its power. After the transfer of Mun'im, the office was not filled for seven years. It was in the 19th year that Muzzaffer's services were recognised and he was raised to vikālat.⁽¹⁾ He combined both the offices of vikālat and the Dīvān, but he could not enjoy the honour long. The proposed reforms in the jāgīr system regarding the branding of horses were put before him. He refused to accept them or carry them out. Hence he fell from favour and went out of office the same year.

The Vikālat
of
Muzzaffer
with Rāja
and Mansūr
as joint
Divans

It was after two years of meritorious services rendered by Muzzaffer in the field in Behār that he was again summoned to the court and vikālat was bestowed upon him. At this time Rāja Todar Mal and Shāh Mansūr were acting jointly as Dīvān. Both of them were ordered to act in consultation with him.⁽²⁾ Thus Muzzaffer, like Mun'im, was the head of the ministry but other ministers were not his subordinates. They were his colleagues who

(1) A.N. III. p. 68.

(2) Do. 141-142.

acted with him and approached the king through him.

Muzzaffer remained in office for two years and the ministry worked efficiently till Muzzaffer was transferred to Bengal in the beginning of the 24th year. His transfer like that of Mun'im ended his career as the vakīl of the Empire and he ceased to have any connection with the administrative affairs of the central government.

Muzzaffer was the last of Akbar's vakīls who exercised some influence over the administration and wielded power, but his position was purely personal and the respect which Akbar showed to him was due to his capacity, loyalty and efficient service both in the field and in the ministry and not to his office.

In the 34th year the office was conferred upon Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, but it was more a favour and a mark of distinction for his attachment to the king from his boyhood than the conferment of any real power. Accordingly the honour was short-lived, he was deputed to the Qandhār expedition and the work of the Dīvān continued under Khwāja Shamsuddīn.⁽¹⁾

The Vikālat
of Khān-
i-Ā'Zam

In the 40th year Khān-i-Ā'Zam Mirzā 'Azīz Koka, the favourite companion and the old playmate of Akbar was appointed Vakīl of the Empire. Though he held an immense

(1) A.N. III. p. 571. Deputed to Qandhār, but worked at Sindh, remained engaged in its conquest and was not given charge of the office even after his return.

influence with the king and throughout his career was very much cared for by him, but he does not appear to have exercised any influence in the administration of the affairs of the Empire. As father-in-law of Khusrau he was one of those who were opposed to Jahāngīr's accession and he definitely spoke to Akbar in this connection but no heed was paid to the suggestion. Thus as a partisan he must have lost much of his position. Though he continued to occupy the office till the death of Akbar yet his name does not appear at all in connection with any administrative measure of the period.

Thus like the vikālat of Khān Khānān, his term of office was also more for show and personal dignity than for any real power or substantial work. (1)

Thus after the transfer of Mun'īm in the 12th year the vikālat was held by Muzzaffer and Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān for about three years and by Khān-i-Āzam for ten years during the remaining thirty-eight years of Akbar's reign.

The policy of Akbar was followed by his successors in this matter also, and none of the latter vākīls appears to have regained power or influence which a Prime Minister under an absolute monarchy would be expected to wield.

(1) A.N. III. M.U.I. p. 685. He also held the great royal seal (not uzuk seal), and was with the king in the siege of the fort of Asīrgarh.

Jahāngīr
and his
first two
vakīls

Jahāngīr ascended the throne after a strong opposition and the party which opposed him was allowed to continue and as a matter of policy all officers of the state were confirmed in their ranks and grades. Jahāngīr's position led him to appoint one of his partisans to this office and Sharīf Khān was selected for it. Jahāngīr's nervousness and uncertainty about his position is revealed in his remarks on the appointment of Sharīf.⁽¹⁾ He says:- "I was exceedingly pleased at his coming, for his connection with me is such that I look upon him as a brother, a son, a friend and a companion. As I had perfect confidence in his companionship, intelligence, learning and acquaintance with affairs, having made him Grand Vazīr (vakīl), I promoted him to the rank of five thousand with 5,000 horse. . . . As the reality of the loyalty of my father's servants had not yet become apparent, . . . and though I had forgiven all offences and determined with myself that I would exact no retribution for past deeds, yet on account of the suspicion that had been aroused in my mind about them I considered the Amir-ul-Umāra (Sharīf) my guardian and protector, although God Almighty is the guardian of all His servants."⁽²⁾

(1) Sharīf was his chief counsellor during his troubled days before accession to the throne and was given the charge of Behār by him when he proceeded to Āgra. Sharīf arrived after his coronation.

(2) Tāuzak. p. 6. Tr. Rogers, p. 14-15.

Sharīf was given the highest grade and the highest available title of Amirul-Umara⁽¹⁾ and all the distinctions of standard, drum and taman o togh (تمن و توغ) which were held by Bairām Khān were bestowed upon him, and he could be expected to revive the powers of the vikālat under Jahāngīr but in the second year of the reign he became seriously ill and a fresh appointment became necessary.

Āsaf Khān was appointed to the post and given the same grade of five thousand and Jahāngīr showed favour to his new vakīl by accepting his invitation for dinner and going to his house with his family and nobles.⁽²⁾

It appears that Sharīf recovered from illness and joined the court, but he never regained his normal health and Jahāngīr says that he had entirely lost his memory. "Whatever was said to him, he forgot in a moment."⁽³⁾ Hence Āsaf Khān continued in office, but in the 4th year both of them were sent to the Deccan where the military situation needed the concentration of larger forces and greater energy. Both of them remained there till their

(1) The title of Khān Khānān could not be conferred as it was held by Abdur Rahim.

(2) Tauzak. p. 50.

Mo'tamad Khān. p. 28.

Āsaf Khān. (Ja'far Beg Qazvenī)

(3) Tauzak. p. 50 and 113.

death and were not given any chance to return to the capital. (1)

Jahāngīr's remarks at the death of Āsaf Khān reveal that he did not trust him and his suspicions about him were not removed till the last. Thus the one was shifted for reasons of health and the other for the lack of confidence. The continuance of either of them at the court must have affected the smooth working of the administration and the powers of the Dīvān. Hence Jahāngīr followed Akbar's policy in detail and utilised Āsaf Khān like Mun'im in the field in which the greater part of his life had been spent. But on the whole, Jahāngīr speaks highly of the capacity and learning of both of his vakīls. (2)

Āsaf Khān
the last of
the vakīls

Since the 4th year, Jahāngīr carried on the administration on the lines of Akbar and no vakil was appointed till the 21st year. It was the last year of the reign when Jahāngīr returned from Kābul after regaining his freedom from Mahābat Khān that the office was conferred upon Āsaf Khān, the son of I'timādul Daulah, a step which ought to have been taken soon after his father's death in the 16th year to save the empire from anarchy and confusion through which it passed during that period. Abul Hasan

(1) Tāuzak. p. 108 and 113. Both Sharīf and Āsaf died in the 8th year.

(2) Tāuzak.

acted as Dīvān with him.

Thus during the 22 years of the reign, the office was occupied by three vakīls for a period of about five years in all.

Āsaf Khān continued in his office under Shāh Jahān. As father-in-law of the king, and the chief person to whom Shāh Jahān owed his throne, he held every honour which could be bestowed upon a minister. He was given the rank of 8 thousand, the highest up till then held by any Amīr of the state. He was styled 'Amvī (uncle) in Farmāns.⁽¹⁾ On the request of his daughter, Queen Muntāz Mahal, the Royal seal was also entrusted to him.⁽²⁾ He was allowed the use of Naubat, (beating of drums), one of the exclusive privileges of the royalty.⁽³⁾ But, as far as the administrative machinery was concerned, no change was affected in spite of his personality. The Dīvān continued to enjoy his power and position as before.

Āsaf Khān died in the 15th year of the reign and after him no vakīl was appointed under Shāh Jahān. The rest of his ministers were Dīvāne-i-Kul (chief Dīvāns) and not vakīls.

(1) Lāhorī I. p.114.

(2) Do. I. p.180. In the 4th year when he was sent to the Deccan, it was given to Begam Sāhēb and since then it remained with her. (p.406).

(3) See under rewards and distinctions.

(4) Lāhorī II. p.257. At his death, he held the rank of 9 thousand, 9 thousand horse all "do aspah se aspah" yielding a salary of 16 kror - 20 lacs dāms equivalent to Rs. 45 lacs annually.

The
transaction
of work by
the vakil

During the first stage of the vikālat Atka Khān and Mun'īm had the charge of all political, revenue and financial matters and they transacted the daily routine work in the Dīvān-i-khās like the Dīvāns of the latter time. The incident of Atka Khān's murder in the same hall reveals that he sat on the masnad as the vakil of the Empire while others who were appointed by the king to work in the same department also sat in the same hall. At the time when Adham Khān entered there, Shihābul-dīn and Mun'īm were also present together with other "magnates" who were transacting public business."⁽¹⁾

After the separation of the revenue and finance, the regular office work must have been done by the Dīvān, but Muzzaffer, during his vikālat, appears to have exercised greater influence over the administration, and as the orders were definite in his case, the dīvān's work was supervised by him and all papers before reaching the king must have passed through him. A casual remark by Abul Fazl gives an idea of the power of Muzzaffer as the head of the ministry. "When he took charge of his . . . duties and did good services, his eyes owing to his ill-fate lost sight of the glorious aid of the God-given fortune and regarded only itself. He began to quaff the

(1) A.N. II. p. 174. Tr. p. 269. 7th year of the reign.

sense-destroying wine of worldly success and ascribed every administrative success to his own abilities. He appropriated to himself the management of external affairs and because the world's lord had for reasons of policy conferred upon him the title of *vakil*, the simpleton gradually came to consider himself fit for such an office and his arrogance increased."⁽¹⁾

The passage refers to his first term of office when he resigned on the question of reforms in the *jāgīr* system, but on the whole he appears to be a man of independent and assertive nature and his policy continued to be the same in his second term of office when he worked with Rāja Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Mansūr. Badaoni says that every day conflict arose between him and ^{The} Rāja, on every matter of policy and detail.⁽²⁾ But all the three continued to work together for two years when the combination was broken up by Muzzaffer's transfer.

It was the period of development and construction and it appears that the attitude taken by Muzzaffer did not continue and the long gaps in the office during which the post remained vacant did not allow the policy

(1) A.N. III. p. 68. Tr. p. 94.

(2) Badaoni. II. p. 65.

of Muzzaffer to take root in the administration. Henceforward the entire work passed under the Dīvān and regulations in the Āīn show that only the papers reaching the king and orders emanating from him necessarily passed through the *vakil*, but there is no evidence to show that he exercised any check or influence over the Dīvān in the discharge of his duties besides the right of receiving the papers and placing his seal on all Farmāns. (2)

Under Jahāngīr, Āsaf Khān was definitely ordered to sit in the Dīvān and to look "to the affairs, political and financial." (3) This order was necessary under the conditions in which the appointment was made, but Āsaf continued to sit in the Dīvān under Shāh Jahān as well. Chandra Bhān says that he sat with Afzal Khān in the Dīvān-i-Āślā and their relations were most cordial. (4)

A casual reference in the Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khāni which deals with the reign of Muhammad Shāh shows the arrangement of the Dīvān when Āsaf Khān sat there. Āsaf Khān sat in the kachehri where Afzal Khān sat opposite to him at a distance of four yards. The two Peshkārs

(1) MS. Add 6585.F.56. Copies of financial statements of the provinces and of all other papers which reach the office of the Divan-i-Āīn should be sent to the office of the *vakil*.

(2) Do. F.54. The *vāqī'a Navīs* read to him (Āsaf Khān) (a) the reports received from the subahs every evening; (b) his seal was placed on all sanads of financial grants.

(3) Tauzak. p. 412.

(4) MS. 1892. p. 94-95.

of the Dīvān sat behind him. Sādiq Khān the Mīr Bakhshī sat on the right hand of Āsaf Khān at a distance of two yards from his masnad, while on the left of the vakīl sat the Bakhshī-i-Tan, at a distance of four yards. The Mīr Bakhshī put the papers relating to the Subedārs, Faujdārs, and the Dīvāns of the provinces. Afzal Khān dealt with the cases of the jāgīrs which were put before him by his peshkārs, and passed orders under his signatures.

The Mīr Bakhshī reported the proceedings of the kacherī to the king every day in the open court. ⁽¹⁾

The author of Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khānī considers it a special privilege granted to Āsaf Khān that he sat in the Dīvān and he has included it in the lists of honours conferred upon him like the privilege of Naubat and coming in Palkī up to the gate of the Dīvān-i-khās-o-'Ām. But in spite of Āsaf Khān's privilege the position of the Dīvān-i-Ā'ala remained unaffected as far as the affairs of his department were concerned and there is no trace of his influence in it. ⁽²⁾

(1) MS. 6585. F.54A

(2) Do. F.54B and 55)

) Amīrul Umarā Asad Khān the vakīl of Muhammad Shāh put forward the example of Āsaf Khān and requested that the same privileges be granted to him. It is in this connection that these facts are recorded in this MS.

The vakīls
eclipsed
by the
Dīvāns

Of Akbar's vakīls Muzzaffer Khān was decidedly the best and the most efficient and capable, but he was matched against Rāja Todar Mal who was always supported by Akbar and respected by him for his capacity and loyalty, and thus he too failed to raise the status of the office. The appointments of Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān and Khān-i-Ā'Zam Mirzā Koka appear to be simply of an honorary character. They were made to exalt the position of the favourites and to add to their dignity and rank rather than to utilise them for the work of the administration which continued in the hands of the Dīvāns.

Under Jahāngīr, Sharīf and Āsaf were both highly capable and assertive yet neither of them got any chance to wield power and exert their influence, on account of their transfer to the Deccan. Another Āsaf Khān came in power when everything was in chaos and in spite of all his high position and connections, he does not appear to have any real power in administrative sphere in the presence of the Dīvān, Abul Hasan, who was connected with since the beginning of his reign and was in office/ the king/since the death of I'timād-ul-Daulah. He was not only an experienced and capable officer but highly sensitive of his honour and assertive in his powers. A remark in the Chāhar Chāman that the manner in which he sat in the Dīvān in the presence of the vakīl is well known, suggests that he seldom cared for him, and another hint suggests that he did not leave his seat (i.e., did

not rise to do honour) when Vakīl came in.⁽¹⁾ Hawkins' remarks about him also give the same idea,⁽²⁾ and thus an explanation is found why Abul Hasan was removed from the office under Shāh Jahān in spite of the help given by him both to the vakīl and to the cause of the king, and Āsaf Khān's nominee Irādat Khān was given his place. But Shāh Jahān with all the respect to his father-in-law and the Prime Minister neither liked his domination nor ever gave him a chance for it. Irādat Khān was within a year replaced by 'Allāmī Afzal Khān, the trusted companion of the king and the most talented man of his time. Thus Āsaf Khān in his career as a vakīl was matched against Abul Hasan, Afzal Khān and after the death of the latter by another favourite of the king, Islām Khān, and therefore ^{too} he/never got a chance to assert his position or to wield real power. The Dīvān was the dominating officer in administrative spheres and in the annals of the period he alone is conspicuous.

Thus the position of the vakīl remained the same which was established under Akbar. The vikālat retained its dignity and prestige but it was shorn of its power. It remained the highest office of the Empire and its holder was always the first man in the state but he ceased to

(1) MS. Add 1892. p.91. "In spite of this he was not deposed" (i.e. under Jahāngīr). The relations of the Dīvān were very cordial with the Mīr Sāmān (Mīr Jumla) and Mīr Bakhshī Sādiq Khan.

(2) Hawkins. p.88, 90, 91, 92.

wield the power which was associated with its name.

The practice of keeping the office vacant at times, and carrying on the administration without a *vakīl* further minimised its importance and it ceased to be a necessary part of the administrative machinery.

After the appointment of Muzzaffer under Akbar and Sharīf under Jahāngīr to the *vikālat*, the office ceased to be the monopoly of Amīrs of birth or of important connections or of long service. ()

But apart from the loss of power all the *vakīls* enjoyed perfect confidence of their masters and were highly respected by them. They were the first men in the state in rank and honour and mostly at the top of the nobility, and, as such, they held higher prestige than the *Dīvāns*. In other words they were the heads of the nobility and not of the administration. They possessed rank, honour and prestige, but no power.

() Muzzaffar started his career as the officer of a Pargana after his release from imprisonment and Sharīf had practically no position in the state before Jahāngīr's accession. All that he held was given by Jahāngīr as a prince.

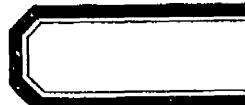
THE VAKILS OF THE EMPIRE.

	Name.	Year of the Reign.	Period.
Akbar	Shihābul-Dīn)		
)	6th year	= 1 year
	Bahādur Khān)		
	Atka Khān	7th year	= 1 year
	Mun‘im Khān	7th -12th year	= 5 years
	Muzzaffer Khān	22nd -24th year	= 2 years
	Khān Khānān)		
	Mirzā Khān (Abdur Rahīm))	34th year	= few months
	Khān-i-ĀfZam)	40th - 50th year	= 10 years
	Mirzā ‘Azīz Koka)		
Jahāngīr	Amīr-ul-umara)		
	Sharīf Khān)	1st year	= 1 year
	Āsaf Khān Qazvenī	2nd - 4th year	= 3 years
	(Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan	21st year	= 1 year
Shāh Jahān	((continued till 15th year)	1st - 15th year	= 14 years

Thus during the period of 97 years (1560-1657) there were ten vakils and they covered in all about 39 years of this period. The list of Akbar's vakils given in the Āīn, p.233, is not accurate. It includes Khwāja Jahān who was never appointed a vakīl. He worked with Mun‘im as vakīl. Still more surprising is the omission of Muzzaffer Khān who is so much talked of and criticised as vakīl in Akbar Nāma. In the above list short periods of Mun‘im's and Muzzaffer's first terms of office are not included.

C H A P T E R V.

THE STATE DEPARTMENTS.



CHAPTER V.

OUTLINE.

The Division of power and functions of ministers:- The number of vazirs:- Abbasides,

Ottomans,

Ibn-i-khaldūn.

All favour four Ministers.

Delhi sultanate also had the same in theory though not always in practice.

Akbar and his advisers also decided to have four ministers:- (1) The Dīvān. (2) The Mīr Bakhshī. (3) The Mīr Sāmān. (4) The Sadr.

The status of each of them:-

Under Abbasides and Ottomans the one vazir dominated the rest. Ibn-i-khaldūn favoured the same. The principle opposed by Bughrā Khān the son of Balban in his advice to Kaikubād the sultān of Delhi.

Equal rank and status urged for all the four.

The same principle followed and extended by Akbar; but state affairs not confined to four only; in councils others were also admitted.

Thus the working of state Departments entrusted to

four ministers, councils kept open for others as well. The Dīvān given a little higher position but not a dominating one.

The Dīvān:-

The significance of the term. Its use under the Mughals. The problem of reconstructing the state departments; the determination of the status of the Dīvān. Position established under Muzzaffer the first Dīvān. (9th year - 17th of the reign.) 18th - 20th. Shiftings due to troubles in Bengal. Muzzaffer's short term, second time. Rāja Todar Mal's appointment and transfer to Bengal. Shihābuddīn alone continued.

21st year. Shihābuddīn transferred to Mālva. Khvāja Shāh Mānsūr the sole Dīvān.

22nd year. Rāja Todar Mal joined with him and Muzzaffer made vakīl with them both.

22nd - 24th. The Ministry of three - a distinguished record, in spite of personal differences. Muzzaffer transferred to Bengal. Rāja also deputed in Behār. Khvāja deposed on the report of the Rāja, but again raised to power.

24th. Vazīr Khān and Khvāja Mansūr. The execution of Khvāja Mansūr on the charge of high treason.

25th - 27th. Qulīj Khān. His reforms.

27th - 30th. The Rāja joined and made Chief Dīvān.
His reforms.

30th - 34th. Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī and Rāja Todar Mal. Reforms of Fatahulla. Death of both the same year.

34th - 39th. Khvāja Shamsud-dīn and Qulīj Khān.

39th - 43rd. Khvāja as Chief Dīvān. Qulīj Khān transferred. Khvāja Shamsud-dīn's work.

43rd year. Rāi Patar Dās as colleague. Khvāja transferred to the Panjab, Rāi Patar Dās as sole Dīvān - removed from office for bribery.

44th - 49th. Āsaf Khān Qazvenī.

49th - 50th. Muqīm Kān. (title vazīr khān).

50th. Department placed under the supervision of Prince Salīm.

List of Akbar's Dīvāns and their period of office:-

No period fixed for it.

The classification of the period of 42 years into three parts from administrative point of view.

A review of Akbar's Dīvāns.

THE STATE DEPARTMENTS.

The vikālat being shorn of its powers and duties, it became necessary to entrust those duties to a number of vazirs in such a manner that they may bear the burden of the administration, and at the same time may not be in a position to wield that power and influence which it was desired to avoid. This could be done by dividing the work of the state between them and making them independent of each other and responsible only to the king.

The
number of
vazirs and
departments

Von Kremer says, as referred to above, that a ruler of the house of Abbās regarded an honourable Qāzī, a just chief of the police, a business-like finance minister, and a trustworthy post-master, to be the four most important instruments of government. Von Hammer thinks that four (1) was a sacred number with both Turks and Moslems. "Ottoman writers represented their government under the figure of a tent supported by four lofty pillars:-

a b c d (2)
the viziers, the Kāziaskers, the Defterdārs, the Nishanjis."

Ibn-i-Khaldūn also mentions four important officers

(1) & (2) Von Hammer vide Lyber, p. 163-164.

- a. Ministers and chief councillors of the sultān for peace and war and judicial administration.
- b. The heads of the judiciary.
- c. Treasurers. The principal ones were of high importance with a right of audience to the king in matters of Revenue.
- d. The Chancery.

at the centre of the government. The vazīr, as the head, combines military powers with his court duties. Dīvān-i-A'māl and Kharāj (Revenue minister). Hājib, in charge of Darbiār, the chief connecting link between the king and other Amīrs and the people seeking audience. (1) Dīvān-i-Rasā'il o Makātibbāt, in charge of the office of drafting Farmāns and other correspondence. (2)

Under the Delhi Sultānāt, the first reference to the state departments is contained in the advice which Bughrā Khān gave to his son Sultān Kaikubād. He also advised him to have four pillars. The one should be in charge of the Dīvān-i-Misākat; the other at the head of the Dīvān-i-Risālat; the third should have the charge of the Dīvān-i-'Arz, and the fourth should be entrusted with the Dīvān-i- Inshā (which corresponds to the fourth of Ibn-i-Khaldūn).

But as far as the practical administration of these departments is concerned, the two of them (Nos. 1 and 3) existed throughout the sultanate, and the department of the judiciary consisted of the Qāzī-i-mamālik (the chief Qāzī or sadr), muftī, mohtasib, and Amīr-i-Dād (or Dād).

(1) Literally an officer who prevents people from crowding upon the king.

(2) Khaldūn. Tr. p.102-109.

Bak).⁽¹⁾ There is no definite evidence of the working of the fourth department although Dabīr (Chief Secretary) had nearly the same duties and the post carried much weight under 'Alāud-dīn Khaljī.⁽²⁾

Akbar and his advisers also appear to be under the influence of Muslim jurists and administrators of other Muslim monarchies, and they followed the tradition which had found its place in the Delhi sultanate also. Hence the number of ministers who share the duties and responsibilities of the state is maintained as four besides the vakīl who ceases to be a permanent or indispensable member of the administration. The Dīvān or the Dīvān-i-Kul (Chief Dīvān) becomes responsible for Revenue and Finance and corresponds exactly with the Dīvān-i-Vizārat of the sultanate, and the Dīvān-i-A'māl of Khaldūn.

The Mīr Bakhshī or the Chief Bakhshī becomes the head of the military corresponding to the Dīvān-i-'Arz. The Mīr Sāman, the Chief Executive Officer in charge of Factories and stores maintained by the state.

The Sadr, the head of the Ecclesiastical and the judicial Department.

- (1) For the determination of the position and duties of these officers see the chapter on Justice, infra.
- (2) Barnī mentions all the four departments under 'Alāud-dīn and says that except the Dīvān-i-'Arz, all had become inefficient in the last days of the sultān. This is the only casual reference about their existence as a whole (p. 337). Similarly a casual reference occurs under Firuz when 'Afif mentions the arrangement of the Darbār (p. 279).

Their
Status.

In the famous sayings of the Abbaside ruler, referred to above, the vazīr finds no place, and it seems that the office was reserved for the Grand-Vazīrs of the later period of the same dynasty. Under the Ottoman Empire, the Vazīrs, as a body, control all power, and the existence of a Grand-Vazīr as one of them leaves no scope of power for any other minister. The rest of the four pillars become ordinary officers of the state carrying on the tedious routine work of the administration while civil, military and judicial power and the influence of advising and giving counsels to the king rests with the Vazīr. Ibn-i-Khaldūn also attributes civil and military powers to the vazīr who remains the head of the administration. All of these follow the same policy of placing supreme power and influence in the hands of one vazīr. The difference is of degree and not of policy.

The advice given by Bughrā Khān, the son of Sultān Balban, with regard to the position of the four pillars is different from it in principle. He says all the four should have equal status in the state and equal respect before the king. Though for purposes of administration, greater regard should be paid to the Dīvān-i-vizārat, than others yet he should not dominate the rest, nor all work should pass under him.

In matters of counsels, each of them should have equal weight and access. Every order passed, every opinion

expressed, and every policy formed should be first discussed in their presence, and none of them should be treated with any special favour which might discourage the other three, nor should any one else besides them be allowed to meddle with the affairs of administration.

This makes the position of the vazir what Akbar would have liked. Akbar's vazir, in the absence of the vakil, occupied the same position as described above. He was one of the four pillars of the state, he had the charge of a separate department. In rank and position he was a little higher than his fellow-ministers but he did not dominate them. He had no general supervision over their departments. He exercised no official check or influence over them. They were independent of his control in their spheres. But Akbar went a step further, and he created a happy blending of all the four not only in counsels but also in the routine work of the administration which was regulated in a manner that each of them came in contact with the other, as far as matters of policy or big affairs of each department were concerned.

In matters of counsels, Akbar did not confine the affairs of policy to four ministers only and the system of requiring all high officers and nobles of the state to remain for some time at the court greatly widened the sphere of his councils and enabled him to utilise their

experience.

The chief features and the details of the working of both of these principles will be noticed in the following chapters.

THE DİVÂN.

The
Signifi-
cance of
the term

"The Irānian word Dēwān connected with dabīr 'writer', which is connected with the Assyrian dāp, public registers of receipts and expenditure kept in Greek (Syria and Egypt) and in Pahalavī (Persia) in the early years of the Conquest, then translated into Arabic and continued in that language from this time . . . The name next passed to the offices of the treasury and thence was extended to the government of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs . . ." (1)

Ibn-i-Khalḍūn says that the word was used for the register which contained rules and regulations framed from time to time for the guidance of the officers of the Revenue and Finance, and later on, it came to be applied to those officers and also ^{to} the hall in which they sat. (2) It was an ancient and well organised institution of the Persians "where was recorded all their income and expenditure, nothing being excepted therefrom; and there such as were entitled to pensions were arranged in grades so that no error might creep in." (3)

(1) Encyclopaedia of Islām. p. 979.

(2) Tr. p. 105. He also attributes it to a story that once Nausherwān visited the hall where the clerks of the department were calculating figures rapidly and orally. He looked at them and said they all seem to be divāne (mad). Hence the word came to be used for those who worked there and later on to the place also.

(3) Browne, Lit. Hist. I. 1909, p. 205,- introduced into the Muslim State under the Caliph 'Umar.

Its use
under
the
Mughals

Under the sultanate the word is used mostly for the department of the vazīr who dealt with the Revenue and Finance and also for the department of the military which was formerly attached with his office. Under the Mughals, its use is more definite and is limited to the Head of the Revenue and Finance. Under Akbar the word *vazīr* is sparingly used for the office and the use of *Dīvān* is more frequent. Under Jahāngīr, the order is just the reverse and the term *vazīr* is more or less maintained while under Shāh Jahān the use of the word becomes more exact. The *vazīr* is termed *Dīvān-i-Kul* (the Chief *Dīvān*), and his colleagues in the Department as *Dīvāns*.

In the absence of a written constitution, definite rules and regulations governing the appointments of ministers, determining their position in the state and relations with other component parts of the government, defining their powers and duties, and the scope of their work, the enumeration of all these features of vizārat under the Mughals without passing through the process which determined and fixed them would neither be safe nor accurate.

The period of Indian history under review was a period of development and construction after over a century of disintegration, and administrative confusion in the country. The examples and lessons of the preceding centuries served as a warning to the administrators and

focussed dangerous paths and pitfalls to be avoided but they showed no definite road to follow. The Mughals had found a home but it was not a safe one. It was a structure of which parts had fallen, parts were tottering and little stood firm. This had to be reconstructed with necessary alterations.

The object with which Akbar started after the fall of Bairām Khān has been noticed in the last chapter. The initial work done in connection with the vikālat was of destruction. The vakīl appeared like a dome over the tottering structure and was found too heavy for the existing one and too clumsy to be retained for the new one. In the new plan it appeared like a tower by the side of the structure, not as a part of it, raised in the memory and the glory of the old.

The difficulty of getting suitable brains for the new plan was experienced in the initial stages. The group of Shihābud-dīn, Māham Anga, Atka Khān and Mun'īm failed to cope with the situation and impress the young Emperor. They belonged to the old school and were found incapable of adapting to the new requirements. Besides this, they carried in themselves all those fatal tendencies which are formed in the process of the degeneration of a nation after the fall of kingdoms and empires.⁽¹⁾ They did not prove themselves above the ordinary level of that type of administrators. Hence the changes in the vizārat.

(1) Selfishness, lack of sincerity, lack of unity, etc., though no lack of courage, capacity, knowledge or efficiency - a strange combination yet too common at such periods of a nation.

in the first two years (1565-1567), and the position of Mun'īm in the next five years of his vikālat clearly illustrate this point and after this experience none of the old school was given a chance in the ministry. (1)

Muzzaffer Khān was the first Dīvān of the Empire and the work of the Revenue and Finance was at his appointment separated from the vikālat. He had practical knowledge of revenue in the country, and besides having worked under Bairām Khān he had served as a pargana official and as the Dīvān of the Buyūtāt, he was acquainted with the machinery of the central government also, as it then stood. A man rising from the base of the department to the top possesses certain advantages of first-hand knowledge of its working and details which the heads of departments suddenly coming to the top do not generally possess. His choice without any high connections or recommendation is a sufficient testimony of his ability and capacity by which Akbar must have been impressed.

He served in this capacity with Mun'īm as the vakīl and Khvāja Jahan as his colleague till the 12th year of

(1) Shihābul-dīn continued in charge of Khalsah lands but was never given a chance of vizārat.

the reign when Mun'īm was transferred to Bengal and Khvāja Jahan was removed from his office.

During these three years, Akbar took every advantage to raise the status of the Divān, and his position appears to have been firmly established by this time.

It was on his report that Mīr Bakhshī Lashkar Khān and Khvāja Jahan were removed from office and it was the sequel of the same affair in which Mun'īm was involved that he was transferred from the central government to the East.

As noticed under vikālat, the ministry at this stage consisted of three ministers and all of them acted as colleagues. They enjoyed equal position and power. (1)

From the 12th year up to the 17th, Muzzaffer acted as an independent minister and Divān without any vakīl over him. In the 13th year further division of the work was made and Shihābul-dīn was placed in charge of khālsa lands. It appears that these lands were kept separate

(1) A.N. II. p. 229 (1) "Khwāja Jahan and Muzzeffer looked to the affairs of the kingdom." (Mun'īm was with the king in Mālvā.)

Do. p. 248 (2) "Muzzaffer Khan by whose counsels the affairs of the kingdom were conducted."

Do. 259 (3) "Khwaja Jahan on whose counsels depended the execution of the affairs of the government."

Do. 276 (4) Mun'īm Khān was given the charge of the capital and Muzzaffer of the affairs of the Divāni.

Do. 259 (5) Mun'īm, Muzzaffer and Khvāja Jahan jointly conducted peace negotiations at Karrah.

Thus on these occasions, while acting jointly or separately they had equal status as ministers.

from the Dīvān and the minister in charge of them was not under him. (1)

In the 17th year Muzzaffer fell from favour and was removed from his office for bad behaviour towards the king.

This ended the first phase of the career of Muzzaffer. During the eight years of his office (9th-17th), the position of the Dīvān as the head of the Department and the first minister of the Empire was firmly established. Besides the instances of his position and influence noted above, the case of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi shows that Muzzaffer had his hand in high appointments as well. Both Abul Fazl and Badaoni attribute the appointment of 'Abdul Nabi as Sadr entirely to him. (2)

It was the period in which the work of expansion and consolidation was proceeding side by side. The Doāb was firmly settled. Rājpūtāna was pacified. Malvā and Gujrāt had been conquered and the Mughal arms had reached Bengal where Mun'im was achieving success.

On the other hand, the land was divided into khālsa and jāgīr and reform was proceeding in both. It was during

(1) M.U. is very definite on this point. (1) Shihābul-dīn was appointed because the Dīvān was overworked and he could not attend to the khālsa properly. (p. 569 II.) (2) A casual reference under the 19th year (A.N. III. p. 87) shows that Shihābul-dīn was the vakil of the khālsa.

(2) A.N. II. p. 248.

A.F. suggests that Muzzaffer made the appointment and only obtained Akbar's sanction.

Badaoni II. p. 71.

the same period that Muzzaffer introduced the revenue reforms.

The removal of Muzzaffer Khān must have been felt necessary to make him feel that he was not indispensable and that discipline cannot be sacrificed for any individual. The object was achieved and an example set, but Muzzaffer was not to be sacrificed for one fault. "His good services were called to mind and his merits were found to outweigh his defects, an order was issued rescinding his departure for the Hejāz and bringing him to the court."⁽¹⁾ In the 18th year, he was given charge of Mālvā, a step to further convince him that he was not indispensable as Dīvān, and later on, he was made vakīl in the 19th year, and called back to his proper place and the additional honour which the word vikālat carried was conferred on him. He was both the Dīvān and the Vakīl.

But the glory was short-lived. He soon resigned on the question of reforms in the jāgīr system⁽²⁾ as referred to above,

In the 20th year, Rāja Todar Mal was made Mushrif-i-Dīvān, but he was sent to Bengāl in the same year, to

(1) A.N. III. Tr. p. 9.

(2) Thus he showed his courage and a high sense of self-respect. He was some time after offered the command of the Royal camp proceeding to Behār. He rejected it as below his dignity and the after-events proved that he was fully justified in considering it so, because the officer appointed to the post was removed from service for the loss of an elephant of the camp attributed to his negligence.

assist Khān Jahān who had succeeded Mun'īm after his death. Thus Muzzaffer remained out of office and Rāja Todar Mal loyally served his master's cause in the field.

During all these changes and shifting, Shihābul-dīn remained in charge of the khālsa, and though he was an experienced man in his own branch and held a high rank yet (1) he was not given any chance of vizārat.

Akbar continued to try new hands and achieve success through them. In the 21st year, he made a similar choice of Khvāja Shāh Mansūr Shirāzī, "an expert financier". He was made Dīvān, (2) and the same year Shihābul-dīn was appointed Governor of Mālva. Next year/Rāja returned from Bengal and was again given charge of the office. The same year (22nd) Muzzaffer was summoned to the court after his splendid services in the East which were recognised by again conferring upon him the vikālat.

The order issued for his appointment makes the position of all the three ministers clear. He was to inquire

(1) M.U. II. p. 570. Highly spoken of for his managing capacity and attention to the prosperity of the land and the happiness of the people.

(2) The word used is vizārat, but A.F. is not very exact in the use of the term Dīvan and vazir. He uses both in the same sense. (A.N. III. p.193, and again on page 293, he calls Khvāja as Dīvan). Mansūr was also released from jail. He was Mun'īm's secretary and held the charge of his jāgīr; after his death he was called to explain the account and in the same connection put in chains by the Rāja (20th year). He too was released without any recommendation. Akbar had seen him before, and was impressed by him. M.U. I. p.653-658. Thus it was again an assertion of power and recognition of merit. Bādāoni II. p. 240. He calls him a clerk. (Navīsanda-i-Shirāz.)

into the affairs of the Empire and the other two were to perform their duties in consultation with him.

Thus the ministry again consisted of three with one as the *vakīl*, but Muzzaffer was a man different from Mun'īm⁽¹⁾ and as noticed above under his *vikālat*, he asserted his position very well, but the term of office was only two years, and his attitude did not affect the position of the *Dīvān*, and the *Rāja* also was no less tough. He appears to have been at war with both of his colleagues. However, the ministry remained in office for two years and in spite of their differences, they put up a very distinguished record. It is the time when Abul Fazl had joined the service. Hence greater details are available for their work, which are incidentally mentioned in connection with Akbar's tour in the *Punjāb* in which Abul Fazl also accompanied him.

The
Work of
the Ministry

During the tour a council⁽²⁾ was held in which the following matters were decided.

- (a) The assignment of the *Sarkār* of Behār as *jāgīr* to a number of officers.⁽³⁾

(1) A.F. does not use the word *vikālat* on this occasion but it is used in the 24th year when he was transferred to Bengal.

(2) A.N. III. p.220-257. All the three ministers accompanied the king and the council consisted only of three. None else is mentioned.

(3) Shuja'at Khan and Mir Mu'azul Mulk and a few others.

(b) The taking of Mints from the charge of the Chandhris under Government management and their assignment to Government officers as below:-

- (i) The mint of Lahore under Muzzaffer.
- (ii) Bengal under Rāja Todar Mal.
- (iii) Jaunpūr ,,, Mansūr.
- (iv) Gujrāt ,,, Kh. 'Imādud-dīn Hasan.
- (v) Patna ,,, Āsaf Khān.
- (vi) Fatehpūr,, K. 'Abdul Samad Shīrīn Qalam.

(c) An order was passed that square rupdeas, (Chahār Gosha) should be coined. (1)

During the same tour the Rāja was ordered to disperse a group of Afghāns to different provinces as certain cases of their oppression were reported and their hold on certain villages created delay in justice and difficulty in getting evidence against them. (2)

Sayyed Muzzaffer and Rāja Birbar were despatched to Jālundhar to inquire into the condition of the needy and report the deserving cases to the king. (3)

The Governor of the Panjab Husain Quli Khān Mahram was removed from office on charges of mal-administration

(1) A.N. III. p.227. Tr. Bev. 320. 2nd Azur 22nd year of the reign.

(2) A.N. III. p.247.

(3) Do. p.247.

and neglect of duty. Sa'eed Khān was appointed in his place. (1)

Muzzaffer Khān and Shāh Mansūr were appointed to inquire into the case of the 'Amal Guzār (collector) of Delhi against whom the petition of the public was received. (2)

On their return from the tour, Mansūr and Muzzaffer were appointed to inspect the Treasury of the capital. (3)

In the beginning of the 24th year, Muzzaffer was appointed the Governor of Bengal, (4) and a few months later the Rāja was sent to Behār on military duty to help the officers in dealing with the political situation and the revolt of the army. Thus the ministry was broken and the Khvāja alone continued as the Dīvān.

It was during this period that Khvāja curtailed the allowance of the Behār and Bengal armies on his own responsibility, an action which gave a further grievance to the military leaders and strengthened the cause of the rebels. It also created difficulties in the handling of the matter and the Rāja strongly criticised the action in his report to the king and pointed out its effects upon the situation. Abul Fazl also agrees with him in his condemnation of the Khvāja's action. "From his practice in accounts

(1) A.N. III.p.247. (See details of the case under Province)

(2) Do. p.250.

(3) Do. p.257. 23rd year.

(4) Muzzaffer regarded this appointment below his dignity and it was one of the chief causes which disgusted and discouraged him and he could not put heart in the work in Bengal which led to his failure and death. Abul Fazl is very unjust to him on this occasion and unduly severe in his criticism. (p.291)

and seeking after profit (for government), he looked narrowly into the transactions of the army, and giving his attention to one side only of a vizier's duties he pressed forward the rules of demand . . . The Khvāja went out of his proper course and set himself to increase the revenue. Nor did he consider the disturbance of the time and the crisis of the age, but demanded payment of arrears. Rāja Todar Mal reported that the imperial servants were engaged in a hot war, and the market of sacrifice of life was active. The government officers were at such a time of contest acting without consideration or knowledge of the times . . . what name could be given to this kind of presumption? And to what set could he belong who made demands out of reason?"

The Khvāja was deposed and "the combatants in the Eastern provinces bound anew the girdle of devotion on receipt of this great favour, and advanced the foot of courage. Many abandoned ingratitude and made submission."⁽¹⁾

Vazīr Khān, the former governor of Gujrāt was appointed Dīvān. Badaoni says that Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī was attached with him. Abul Fazl does not mention his name, but Badaoni is more reliable on this occasion, because he had personal grudge against Qāzī 'Alī. He was the man who, as the assistant sadr had brought to the notice of the king that Badaoni held his jāgīb conditional upon service while he was performing none at that time. The remarks used by Badaoni on his appointment to this officer clearly indicate the feelings

(1) A.N. III. p.315-316. Tr. Bev. p. 461-462.

of the writer. (1)

The same year^{the} Khvāja was raised to office. "As it appeared that in the writing of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of Khvāja except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognise the circumstances of the time." (2) Thus favour was shown to the Rāja by his removal, the political object was gained by pleasing his opponents in the East and finally the capable and efficient Dīvān was not sacrificed. But^{the} Khvāja was not destined to enjoy the confidence of the king for long. The same year he became implicated in the conspiracy of Mirzā Hakīm against Akbar. A charge was brought against him and he was executed after the trial. It is the only

(1) Badaoni II. p. 287.

تاجی علی بیداری دل آز در نمیس مخلوس. فُرم شغل مرسود از رب و رانق
..... بیان رس س دین په ترکیب مناسب رست

At his death he says:-

چون در تاجی علی بیداری حرث یادگار با خود مرد
خانہ نشی تقنا بنوشت سار تاریخ اور معرفی مرد

He calculated the date of his birth in the words Mūzī Murd (the wretch died). p. 381.

Vazīr^{khan} is one of those few fortunates against whom Badaoni has nothing to say.

(2) A.N. III. p. 327. Tr. p. 480.

case of a Mughal minister being executed,⁽¹⁾ and it was highly tragic.

This closed the career of a highly efficient vazīr and financier. It was during his term of office that the Empire was divided into twelve *subhās* and a separate Dīvān and Bakhshī appointed with the governor in each province.⁽²⁾ The ten year settlement also came into force and he had the credit of carrying it out. "Though the carrying of this great design was committed to Rāja Todar Mal and Khvāja Shāh Mansūr, the Rāja was sent to the Eastern provinces and it was the Khvāja who by dint of his sagacity comprehended the sublime instructions and arranged the exquisite plan."⁽³⁾

His death closed the third set of the ministry and the affairs of the Dīvān were entrusted to Qulīj Khān who had been a governor of Gujrāt and was noted for his managing capacity and regard for the prosperity of the country and the *ra'īyyat*.⁽⁴⁾

Zīn Khān Kokaltūsh and Hakīm Abul Fatah were also ordered to sit in the Dīvān. The order is very ambiguous.

It instructs them to sit there and remain acquainted with

(1) A.N. III.p.344. Tr.p.504, and also footnote 504-505. A.F. upholds the judgement. Badaoni II.p.293, considers it a fit punishment. (Khush bāsh ke Zālim na burd rah bā sa-lāmat) "Rejoice that the tyrant did not escape in safety." Monserrate, p.65 and 98. He was present in the camp during the days of trial, also favours A.Fazl who is apparently his source of information. He speaks of him as friend on several occasions. M.U.I.p.656-657, on the support of other sources of material which have not reached us, attributes it to the intrigues of Amirs particularly Rāja Todar Mal and Karamallah brother of Shāhbaz Khan and says that when Akbar visited Kabul and investigated the matter on the spot, the charge was found false and he expressed much regret."

(2) (3) (4) See next page.

the affairs. Thus their position is not at all clear but they cannot be regarded as regular ministers ~~and~~ nor is there any reference to their position as such, in any other connection too. However they sat there. (1)

Some time after ^{the} Rāja was included in the ministry after his return from Bengal and he appears to have felt it to be only one like others and "on account of the perils of the great responsibility for work and activity of the double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it." Accordingly as a recognition of his services he was made Ashraf-i-Dīvān, and virtually the position of vakīl was conferred upon him.⁽²⁾" This deprived Qulīj Khān of his chief position, and affairs passed under the control of Rāja Todar Mal.

The ministry of Qulīj Khān has a great work to its credit. "An order was issued that the jāgīrdārs, shiqdārs and Darōghās of the Empire should reduce to writing the numbers, and the occupations of the inhabitants, village by village and should classify them . . . They were not to allow any one to live without some trade or occupation and they were to look narrowly into the income and expenditure of men . . . so that in a short space of time the outwardly good, but inwardly bad, might be discovered. . . By this enlightened order there was a market-day of graciousness, and the wide territory of India received a great calm." (3)

(From previous page)

(2) A.N.III.p.282,Tr,p.413. M.U.I.p.654. 24th year.

(3) Do. p.282.Do.413-414. Do. Do. Do.

(4) M.U.III.p.69.

(1) A.N.III.p.344.25th year. (3)A.N.p.346-47. Tr.p.509

(2) Do. Tr. p.561. 27th year.

The order has two-fold purpose of getting the census of the Empire, and a police duty combined with a paternal attitude to keep every citizen employed in some trade or profession as a state-duty both in the interest of the society and the individual. Unfortunately, no records of such lists have survived otherwise they should have thrown considerable light on the condition of the people of the remotest corners of the empire and of the village population about which so little is known.

**The
Reforms
of Rāja
Todar Mal**

This was the first occasion that the Rāja got an upper hand in the ministry and he utilised the occasion to show his worth and capacity like his two predecessors, Muzaffer and Mansūr. "With a stout heart, he maintained the law of the caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and the crafty . . . he proposed several regulations . . ." Of these the 1st set refers to the duties of the collectors, and fixing regulations for the collection of rent and providing fines for excess realisation.

2nd to the appointment of one clerk (bitikchī) instead of two
 3rd and 4th to provisions for increasing cultivation and arrangements for gradual and progressive payment of rents, together with the advancement of cash loans to the cultivators. Collectors required to submit reports every year. Abstract accounts weekly, and daily journal of collection month by month to the head office.

6th Lists of damaged lands to be sent to the head office.

7th made provisions for bringing the turbulent cultivators to the path of obedience.

8th and 9th dealt with the collection of rent and instruction to the collector, Patvārī and the Treasurer.

10th demanded the Khalsa officers and jāgīrdārs to supply "correct reports about the ill-conducted, the obedient, and the disobedient in their estates so that recompense and retribution may be bestowed and the thread of government be strengthened." This embodies a part of Qulīj Khān's work noted above.

11th fixed the charges per bigha to the measurement party. (1)

The proposals were put before the king and accepted after a careful examination. It shows that they were neither put before any council or other ministers. Akbar might have consulted others on his own initiative but the Dīvān, as such, was not required to consult even his colleagues if he wanted to avoid them and which the Rāja must have certainly done on this occasion.

The Rāja continued to enjoy his exalted position till the 30th year, and was honoured by the king's visit to his residence at Lahore. (2) The distinction and honour was not without reason, and it was only a few months after the occasion, when Amīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī was included in the ministry and an order was issued that Rāja Todar Mal should conduct the

(1) A.N. III. p.381-383. Tr. 563-566.

(2) Do. 466. during the tour through the Panjab. 30th year.

financial and administrative affairs (\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\) according to the Mir's counsels and that he (Mir) should bring to a conclusion the old transactions which had not been examined since the days of Muzzaffer Khān. He was to report to His Majesty what occurred to his far-reaching intellect."

This order reveals certain points. Firstly, the term *vakīl*, *Dīvān* or *vazīr* is not used for Mir Fatahulla. He is termed *Amin ul Mulk* just like *Ashraf-i-Dīvān* used for the Rāja. These terms further reveal the policy of Akbar to avoid the title of *vazīr* or *vakīl* and to minimise the importance of the office and of associations attached with it.

Secondly, it definitely places the Mir above the Rāja. Thirdly, it shows that in spite of the appointments of more than one minister in the department the pending work had not been finished and it had to be particularly mentioned in the *fārmān*. Similarly, Akbar said on another occasion that financial matters fell into confusion when Khvāja (Mansūr) died. (1)

There is no mention of Qulīj Khān in the order but I am inclined to think that having regard to the pending business and the irreconcilable nature of the Rāja, he must have been allowed to continue in the office. (2)

(1) M.U. I. p.657.

(2) He is separated from it in the 34th year when he was left at Lahore with the Rāja.

Mir Fatahulla started with his work with perfect zeal and earnestness and like his able predecessors he also put forward certain proposals for further reforms for which there was still ample scope. The proposals aimed at remedying the defects experienced in the practical working of the administration since the last regulations were put into force, and they covered a larger field than those of the Rāja. Each proposal is supported by a statement of facts which necessitated it. Hence his proposals classified and detailed under twenty different heads give a good idea of the working of the department, and the grasp of the new minister over its affairs.

The first three deal with the collection of revenue and of giving receipts to the cultivator and account-keeping.

The fourth, fifth and sixth refer to the negligence of the cultivators and provisions for putting greater checks upon Patvarīs, muqaddams and Pakars (middlemen) in the interest of the ryot.

The seventh to fifteenth deal with the relations of the collector and the central department particularly the auditing branch. The report takes into account the grievances of the collectors based upon the explanations submitted by them in cases of their default to carry out their duties. The proposals provide remedies for existing difficulties, and methods for improved administration, and do justice to the collectors.

The sixteenth makes an excellent proposal of keeping a

Qānūngō from each pargana at the court for the enlightenment of the subject connected with his duties.

The seventeenth refers to the Treasury, the eighteenth to the need of scrutiny for the pending arrears, the nineteen provides encouragement to the jāgīrdārs to improve their estates and recommends to the king to take it into consideration at the time of increasing their rank and allowances. The twentieth refers to the rules of deducting a soldier's pay on his failure to produce his horse for
 (1) branding.

The proposals were put before the king in the same manner as by Rāja Todar Mal and approved. Abul Eazl adds his remark that "as these remarks had been written with good intention and from right-thinking, they were accepted. The old accounts were put into order, and by the labours of this wise man the tribunal of the vazīr (Dārul Vizārat) became a house of delight for the public."

During the term of the same ministry, deductions were made in rent owing to the cheapness of the grain, on four different occasions at different places and the rates issued by the central department were made applicable to the jāgirs of the officers also.
 (2)

(1) A.N.III. p.457-459. Tr.687-693.

(2) Provinces of Allahābād, Oudh, and Delhi - one in $5\frac{1}{2}$ shares of the spring crop, and one-fifth in Allahābād proper. Provinces of Allahābād and Oudh - one sixth in autumn crop. Loss to the khālsa = 7 krors, 7 lacs, 47062 dāms = Rs. 17 lacs, 68 thousand, 6 hundred and 74 (A.N.III.p.463. 30th year.)

In the 32nd year Rāja Todar Mal had some quarrel with Shabāz Khān Mīr Bakhshī, and the matter went so far that a commission of inquiry was appointed which included Khān Khanān, Mīr Fatahulla, Hakīm Abul Fatah and Abul Fazl. The inquiry revealed that "self interest had thrown a veil over the eyes of both", and by proper measures "the dust of contest was laid over".⁽¹⁾

In the 34th year, Akbar went on a tour to Kashmere and Kābul and all the ministers accompanied him. The trip proved fatal to the vāzirs. Mīr Fatahulla died in Kashmere. Abul Fatah followed him. Rāja Todar Mal completed his days at Lāhore and took the same road to join his colleagues and meet his rivals.

But Mīr Fatahulla before his death had a chance to preside in a commission upon a shiqdār⁽²⁾ against whom complaints of oppression were made during the tour. Shahbāz Khān and Kāsim Beg (Mīr 'Adl)⁽³⁾ acted as members of the

(Note continued)

2. A.N.III. p.491. 31st year.-Allahābād, Oudh, Delhi, one sixth allowed.
3. Do. p.533. 33rd year. Āgra, Delhi - spring one sixth. Allahābād (one in $\frac{4}{5}$). Āgra, Oudh, Delhi $\frac{1}{2}$ (autumn).
4. Do. p.577. 34th year. Allahābād, Āgra, Oudh, Delhi and sarkār of Sahāranpur Bādāon, one eighth. Suhrnād and Hisār, one tenth.

(1) A.N.III.p.525. 32nd year.

(2) Do. p.538. 34th year. Allah Bardī Shiqdār and agent of Sādiq Khān, near Sialkot.

(3) The name given in the text as Qāsim Khān is incorrect. He was neither Mīr 'Adl nor present on the spot.

commission. The accused was found guilty and punished with death.

The death of Mīr Fatahulla deprived Akbar of one of his ablest vazīrs. His words at the news of his death reveal his sentiment and the respect he had for his learning and capacity. "Mīr was my vakīl, philosopher, physician, and astronomer. Who can understand my grief for him? Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks (firangiān) and they had demanded all my treasures in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered upon such profitable traffic and have bought that precious jewel cheap." Abul Fazl calls him "memorial of former ages" (Mādgār-i-Hukamā-i-paishīn) and says that "the meeting with this great man worked a revolution in my ideas. Together with all his stock of knowledge, he was a rare jewel of truth and uprightness and practical skill." Bādāoni also recognises his merit but not without putting a slur upon him. (1)

The death of Mīr Fatahulla followed by that of Rāja Todar Mal broke the brilliant combination of the successful ministry, and "the market of business lost its briskness." (2)

(1) A.N.III. p.558. Tr. p.848.

M.U.I.p.100-104.

Bādāoni II.p.315-316. He accepts that he had no equal in his age in mathematics, physics, astronomy and in all branches of knowledge and the king highly respected him for his learning, wisdom and practical skill but he destroyed whatever was left of the dignity of the learned by running after the king like a messenger with a gun on his shoulders, and by going to the house of the amirs to teach their sons.

(2) A.N.III.p.569. Tr. p.862.

M.U.II. p.123-129.

During the remaining sixteen years of the reign there were several changes and except the name of Khvāja Shamsud-dīn Khvāfi who succeeded the Mīr, and after the death of the Rāja and the transfer of Qulīj Khān to the governorship of Kābul, (39th year) became the Chief Dīvān (پیغمبر), there is none in the list of any distinction or merit. He continued in the office and in the 43rd year, Rāi Patar Dās who had an experience of Revenue affairs as Dīvān of Bengal and Behār for about twenty years was joined with him and the order was issued that they should act together like Muzzaffer and the Rāja. But partnership did not last long. Khvāja was transferred to the Panjab as governor, and Rāi Patar Dās after a short period of independent vizārat was removed from the office on charges of bribery. (1)

During the period of Khvāja Shamsud-dīn's term of office separate Dīvāns were appointed in each province and they were placed directly under the Chief Dīvān of the central government. (3)

The khālsa lands were divided into four divisions and placed under different persons. But the arrangement does

(1) Badaoni II.p.380.

(2) A.N.III.p.741 and 758. Tr.ll33. M.U. II.p.139.

(3) A.N.III.p.670. 40th year. Reference to such appointments has already been made, but it appears that up to this date the provincial Dīvāns were under the governors and they acted under his supervision as provincial officers. This arrangement places them directly under the Chief Dīvān and makes them independent of the control of the governor. All the twelve appointments were made afresh.

not appear to have continued long and there is no mention about it nor any fresh appointments were made in that connection.

In the 37th year, Kashmere was organised like other provinces and in the 39th year it was partitioned into jagirs. The plan was prepared by Qāzi 'Alī Baghdađī and carried out by Āsaf Khān.⁽²⁾

Āsaf Khān succeeded Rāi Patar Dās to the Dīvānī, and continued in the office till the 49th year when Muqīm Khān Dīvān-i-buyūtāt was raised to this office with the title of Vazīr Khān, and in the 50th year, the department was placed under the supervision of Prince Salīm and order issued that "the Dīvāns should manage the affairs of the kingdom in accordance with the advice of Prince Sultān Salīm, and that his seal should be affixed to the grants of the mansabs to officers.⁽³⁾

This should be regarded the last arrangement made by Akbar and it was done in its proper order and in a befitting manner to close the controversy of the succession and to ease the mind of the successor to the throne and afford peace of mind to the king in his last days after the worries and anxieties of the last five years.

(1) A.N.III.p.605. 36th year. 1. Panjab, Multān, Kabul, Kashmere under Khvāja. 2. Ajmere, Gujrāt, Mālvah under Khvāja Nizāmuddīn Ahmed. 3. Delhi under Rāi Patar Dās. 4. Āgra, Allahābād, Bengal and Behār under Rāi Rām Dās.

(2) A.N.III. p.617-619, 626-627, 648 and 727.

(3) Do. .p. 838 and 839.

AKBAR'S DİVĀNS.

Name	Year of the Reign	Period
(1) Muzzaffer Khān (i) vakīl and Dīvān Shihabud-dīn (in charge of khālsa lands)	9th-17th } 22nd -24th }	= 11 years
	13th-21st	= 8 years
(2) Khvāja Shāh Mansūr Shīrāzī	21st-24th	= 3 years
(3) Rāja Todar Mal (1) Under Muzzaffer (2) Chief Dīvān (3) Under Mīr Fatahulla	22nd-24th } 27th-30th } 30th-34th }	= 10 years
(4) Vazīr Khān	24th-25th	= 1 year
(5) Qulīj Khān	25th-39th	= 14 years
(6) Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī	30th-34th	= 4 years
(7) Khvāja Shamsud-dīn Khavāfi	34th-43rd	= 9 years
(8) Rāi Patar Dās	43rd-44th	about 1 year
(9) Āsaf Khān Qazvenī	44th-49th	= 5 years
(10) Muqīm (vazīr khān) Prince Salīm made in charge of the department	49th-50th } 50th year }	= 1 year

No fixed period

Thus during the period of about 42 years (9th-50th) there were ten Dīvāns who held the office in turn and at times as colleagues to one another. As the above figures show there was no fixed period for the office. The changes were made in accordance with the needs of the time or on account of the

deaths of the office holders. Muzzaffer and Rāja Todar Mal were twice transferred from the Dīvān to the field for military service in Behār and Bengāl. Khvāja Sham-sud-dīn, Qulīj Khān and Vazīr Khān and Āsaf Khān were sent as subedārs to different provinces. Shāh Mansūr was executed for high treason and Rāi Patar Dās removed for bribery. Rāja Todar Mal and Mīr Fatahulla died while in office. The last one Muqīm continued for some time under Jahāngīr while Āsaf Khān became vakīl under him.

Thus the transfers or removals were not due to any definite policy of keeping the Dīvāns in office for a fixed or limited period only.

The Classi-
fication
of the
period

The forty-two years of Akbar's Dīvāns can be divided into three different periods from administrative point of view.

In the first period, from the 9th year when the office was created to the 24th, when the ministry of Muzzaffer was broken, the office was mostly occupied by Muzzaffer, Shāh Mansūr and Rāja Todar Mal. During this period of 15 years Muzzaffer was connected with this office for 8 years independent of either of these two. They worked with him in his last two years. Thus the greater part of this period belongs to him and in that he was ably supported by both of his colleagues, and prior to them by Khvāja Jahan and Shiḥā Bud-dīn.

The second part begins from Muzzaffer's transfer to Bengāl, after which Rāja Todar Mal followed him. Thus Mansūr

worked single-handed and the credit of this period's work entirely belongs to him.

It was in the 27th year that Rāja Todar Mal got a chance for an independent action, and carried out his reforms which were mostly connected with the collection of the revenue and the duties of officers connected with it. His influence lasted for three years when Mīr Fatahulla Shirāzī specially invited by Akbar from the Deccan, was made the Chief Dīvān, and Rāja Todar Mal was relegated to a secondary position. Like Muzzaffer, Mansūr and the Rāja, Fatahulla also took a keen interest in the reform of the department and carried out several measures for it. The second period ended with the death of both the Mīr and the Rāja in the 34th year. Both of them were supported in their work by Qulīj Khāñ who had entered the department in the 25th year.

Thus Rāja Todar Mal was junior to Muzzaffer in the first period and was eclipsed by Mīr Fatahulla in the second but he remained conspicuous by his unflinching courage, exemplary loyalty and integrity. In the words of Abul Fazl, "he was unique of the age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs and the administration of India."⁽¹⁾

(1) A.N.III. p.569. Tr. p.862. To this remark the author adds, "If he had not bigotry, conventionalism and spite (kīna tozī), and had not stuck to his own opinions (bar gufta-i-khud na tanīde), he would have been of the spirit ually great. A wound was given to disinterested work (by his death) and the market of business lost its briskness". See Moreland for his share in the administration. The Agrarian System:- p. 86, and 255-258.

The third period begins from the 34th year, in which Quli Khan was the survivor of the second group, and though he remained five years more in office yet his name is not conspicuous. Of the five Divans of this period, Khvāja Sham-sudādīn alone is conspicuous by his work and though he does not reach the mark of distinction attained by the prominent Divans of the first two groups yet he was noted for his uprightness, frankness and efficiency. Maāsir says, "he was second to none in these qualities among his contemporaries."⁽¹⁾

Thus it was through these efficient ministers of the first and second group like Muzzaffer, Mansūr, Rāja Todar Mal and Mir Fatahulla that Akbar achieved success in his early measures and consolidated his empire.

The appointments of Muzzaffer and Mansūr from ordinary posts to ministership without any recommendation testify to the excellent choice of Akbar. The respect he showed to the Rāja and the Mir and the expressions he used for them give proof of the esteem he had for their work and efficiency.

The remarks of Akbar that the financial matters fell into confusion when Mansūr was executed and an insertion in the appointment order of Mir Fatahulla that he should look carefully to the pending business show that during that period the department had suffered in efficiency; and the case of Rai Patar

(1)M.U. p. 668.

Das reveals that bribery was possible even as late as the 43rd year of Akbar's reign when every branch of the administration was purged. However, when a vigilant monarch like Akbar sits upon the throne neither slackness in duty nor irregularity in the conduct of officers can be ignored. Both the defects were detected and prompt action was taken.

On the whole, Akbar's Divans were efficient, loyal and hard-working. They were men of learning and culture and possessed character which education and the training of mind is expected to build. There were at times signs of rivalries and personal animosities also, in the official rank, but the vigilance of the monarch kept them within control and they were not allowed to affect the administration.

Akbar respected them for their efficiency and loyalty but he never sacrificed discipline and proper action was taken whenever any occasion arose for it, and thus he left behind him a tradition for placing the right man in the right place and made efficiency and loyalty as the sole test for rise and distinction.

THE DİVĀNS UNDER JAHĀNGĪR.

Chapter IV Continued.

Outline.

The Three Stages. (1) Experimental. Muqīm (vazīr khān) Akbar's Dīvān confirmed; later on Vazīrul-Mulk attached with him.

Muqīm transferred to Bengal. Ghīyāt Beg made Dīvān and given the title of I'timād-ul-Daula. I'timād-ul-Daula removed from office and again raised to power. Khvāja Abul Hasan as Āsaf Khān's Naib at the court.

The chief features of this period.

(2) The Second Stage:- I'timād-ul-Daula the Chief Vazīr and the sole Dīvān. I'timād-ul-Daula's rise due to (a) His personal qualifications, (b) the influence of his daughter, (c) the lack of competitors. I'timād-ul-Daula's position in the administration.

Sir Thomas Roe and impressions from his account about the minister's position.

(3) The Third Stage:- Political situation and complications.

Their effect upon administration. All energies absorbed in the problem of succession. Khvāja Abul Hasan the Dīvān throughout the period. Abul Hasan Āsaf Khān made vakīl in the last year of the reign.

Pelsart's account of the period; corroborated by the contemporary writer Mo'tamad Khān and the latter chronicler Lāhorī of Shāh Jahan's reign.

The
Experimental
Stage

The vizārat under Jahāngīr passes through three different stages. The first covers the first six years of the reign which can be called experimental. The king does not find himself quite safe on the throne. The atmosphere around him was neither clear nor encouraging. The loyalty of his father's ministers and officials was not yet fully ascertained. He followed the path of moderation and reconciliation and confirmed even those officers who had openly opposed his accession to the throne and though he says "I had determined with myself (1) that I would exact no retribution for past deeds," yet he needed time to watch them and to test them.

This position naturally led him to rely upon his own partisans. Sharīf Khān a companion of his boyhood who had stood by him in his troubled days was the first to get honour and he was made vakīl of the Empire. The vizārat remained under Vazīr Khān (Muqīm) who was appointed in the 49th year of Akbar's reign, but he was not trusted and a few months after Khān Beg, / was given the title of Vazīrul Mulk by Jahāngīr before his accession, was attached with him. Vazīr Khān was not considered safe even in this position and he was transferred to Bengal as Dīvān of the province but/ the same grade and rank, and Ghīyās Beg Dīvān-i-buyūtāt was made Vazirul Mulk's colleague in his

(1) Ministers of the position of Khān-i-Ā'Zam Koka and generals like Mān Singh were opposed to him.

(2) Tāuzak. p.6 Tr. 15.

place, and given the title of I'timād-ul-Daula. (1)

This was purely a personal choice, and the appointment was exactly similar to that of Muzzaffer by Akbar. Thus at the close of the first year, Amirul-Umarā Sharīf Khān was the Vakīl and Dīvāni was shared by Vazīrul Mulk and I'timādul Daula.

The first year was occupied by the revolt of Khusrau and at the beginning of the 2nd year, Sharīf became seriously ill which necessitated a fresh appointment. Āsaf Khān, a tried man of Akbar's time and former Mīr Bakhshī and Dīvān, was given a chance. The choice was an excellent one. Āsaf Khān had a brilliant record of service and was esteemed for his capacity and learning, and was called Sāhib-i-Saif o Qalam. He requested the appointment of Khvāja Abul Hasan to look after the office work under him and he was placed at his disposal, but his position was more of an assistant than a vazīr and Mo'tamid Khān says that he was taken by Āsaf Khān to look after the office and the records. (2) The same year Vazīrul Mulk was made Mīr Bakhshī and I'timād-ul-Daula was deposed from his office in connection with his son's conspiracy to release Khusrau. (3) Thus the work passed entirely into the hands of Āsaf Khān and Abul Hasan, and the arrangement continued till the fourth year when Āsaf Khān was sent to the

(1) Tauzak, p.9. Mo'tamid. p.55. M.U. III.p.933.

(2) Do. p.50. Do. p.28 & 307. M.U.I. 737,

(3) No mention is made in the memoirs or by Mo'tamid about the cause of his removal. M.U. says he was imprisoned and released on the payment of a fine of Rs. two lacs in the 4th year. (p.129). His son Sharif was executed along with others (Mo'tamid, p. 55. Rogers. p.123)

Deccan. Nothing is mentioned in the memoirs about Abul Hasan's position after the transfer of Āsaf Khān, but it appears from Hawkins' account that he acted in his place and was in power when Hawkins reached Āgra in 1609; ⁽¹⁾ and he calls him the chief vazīr, which is incorrect.

Though I'timād-ul-Daula was restored to his post in the fourth year but Abul Hasan appears to have dominated the affairs of the department and he was conspicuous in darbār and in counsels, ⁽²⁾ and this position continued till the sixth year.

The
Chief
Features
of the
1st stage

2 The chief characteristics of this period are that Jahāngīr made a free use of his power like Akbar in the appointment of his vazīrs, and in all changes, transfers and appointments the post was not given to any topmost official or high Amir. Āsaf Khān was an exception but he was transferred to the Deccan after which he never got a chance to return to the court. Secondly the post had acquired a peculiar requirement which could no more be fulfilled by every Amir or any military commander. It was now a specialised branch of administration which required an acquaintance with routine office work combined with technical knowledge of Revenue and finance and a literary accomplishment. Thirdly the system of

(1) Hawkins. p.90. Abul Hasan was opposed to Hawkins.

(2) Hawkins:- "When I made arse (arz) petition unto the king concerning my living, he turned me over to Abul Hasan, who not only denied me my living, but also gave order that I be suffered no more to enter within the red rayles, which is a place of honour where all my time I was placed very near unto the king, in which place there were but five men in the kingdom before me." (p. 91)

joint-colleagues established by Akbar was also continued, but with the difference that Jahāngīr divided the work according to the political divisions of the empire, while Akbar divided the office work between the colleagues.⁽¹⁾ Fourthly, owing to the rapid changes in the office, none of the vazirs was able to dominate the king and Jahāngīr had a free hand in every sphere of his administration.

The
Second
Stage

The second period of vizārat begins from the sixth year when I'timād-ul-Daula was made the sole vazir of the dominion and ends with his death in the sixteenth year.

I'timād-
ul-Daula

The marriage of Jahāngīr with Nūr Jahān in the 6th year of the reign entirely changed the position of the vazirs. Khvāja Abul Hasan was sent to the Deccan and I'timād-ul-Daula became the Chief Dīvān. But it is a mistake to believe that I'timād-ul-Daula owed his rise, distinction, and strong hold in the government entirely to the influence of his daughter over the king. It was his personal capacity, efficiency and literary accomplishment which had impressed the king as it did others who came in contact with him. He was appointed Dīvān in the first year of the reign at a time when Jahāngīr was trying new men and avoiding old and influential high

His rise
due to
(1) His
personal
qualifi-
cations

(1) The world of the Empire was divided half by half. (az qarar-i-mana-sifa) I'timād-ul-Daula was appointed "vazir of the half-dominions" in place of Vazir Khān (Tauzak. p.9). "I told Dost Mohammad that as I am going to the Panjab and that province is in the Dīvāni of I'timād-ul-Daula, he should send him to the court
(p. 27)

officials. He owed his appointment to his personal qualification and it was made without any recommendation. He received a set-back by his son's part in the ^conspiracy, but after his release from imprisonment, he had been in office for two years, and it was a sufficient period to further impress the king of his loyalty and efficiency, and Jahāngīr says, "On the basis of seniority in service, extent of sincerity, and experience in the affairs of government, I exalted I'timād-ul-Daula to the high office of vizārat of the Dominions."

(2) The influence of his daughter

However, the marriage connection also gave him an advantage which he fully utilised but throughout his career he relied more upon his work than upon any external influence which can never be considered secure and safe for all times.

(3) The lack of competitors

His rise and continued enjoyment of prestige and power was further due to the lack of competitors at the Central government. After Amīrul-Umārā Sharīf, and Āsaf Khān, he was senior in the ministry. Khvāja Abul Hasan was not appointed Dīvān and he was not confirmed in the office. There were two others who could be expected to come to the front. One was 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, king's old tutor. He had held vikālat also for some time. He had all the chances and claims by his rank, position and status, and the other was Khān Jahān. He was a great favourite of Jahāngīr and during the first two or three years he had gained considerable influence, and was termed Farzand (son) even in official correspondence and Fārmāns.

Both of them lost their position in the Deccan. Khān Khānān was discredited first.⁽¹⁾ Khān Jahān tried to take advantage of the situation and offered his services. The offer was accepted and he was given the command, but he failed miserably and also failed to rise above personal rivalries and dissensions. Thus both of them remained away from the court and could not get any chance to return to the capital with distinction and honour. There was none else to compete with the new Dīvān. The field was left for him and his rise was rapid.

Thus personal qualifications gave him a chance, marriage connection facilitated his task, absence of competitors strengthened his position, and his tact and peaceful nature kept him secure in his office. In the beginning of the 6th year he held the rank of 1500 only, but within a year he got two increments which gave him the rank of 2000 zāt and 500 ~~500~~ Horse and in the 7th year he was raised to 4000 zāt and 1000 Horse, a rank which made his personal position worthy of the high office he held.

I'timād-ul-Daula's position It is not possible to trace I'timād-ul-Daula's part and influence in the administration to the same extent to

(1) Tauzak. p. 32. Reports against Khān Khānān received and he was recalled. 5th year.

Mo'tamad. p. 45.

(2) Tauzak. p. 9, 95, 97, 106.

Mo'tamad. p. 54-56. He is very imperfect in his account. Hawkins. p. 94. Hawkins was present at the court when

I'timād-ul-Daula was appointed vazir and he says, "Now one Gaihbūg, being the king's chief treasurer (a man that in outward shew made much of me and was alwayes willing to pleasure me when I had occasion to use him) was made chief vizir."

which it is possible under Akbar's *Dīvāns*. Jahāngīr had no Abul Fazl as his chronicler. Mo'tamad is too brief and in spite of his learning, he did not possess a taste for abstract facts or the mastery of details like Abul Fazl. Besides this, the department had developed and the constructive work was completed. Onward the success of the king and the *Dīvān* consisted in strictly following the rules and regulations fixed under Akbar and to give them the permanency of law.

During the greater part of I'timād-ul-Daula's term of office Jahāngīr remained on tour in Ajmere, Mālva and Guj-rāt. The vazīr was with him throughout the period of five years and four months. (8th year to 13th) A detailed study of the events of the period gives a very clear idea of Jahāngīr's personal interest in the affairs of the Empire and his hand is traceable in every branch of the administration, in the conduct of wars, appointments of generals, equipment of armies, transfers and fresh appointments of provincial governors and other officers; but one fails to notice the hand of the sole minister who was with the king and was held by him in the highest esteem. There are only a few cases in which his influence outside his department is felt.

(a) 10th year. On the request of I'timād-ul-Daula Diyānat Khān was released from the fort of Gwaliār, and his confiscated property was restored

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(1)
to him.

- (b) On the request of I'timād-ul-Daula Rāja Mān was appointed to the command of the army against the fort/Kāngra (The Panjab). (2)
- (c) 12th year. On the request of I'timād-ul-Daula I'tiqād Khān was allowed to do kornish. (3)
- (d) On the request of I'timād-ul-Daula, Allah Dād Khān who had fled from the army without permission (4) was allowed to turn towards the court.

Thus in these cases, his name appears as a minister recommending certain persons for king's consideration. But on the other hand, he appears to have enjoyed full confidence of the king and real power in his own department. The absence of any record of departmental cases being referred to the king suggests (1) that the routine of ~~the~~ work was fully established and in the ordinary course there would be no need of referring matters to the king.

(2) The Dīvān had full confidence of the king and exercised his powers fully and thus there was no scope for others to approach the king over and above the minister's head.

(3) The Dīvān used his powers with tact and caution and there were no conflicts with other high officials and Amīrs which

(1) Tauzak.p.149.Later on he was also given the balance of his pay. (p. 163)

(2) Do. p.164.Murtaza Khan who held the command was dead.

(3) Do. p.185.

(4) Do. He reached the court at Kashmere in the 15th year and was pardoned and restored to his rank of 2500 Zāt and 1200 Horse.

which would have necessitated special reference to the king as one finds under Akbar in the case of Muzzaffer and Rāja Todar Mal. (1)

Jahāngīr's remark upon his Vazīr's death fully illustrates this point and his power alluded to in the following extract was definitely the power which he wielded in his own department. "What shall I say about my feelings through this terrible event? He was a wise and perfect vizier and a learned and affectionate companion (masāhib) . . . Though the weight of such a kingdom was on his shoulders, and it is not possible for or within the power of a mortal to make every one contented, yet no one ever went to I'timād-ul-Daula with a petition or on business who turned from him in an injured frame of mind. He showed loyalty to the sovereign and yet left pleased and hopeful him who was in need." (2) Mo'tamid Khān's statement about him also emphasises this point of his nature. (3)

Thus I'timād-ul-Daula was highly respected by the king, every honour and distinction was conferred upon him, but his influence was limited to his department and Jahāngīr

(1) The absence of such records in the memoirs is the definite proof of the smooth working of the department. One who studies Jahāngīr's memoirs and notices his mastery of details and his inquisitive nature cannot think that important administrative affairs brought to his notice would escape his pen and entry in the regular diary of this period.

(2) Tazuk. 16th year. p.339. Tr. p.222.

(3) Mo'tamid. p. 55.

continued to conduct the government in his own way during this period without the domination of any vazir or Amir.

Impressions
from Sir
Thomas Roe's account

Sir Thomas Roe was present at the court during this period of I'timād-ul-Daula's glory and his account of him creates the same impression. He has made a mention of him on ten different occasions, and in all these mentions there is not the slightest indication of his influence over the king.

According to Sir Thomas Roe's account Prince Khurram was the dominating personality and Āsaf Khān was attached with him in his official business, and Roe had to deal with them both for his case which was connected with the fort of Surat which at that time was under the Prince, but none of them appears to have had any influence over the king. Both of them were rebuked in an open darbār, on Roe's report against them in his personal matter. ⁽¹⁾

His description of an interview with the king and discussion in his case gives an accurate idea of the position of all of these in the darbār. Sir Thomas Roe put his case. Āsaf Khān supported it. Prince Khurram opposed it. ~~Asaph Khan who is reported by his father Asaph Khan~~. "Āsaph Khān whispered his father in the eare, desiring him to reade the

(1) Sir Thomas Roe. p.119, 121-124. Roe's report p.130, and discussion 131. Roe and Āsaf Khan, 133,188. Asaf rebuked by the king. p.222, 235.

letter, and to assist us . . ." The discussion followed, the king questioned them all and the case was decided in favour of Roe.

(1) Whenever Roe felt disgusted at the evasive replies of the Prince or became despairing of Āsaf Khān's support on whom he counted, he always said that he relied on the king against them and that he would speak to him again.

On two occasions Sir Thomas Roe's account shows that Prince Khurram, Āsaf Khān and Nūr Jahān were in a league and their efforts, at that time, were directed against Prince Khusrau with a view to facilitate the accession of Khurram to the throne after Jahāngīr, but these facts concern only the particular case mentioned therein and not to other administrative affairs.

(2) Jahāngīr himself says that "in counsels on state affairs and government, it often happens that I act according to my own judgement and prefer my own counsel to that of others." (3)

In the 3rd year of the reign he appears to have appointed Jahāngīr Qulī Khān (Islam Khān) a young man, the governor of Behār and after a short time of Bengal. He performed excellent service against the rebel "Usmān Afghān" and the king says that several high servants passed

(1) Sir Thomas Roe, p. 420.

(2) Do. p. 245, 340, 369.

(3) Tauzak. p. 32. Tr. p. 68.

unfavourable remarks at his appointment and spoke against him on account of his young age and lack of experience, but I appointed him on the strength of his capacity and personal qualities for which he was my favourite, and he performed the service, the like of which was not yet rendered by any one else.

(1)

Similarly the recall of Khān Khānān from the Deccan and his disgrace on his arrival in the fifth year,⁽²⁾ the disgrace of Khān-i-Ā'Zam, his imprisonment in the 8th year and his release in the 9th on the ground that Jahāngīr saw Akbar in a dream recommending his case,⁽³⁾ the appointments of three governors in the 12th year and that of Muqarrab Khān to Gujrāt in the 13th are examples of his independent actions. These were the highest and most trusted officers of the Empire. They were dealt with by the king on the merit of their case. The minister in office neither had an unbounded influence nor was he a man of assertive or intriguing nature.

The
Third
Stage

The third period of vizārat begins after the death of I'timād-ul-Daula and the appointment of Khvāja Abul Hasan as Dīvān in the 16th year of the reign.

The remaining six years of Jahāngīr's life were spent

(1) Tauzak. p.102.

(2) Do. p. 86 and 88.

(3) Do. p. 126 and 132.

The
political
conditions
and their
effects

in constant illness and worries. Early in the 17th year, the Qandhār crisis became acute and it was decided to send a large army to re-conquer it from the Persians. The king returned from Kashmīr to Lāhore to look to the preparations and general arrangement. The Dīvān was ordered to arrange the despatch of all available troops to Khān Jahān at Multān who was to proceed to Qandhār.

The arrangements were hardly complete when news of Shāh Jahān's open revolt and of his march upon Āgra reached the king. This changed the entire situation and created complications which Jahāngīr could not solve till the end of his life, and from administrative point of view this may be considered the end of Jahāngīr's personal rule. He had neither health nor peace of mind.

It was the period when he had lost his health and he continued to grow worse. Pelsaert says in connection with his frequent visits to Kashmīr of this period, "The reason of the king's special preference for this country is that, when the heat in India increases, his body burns like a furnace." ⁽¹⁾ Jahāngīr himself says, "As in consequence of the weakness that came over me two years ago and still continues, heart and brain do not accord." His position is further brought out in a passage of his own which he wrote on the news of Shāh Jahān's march upon Āgra in the 17th year.

(1) Pelsaert. p. 35.

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"From the kindness and favours bestowed upon him I can say that up till the present time no king has conferred such on his son. What my revered father did for my brothers I have done for his servants . . . It will not be hidden from the readers of this record of prosperity what affection I have bestowed on him. My pen's tongue fails in ability to set them forth. What shall I say of my own sufferings? In pain and weakness, in a warm atmosphere that is extremely unsuited to my health, I must still ride and be active, and in this state must proceed against such an undutiful son. . . . But that which weighs heavily on my heart, and places my eager temperament in sorrow is this, that at such a time when my prosperous sons and loyal officers should be vying with each other in the service of Qandhār and Khurāsān . . . this inauspicious son has struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion and has become a stumbling block in the path of the enterprise . . . but I trust that Almighty God will remove this grief from my heart."⁽¹⁾

Shāh Māhān's activities led to the concentration of all Imperial forces against him. Mahābat Khān was given the charge of the entire expedition. The king moved with the army and the battle which took place near Delī gave victory to the royal army, but the defeat of Shāh Jahān's forces did not end the trouble and his activities continued for nearly three years till he finally submitted in the 20th year.⁽²⁾

(1) Tauzak. p. 353-354. Rogers. p. 141-248.

(2) Do. p. 397, 398, and 400.

These events not only affected the administration of the Central Government but also the provinces of the Deccan, Gujrāt, Mālva, Bengāl and Allahābād, which were the scene of battles and military engagements during this period.

Hardly was this affair over when the failing health of the king diverted the activities of the powerful nobles and courtiers to the issue of the succession, and it was the problem in which Nūr Jahān and Āsaf Khān took the leading part. In the beginning they united against Mahābat Khān who had gained much power and considerable influence with the army in the last expedition and was attached with Prince Parvez to whom both the queen and her brother were opposed. Their active opposition drove Mahābat Khān to despair and when orders were issued to him in the name of the king to reach the court, he foresaw the danger and while obeying the orders, he came well prepared with four to five thousand Rājput troops. When on arrival he was refused audience, he took the matters in his hand and struck an unexpected blow at his opponents, and when the king was marching from Kashmere towards Kābul, he arranged a coup d'état and succeeded in surrounding the camp of the king when the royal army had moved on, and took the king into his custody. Thus surrounded Jahāngīr continued his march, but under Mahābat's escort.

This affair occupied another year, and it was in the 21st year that Jahāngīr finally regained his liberty and

Mahābat Khān was again deputed against Shāh Jahān.

The following year was occupied in the activities which divided Nūr Jahān and Āsaf Khān. The death of Prince Parvez removed the common enemy and the struggle for succession remained between Shāh Jahān (Āsaf Khān's son-in-law) and Shiharyār (the son-in-law of Nūr Jahān) in which finally Āsaf Khān triumphed by his cool courage and statesmanship.

During the last year of Jahāngīr's reign when he returned to Lāhore from Kābul, Āsaf Khān was appointed vakīl of the Empire and the Governor of the Panjāb. Thus he was at the head of the Government. He possessed power and influence and besides this Nūr Jahān was supporting a weak cause. Shiharyār was no match to Shāh Jahān.

Āsaf Khān was supported by all the high officers and nobles of the state and he easily overcame the opposition offered to his candidate's cause at Lāhore and Shāh Jahān succeeded to the throne with the full support of all the ministers of the Empire. (1)

(1) The events of this period can best be studied in Iqbāl Nāma by Mo'tamid Khān who was second Bakhshī, and Mīr Taugak and thus attached with Jahāngīr's person and an eye-witness of all the events. He censures Āsaf Khān for his activities against Mahābat (p.253) and blames him for his negligence in taking proper care of the king (p.254); explains Mahābat's surprise appearance and his own interview with him (p. 254-255, F.N.) Efforts of the nobles against Mahābat to release the king, the battle led by Nūr Jahān on an elephant and failure (p. 259-265). Retreat of Āsaf Khān to Multān and his capture by Mahābat's men, (p.276). Nūr Jahān's activities against Mahābat at Kabul where she had joined Jahāngīr. (p.270-275). Mahābat accepted her terms and left the camp, and Āsaf Khān set at liberty. (276-278). The entire negotiations were conducted in the name of Nūr Jahān through Afzal Khān. Her words, her tone and her wrath at Mahābat's hesitation to surrender Āsaf Khān deserve notice (p.277).

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Thus the energies of all the ministers of the state were engaged in the political troubles and anxieties of the future. There can be no doubt that in the face of these events, administration must have suffered considerably.

In the third period and the last stage of Jahāngīr's administration, the hand of Nūr Jahān is traceable throughout. She not only dominated the king who must have lost all power of judgement but directly dealt with political matters, appointments and transfers of governors, and it is obvious that her activities were not directed towards the best interests of the Empire. She was a highly cultured woman, noted for her intellect, intelligence and managing capacity, and a lover of the poor, but when power passed into her hands she failed miserably like many other women in her position.

Pelsaert's account It is to this period that Pelsaert, who was at Āgra at that time, refers. "Her former and present supporters have been well rewarded, so that now most of the men who are near the king owe their promotion to her⁽¹⁾ and are consequently under such obligations to her, that he (Jahāngīr) is king in name only, while she and her brother Āsaf Khān hold the kingdom firmly in their hands. . . The king does

(1) Pelsaert. p. 50. But this remark cannot apply to ministers. It goes to the credit of the system that no change was made in the ministers, although they were all opposed to the queen, and she, in spite of her power and influence could not take courage for such a step.

not trouble himself with public affairs, but behaves as if they were no concern of his. If anyone with a request to make at court obtains an audience or is allowed to speak, the king hears him indeed, but will give no definite answer of yes or no, referring him promptly to Āsaf Khān, who in the same way will dispose of no important matter without communicating with his sister, the queen, and who regulates his attitude in such a way that the authority of neither of them may be diminished."⁽¹⁾

The same state of affairs is also revealed in the remark of Mo'tamad Khān who says that affairs reached such an extent that "Jahāngīr's Bādshāhī remained in name only,"⁽²⁾ and is further revealed in Lāhorī's words who writing in the reign of Shāh Jahān points out that all the troubles in the last reign of Jahāngīr were due to the efforts of Nūr Jahān to place her son-in-law Shahariyār on the throne so that her influence might continue; and in connection with her death,^{he} /says "she had such an influence in all state affairs that it does not befit a chronicler to record its details here."⁽³⁾

(1) Pelsaert, p.51. He was at Agra between 1621 and 1627, and thus his stay exactly corresponds to the third period noted above.

(2) Mo'tamad, p.57., but his remark should be read in full. He speaks very highly of her personal qualities and regard for the poor and the orphans.

(3) Lahori, I. p.169; vol.II. p.475.

THE DĪVĀNS OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

chapter V continued.

Outline.

Shāh Jahān's task much simpler:- All ministers confirmed.
1st year.

Appointment of Irādat Khān the Mīr Bakhshī
of the last reign.

2nd year. Irādat Khān transferred to the Deccan. 'Al-
to lāmī Afzal Khān. King's favourite and the
12th year. learned Dīvān of princely days.

13th Islām Khān the Governor of Bengāl and king's
to companion of princely days. Internal ar-
rangements of the office of the Dīvān.

19th The Dīvān's transfer to the Deccan. S'adulla
Khān the favourite and the learned young
Dīvān. His rise from a low rank. His learn-

to ing and managing capacity. His frankness in
official matters. The case of Prince Dāra

30th year Shikoh decided against him by the Dīvān and
its sequel. His military service. The set-
tlement of Balkh and Dīvān's powers. Other
military expeditions. His position compared
with other ministers. His death and its
effect upon the king. Shāh Jahān's letter to
Mīr Jumla at the Dīvān's death.

30th year The temporary arrangement of the post. The

appointment of Mīr Jumla. His transfer to the Deccan but post reserved for him. His son allowed to act with Rāi Rāyān. Further internal arrangements of the office.

31st year. Rāi Rāyān and Ja^ffar Khān as joint Dīvāns. Ja^ffar Khān transferred to Mālva. Rāi Rāyān the sole Dīvān.

Continued under Aurangzeb.

A review of Shāh Jahān's Dīvāns.

The list of Shāh Jahān's Dīvān's and assistant Dīvāns.

Old
Ministers
confirmed

Shāh Jahān, after his accession to the throne had no such difficulty in selecting his ministers as was experienced by Akbar and Jahāngīr. Instead of the conflicting objects and personal rivalries of Mun'īm and Atka Khān and Adham Khān under Akbar and ever-suspected Dīvān, Vazīr Khān, and never trusted vakīl Āsaf Khān Qazvenī of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān had his father-in-law Āsaf Khān as his vakīl who was already the first man in the state and a person to whose influence, tact and cool courage alone he owed his throne. The Dīvān (Abul Hasan), the Mīr Bakhshī (Irādat Khān), another Bakhshī, Mo'tamad Khān - a man of no less influence than ministers - and the Mīr Sāmān (Mīr Jumla) were all loyal supporters of the vakīl whom they had helped to secure the throne for his son-in-law.

Having regard to the services rendered by Abul Hasan to the throne and the support given by him to Āsaf Khān one would naturally expect that he should continue as Dīvān with him, but he recommended Irādat Khān for the post and had him appointed in place of Abul Hasan. This is the only instance in which the Dīvān or Vazīr was the nominee of the Vakīl. Abul Hasan himself was nominated by his patron Āsaf Khān Qazvenī under Jahāngīr, but he was not given the rank of the Dīvān.⁽¹⁾

A reference in Chahārcha'man shows that on the whole Abul Hasan was not a convenient colleague to Āsaf Khān,⁽²⁾

(1) This is a curious incident that in both the cases Abul Hasan alone is concerned. He was nominated in the early days of the one and removed in the similar circumstances of another reign.

(2) P. 91. quoted under Jahāngīr.

Irādat
Khān

but his nominee did not enjoy the position long, and the following year he was sent to the Deccan as Governor (1) and the learned scholar 'Allāmī Afzal Khān and the most trusted Dīvān and counsellor of the king in his princely days was appointed in his place.

Afzal Khān continued in the office for ten years till his death in the twelfth year of the reign. As the trusted Dīvān and the most respected man he naturally had considerable influence in the administration of the state affairs and Āsaf Khān could not get any chance to dominate as vakil. Afzal Khān remained with the king in all his tours and besides his administrative work, he had the charge of the draft of Fārmāns also, and during this period all important fārmāns, particularly those addressed to other rulers, were drafted by him.⁽²⁾ His position and preference to the vakil in state affairs is further revealed in the 10th year of the reign when Shāh Jahān fell ill and was in bed for nineteen (3) days. Afzal Khān was admitted to the Bedroom for state affairs.

(1) Title Ā'Zam Khān under which he appears after this.

(2) In the Panjab Tour, 7th year, Lāhorī I.p. Pt.II.

10th year, Do.p.234.Pt.II.with Daftār
and his staff.

Lāhore 12th year, Do. II. p.91, 117.
Letters to Nazar Mohammad Khan ruler of Balkh,6th year,Do.p.466
,, , the ruler of Iran Do. p.478.
Draft of the treaty in the form of a Fārmān to Ādil Khān,
(Bijāpur), 9th year. Do. p.203. Letter to Qutbul Mulk dp.209
manding the ring with famous yaqūt (cornelian) stone.9th.Do.p.208
(3) Lāhorī. II. p. 244.

The author of Chahārchanā who owed his rise to Afzal Khān and remained with him on all occasions is the best authority of this period, but he lays/stress upon personal character, capacity, and position of the officials with whom he came in contact rather than upon their administrative work. Though he speaks very highly of his patron as a capable and efficient and popular Dīvān, a statement which is supported by Shāh Jahān's personal appreciation, yet he does not describe the work done by him for the department. At one place, he only refers that "he introduced certain regulations for the administration of Revenue and Finance based upon the considerations of the prosperity of the Ra'īyat and calculated to increase the prayers for king's prosperity and give himself a good name . . ." ⁽¹⁾

Besides his personal capacity and literary merits and high position, Afzal Khān appears to be very modest and unassuming and, like I'timādul-Daula, a man of peaceful nature. Shāh Jahān himself said that Afzal Khān never spoke a word against anyone in his presence. ⁽²⁾

(2) Lāhorī, II. p.132, in connection with his death, and king's visit to his residence, during his illness, speaks of the confidence he enjoyed. He served the king in all 28 years and died at the age of 70.

(1) and (2). Brahman, p. 94-95. He also records his famous sayings which give an idea of his conception of vizārat.
 (1)"There are two kinds of vazirs - one who listen to the king carefully, understand him and act upon what is told to them; the others are those upon whose word the king acts and upon whose considered opinion he relies. We who are vazirs in this age cannot understand correctly or carry out what we are told by the king, according to his will and pleasure. How can we attain the other position?"

(2) A king needs a large capital. If there is not sufficient money in the treasury, army cannot be raised; if there be

(Note continued.)

His
con-
cep-
tion
of
vizā-
rat

Islam
Khan

Islam Khan who held the governorship of Bengal was appointed Divān-i-kul. He had started his career as a clerk and by his personal capacity and loyalty had risen to the rank of an Amīr. He was also attached with the king in his princely days and had for some time been his representative at the court. Since his accession to the throne he had acted as Second Bakhshī, Mīr Bakhshī and rendered good service as governor of Gujrāt and Bengal.

(Note continued.)

no sufficient army, there can be no peace and established government in the country, and where there is no peace there can be no revenues. King's treasury is full, when country is well governed, and is prosperous, and Prosperity comes when the master of affairs (i.e. the king) understands all matters and attends to them personally.

(3) Though an army can be raised by money, yet the establishment of peace in the country and the conquest of the hearts of the people is never possible without a chief and a commander (i.e. head of the government and vazir), who should be a man of wide outlook, courage and experience possessing considerable self-restraint and pleasant manners, but he should also possess confidence and full powers to increase or decrease the rank (of State officers and servants), to give rewards, to maintain or dismiss (from service), and have sufficiently large number of tabināns (personal troopers) so that he might call to account the highest Amirs and nobles of the Empire." Thus he believes in a vazir who should possess both civil and military powers and ample confidence of the king to exercise his discretion and have the highest rank and position in the state without which he cannot have the largest number of tabināns depending upon official rank. Vazirs of Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāh Jahan, did not, as a rule, possess the highest rank in the state.

The arrangement of his post and of the departmental work till his arrival from Bengal incidentally gives an idea of its internal working and the personal supervision of the king.

The internal arrangement of the office

Diyānat Rāi (Rāi Rāyān) who held the charge of the khālsa section of the department was appointed as Acting Dīvān, and the order was issued that (a) all affairs of the Dīvāni should be put before the king and Diyānat Rāi should deal with matters of details and routine, (b) Ja'far Khān should take charge of the register of mansabdar's salaries, put all matters connected with it before the king and sign it according to the orders, (c) Asnāds (certificates) of Jāgīrs should also be signed and sealed by him.

Brahman supplies further details in the same connection. He says "Diyānat Rāi signed the registers of Jāgīrs and put his seal upon the Parvāns of Dīvāns and Krorīs which is the work of the Dīvān-i-Ā'lā, but according to royal instructions the place reserved for Dīvān-i-Ā'lā's seal and signatures was left blank. As the draft of answers to the settlement of accounts (2a) was solely the function of the Dīvān-i-Ā'lā, Rāi Rāyān several times tried to do it, but he was checked by Rāi Subhā Chand (2b) who

(1) Lāhorī II. p.132.

(2) Brahman, p.100-101. a = This would mean the settlement of accounts due from jāgīrdārs and passing orders in the same connection - a work of great responsibility.
b = made Divān of Lahore in the 13th year.

was in charge of that section and noted for honesty and selflessness, and he did never let him do it."

Islam Khan took over the charge of his duties in the 13th year of the reign and continued in office till the 19th year when he was transferred to the Deccan as governor of all the four provinces.

Rai Rayan continued in his former post, and it appears that as an old officer of the department, he had considerable influence there. Islam Khan could not pull on with him, and the Rai resigned the post on his own account and was appointed Divān-i-buyūtāt. Brahman says that it was only after his transfer that Islam Khan came to be regarded as a virtual Divān.⁽¹⁾

The Khan combined in his person the ability of a vazir and the dignity of an Amir. "He was hard-working, and a man of strong will and assertive nature, and highly sensitive of his honour." He used to say that the management of affairs of the entire world is the work of one Perfect man. He was also an efficient military general and had good record in that line in Bengal. Thus his military capacity and sound learning had earned for him the name of "Sahab-i-Saif o Qalam" (Master of pen and sword). He was a good writer and a poet as well. He also accompanied the king during his tours and military expeditions like Afzal Khan, and was always anxious to do the entire work himself and never liked the interference of others. He had a

(1)Brahman, p. 102.

passion for work and was very exacting for others. (1)

His transfer and the appointment of Sa^ddulla Khān presents a very interesting incident in the appointments of the Dīvāns. At the death of Khān-i-Daurān Nusrat Jang a highly efficient military general and governor of the Deccan, the king asked Islām Khān to suggest any name for his post. The Dīvān promised to recommend some one after considering the matter. He went home and consulted his chief advisers and friends and they suggested several names. The Khān did not agree with any of his friends and when asked whom did he want to recommend, he replied that he would suggest his own name for the post. It surprised them all, but they were silenced when he explained to them that His Majesty was very much inclined towards Sa^ddulla Khān and it is proper for me that I should vacate the place for him myself rather than to be excluded on any pretext.

He went to the king and did the same. The king asked "Who would act for you?" He replied that there was none more deserving than Sa^ddulla Khān. Shāh Jahān said, "Accepted." The Khān got an increment in the same connection and leave to depart to his new post. Sa^ddulla Khān was first made an acting Dīvān and only a few months later was confirmed in his post as Dīvān-i-kul. (2)

(1) Lahori II. Erahman, p.100-102. M.M. I. p.162-166.
MS. Add 16703. F.9. MS. Add. 26141. F.23 and 24a.

(2) Sa^ddulla Khān's reputation as a learned scholar had come to the notice of the king during his visit to Lahore in the 14th year of the reign. He was presented before the king by Sadr Muṣavī Khan and was enrolled in the personal staff of the king as Rozīna Dār (on cash salary, literally on daily allowance) Thus he was not given any grade nor included
(Note continued.)

His
Rise

His rise like many others was due to his personal merit, efficiency and loyalty. It was also a personal choice of the king and a further and stronger proof of the recognition of merit against distinctions of birth, rank and wealth. It also emphasised the requirements of the post which had become associated with it.

His
capacities

Sādulla Khān was decidedly the most learned, the most efficient and the best Dīvān of Shāh Jahān. He combined in his person the highest literary accomplishment of his age ~~and~~ with an extraordinary capacity for the (1) management of officers placed under his charge.

Chander Bhān says that "in drafting his notes on Accounts, Revenue and Financial matters he needed neither the help of his secretaries nor the expert opinion of his auditors." "In learning and scholarship his presence reminded one of Abul Fazl." (2)

(Note continued.) among memsabdārs. During the course of one year, he got the grade of 1000 Zat-200 Horse and was given the post of 'Arz-i-Mukarrar usually given to the most trusted person known to the king, and the following year was made the Dārogha-i-garsal khana (superintendent of the Private Chamber) an office of still greater confidence. In the 17th year made Mīr Sāman at 2000 rank. In the 18th year given the rank of 3 thousand. In the 19th made Dīvan-i-khalsa and in charge of the drafts of Fārmāns. The same year the Dīvān and after it Dīvān-i-kul in the grade of 5 thousand. In the 20th year, he was given the rank of 7 thousand in recognition of his services in Balkh expedition and an allowance of one kror Dāms annually, (Rs. 2½ lacs) in the 23rd year. the

(1) Besides Persian and Arabic, he knew Turkish language as well. He was a pleasant conversationalist and a fluent speaker and was considered superior to the scholars of Ḫrah and 'Ajam. (Brahman, p. 195) Brahman worked as his assistant and was his favourite companion and he writes about him as he judged him from personal contact not as a mere subordinate official but as a friend connected with

(Note continued.)

In departmental matters and also in affairs of general policy, Sādulla Khān appears to have gained through his efficiency, frankness and uprightness the perfect confidence of the king and a sort of general respect which he continued to enjoy till his death. His position and influence combined with his own conceptions of his duties⁽¹⁾ must have facilitated his task and enabled him to create greater efficiency in his department for which there always remains a vast scope at all times.⁽²⁾

(Notes continued.)

him in all other activities of his life as well. He says, "at times I remained with him from evening till midnight."

(1) Brahman. p. 105.

(1) Brahman, p. 110. He used to say that the only pleasure one can have in the company of kings consists in the exercise of the power to benefit the people and it was only on this ground that great men of the past preferred it to the pleasure of living aloof from them.

M.U.II. p. 449. "Honesty is a good thing. Loyalty to the salt is an approved principle but in matters of the master which concern the poor the loyalty consists in having regard for the latter."

(2) Add 6588 F.79. Reforms in the duties of krorīs - the creations of circles (chaklahs) by grouping together several Parganahs and placing each circle under an Amin Faujdar deprived the krorīs of their Faujdari powers. Their allowance was also reduced from Rs. ten to five per cent .

He was assisted in his work by Jaswant Rāī (from 15th-22nd year) and by Raghunāth Rāī (from 23rd -30th year) who acted as Dīvāns of the khālsa and by Chaudr Bhān Brahman in the section of Fārmāns; ⁽¹⁾ and his relations with all of them were exceedingly cordial.

"In all matters connected with his duties, he always tried to follow the path of justice and honesty. In the realisations of government's dues, he never tolerated any injury to the collectors or hardship to the cultivator. Hindustān grew prosperous during his vizārat. Though a prince like Dārā Shikoh was opposed to him yet no complaint of his did ever affect him." This is the judgement of a later writer based upon materials which have not reached us. ⁽²⁾ It is corroborated by a statement of Aurangzeb who said that on one occasion Bhārā Mal the Dīvān of Dārā Shikoh presented certain accounts before the king and claimed rupees two lacs as arrears due from the Government. Shāh Jahān gave the papers to Sādulla Khān and asked him to submit his report after verifying the account from the Dīvāni office. Sādulla at once remarked that such amounts were not paid from the treasury and the demand was against rules. Thus the matter ended. The verdict of the Dīvān was final.

Dārā Shikoh who was also present there, spoke harsh words to Sādulla Khān after the dispersal of the court. The clerk of the ghusal khāna where the whole affair had

(1) MS. Or 1690. F. 97. Brahman. p. 106.

(2) M.U. II. p. 449.

His
Frankness

The Case
of Prince
Dara
Shikoh.

happened reported the matter personally to Shāh Jahān, who at once wrote a letter to the prince, "To quarrel with a man of pure heart is to do wrong to one's own self. One who strikes a sword at the mirror, kills himself by that stroke." . . . It is bad to injure the feelings of Royal servants and specially of one like Sādulla Khān. To win their hearts is an act of good policy. . . and the means of increasing the prosperity and popularity of the ruler." Towards the close of the day, the king sent several pieces of mahmūdi and embroidered cloth by way of gift to his favourite Dīvān and thus his honour was upheld, and the matter closed.

Shāh Jahān appears to have consulted his Dīvāns in matters of high appointments as well, though he was personally acquainted with all high officials of the state. In this connection the appointment of Sādulla Khān and the transfer of Islām Khān, in which the Dīvān's recommendation for the appointment of a subedār was asked, has been referred to above; one more case comes through Aurangzeb who says that on one occasion Sāeed Khān Bahādur (3) recommended a case

(1)

بامداد مبارک بخشش و خنیا ات - هر کاشت بر آئینه جنور بخواست

(1) & (2) MS. Add 6588. F.51.

(3) Sāeed Khān the son of Sāeed Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang was given the title in the 25th year of the reign and after it deputed to Kabul where he remained till the 30th year. Thus the case either refers to the 25th year (as the word Bahādur appears with the name) or to the 30th when he might have returned before the death of Sādulla Khān the same year.

MS. Add 6588. F. 50 A.

before Shāh Jahān and spoke highly of his candidate. The king approved of his recommendation and expressed his pleasure at his bringing forward suitable persons and deserving cases to his notice yet the order was issued that "the Dīvān-i-Ā'lā should test his capacities and recommend some suitable post for him."⁽¹⁾

His Military Service Besides his departmental affairs, Shādulla Khān took an active part in the Balkh and Qandhār expeditions during his term of office.

In the first expedition when Prince Murād who had the charge of the army, expressed his desire to return to the court, he was reprimanded for leaving the newly acquired territory unsettled, and Shādulla Khān was sent with oral instructions to persuade him to remain where he was.⁽²⁾ But he insisted in his demand, and fell out of favour; he was deprived of his rank and jāgīr and ordered to go to Multān and not to leave the place without further orders. Shādulla Khān was given the charge of the county and entrusted with its entire management.

The settlement of the conquered country and his powers He was instructed to make the revenue settlement of the province, and was given powers (a) to inquire into the condition of the people and make reductions in rent wherever necessary.

(1) MS. Add 6588. F.50 A.

(2) Lāhorī II.20th year. p.857-858 clearly reveal the conception of Mughals about their duties towards the conquered territory. The matter refers to the occupation of Balkh after the flight of its ruler Nazar Mohammad Khān

- (b) to award compensation in cash for damages done to the cultivation by the movements of the army.
- (c) to award Jagirs there to officers drawing cash salary if they so desire.
- (d) to advance suitable loans up to the amount of three months salary to those who may be in need there.
- (e) to enlist new soldiers from the province, and also
- (f) to recommend deserving cases of officials for increments in rank and salaries on the basis of services rendered by them in the expedition and the settlement of the new territory.⁽¹⁾

These instructions give an idea of the scope of the minister's activities, the extent of his position and of the confidence reposed in him. He successfully carried out the orders, and on his return was awarded with an increment of one thousand horse in his rank.⁽²⁾

(1) Lāhorī II. 20th year, p.560-61. Lāhorī says that although the king on account of the confidence he reposed in S'adulla Khan and the secrets of governments and power of decision he possessed never tolerated his separation from the court yet need was felt for a trusted person who might be acquainted with the king's desires and temper and at the same time possess such a position and experience that all might rely upon his word and action and seek their satisfaction in his pleasure and entertain fear at his disapproval; hence the king decided to send Sādulla Khan to Balkh.

(2) Lāhorī II. p.584. He travelled from Balkh to Kabul in four days in spite of all the difficulties of the way. When his intention was reported to the king, he sent him four horses from the royal stable to help him in case his horses fail him. . . Recommendations made by him were accepted and cases of promotion included the names of Sādat Khan, Ikhlas Khan, Hayat Khan, Rūp Singh, Rām Singh and Gokal Dās. p. 595.

In the 22nd year, he was attached with Aurangzeb and again in the 25th year, he led a large army himself to Balkh before Aurangzeb left Multān. On both ^{of} these occasions, he showed his capacity and skill in the management of the field, organisation of sieges, running in of mines, erections of mōrchāls (\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\) and other necessary arrangements. (1)

He returned to the court in the 26th year when the siege was given up, and led an army the same year against Rāna Rāj Singh who, contrary to the terms of the treaty made by his grandfather under Jahāngīr, had repaired the fort of Chittore. According to the orders of the king, the fortifications were demolished. (2)

Thus Sādulla like Abul Fazl proved himself equally capable in the field, but his part in these expeditions must be distinguished from the work done by other ministers like Mun‘im and Muzzaffer, Amirul Umara and Āsaf Khān Qazvenī in the previous reigns, in similar circumstances. They acted as military generals and commanders apart from their duties as ministers. Their connections ceased with their office when they left the court while Sādulla Khān went out in the capacity of the first minister, wielded power and discretion as such. His case was similar to that of Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan when he was deputed to the Deccan in the third year of the same reign. (3) As his personal prestige and influence was

(1) & (2) Sālih II. MS. For his part in expeditions and rewards in that connection, following pages may be referred:- pp. 307, 354, 394, 407, 408, 438, 454, 469 to 472.
M.U. II. 446-448.

Brahman does not mention them.
(3) Lāhorī II. p.319.

His
other
military
expedi-
tions

His
position
compared
with other
ministers

was needed to create unity among military generals and ensure speedy action, so was Sádulla's sending to Balkh considered unavoidable.

His death and its effect upon Shah Jahān

The sudden death of Sádulla in the 30th year of the reign when clouds of trouble were gathering round together deprived Shāh Jahān of his most trusted, loyal and efficient vazīr at a time when he needed him the most. He was the first man in the state and a popular Dīvān. His position and popularity combined with his influence over the king might have enabled him to solve the intricate problems and save the situation.

Sádulla Khān was not only the best Dīvān of Shāh Jahān but he can as well be regarded the best of the long line of the Mughal vazīrs. The position he held and which was assigned to him by his contemporary writers does not appear to have been assailed even by his successors. The author of Irshādul Vuzarā, writing under Aurangzeb, selected only four names⁽¹⁾ from the list of the ministers of Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān, and among them Sádulla Khān decidedly occupies the highest position. His remark about him that "though a Panjabī yet he was a man of high learning and great capacity."⁽²⁾

(1) MS.Or.233.F.64-65. Abul Fazl, I'timād-ul-Daula, Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan, Sádulla Khān, besides Mir Jumla who is to be included under Aurangzeb.

(2) Do. (a) "Agarche Panjabī būd bisyār Fazīlat ba istīdād dāsht." (b) He is equally sarcastic about I'timād-ul-Daula and Āsaf Khan. [F.68.(pencil marked)] MS. Or.1843./There are many mistakes on this page of the MS. MS. Or.1873. F.232.

still more enhances his position without affecting the Panjab intellect in any way.

Shāh
Jahān's
letter
at his
death

The letter which Shāh Jahān wrote to 'Alī Mardān Khān at his death further reveals the position held by the Dīvān in his master's estimation and the extent of grief he had at his loss. There can be no better testimony of a vazir's loyalty and capacity and no better recognition of real worth and merit than that which Shāh Jahān showed to Saīdulla Khān during his life and expressed in his letter at his death. (1)

The
temporary
arrange-
ments

The death of Saīdulla Khān left Shāh Jahān practically without a Dīvān and a trusted counsellor. Rāi Raghunāth Rāi the Dīvān of the khālsa like Dūlānat Rāi was given an officiating chance and the title of Rāi Rāyān was conferred upon him and Chandra Bhān Brahman with the title of Rāi was entrusted with the work of the draft of Fārmāns. The officiating Dīvān in this case also acted under the same orders which were passed in a similar case before. The place reserved for the seal and signatures of the Dīvān-i- 'Ā'lā was

(1) MS. Or. 1892. p. 107-109. Facsimile attached in the appendix. Some of the terms used may be noted.

was left blank and all important matters were transacted under the direct supervision of the king.

Mir Jumla
2 Mir Jumla with the title of Mu'azzam Khan was appointed Dīvān and he took the charge of his duties four months after the death of Sādulla Khan; but the same year he was deputed to the Deccan and his son Muhammed Amin Khan was allowed to officiate for him, and sign the papers but the seal of Mu'zzam Khan was to be used.

When his stay was prolonged in the Deccan and the work suffered, Raghunāth Rāi was again given the charge and this time with greater powers, and Muhammed Amin was removed from the Dīvānī and made Bakhshī. Raghunāth was allowed to put his signatures on all papers including the draft of the answers of Muhasabat which was neither allowed to Diyānat Rāi nor to Muhammed Amin. Later on, Vazīr Khan another man of the department was attached with the Acting Dīvān and ordered to put his signatures on all important papers ^{below} ~~under~~ the signatures of Rāi Rāyān. None of them was allowed to put his seal. Mu'zzam Khan was still kept in the office and his seal was used. ⁽¹⁾

In the 31st year Ja'far Khan was made Dīvān but Rāi Rāyān was allowed to continue in office and to sign the

a'far han

(1) Salih the chief chronicler of this period gives no information. Similarly Sadiq Khan ignores these accounts. Brahman is the only contemporary writer and the most authentic for his close connections with the ministry.

muhasabāt with the new Dīvān and to put his seal on Farvānas below that of his.⁽¹⁾ Chandra Bhan was now deputed under Rāi Rāyān and transferred to the Dīvāni's office.

Thus the dual character of Akbar's reign was at this time revived, but again the joint Dīvāni did not last long. Ja'far Khān was transferred to Mālva and Rāi Rāyān was left the sole Dīvān and he continued in the office as a permanent vazīr with the title of Rāja.⁽²⁾

The
chief
features
of vizārat
under
Shah Jahān During thirty-one years of Shāh Jahān's reign there were six permanent Dīvāns and two besides them got officiating chances. Of this period, twenty-seven years were occupied by three Dīvāns, Afzal Khān,⁽³⁾ Islām Khān,⁽⁴⁾ and Sādulla Khān,⁽⁵⁾ and the remaining four years by the other three.

(1) Ja'far Khān held the rank of five thousand Zāt and Horse and Rāi Rāyān one thousand Zāt and 400 Horse.

(2) He was given the title of Rāja by Alamgir, promoted to the rank of 3 thousand Zāt and confirmed in his post which he occupied till his death in the 6th year of his reign.

MS. Or. 1690.F.94; Add., 16703, F.140, and 515-562.

MS. Or. 1892. p. 183-117.

MS. Add. 16703. F.140.

Sālib is very brief in the latter part of Shāh Jahān's reign, and from the year 28th to 31st, he practically supplies no information on these points (p.515-562). MS.

(3) 10 years, from 2nd year to 12th year of the reign.

(4) 7 ,, ,, 12th ,, ,, 19th ,, ,, ,,

(5) 10 ,, ,, 19th ,, ,, 30th ,, ,, ,,

27 years.

The chief features of vizārat under Shāh Jahān are the same which were noticed under Akbar and Jahāngīr. The same tradition of selecting the candidate for personal merit without any regard to position or rank was followed. Afzal Khān and Islām Khān were selected for their previous attachment with the king before his accession and Sāhdulla Khān was made Dīvān after five years service in preference to all high Amīrs.

As they were selected for personal merit and loyalty to the king two of them continued in the office till their deaths and one was transferred to the Deccan only to make place for a younger and more useful hand, and none was removed for any fault. Thus the tradition of life-term ~~was~~ established under Jahāngīr was continued.

Thirdly, the dual system which was the chief feature of the office under Akbar was tried for some time, but there was much difference between the two. Akbar tried it in cases of strong ministers like the Rāja and Muzzaffer while Shāh Jahān utilised it in cases of new and inexperienced or officiating Dīvāns.

Fourthly, the inner working of the department incidentally revealed under officiating arrangements shows that the system had greatly developed by that time and details which do not find place in Akbar Nāma and the Āin of Abul Fazl were certainly the result of the later development during this period.

A sketch of the duties of the Dīvān in his department is given below.

THE ASSISTANT DĪVĀNS OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

Dīvān-i-Khālsa:-

Diyānat Rāi from 1st year to the 14th.

Bhārā Mal ,,, 14th ,,, 15th

Jasvant Rāi ,,, 15th ,,, 23rd

Raghunāth Rāi ,,, 23rd ,,, 30th

Dīvān-i-Tamrīz:-

Rāi Mān Dās from 1st year to the 5th

Mīr Abdul Latīf ,,, 5th ,,, 9th

Diyānat Rāi ,,, 9th ,,, 14th (combined with the khālsa)

Jasvant Rāi ,,, 14th ,,, 15th

Mukand Dās ,,, 15th ,,, 16th (made Dīvān-i-buyūtāt)

Abdul Malik ,,, 16th ,,, 26th

Rāi Raghunāth Rāi ,,, 26th ,,, 30th (combined with the khālsa)

Brahman
as
Sa' dulla's
companion.

A.

مناج بحکر نهود کرتن بنده کان نمود رسید حکم معلی
نسم زبان دوستکان آن خان فضایل برتبه پدر و
الذوقات و صحت آن خان فدر شناس از نظر قطبش
تاج صادق بک و ماغ نسیم برنت کوئن بعده رفع
جز بود و هاچو دشند وزنها رشغی بالله رفاقت و در
عنی تعلق دم از بی تعلقی بزور نگاهی کو علی از تعلی
آن خان والدشان صورت انجام یافتد و امامه پنهان
دولت رفاقت نکایی برایوان روزنکار عدو و بیکری
از راجه که اسلامی انقلاب نکنکه سپتند کار و کشی سفت
میم و جوان و دان و دان دان دان این اسلامی است آن
علم و جوان نجابت پیر موسی و در ام خلد و سپتند بجهان
با در عین جوانی و خارجی بعلم جهادی شست و فت
اعلی صفت جهانی در رایمی رضا اون و زیری لیلیز
غایب مسراپی و قدر و این نیز ای زمزده هنیت و قدر و این
ضد و مسماجا و دسان ای ای و نگاه را کرد و اینه ند

B to D

Shāh
Jahān's
letter
to 'All
Mardan
Khan on
Sa' dulla's
death
express-
ing
his
views
about him
and
grief at
his loss.

B

ورهاب ب فخر ای خان اسطور فخرت نزدیک و قضاها پر
بیمه ای درست رز و مزود نزدیک فران عالی ب فرن کر
اعلی صفت خان ای خان رمان در رهاب و فخر عالم و اعم
ول دوران و مزرا غلط سعد الدخان به امر ای خان
ش ای خان علی مردان خان ای خان ای خان ای خان ای خان
در سی ای خانه روزگار در ای خانه ده خانه بی خانه و فر
ستور ای خانه روزگار در ای خانه ده خانه بی خانه و فر
ش ای خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه و فر
اسانی روزگار در بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه و فر
بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه و فر
ای خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه بی خانه و فر
د سوزر العقول ای خان روزگار عالم و درین و ای خانه
شوار جامع معقول و منقول عادی روز و لاصق ای خانه

کمالات صورتی و معنوی گوایی می‌نماید
مکمل سلامت اتفاق را مخفی اور آنکه خطا را کشف ندانند
که علیم در بازی معانی کهسته است و زیرعفونی یارشانم
چهار راه احتمال سعد الظاهر که بعدها پیش از کنکردن در راه
سوزازو زن ترتیب به هر دو کسی در رخداد نقض پویت مقابله می‌کند
پاوه بدرانج لعله اورتی اتفاقه غایر از پیده بود و وزیر کشاوه
راه و غواص اصلی مذکور از این اثمر خانی این اتفاق را پیش از خلا
مقام پیشی و دعا صلوات و در حاشیه که فوجه از زندگانی خود را
نهاد و حصال خانی می‌نیز با این افسوس می‌انداشت و در این شرایط
شمشادی این نیزه از نیزه از نیزه بینیت والرسی بیان کرد
که از این نیزه از نیزه ای اس ام می‌شکله از نیزه دعلم رودخانی
شناخت از وقوع این واقعه و نیزه ای اس ای که خانه از زن
و عدل برای بینه ای اس ای که از نیزه ای اس ای که خانه ای اس ای
افزی رکندر منزه ای اس ای که از نیزه ای اس ای که خانه ای اس ای
کمالات از ای اس ای فی ای ای که می‌شود

عمر و از و از حیات مس مقاومت همراه کامل می فیفت تا در نه
ل به قرن سعادت پنهان مصادر خود را تغییر دادند و افسوس آنها
در راه قبده و مرگ خود جانش نهادند این نمود افسوس آنها
که کمی عضوی را ثابت و قائم نمی نهادند و غایق دنیا می نداشتند.
پیغمبر اسلام کوچکترین بخش عمده از زبانها شفیده را
پیغمبر اسلام کوچکترین بخش عمده از زبانها شفیده را
از زبانی پیش غایق کوچکترین بخش ناظر است نه بست برای رفاه
و سلامت خواهد بود که برای امراض ای ره و عکوف
ساد نمودن و خاف و خافی از رسالت داشت علی
ملکات اقصی که باعث ایست و جمعیت جهان به
جهان بان و موباس بش و فیض علم و عالی
است که کوچکترین بخشی از سالهای که کوشش از این در
ضد منعه لاعالم و نفع نشاد که مسلمان از این در
بنی اسرائیل اهل میهم و الموردن شفیده اول آنکه
اول آنکه اراده خود را برای دخانی مقدم باید داشت
تا هر را ده حق برای ده خود ترجیح باید داشت
بنی اسرائیل اهل میهم و الموردن شفیده اول آنکه



Sa'dulla Khan

P. 185D.

favourite and popular Chief Dīvān of Shāh Jahān.

Painted by the court painter Amūchatar. From British Museum
collection, Add. 18801. No. 32

THE DİVÂN'S DEPARTMENT
and
OFFICE WORK.

The department of the Dîvân included besides the Dîvân-i-Â'lâ or Vazîr

- (a) Dîvân-i-Khâlsa (for Khâlsa lands).
- (b) Dîvân-i-Tam. (for salaries).
- (c) Mushrif (Chief Accountant).
- (d) Mustaufî (Auditor).

Each of these branches was further divided into several sections according to the nature of the work. Each of these officers had a personal assistant or secretary and several superintendents of offices, and a large staff of clerks specially trained and acquainted with the technique of the department.

The position of the first two officers was in accordance with the order of this list. They were Dîvân's subordinates and not colleagues. ^vMushrif under Fîrûz Tughlaq was next to Dîvân and this position seems to have been maintained by Akbar. The mustaufî retained his importance as far as the nature of his work is concerned but he ceases to be a high official of the state as he was under the Delhi sultanate.

Under Fîrûz Tughlaq, the Mustaufî sat on the right and next to the vazîr in the office of the Dîvân⁽¹⁾ but he had

(1) 'Afîf. p. 419.

no such distinction under the Mughals. Bhagwān Dās was the most distinguished mustaufī of Akbar and he expressed great regret at his death but the term he used for him on that occasion was that "dar bitikchīān bisyār kār āgāh būd." (he was very efficient among the clerks)

Abul Fazl in condemning Shāh Mansūr for his short-sighted policy in connection with his strict demands from the jāgīrdārs of Behār at a time when rebellion had broken out, makes a difference between a Divān and the mustaufī. "He is a vazir who by acuteness and the strength of honesty preserves the revenue and also looks after the servants of God (bandgān) . . . He does not abandon what is suitable for the time and place, nor does he regard the collecting of gold as the finest of occupations. . . Also the mustaufī should have something else to do besides clerking, stirring up strife and collecting arrears and increasing the revenue."⁽¹⁾

The procedure followed in office, the nature of the work passing through his hands and papers requiring his sanction give a more clear idea of his powers and duties than words or official terms can convey. As the head of the Revenue department he had his eye upon every officer of the state who drew his salary from the jāgīr. As the chief executive officer of the state together with his revenue powers he had his control over provinces and provincial officers from the Governor to the Āmil and the Patvārī. As Finance minister he had his finger upon every pie(dām) that reached the Royal

(1) A.N. III. p.315. Tr. p. 462.

The
Divān in
his office

Treasury and went out of it. Thus his three-fold duties kept him in touch with all the three departments of the central government besides his own, with Amīrs and nobles, whether holding office or not, and with every part of the provincial administration. It was this general supervision which definitely gave him the first position among the ministers of the state. "The office of the Dīvān is concerned with all the affairs of the Empire. Hence its holder should, out of loyalty, regard the successful working of the entire government dependent upon him. . . . All high and exalted officers, like the powerful Bakhshī, the Mīr Sāmān, the buyūtāts, the mushrifs . . . and other servants and zamīndārs and all other groups of people turn towards him."(1)

Postings
of
officers

The postings of the following officers were made through him:-

- (a) Subedārs, Faujdārs, Dīvāns, Krorīs, Amīns, and Dāroghās, (at headquarters)
- Provin- } (b) Mushrifs, Tahvildārāns of villages,
cial } (stationed at the Treasury Office); Khazānchi,
Dāroghās at the Treasury, and clerks of the
Treasury office.
- (c) Sazāvals (persons deputed by the central govern-
ment to look to the execution of orders in impor-
tant and urgent cases.)
- (d) Amīns and Krorīs and Tahsīldārs appointed to
collect balances.
- (e) Zamindārs (agents to collect rents).

(1) Add 6599. F. 112.

Papers and orders issued by the Dīvān which did not require king's sanction or signatures:-

- (a) Papers relating to the queries made by 'Āmils and answers given to them by the department. (1)
- (b) Certificates of sanctioned appointments, and of cash salaries of Princes, and orders for the payments of the same in Parganas.
- (c) Orders for the payment of salaries of subordinate officers and of commissions granted to Treasury officers and kārī
- (d) Orders demanding the payment of the pending balances due to the government.
- (e) Orders for rendering necessary help. (2)
- (f) Orders for confiscations for pending balances of account.
- (g) Orders for the despatch of balances in the provincial Treasuries to the central government.
- (h) Orders on matters particularly brought to his notice by the king,
- (i) and communications of all royal orders issued to provinces and regarding the army,
- (j) and orders issued on the basis of reports received from the vāqi ' Navīs,

(1) In cases of technical difficulties the collectors used to draft their queries and forward them to the central government for necessary orders; special forms were prescribed for the purpose to ensure brevity and lucidity.

(2) It would mean help given to 'Āmils by faujdārs in collecting rents in difficult and troublesome cases. Such orders must necessarily require the Revenue Officer's sanction to justify the action of his subordinates.

(k) and on any other matter ordered by the king.

On all such orders issued by the office, the Divān put his special mark and signatures. They were countersigned by the Divān-i-khālsa, who wrote the words "examined the mark and noted the signatures."⁽¹⁾

Dastak or certificates issued by him:-

to the Treasuries and officers of the Treasuries for

(a) payments of salaries on the basis of Central Treasury's orders and of advances to armies (if so ordered by the king.)

(b) for Passage.

(c) to government servants for taking charge of their duties.

Divān's signatures required on:-

(a) drafts prepared by the department on reports received from provincial divāns and 'Āmils. Matters worthy of king's notice were forwarded to him after the Divān's signatures while the rest were dealt with by the department.

(b) demands for cash salaries of mansabdārs, Barqandāzān (matchlockmen), troopers.

(c) demands for payments of cash salaries received from the office of the Khān Sāmān.

(d) cash balances in the royal treasuries, reports about zamīndārs, Register of accounts received from Bakhshis!

(1) MS. Or. 1641. F.30 B. and Add 6599. F. 151 B.

office; and statements of balances of revenues. All of these papers were laid by him before the king.

- (e) Accounts audited by mustaufis.
- (f) Sureties taken for service and for payment of balances, etc.

In addition to these duties his office kept a record of all revenue and financial statements and regularly demanded certain papers to be submitted to his office by provincial *divāns*, *Amīns*, *Krorīs* and Treasury officers of the Empire. (1)

His office received copies of all royal orders and they were forwarded by him to the office of the *Bakhshīs* and *Khānsāmān*.

Reports about 'Amīls deposed from office by the *Dīvān* were forwarded to the *Bakhshīs*' office as well.

The *Dīvān*'s office was divided into different sections for the proper discharge of these duties, and the work allotted to each section was clearly defined.

- (a) dealt with the reports and papers received from provinces.
- (b) dealt with the pending balances of revenues.
- (c) was concerned with *Bāvānajāt* issued by the department.
- (d) dealt with dastaks and (e) with papers forwarded to the king.

In the departmental routine, it appears that the *Dīvān-i-khālsa* had greater importance and responsibility than the *Dīvān-i-Tārī* and he was not confined to khālsa lands only. As all papers requiring king's signatures or forwarded to him for

(1) Or. 1641. F. 34 contains the list of all such papers submitted by each.

his information necessarily required the Chief Dīvān's signatures, similarly all matters connected solely with the department passed through the Dīvān-i-khalsa, though in most cases he had only to write the words "mulāhza shud" (seen) which showed that in such matters he had no discretion or power of action.

In the same way all papers relating to cash salaries passed through the Dīvān-i-Tan, and in the same connection he kept a record of the following papers:-

- (a) List of mansabdārs received from the Bakhshis.
- (b) List of revenues collected year by year.
- (c) Forms of sureties taken from officers and other servants.
- (d) Register of branding and verification.
- (e) Salary accounts of mansabdārs.

Office of
the
Mustaufi

Like the office of the Dīvān, the Mustaufi's office was also divided into several sections which dealt separately:

-
- (1) The Dīvān wrote a word or two on papers placed before him and terms were fixed for each kind of work. The form given below gives an example of such terms added with signatures. (Or. 1641 F.151.)

<u>Tasdiq</u>	<u>Yad Dasht</u>	<u>Rauz Namcha</u>	<u>Asnād</u>
---------------	------------------	--------------------	--------------

(Entered in the Diary)	(Forward for revision, i.e. to the king)	(Seen)	(Granted)
---------------------------	--	--------	-----------

with 'Āmils, pending balances, Capital, Revenues, Treasuries, jāgīrs, conversion of jāgīrs into cash salaries, loans and
(1)
arms.

-
- (1) The facts of this section of the chapter from page 186-193 have been collected from MS. Or. 1641 Fs. 31-36, and MS. Add. 6599 Fs. 38, 112, 151-52 and 156, and various forms of appointments given in Add. 6598, 6599 and Tarīkh-i-Shākar Khāni.

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نارقی کتو رشته از روی راستی روایت شده و مادرانه باشند و در پایین
و شرسته زراعت و کشاورزی که برگزیده است بودند و قل.
نمری کلر و پیرزی بعیده است و بالادستی و کراوب نموده
کلاه سانجا و از عیا نمی و سیل و هریون و کاکویون و دیران و
نموده اند و عکشنا ایسی و مدرستهان نهار از نزد
مال گلودا بیکلا چاکردو چایی و فربسر و دست چیزهای
کاغذهای قل و بد بر قلمی را از رو و خوار باشد عالم و عال
برداشت تواند و چشمی نولد و زیر گزرا نشکه هر چو از دور
از عال سار چند و چندی سنته بر فری نکند و نظر و دال سار و دل
کرد از نیا که منطقت نزدیک فلدو و بعده اینست هر کجا که
میگل و بیکشانی کمال چوبی نمی و دیباخه هر چنین یعنی
شترهای اند و از طور و هر تکف فلدو نزدیک دریان پیش
یرینج جهان میخواست خدا که نهاده بزم فرموده بسته خواهد
از استانی سه مواد پیشی و خلاتی باشید که همراهه نهاده
کشند که بارم و در سامان که اینی پیشی پیش و میسری

ابن س که کوشش میشود و قله ای و قله ای و میشود
نموده اند و پیرزی بعیده است و بالادستی و کراوب نموده
بیس کلمه اند و عکشنا ایسی و مدرستهان نهار از نزد
درست تصدی اول و دیگری ای و غصه ای و چیزهای
صلح و مراب و دیگر تصریح که ایت کو و فایت چهه شد و میشون
نرم و شکر و شکلات اول و دیگر خود و از طور و چکونه
شکر پیشنهاد شرک پیشنهاد و کاکویون و دیران و ده

X
The copy of a Parwana of
the Amiri of Parwanan Rahimbad
of the officials for the Information
of the people of the Parwanan
(Unknown) for the post of the
Administrator to the post of
the Amiri of Parwanan Rahimbad
of the officials and the
Information of the Parwanan
concerned.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MĪR BAKHSHĪ.

Outline.

Introductory. The separation of the military department from the vizārat as a safeguard against the dangers of powers of the vazīr. Its development under Balban and 'Alāud-dīn. The Military department fully established under the Delhi sultanate.

Different names of the office. Duties of the office.

Change of name and the development of the Department under the Mughals.

The Mīr Bakhshī in the administrative machinery of the Central Government.

The Mīr Bakhshī in the Darbār. (1) Departmental work. (2) Presentation of candidates for service. (3) Presentation of soldiers and horses for inspection. (4) Presentation of high officials and visitors before the king. (5) Presentation of the names of the Guards of the palace for rewards.

The Mīr Bakhshī in the Ghusal Khāna (Private Chamber).

The Mīr Bakhshī at the Capital. Nominating the Guards of the Palace. Summoning the mansabdārs. Receiving the News-reports from the provinces to be put before the king.

The Mīr Bakhshī on Tours with the King.

The Mir Bakhshi and his other colleagues, on the battlefield, in three different capacities, (1) general supervisors of the army and its arrangements, (2) as commanders, (3) working under a Prince or any other high amīr.

Bakhshīs in the fighting line.

The Mir Bakhshi in the office - (1) issuing of Dastaks (certificates) for appointments, and postings and for other similar matters, (2) other papers dealt with by him.

The joint duties of the first and the second Bakhshi. The third Bakhshi and his position.

The number of the Bakhshīs. Neither given in the Āīn nor mentioned elsewhere. determined by/records of the period.

The List of the prominent Mir Bakhshīs of the period.

Some features of the office of the Mir Bakhshi.

THE MĪR BAKHSHĪS

The position of the vazīr in Muslim monarchies, and the dangers emanating from the system of combining all civil and military power in the hands of one vazīr have been noticed under vizārat.

Under the Delhi sultanat, Balban appears to have fully realised such dangers, and in the light of the experience of the history of other monarchies, he devised a very reasonable safeguard against the powers of the vazīr by separating the military department from him and placing it under a separate minister. He emphasised the importance of this new office in his regime, and he used to say that it should be held by the highest khāns of the kingdom and that he should be supreme in his department.⁽¹⁾ Under him, the office was held by 'Imādulmulk whose efficient administration gave the office the necessary prestige which seems to have been continued at least till the close of the Tughluq dynasty.

Bughrā Khān while giving advice to his son Sultān Kaikubād also emphasised the point that there should be a

(1) Barnī, p. 115.

separate minister for the army and all its affairs should be left to him.⁽¹⁾ Jalālud-dīn himself held that post before his coming to the throne,⁽²⁾ and under him, he conferred the office on his brother Yaghraph Khān.⁽³⁾ Alā-ud-dīn further increased its prestige and the military needs of his time greatly emphasised the importance of the department. Barnī speaks highly of its efficiency and says "as far as the number of the army and its efficiency, and the best for shooting the arrow, and the regulation of the prices of horses is concerned, it has never been so before in any reignⁿ nor is it recorded in any history, nor does any one remember to have witnessed it."⁽⁴⁾

The office is again seen at its height under Fīrūz, when it was held by his trusted slave Bashīrā 'Imād-ul-mulk who was noted for his managing capacity and efficiency. His position as a favourite of the king combined with his efficiency greatly raised the status of the office and the prestige of the department.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Barnī, p. 153.

(2) Do. p. 197.

(3) Do. p. 174.

(4) Do. p. 335.

(5) 'Afīf, p. 443. The king's equally favoured Vazīr Maqbul, in spite of his position, power and king's favour stopped the drum and the music when he passed by his door and removed his chatar when he rode out with him and out of respect for him, never spoke to anyone else in his company. (p.444)

Thus a new department became established as a part of the central government. In the sultanate it appears under several names all of which carry the same idea without any distinction. Rāvat-i-'Arz. (Barnī p. 114 and 115) 'Arz-i-Mamālik (Barnī p. 174, 197, 248, 423. Mubārak Shāhī p. 251 & 252). Dīvān-i-'Arz. (Barnī, p. 60, 114, 360, 477. Afīf mostly uses this term, p. 298, 443). 'Ariz. (Barnī, p. 116. Mubārak Shāhī, p. 56, 135, 202).

The Duties of the Dīvān-i-'Arz

The position of the head of this department and the importance of the office is clearly brought out in several scattered passages of Barnī. 'Imād-ul-mulk of Balban, on one occasion said, "The king is the master of the army, I am its chief, and the army is the defender of the subjects of the Dominions." (p.116) On another occasion, addressing the officers of his department from his masnad, he said, "Listen to me all of you that I am the defender, the helper, and the upholder of the rule of kings, because they have given their army in my hand and left the opening and closing of all its affairs to me. If I neglect my duty and do not always keep myself busy with the thought of gathering the troops and do not regard the troopers dearer than my brothers and sons, I will be considered disloyal to the salt and disgraced before the throne of God on the Day of Judgement. . . If I do not look to the needs of the soldiers, my office is useless and

vain." (1) (p. 116)

Thus the Rāvat-i-'Arz of Balban or the Dīvān-i-'Arz of Firūz was the representative of the king and the head of the military department. He was supreme in his department as Balban said, "dar Dīvān-i-'Arz ū mutlaq-ul-'Inān bāshad" (p. 114) He dealt directly with the king and the officers of the departments placed their annual reports regarding the army and the muster directly before the king. (2) Imād-ul-mulk of Firūz had free access to the king and he could approach him at any time. (3)

The recruitment of the army, the maintenance of troops in good order, holding of military tests, the inspection of horses, and the muster of troops at regular intervals and equipping them for expeditions, appear to be the permanent duties attached with the department.

It is evident from this sketch of the functions and duties of the Dīvān-i-'Arz that the institution existed in the Delhi sultanate and that by the time of Firūz, it had acquired considerable influence and prestige in the administration. It changes its name with the arrival of the Mughals

(1) He used to help the soldiers with horses and cash from his own pocket and likewise gave twenty thousand tankas every year from his salary to be divided among the subordinate officers and servants of the department with the request that they should make no illegal deductions from the salary of the soldiers. (Barni, p. 116-117.)

(2) 'Afif, p. 298.

(3) Do. p. 437.

in India and Akbar developed it on his own lines to suit the requirements of his empire.

Bakhshī:- "a word probably from the Sanskrit bhikshu which appears in East Turkī and Persian during the Mongol period; it denotes in the first place the Buddhist priesthood and in this meaning is equated to the Chinese Hoshang, Tibetan Lāma and nighur Toin. Writers of Turkish origin also who had to write documents destined for the Mongol and Turkish population in nighur script . . . In the Empire of the Indian Mughals, the Bakhshī was an official of a high rank who had charge of the registration of a body of troops and had to pay them." (Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 600.)

Sir Denison Ross in his index to the "Travels of Marco Polo" has pointed out that Bakhshī was the title of a class of Lamas, formerly regarded as a corruption of the Sanskrit Bhikhshu, and for further reference he has pointed out T'oung-Pao 1916, 485, 487.

These pages contain the article of Barthold Laufer on "Loan words in Tibetan Language", and in it he deals with the word bakhshī in connection with the nighur word Pag-si. He says that Chandra Das (p. 777) has justly combined this word with Mongol Baksi. "The Mongol word has the meaning 'teacher' and is synonymous with Sanskrit gurū and āchārya. In T'oung Pao, 1914 (p. 44) I have given some indications on the word, disconnecting it from Sanskrit bhikshu and stating that according to Tibetan source. . . it is derived from the language of the Hor; that is the nighur."

Further he says that the word is familiar to the nigr language and "there is every reason to assume that the Mongols received the word like many others from the nigr", and thus the derivation from Sanskrit bhikshu must definitely be abandoned. In Central Asia baksi never had the Buddhist significance "religious mendicant" (bhikshu). Baksi as a military office under the Mohammadan Emperors of India, . . . and the Anglo-Indian Buxee (pay-master) are independent words to be dissociated from the nigr Chinese term.

Thus it appears that the office of the Mir Bakhshi was peculiar to the Mughals in India but the military department which was placed under him had already developed as a separate department under the Delhi sultanate.

The Mir Bakhshi of the Mughal empire enjoyed all the powers of the Divān-i-'Arz, as the head of the department, but his influence extended beyond his own department and his nearness with the king in the darbār added much to his prestige as well. The recruitment of the service on military lines, the dependance of the rank of an officer on the number of soldiers required to be maintained by him, and the payment of his salary on the presentation of the stipulated number of horsemen, at fixed intervals, naturally led to the division of the powers of the vazir and the chief Bakhshi became an equal sharer with him.

This position is clearly brought out in the preparation of royal Fārmāns and the stages through which they had to

The Mir
Bakhshi in
the adminis-
trative ma-
chinery of
the Central
overnment

pass. All orders of appointments to Mansabs of all ranks and to the high offices of the state, such as vikālat, vizārat sadārat, passed through the Chief Bakhshī. An appointment order, having reached the stage of the Ta'liqa (see under Fārmān), and carrying with it an award of jagir and the condition of the dāgh was forwarded to him. He looked to the enforcement of the regulations in the case, supervised the branding of the horses, inspected the stipulated number of soldiers, and specified the amount of the monthly salary on its basis. He kept the Ta'liqa (abridgement) received by him, and gave, in its stead, a certificate signed and sealed by him called Sarkhat.

It was on the basis of this certificate that the Dīvān made entries in his records and put it before the king for sanction.

The sanction thus obtained, was again reported to the Chief Bakhshī, and it was after his signatures and the seal that the Dīvān put it before the vakil.

Like the Fārmāns, Parvānchas and Barāts also passed through him, and on all such orders when completed, he put his seal side by side with that of the Dīvān of the Empire. ⁽¹⁾

Thus his influence extended to all the departments of

(1) Āin, p. 193-195. Blockmann, 260-263. See also under the chapter on "Fārmāns".

central government and he dealt with them on an equal footing

The Mir
Bakhshi
in the Darbār

As the head of the military department, he was in touch with every mansabdār, and hence his presence in the darbār formed a part of his permanent duties. In this capacity he stood on the right side of the throne and put before the king all matters connected with his department. ⁽¹⁾

Depart-
mental
work

Presenta-
tion of
candidates

He presented all the candidates for service. "Īrānīs, Tūrānīs, Rūmī, Firangi, Hindi and Kashmīrī came for service, their salaries were fixed by proper officers according to the regulations, and the Bakhshīs presented them before the king." ⁽²⁾

Presenta-
tion of
soldiers
and horses

The soldiers and horses of the mansabdārs after the dāgh-o-tashīhs (branding and verification) in cases of fresh appointments, and at regular intervals in cases of permanent officers, were also presented by the Bakhshīs before the king. ⁽³⁾

resenta-
tion of
fficials
nd
isitors

As the head of the department, he presented before the king all high officers of the state coming from provinces or leaving the capital for their headquarters as well as the embassies and other distinguished visitors.

Hawkins calls him "Lieutenant-Generall" in this connection. ⁽⁴⁾

(1) See under the chapter "The King and State-business."

(2) Āin, p. 158, lines 3-5. This duty as well as ~~.....~~ could be performed by other Bakhshīs also. The presence of the chief Bakhshi was not essential. The word used in all such cases is Bakhshīān (Bakhshīs). Āin, p. 191.

(4) The cases of Mir Bakhshi introducing such visitors and officers before the king have been noted in the chapter on king's transaction of business and they need not be repeated here.

Hawkins, p. 115.

Presenta-
tion of the
names of
guards for
rewards

As the chief officer connected with the Guards of the palace, he presented their names for rewards. The king gave them elephants, horses and other articles as well. "The Bakhshīs read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything before. His Majesty gives them horses. When a soldier has received a horse, he is not recommended to His Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation."⁽¹⁾

The
Bakhshī
in the
Ghusal-
khana

The Chief Bakhshī accompanied the king in the Private Chamber also and remained in attendance throughout the meeting. Thus he was in touch with all the important affairs of the Empire. Here, also, he took his stand on the right side of the king, and performed his usual duty of presenting the officers before the king. The case of Salābat Khān Mīr Bakhshī is very conspicuous in this connection. Rāo Amar Singh a Rajpūt chief who held Nāgor as his jāgīr and had returned to the court after a few days' leave from home was introduced by the Mīr Bakhshī to the king in the Private Chamber when Shāh Jahān had resumed the work after his sunset (maghrib) prayers. The Rāo went and stood in a line with others on the left side while Salābat Khān returned to his place on the right side of the throne. In the meantime, the king busied himself in writing a Fārmān, and Salābat Khān came down from the pavilion and began to converse with one of the nobles present there who

(1) Āīn, p. 197; Blockmann, p. 266.

stood near the candle-stick of four branches (shama dān-i-chār shākha). When he was thus engrossed in the conversation.

Rāo Amar suddenly drew up his jamdhar (dagger), ran with it and pierced it on the left side of Salābat with such a force that the entire blade of the jamdhar penetrated through his chest and he died on the spot. Rāo Amar was at once attacked by Khalīl-ulla Khān and another Bakhshī and by Arjun the son of Rāga Bīthal Dās, who struck him with his sword and later on others joined in the scuffle and finally the Rāo was also killed there. (1)

Under Shāh Jahān, the Chief Bakhshī was also admitted to Shāh Burj on important and urgent matters.

As the chief officer of the state, and the head of the military department, he kept the list of the Guards. The mansabdārs at the capital were divided into seven divisions and a day of the week was allotted to each. The duty was compulsory and was enforced strictly. The list was prepared by the chief Bakhshī and presented before the king. The king supervised the change of the Guards every day. (2) Hawkins

(1) Lāhorī, 17th Year, II. p. 380-384. The inquiry revealed that the Rāo was suffering from some mental disease due to excessive drinking and had been ill for some time, a few days before, and that he had a case of jagir dispute with Rao Karan which was pending before the king, and that Rao Karan had lodged a complaint against his offensive attitude, and requested for the appointment of an Amin to settle the dispute and that Rao Karan had also referred the matter to the Mir Bakhshī, who had lately spoken to the king for him. No other cause besides this could be discovered. Both the victims were king's favourites and he expressed regret at their deaths. At that time Rāo Amar held the rank of 4 thousand Zāt, 3 thousand Horse, Rāja Bīthal Dās

5 , , , 5 , , , and Salābat Khān
4 , , , 2 , , ,

(2) Akbar did not miss it even on the day his mother died. He appeared in his mourning dress. (A.N.III. p. 831)

says, "it is the custome of all those that receive pay or living from the king to watch once a weeke, none excepted, if they be well and in the citie." (1)

There is a very interesting case of Shahbāz Khān under Akbar. His name was put on the list next to Mirzā Khān (afterwards Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān). He not only resented it but strongly protested before the king and exceeded the limits. He was imprisoned for his bad behaviour for some time and placed under the charge of Rāi Sal Darbārī. (2)

Another important case of the Guards is associated with the name of Shaikh Farīd the Mīr Bakhshī who saved a very critical situation by his bold use of the power of nominating the Guards of the Palace. At a time when Akbar was on his death-bed, and every hope of his recovery was lost, Khān-i-Zam the vakīl of the Empire and Rāja Man Singh, both of whom were interested in Prince Khusrau, were busy in their schemes to prevent the accession of Prince Salīm. The contemporary writer Tahavvar Khān says that Shaikh Farīd who was anxious to see that no disturbance was caused in the city took a very bold step at that time. He took the soldiers of the Guard with him, went to the Fort, took out all the heavy material of war and despatched it outside the city, and himself walked courageously and with all befitting dignity to

(1) Hawkins, p. 111.

(2) A.N. III. p. 375. 26th year. Shahbāz had at that time returned from his military duties in Bengal.

the residence of Prince Salīm, congratulated him and saluted him as king. All the nobles and officers who were watching, suddenly took up the suggestion offered by this lead and at once rushed with their armies and followers to do homage to Prince Salīm, and when the situation was thus changed, the Mīr Bakhshī took another step to checkmate the intrigues of the opposite party. He, as usual, issued the list of the Guards and summoned all the nobles to the palace in a body.

The opponents of Salīm were taken by surprise and in spite of their large following, they could not take courage to defy him. It was after this arrangement that Prince Salīm went to see Akbar who by chance opened his eyes for a short time, and casting a delightful glance at the Prince, shed tears and bestowed his personal sword upon him. Thus it was the bold step of the Mīr Bakhshī and his use of power of nominating the Guards and summoning the mansabdārs that prevented the disturbance of peace and facilitated the accession of Prince Salīm without bloodshed. (1)

(1) Zubdat-ul-tavarīkh MS. Add 106580. F.248. M.U. p. 636.

In connection with this duty of the Mīr Bakhshī, Mr. Irvine in his book "The Army of the Indian Mughals" thinks that the Mir 'Arz mentioned in the Ain on pages 257 & 259 (Blockmann) is probably used for Mīr Bakhshī and this term came into force later on. He seems to have been misled by the terms Divān-i-'Am and 'Āris of the Delhi sultanat. The Mir 'Arz of Akbar did neither conform to the 'Āriz nor to Mīr Bakhshī. It was a separate office created for a distinct purpose. In the 20th year of the reign when the system of Kishik or chauki was introduced which required every servant residing in the capital to keep watch at the palace once a week, one of the Amirs, on duty every day, was also entrusted with the work of placing before the king the petitions of the people. "An accomplished courtier was made Mir 'Arz so that he might during the

(Note continued.)

The Mir Bakhshi also received the News-reports sent by

(Note continued.)

time of his watch represent the petitions and requests of mankind without reference to his own ease and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles." (A.N.III. p. 146. Tr. p. 207)

This duty was different from the management and supervision of the guards which was entrusted to another amir who was styled Mir Kishik.

It is in this connection that Mir 'Arz is mentioned in the Ain on pages referred to by Mr. Irvine (p. 257 deals with kishik and p. 259 with the draft of Firmanās in which the diary of the Vāqi' Navis was countersigned by Mir 'Arz).

But the sentence following the one pointed out by Mr. Irvine reads thus, "All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (Mir 'Arz and Mir kishik). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." Certainly this Mir 'Arz cannot be Mir Bakhshi who had to be present elsewhere also and to do his office work as well.

Later on it appears that the arrangement did not work well and in the 22nd year of the reign, the presentation of petitions was entrusted to Muhib 'Ali Khan "who was upright and experienced" and in the words of Abul Fazl, "he was given permission to represent the petitions of the people and also to communicate what occurred to his reflections as proper to be done"; and it was considered necessary, because it is the dictate of wisdom that "just rulers and other great ones who have the multiplicity of engagements should not be contented with their acumen and ability but should also permit some prudent and well-conditioned and harmless man to make representations to them, so that at a time when there is a pressure of work or when wrath is in the ascendant which sometimes causes the foot of the wise slip, he may lay before them suitable considerations."

(p. 216. Tr. p. 304.)

Thus the work was given to a person irrespective of his duty at the palace, but Muhib 'Ali Khan did not stay long at the court, he was appointed governor of Delhi and old arrangements survived. In the 25th year when the work had greatly increased, a separate office was created for the purpose after which it neither remained attached with the amir on duty in the palace nor with any other amir attached with the court, but was given to a whole-time officer, and Mirza Khan ('Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan) was the first to be appointed to this post. The reasons which led to the change of the arrangement are clearly recorded in the same connection "on account of the number of suitors, increase of work, the brisk bazaar of cupidity (azmandi) and the augmented statelessness of the august court, it occurred to His Majesty

(Note continued)

News-
reports
from
Provinces

the Vāqi' Navīs from different provinces and put them before the king. When the work of reading these reports was entrusted to Āsaf Khān, vakīl under Shāh Jahān, the Mīr Bakhshī used to take it to him and he also sat in the Dīvān with the vakīl and brought to his notice the cases of the provinces which the vakīl was specially empowered to entertain. (1)

Thus the connection of the Mīr Bakhshī was maintained with the provinces and this duty further added to his influence at the capital.

(Note continued.)

that a choice, high-born officer of high ability who possessed profound insight, disinterestedness and honesty should illustrate this great employment. By the glory of his being at peace with all, he was to make no distinction between acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, but to lay before His Majesty all proper requests and at a fitting time to receive the replies to them. If by the accident of fortune . . . he did not receive a gracious reply, he should not allow himself to become melancholy, but should have the courage to repeat the request at another time . . . The wise sovereign perceived the notes of praiseworthy qualities in that loyalist and advanced him by that great office." (p. 297. Tr. p. 439) Thus the office of Mīr 'Arz was quite distinct from that of the Mīr Bakhshī. Neither Muhib 'Ali in the first case nor Mirza Khan in the second were Mīr Bakhshīs. Mr. Blockmann has relied upon Mr. Irvine's opinion and he has quoted him in his Footnote on p. 259. Mr. Beveridge in his translation (p. 439) has referred to Mr. Blockmann for the same.

However, it may be pointed out that there are very few references to the office of Mīr 'Arz in Akbar Nama but in any case, it was not the Mīr Bakhshī who took his place. His office existed long before the creation of the above-mentioned post, and the two were quite distinct from each other as far as their duties were concerned.

(1) This portion has been dealt with under vikālat and under Provincial News-Reporters.

The Mir
Bakhshī
on Tours
with the
king.

Though the charge of the management of Tours and the establishment that accompanied the king was under the Mir Sāmān who was the head of the kārkhānās, yet the Chief Bakhshī had his hand in it also. As the head of the military department and the chief connecting link between the king and the mansabdārs, he accompanied the king on tours, pleasure trips and hunting expeditions. (1)

He looked to the arrangement of the camp and allotted places to mansabdārs according to their ranks. (2)

Mansabdārs and officers accompanying the king obtained leave to appear in the darbār through him. The list of such officers who were eligible for admission was changed every month. (3)

Here, he acted in his official capacity as he did at the capital and attended to all the business associated with him.

He looked to the convenience of the troops and their conveyance. (4)

(1) Bernier says that the duties of the office confine "the possessor to the court, rendering it difficult if not impossible for him to remain at a distance from the king's person." (p. 171)

(2) Āin, p. 43. The plans for the encampment of the army was permanently settled under Akbar, and only the place for encampment had to be located.

(3) Āin, p. 43. Blockmann, p. 47.

(4) Monserrate, p. 75-82. He has described such arrangements which he saw during Akbar's expedition to Kābul. He describes military arrangements, conveyance of war materials, crossing of rivers by bridges and the supply of provisions and several other details connected with the same.

The Mir
Bakhshi
on the
battle-
field

There were three different positions in which the Mīr Bakhshī or any of his colleagues could be present on the battlefield.

Firstly, if the Emperor led the army personally, as Akbar usually did, or accompanied the army to supervise the arrangements and ensure efficiency/among officers, as was generally done by Shāh Jahān on all important occasions, the Chief Bakhshī acted in his ordinary official duty as on Tours.

Secondly, he could be placed in the charge of any particular division of the army or given the full command of the expedition. In such cases, he acted like an ordinary military general or the commanding officer.

Thirdly, he could be sent with an army placed directly under the charge of some prince or high amīr. In such a case the Mīr Bakhshī would be deputed only when the expedition was an important one or his presence was necessitated by any emergency. Shahbāz Khān under Akbar was deputed in Behār in the 25th year of the reign with Rājā Todar Mal and Mirzā 'Azīz Koka. Khvāja Abul Hasan was sent to the Deccan under Jahāngīr when Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, Amīrul-Umara Sharīf and Āsaf Khān Qazvenī were engaged there. Salābat Khān under Shāh Jahān was attached with Amīrul-Umara 'Alī Mardān Khān and later on with Prince Murād at Kābul, in connection with the Balkh expedition.

In all the above-mentioned positions, the Chief Bakhshī played an important part in determining the plans of the army. Akbar usually supervised such expeditions himself or left them entirely to officers like Mun'īm Khān Khān in Bengāl and Mirzā

Khān, Abdur Rahīm, Khān Khānan in Gujrāt, and the Bakhshīs had little control or influence in such cases. Jahāngīr left the conduct of the army at the discretion of the commanding officers⁽¹⁾ and there is no record of definite instructions being issued by him to the armies in the field. It was why his commanders were mostly high amīrs of responsible positions. Khān Khānan, Farzand Khān Jahān, Mīrul-Umara Shārif Vakīl, Āsaf Khān Vazīr and later on Prince Khurram served in the Deccan. Khān-i- Tā'Zam and Khurram worked in Ajmere against the Rānā and Mahābat Khān was stationed at Kābul to watch the interests in Kandhār.

Under Shāh Jahān the military plans were usually settled before the despatch of the armies, definite instructions were issued to the commanding officers and they always kept themselves in touch with the king whose personal experience in this line was much greater than that of many of the generals.

Every division of the army had a separate Bakhshī and in most cases the duty of vāqi' Navīs (News-reporter) was also attached with him, and regular reports were forwarded to the king and the central government. Thus much of the business which a Bakhshī would be required to do on such

(1) Except in the expedition against the Rānā which he himself supervised from Ajmere.

military expeditions was done beforehand in the presence of
(1)
the king.

The distribution of loans, the advancement of money and
the payment of salaries in the field formed the chief duty
of the Bakhshī attached with the army on active service. (2)

Lastly, the Chief Bakhshī and his colleagues took part
(3)
in active service and fought like other officers in the field

(1) The most conspicuous example of Shāh Jahān's policy in
this matter is found in the arrangements made for the expedi-
tions sent to Kandhār and Balkh in the 15th and 18th years.

(2) Examples to illustrate the various activities of the Bakh-
shīs in connection with the armies and expeditions:-

Tauzak, p. 50. Rs. 2 lacs sent through Mohan Dās to 'Abdur Raz-
zāk, one of the Bakhshīs, to be distributed to the army at
Kabul.

Lāhorī, II. p. 555. Rs. 50 lacs were sent to Asālat Khān, Mīr
Bakhshī of Shāh Jahān, at Kabul (20th year).

Tauzak, p. 49. Bakhshīs ordered to arrange for the crossing
of the army at Attock in regular batches.

Tauzak, p. 246. Abul Hasan Mir Bakhshī arranged for the con-
struction of a bridge 140 x 4 yards on the river Mahī in
three days on the king's return from Ahmedābad to Agra, and
was highly praised for it.

Tauzak, p. 291. Khvāja Abul Hasan and Sādiq Bakhshīs placed in
charge of the army on king's return from Kashmīr to ar-
range its march in two divisions.

A.N. III. p. 573. 34th year. Bakhshīs were ordered to arrange
for the crossing of the river by the army in groups accord-
ing to the order of the chaukī (Guards).

(3) Under Akbar, Lashkar Khān commanded the army against 'Alī^{Quli} Khān in the 9th year (A.N. II. Tr. p. 389-390), and was
given authority to accept his submission if offered. In
the 18th year Khvāja Ghiasud-dīn 'Alī Qazvenī was given
the title of Asaf Khan for his distinguished services in
Gujrāt and the same year Lashkar Khān was deputed against
the Rāna Partab of Udaipur (A.N. III. p. 64), and after some
time was sent to Bengal to work with Mun'im Khan (p. 73),
took part in the battle (p. 104), and had the charge of the
centre of the army in Orissa (p. 123), was wounded in the
battle and died of wounds after some time (p. 127).

His successor Shahbāz Khān took part in Jodhpur expedition
(21st year, p. 167), and worked in Behār and afterwards in
Bengal. Asaf Khan, another Bakhshī, had the charge of the
advance-guard in the battle of Idar against the Rāna (p. 174).
In the 45th year Shaikh Farid Mīr Bakhshī took part against

(Note continued.)

The
Bakhshis
in the
office.

The Mir Bakhshi and his colleagues, besides the duties described above, had regular office work like other civil officers. The nature of the work performed by them shows the importance of the department in the central government and its hold upon the entire service of the Empire.

The Mir Bakhshi:- He issued certificate (Dastak) under his seal and signatures for the following purposes:-

Issue of
certifi-
cates

- (1) the grant of the mansab, and sanctions of increments to the Princes, and other royal personages, Amirs of high rank and other high officials;
- (1)
- (2) the branding of the horses;

(Note continued.)

the fort of Asirgarh (p. 798).

Under Shāh Jahān, Jasvant Rāi and Marhamat Khān Bakhshis took part in the battle against 'Abdulla Khan Lodi and the Marhamat was wounded (1st year, Lāhpurī, p. 278). Mo'tamad Khan was in the field against the same 'Abdulla (p. 411). Sadiq Khan Mir Bakhshi worked in the Deccan (p. 423). Asalat Khan Bakhshi was deputed against Rāja Jagat Singh and he himself commanded one section of the army (14th year p.240). Mir Asghar 'Ali Bakhshi of the army and Khusrau Beg the Bakhshi of Asaf Khan's forces died fighting on the battle-field (10th year, p. 250 and 17th year, p. 275). Asalat Khan Mir Bakhshi and Khalilulla Khan second Bakhshi took a very prominent part in the Balkh expedition and were conspicuous by their distinguished services in the field in the 19th and the 20th years of the reign, (p.491-520) and were rewarded with promotions in their ranks(p. 554-555).

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- (1) No. 2, 5, and 6. - certificate to the effect that the horses have been branded and troops inspected.

(See next page.)

- (3) the assignment of duty on Guard;
- (4) permission withheld to appear at the Guard;
- (5) the muster of troops;
- (6) the branding and verification of the troops of high Amīrs
 (1) and mansabdārs required in cases of their death; or dismissal
- (7) the orders of the postings of mansabdārs;
- (8) the postings of Bakhshīs and Vāqi' Navīs of the provinces;
- (9) the appointments of Dārogħa, Amin and the writer of the
Guard;
- (10) the appointments of the Dārogħa, Amin, and Mushrif for
the branding and verification of troops attached with the
king and the postings of the same to provinces and different
armies.

Other papers dealt with by him:-

- ther
apers
ealt with
y him
- (1) The Yād Dāsht (Memorandum) of all orders relating to high Amīrs passed through his hands.
 - (2) The division of the armies into different sections was made in his office.
 - (3) He prepared the list of high amīrs in attendance on the king.
 - (4) All appointments made in his presence at the court were certified by him and the Yād Dāsht revised and sealed in his office.
-
- (1) This was considered necessary for the settlement of the accounts of salaries on the basis of the troops actually found in his service at that particular time.

(5) He dealt directly and received papers from the Bakhshīs and vāqī' Navīs of the provinces and the staff of the Guards.

The Records kept
in his
Office

- (1) The list of the mansabdārs stationed at the capital and deputed to provinces.
- (2) The account of demands due from mansabdārs.
- (3) The abstract of pay bills.
- (4) The Dastūr-ul 'Amal (Regulations) governing the salaries in cash and jāgīr and the conversion of jāgīrs into cash salaries.
- (5) The list of the rank of mansabdārs and the salaries drawn by them, and the manner in which they were drawn.
- (6) Descriptive rolls (chahra) of mansabdārs and savārs.
- (7) The records of branding and verification.
- (8) The record of the attendance of mansabdārs in the provinces and different armies.
- (9) The record of the attendance of Guards mounting at the palace.
- (10) The list of the armies and their arrangement on the day of meeting the enemy.

The report of orders relating to high Amīrs after the approval of the chief Bakhshī passed through the office of the second Bakhshī also. Similarly the second Bakhshī received in his office the certificates Nos. 9 and 10,⁽¹⁾ papers relating to the rank and salaries of mansabdārs (No. 5) and the record of branding and verification and of the attendance of mansabdārs.

(1) Noted above.

in provinces, in armies, and at Guards (Nos. 7, 8, and 9).

Orders of fresh appointments issued in the presence of the Mir Bakhshī reached the office of the second Bakhshī after 'Arz-i-Mukarrar (revision) and were entered there after the dāgh (branding).

In the absence of the Mir Bakhshī, the second Bakhshī prepared the list of mansabdārs present every day in attendance at the court, but all orders issued at the court in his absence were put before him in his office. (1)

As far as the account of the salaries of the mansabdārs was concerned, the Mir Bakhshī kept all the papers in his office which were signed and sealed by him but the record of leave and absence affecting the salary was kept by the second Bakhshī.

The military accountant (Sāhab-i-Taujīh) kept the account of receipts and disbursements item by item but the total was made and entered by the officer who prepared the cheque (Barāt Navīs). (2)

The nature of the work performed by the third Bakhshī was similar to that performed by the first two Bakhshīs. The difference in their position was maintained by the rank of the mansabdārs and other officials with whom they were authorised to deal. The chief Bakhshī dealt with the cases of the prince and high amirs, the second with mansabdārs of lower ranks, and the third did not deal with mansabdārs at all.

(1) Add 6599 F. 159 and Or 1641 Fs. 17 and 18a.

(2) Add 6599 F. 38.

The appointments, increments and postings of yaumiya dārān⁽¹⁾ alone were dealt with by him.

The number
of the
Bakhshis

No definite number is mentioned in the Āīn, but the expression bakhshīān used at different places suggests that there were more than one Bakhshi. In Akbar Nāma the distinction in their position is found in the use of the term Mīr Bakhshī but it does not settle the number. Throughout the records of Akbar's reign the Mīr Bakhshī, bakhshī or bakhshīān are the terms used and an inference can be drawn from them that there was one Chief Bakhshī and one more Bakhshī besides him, and that he was not called second Bakhshī as he came to be called in subsequent reigns.

The Bakhshī of the Ahadīs was separate and he held a post which was distinct from the above mentioned two offices.

Under Jahāngīr, the appointments of the first year of his reign show that he had three Bakhshis besides the one for the Ahadīs. Later on an appointment was made under the title of the Bakhshī-i-Muzūr (i.e. the Bakhshī in attendance) and the post was treated as distinct from the other three Bakhshis. Abdur Razzaq Ma'mūrī who was given the post was instructed to work in consultation with Khvāja Abul Hasan the Bakhshī. By a mere chance it has been possible to collect the names of all the Bakhshis of Jahāngīr holding different posts at the

(1) Lit. daily allowance holders, technically the officers and other persons drawing cash salaries or allowances without any rank; Sa'dulla Khan, the Chief Dīvān, also started in the same grade.

same time. Thus when fresh appointments were over, the arrangement of the post of the Bakhshīs stood as follows:-

(1) Shaikh Farīd	Mir Bakhshī.
(2) Khvāja Fatahulla)	Bakhshīs.
{ (3) Khvāja Abul Hasan)	
{ (4) Abdur Razzaq Ma'mūrī	Bakhshī-i-Huzūr (to act with Khvāja Abul Hasan)
(5) Bihārī Dās	Bakhshī of the Ahadīs.
(6) Zamāna Beg ⁽¹⁾ (later on given the title of Mahābat Khān)	Bakhshī-i-Shāgird Pesha (domestic servants)

The post of the Bakhshī-i-Huzūr appears to have continued under Jahāngīr and one more appointment is mentioned in the 9th year of the reign, though the title is different, yet the office is the same. "Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed to the high post of the Bakhshī gari-i-dar-i-khāna jointly with Khvāja Abul Hasan."⁽²⁾ The rank of the post was the same as of other assistant Bakhshīs. In this case, Ibrāhīm Khān was given the rank of 1500 Zāt - 600 Savār.

Similarly the post of the Bakhshī for Shāgird Pesha continued and Zamāna Beg was given the rank of 1500 Zāt.

Later on there is no mention of the Bakhshī-i- Huzūr as a distinct officer, and I am inclined to think that it ceases to be a separate office and the post was amalgamated with that of the third Bakhshī. The Bakhshī for the Ahadīs was an old post and it continued under subsequent reigns. The Bakhshī

(1) Tauzuk II year. Nos. 1 & 2 (p.6); 3 & 4 (p.39); 5 (p.49)

6 (p.10).

(2) Tauzuk, p. 127.

of the Shāgird Pesha is found under Shāh Jahān as well. (1)

Thus by the reign of Shāh Jahān the number of the Bakhshī was fixed at three. They were attached with the central office and worked together. The two other Bakhshīs noted above were distinct from them and as they dealt with a particular class of servants only they cannot be regarded as the members of the Central Department. (2)

Under Akbar and Jahāngīr the designation was not settled. The Chief Bakhshī was called Mīr and the other two Bakhshīs. The proper designation as first, second and third Bakhshīs is found under Shāh Jahān. The other two retained their distinct titles. (3)

(1) Lāhorī, p. 91. Hājī 'Āshor appointed in the 11th year.

(2) Abul Fazl has included all the Bakhshīs in his list in the Āin, p. 232, which also shows that there was no such distinction in that reign.

(3) "Mo'tamad Khān the second Bakhshī by the right of seniority in service was appointed the Mīr Bakhshī." (16th year, p. 279.)

It may be pointed out that there was no Bakhshī-i-Tan in these reigns as suggested by Mr. Irvine (p. 39), and the above explanation clears the point which appeared vague and indefinite to Mr. Irvine. He has been unable to fix the exact number and to find distinction between different titles (p. 40).

List of the prominent Mīr Bakhshīs.

Akbar	Lashkar Khān.)				
	Shahbāz Khān. Kamboh)				
	Āsaf Khān Qazvenī)	No definite period of service of			
	Shaikh Farīd)	each as Mīr Bakhshī can be			
			determined.			
Jahāngīr	Do. (continued)	1st year to 2nd year	=	1 year		
	Vazīrul Mulk	2nd , , 7th , ,	=	5 years		
	Khvāja Abul Hasan	8th , , 16th , ,	=	8 , ,		
	Sādiq Khān	16th , , 18th , ,	=	2 , ,		
	Irādat Khān	19th , , 22nd , ,	=	3 , ,		
Shāh Jahān	Do. (continued for a short time))				
	Sādiq Khān (second time till death)	1st year to 6th year	=	5 , ,		
	Islām Khān	6th , , 8th , ,	=	2 , ,		
	Mīr Jumla	8th , , 10th , ,	=	2 , ,		
	Mo ^t amad Khān	10th , , 13th , ,	=	3 , ,		
	Salābat Khān	13th , , 17th , ,	=	4 , ,		
	Asālat Khān	17th , , 20th , ,	=	3 , ,		
	Ja ^f ar Khān	20th , , 23rd , ,	=	3 , ,		
	Khalīlulla Khān	23rd				

The Mir Bakhshī was thus an equal sharer in power, status and influence with the Chief Dīvān. The powers held by the vazirs of other Muslim monarchies were divided between them. They were a check upon each other but the administrative routine was arranged in such a manner that none could dominate the other.

The Mir Bakhshī was the head of the military department, and as such, the chief representative of the mansabdārs, but this position did not give him any influence with the army. He was not the commander-in-chief of the forces of the Empire nor was he entitled to lead an expedition by virtue of his office. It was entirely at the discretion of the king to make suitable arrangements according to the nature of the expedition and the composition of the army and its generals selected on that particular occasion. In most cases separate Bakhshis (called Bakhshī-i-'askar or lashkar) were appointed for the expedition and they were neither selected by the Chief Bakhshī nor necessarily taken from his department. They only worked under his supervision.

His influence in the field and with the army was further curtailed by the presence either of the king or of amirs of high positions, on important expeditions, and in all cases by king's direct contact with all the generals and commanders and by his vigilance and direction of all affairs and movements, as noticed above.

The Mir Bakhshī is generally regarded as the pay-master

of the army but it was not a part of his regular and permanent duties. He was concerned with the financial matters only when the army was on active service. The Divān and his representatives did not move with it and they only acted through him. Thus it was only on the battlefield that the sanctioned amount were placed under his charge and he distributed the cash salaries, and advanced necessary loans to the army; but when the army returned from active service, the Mīr Bakhshī submitted the account to the Divān's office and ceased to be the pay-master.

Another feature of the office was that the nature of the work attached with it made its holder essentially a man of the military. Military qualification and military career became the chief basis for appointment and rise to the post, yet the nature of the office-work combined with the post, together with an equally important duty in the darbān, naturally led him to possess literary qualification and be a cultured man. Thus the combination of two different types of work necessarily prevented him from becoming purely of a military type, and the list of the office holders of the period shows that most of them did combine both the qualities, and particular regard was paid to this point also in their selection. Āsaf Khān Qazvenī and Shaikh Farīd under Akbar were regarded as men of pen as well as of sword. Jahāngīr himself said to the latter while confirming him in his post, after his accession, "turā sahāb-ul saif val qalam mī dānam" (p.6). Khvāja Abul

Hasan though generally not liked for his bad temper was decidedly a man of learning and succeeded I'timādūl-Daula as Dīvān of the Empire. Trādat Khān and Islām Khān and Mīr Jumla became Chief Dīvāns under Shāh Jahān. Mo'tamad Khān and Asālat Khān were noted for their scholarship and refined manners.

It will be interesting to note that, of Akbar's chief Bakhshīs, Lashkar Khān and Shahbāz Khān were purely men of the military and they had their careers in that line only, and both of them, though noted for efficiency and loyalty, were punished for bad behaviour on more than one occasion. Besides them, there was only one more case, of Sādiq Khān, who was removed from office by Jahāngīr on suspicion of disloyalty while the rest enjoyed perfect confidence of their respective monarchs. None was removed for any fault, they were either transferred as Governors of Provinces or made Dīvāns, or continued in office till their deaths.

Dastak Rāhdāri
(Passport)

Giving instructions to state officers, jagīrdārs, zamīndārs to
let the holder pass through their jurisdiction to kābul.

P. 2246

13

فرمان دستک را هدایتی کرو ریان و مُعْقَدَان و جاکِر داران
وزیران داران و حکیمی داران و لذر بانان راه کابل بعثات
خر و از امید وار بوده بدانند در این ولاد سعادت نهاد خواهد
کیلی از مُعْقَدَان در کاه پیش نیا به بولایت میروند و ریاست دار
از سکار خالصه شریفه و قدری پارچه از خود یهره دار فراید که
بعت نکوت و غیره فرامحی حال او نکردند و هر حاکم نزول نماید
ارجو کی پیش خبردار بوده از محاطه راه در حدود خود نماید
بلذ را نمایند اصله و مطلب تعالی فنا نمایند اگر آجیاناً در حدود داد
امری ناشایسته واقع خواهد شد از عهمه آن خواه خوب است که

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Or. Ms. 26140	BRITISH	MUSEUM	P8492						
1	2	3	4						

CHAPTER VII.THE MĪR SĀMĀN.OUTLINE.

Mr. Barthold's division of the organs of administration under Eastern Muslim monarchies into Dargāh (Palace) and Dīvān (Chancery) not applicable to the system of the Mughals. The Mīr Sāmān in charge of the Kārkhānas (factories) and stores maintained by the State. The head of a regular department of the central Government.

The nature of the department. A similar arrangement found under Fīnūz Tughluq - Difference between the two.

The two terms Mīr Sāmān and Khān Sāmān used for the office. The former retained in the thesis.

The officers of the Department and their duties.

The internal working of the Department.

The position of the Mīr Sāmān and the Dīvān of the department. The King and the Kārkhānas:- King's contract with the department in three different ways. (1) Sanction of financial grant and schemes presented twice every year.

(2) All important matters and estimates of big orders referred to the King in the Darbiār by the officers of the department.

(3) Manufactured articles exhibited before the king by the department and the artisan concerned presented.

The effect of the system:- Direct contact with the artisans. individual recognition of merit, reward and encouragement. Examples of the personal attention of the king to different branches.

Shāh Jahān sending manufactured goods to Hejāz for the amount sanctioned for charity instead of cash.

The list of the prominent Mīr Sāmāns of Shāh Jahān and their rank.

Mr. Barthold's statement that 'throughout the whole system of the Eastern Muslim political organisation there runs like a red thread the division of all the organs of administration with two main categories, the dargāh (palace) and ^X dīvān (chancery)', applies to India, only as far as the Delhi sultamate is concerned. In it, we find the Mīr Hājib, the vakīl-i-dar and the Bār bak, the officers of the court and the palace, occupying equal status with the Dīvān-i vizārat and the Dīvāan-i-Arz. But the Mughals departed in their organisation not only from the Delhi Sultāns but from the Sāmānid and 'Abbāsid Governments as well. Their entire administrative machinery was divided into central and Provincial. The central part of the administration covered both Dargāh and the Dīvān but no division of functions was made on that basis. The Mīr Sāmān was the minister in charge of a department of the central government like the Dīvān and the Mīr Bakhshī.

The Kārkhānas or the buyūtāt as the department was called included factories and stores maintained by the central government, for the purpose of state. The department can neither be placed under the category of the Daghāh nor of the Household. It dealt with every article from pearls and precious stones, swords and scimitars, to huge guns and heavy artillery. It maintained horses and elephants for the army, beasts of burden for baggage and other animals for royal hunt.

The head of the department dealt directly with the king like other ministers. He dealt with the *Divān* for amounts sanctioned by the king and submitted to him his accounts for audit. He also came in contact with the *Mīr Bakhshī* in the equipment of armies and the arrangements of royal tours and hunts. The one looked to the arrangement of the army, the other to the regular supply of its needs. The one arranged the tours and hunts while the other looked after the baggage and the necessary provisions and thus both accompanied the king.

The department not only purchased and stored all kinds of articles but it was the greatest manufacturing agency in the country for weapons of war and articles of luxury. Though owned and managed by the state, the department was run strictly on business lines.

Under the Delhi Sultanate *Firuz Shāh* alone had devoted his energies towards the state *Kār Khānās* and he had a large establishment and a separate department for them, but it is not clear from the account given by 'Afīf whether the department only stored articles or manufactured them as well. All references suggest that it only kept stores and its importance consisted in its large quantities and regular

supplies of fresh and up-to-date articles in every branch.

MIR SAMĀN

There appears to be some confusion in the use of the

OR

ĀN SĀMĀN.

term Mir Sāmān for this office. Under Akbar this term is not used at all. Mr. Blochmann has pointed out one example of its use in a biographical note on Khvāja Jalālud-dīn Mahmūd of Khorāsān, but there it is used as a title conferred upon him by Humāyūn "which under the circumstances was an empty distinction." In the Āīn neither his duties are mentioned nor are his powers defined. In Akbar Nāma also there are fewer references about him as compared with other officers of his rank. However, his position is clearly discernable in the procedure of Farmāns in which he stands on an equal status with the Chief Dīvān and the Chief Bakhshī.

X. 'Afīf:- The Sultān often used to say that in a kingdom there are two valuables, one includes fief-lands,

- (1) Parganas, and Domains, and the other Kārkhānās. As millions of money come from fiefs so the goods worth millions are stored in the Kārkhānās. Accordingly the possessions of my one Kārkhānā are in no way less than the proceeds of the city of Multān. (P. 339).

- (2) The Sultān had 36 Kārkhānās. He always made strenuous efforts to store goods in them and every Kārkhānā was full of goods of variety and quality. (P. 356).

- (3) Different Kārkhānās were under different Amirs but the entire charge was under Khvāja Abul Husan who received royal orders and communicated them to the Amir concerned who carried them out immediately. (P. 338).

- (4) Whenever fine goods of quality were available they were purchased for Kārkhānās and payments were made, on the very day of the purchase. (P. 99).

Under Jahāngīr, the term Mīr Sāmān is maintained throughout the period of his reign and there is only one instance in which the term Khān Sāmān is used in its stead in the 15th year in the Tauzuk in connection with Mīr Jumla's appointment to the post (ba Khidmat-i-Khān Sāmānī (p. 314) but when he was replaced by Afzal Khān in the 21st year, the term Mīr Sāmān was used. (P. 412).

Under Shāh Jahān whether in appointments, in darbār or on tours, wherever the officer is mentioned the term Mīr Sāmān is used for it and the contemporary writers of his reign have uniformly maintained it.

But so far as the Dastūr-ul 'Amals (Extracts of Regulations) are concerned, which were mostly drafted or copied in the reign of 'Alamgīr, the term Khān Sāmān predominates. Mīr Sāmān appears only in one MS. of the Dastūr (add. 6599 F. 58) and it was written in the early part of his reign, while in other works including the Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khāni (MS. Add. 6585) written in the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the term Khān Sāmān is retained.

Thus I conclude that under Akbar this officer held the same rank and position which is found under his two successors, and but the entire work associated with his office had not devolved upon him in that reign. In connection with the Kār Khānās, Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt is more conspicuous under Akbar. It was the later development which placed him in charge of the whole department and settled his position in the

administrative machinery; and in this capacity he came to be known as Mīr Sāmān. He is mentioned under Jahāngīr very frequently on all occasions, on which he could be expected to be in connection with his duties, and everywhere he is Mīr Sāmān and not Khān Sāmān.

Under Aurangzeb, he again becomes Khān Sāmān as he appears in the official technique of the Regulations.

For my purposes I have retained the term Mīr Sāmān which is used by all the contemporary writers of the greater part of the period covered by this thesis.

- THE OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT
- The department consisted of the Mīr Sāmān as the Chief Executive officer responsible for the successful working and the general supervision of the department.
- Divān-i-buyūtāt - another officer of high rank, chiefly responsible for the financial side of the department.
- Mushrif-i-Kul o Juz - (Literally accountant of the part and the whole) Head Accountant of the department. He had a mushrif in each of the branch of the department under him.
- Dārogha - Each branch or kārkhāna had a Dāroghā who dealt directly with the artisans of his branch, distributed them their daily work and took charge of the material left in their possession every day.
- Ta'vīldār - Like the Dārogha, each Kārkhāna had a Ta'vīldār who had the charge of cash and material required for his branch.
- Mustaṇfi - (Auditor) He audited the accounts of the Kārkhānās, verified the expenditure with vouchers, prepared a statement, signed it himself, put it before the Dīvān of the department and finally had the seal of the Mīr Sāmān put on it.
- Dārogha-i-Kachehri - He was in charge of the general supervision of the establishment of the office. It

was his duty to see that all papers and registers were taken from one officer to another properly. He was also to see that no one behaved rudely towards the clerks and the servants of the office. He locked the doors of the office with the seal of the officer concerned and put his own seal on each.

Nāzir - He came in rank next to the Dīvān of the department. The post was created in the 35th year of Akbar's reign and a very efficient man Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī was appointed on it. He had served as Nāib Sadr in the early part of the reign, and besides other various duties, he had also acted for some time as joint Dīvān. The reason for the creation of the post is given by Abul Fazl in the following words, "Though Sādiq Khān was a skilful Mīr Sāmān and Khwāja Ghīāsud-dīn Beg was Dīvān, yet as in every department there was much income and expenditure, the more help there was the better for the work." Thus he was intended to be an

MS. Add. 6598. pp. 33 A. & B.

X. A. N. III, p. 597, Tr. P. 877.

assistant and a help to the Dīvān. According to Dastūr (Add. 6599 - F. 37 B), whatever work is done by the Dīvān of the department, the Nāzir should go through it and put his seal on all those papers. In this capacity he becomes a revising officer to guarantee greater efficiency and accuracy. As far as the actual working of the department is concerned, he was connected more with the financial side than with the executive. He was decidedly lower in rank and status to the Dīvān and nowhere does he appear even as his equal.

It is interesting to note that both under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān there are several references to the Dāroghās and the Ṭa'vīldārs who had the opportunity to appear before the king and place before him the articles of their Kārkhānās whenever so required, but the Nāzir of the department who was concerned with the official routine is nowhere mentioned. He was neither prominent by the nature of his duties like the Dārogha and the Ṭa'vīldār, nor conspicuous by his position like the Mīr Sāmān and the Dīvān.

X

X. See examples below under the section dealing with the 'King and the Kārkhānās.'

THE INTERNAL WORKING. The respective duties of each of the officers can briefly be summarised thus:- The Mīr Sāmān as the head of the department dealt with its executive side, and exercised general supervision over the internal working of each branch. He had initiative power in the appointments and dismissals of the Dāroghas, Mushrifs and ^aTūvīldārs, and to take disciplinary action against subordinate hands. He dealt with all the affairs of the department and attended to the orders received in the Kārkhāns from the provinces. Important matters or big transactions were brought by him to the notice of the king while with the rest he dealt himself.

The Dīvān looked to the financial side and in this capacity, he dealt with the Nāzir, the Mustaufī, and the Mushrif. In all other matters also, he attended to the needs of the Kārkhāns but first brought them to the notice of the Mīr Sāmān, and according to the rules, acted in consultation with him. As in financial matters, the Mīr Sāmān simply put his seal on the papers which reached him through the Dīvān and the Mustaufī and he did not go into the details, so in all other matters the Dīvān relied upon the decisions of the Mīr Sāmān. The dual character, a sense of joint responsibility, and the balancing of powers, so conspicuous in every branch of the mughal system was maintained here as well. Though powers of both the chief officers of the department were clearly defined yet no strong barriers were placed and the intermingling of the two sides of the administration was maintained to the advantage of

the department.

The Nāzir had no distinct powers and duties and he worked in co-ordination with the Dīvān and his presence simply facilitated the work of revision and the checking of accounts before their being submitted to the central auditing department.

The Mustaufī demanded the necessary papers, particularly the daily entry book and the abstract of daily cash receipts and disbursement from Thāvildār, and Mushrifs of each branch, verified the accounts item by item and got them signed by the Dīvān. If there was anything in which the Dīvān needed an explanation, he noted it with his own pen.

After the sanction of accounts, he prepared sheets for the demand of money and taking the signatures of the Dīvān handed them over to the Dārogha of the Kachehrī so that the amount may be realised in time.

It was the duty of the Dīvān to see that no hardship accrued to any one of his department in this connection.

He was responsible for all such transations and accounts which passed through him.

X
The Mustaufī also prepared a statement about the income and expenditure of the department under each Thāvildār

X. MS. 6599, F. 58.

MS. 6526, F. 33 A.

and a report on the general condition of the affairs and
 accounts of each Kārkhāna.

The duties of the Thāvīldār and the Dārogha can only be gathered from the forms given in Dastūrs for recording the daily work done in each branch and payments made for the same.

The Thāvīldār kept the necessary amount with him for meeting the requirements of his branch. He also kept in stock the material needed for the work done in that particular branch. The Dārogha took money or the material from him and distributed it to the artisans under him. Entries were made of such transactions every day, and at the close of the day, the Dārogha noted the work done by every artisan. If the work in hand was, for example, a piece of jewellery or a piece of cloth, the Dārogha will note the piece finished at the close of the day, return it to the Thāvīldār together with the remaining material. Thus as the work proceeded day by day and the material supplied and the quantity used was entered by the Dārogha and the Thāvīldār and when a particular piece was finished, the price of the material together with the wages of the artisan for the number of days taken by him to complete it fixed the cost price of the piece and the final report prepared that such and such an article was prepared at that cost by such and such an artisan under the supervision of such and such a Dārogha.

The same process was followed in every branch whether

it be the kitchen where provisions in grains were supplied or the buildings department which noted the number of bricks, the size of stones and the quantity of other material used in the area of a particular dimensions every day.

Thus the Thāvīldār and the Dārogha dealt directly with the artisans. One kept the cash and stored the necessary stock of material used in a particular branch. The other distributed it to the artisan and supervised his work. The mushrif of the same branch wrote the account day by day and these were the daily entries of cash advanced, material supplied and work done which were submitted to the mustaufi for which the Thāvīldār, the Dārogha and the mushrif were all jointly responsible.

The Dārogha of the Kachehnī formed a connecting link between these and the other higher officers and was responsible for the despatch of all necessary papers to their respective destinations at each stage.

The artisans were paid cash monthly salaries or daily wages according to the nature of the work. Skilled labour was mostly paid in regular salaries and great favour was shown to good hands and they were all known personally to the king and were presented before him or summoned by him whenever they exhibited an unusual skill or workmanship in their profession.

MS. 6598, F.s. 53B, 54 and 56-104. These contain the specimen papers of accounts and the method of recording the details of every Kārkhāna as required by the regulations. The above procedure is formed after the detailed study of these papers together with their comparison with scattered historical facts connected with officers' duties.

HE
POSITION
THE
SĀMĀN
AND
DĪVĀN.

The Mīr Sāmān and the Dīvān-i-buyūtāt were jointly responsible for the management of the Kārkhānās and the workings of the department, but in spite of the joint responsibility, the inner working and the details of procedure followed, reveal that the Mīr Sāmān had somewhat higher position than the Dīvān of the department, but the Dīvān cannot be considered his subordinate.

In the darbār both of them had a right to appear and put matters connected with their duties before the king, but though Mīr Sāmān had a precedence in order, and he had also a right to bring to His Majesty's notice whatever he thought necessary for his department, it appears that the Dīvān's right was limited only to placing the necessary papers before the king. X1

In the procedure followed in the preparation of Farmāns, the Mīr Sāmān (Khān Sāmān of the Āīn) occupied the position of the Dīvān-i-Kūl in his department. The Dīvān-i-buyūtāt looked to the details, checked the accounts, verified the statements submitted by mushrifs (accountants) of each branch, while the Mīr Sāmān approved it and signed it.

Similarly, the Mīr Sāmān occupied a higher status in putting his seal upon the Farmāns. He put his seal on

X1. Lāhorī I, p. 245.

X2. Āīn - Blochmann, P. 262 - based on the procedure of Barāt (cheque) entered therein.

the second fold together with the Dīvān (Vazīr) and the Bakhshī (Chief), while the seal of the Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt was placed on the third fold.

The division of functions and the work of the department also reveals the same difference of status. All important papers were required to be countersigned by him. He was solely responsible for dealing with the cases of the State property under the control of the department. In cases of the attachment of the property, the Dīvān acted in co-operation with him.

As far as their status in accordance with the rank concerned, there is very scanty material under Akbār, but both under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān the Mīr Sāmān decidedly occupied a higher status and enjoyed a much higher rank than the Dīvāns of their department.

X1. Āin - Blochmann, P. 263 - based on the order of the Seals.

X2. The Mīr Sāmān and his department had the charge of all state property at the capital. He looked to the management of all gardens, and shops and houses given on rent and nuzūl (nominal royalty). Similarly he took charge of all property confiscated by royal order. The author of the Tārikh-i-Shakir Khānī has recorded his own case in which the property of his family was confiscated on the death of his father and later on restored to him. It was Mīr Sāmān who executed the order in both the cases. (F. 100A and 101B)

In the same capacity he executed orders of gifts and rewards of houses.

But it is interesting to note that in spite of this difference in their official rank, both of them reached the vizārat (chief ministership) direct, and the Dīvān was under no disadvantage as compared with the Mīr Sāmān.

THE KING AND THE KĀRKHĀNĀS.

In accordance with the Dastūr (Regulations), the king came in contact with this branch of the central government in three different ways, which taken together, covered its every aspect.

FINANCIAL GRANTS needs twice every year before the Government which were ultimately placed before the king and the sanction was issued X1
SCHEMES. in the form of a Farmān on which the royal seal was placed.

Such Farmāns which were issued for financial grants only were called 'Barāts' as distinguished from other farmāns of a general nature.

These statements included all financial transactions of the department, sales, purchases, stocks stored, expenditure on regular establishment, temporary hands, and workmen of daily wages, and balances under each Thāvīldār together with the demands of each branch of the department as submitted by X2 it through the Dīvān of the buyūtāt.

X1. Āīn - P. 195.

X2. Or. 164, F. 20 and 21B, clauses 1, 5 and 6.

Procedure in preparing such statements:-

The accountant of each workshop or stable writes out annually two barāts, one for the six months from Farvardīn to Shabrivar (February to July) and the other from Mihr to Isfandārmuz (August to January)^x. He writes down the

x. Āīn - Blochmann, P. 262. The English months entered in it are wrong. They do not agree with Persian months of the text.

Footnote continued from Page 241.

allowances on account of grain, grass, etc., both in shape of cash and stores, and the salaries of the staff, and signs the statement. The Dīvān-i-buyūtāt inspects them, approves the cash statement after inquiring into the increase and decrease, if any, and writes on the margin "az tāhvīl-i-falān-i. barāt Navisand" "Let a barāt be made showing the amount to be deposited with such and such."^x The Mushrif of the Kārkhānas carries out the order, writes out a receipt (or voucher) also and signs and seals it. In a cheque for cash payments, one fourth of the amount is deducted and a separate samad is given for it. The Dīvān-i-buyūtāt then gives the order to have it entered (in the office registers). After this, the barāt and the receipt is sealed and signed by the mushrif of the department. (The barāt thus prepared by the Kārkhāna concerned and approved by the Dīvān-i-buyūtāt passes out of the department). It reaches the Military Accountant (because some of the employees of the department hold mansabs and draw their salaries on that lbt) Mustaufi, Nāzir, Dīvān-i-buyūtāt (again to him lest there should be some need for alteration after being checked by the mustaufi), Dīvān-i-kul, Khān Sāmān (or Mīr Sāmān), Mushrif of the Dīvān (A'lā) and the Vakil and is signed and sealed by each of them. In every case the estimate is sent along with it, so that there may be no mistake when it has been laid before His Majesty, the Mushrif writes out the receipt which then in the same manner entered into the several daftars. The mode of payment is also detailed on the back of it i.e. one fourth is to be paid in gold (asharfīs), one-half in silver (rupīs), one part in copper (dāms) according to the fixed value of coins - A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of each barāt. (All transactions of the department, deposits and payments of salaries of the establishment of every kind of workshops or stables are all made by barāts.)

x. Āīn - Blochmann, P. 262. The word Mushrif added in the translation is incorrect as the amount was not deposited with the mushrif but with the tāhvīldār and the word falān-i-refers to such and such tāhvīldār and not to mushrif who was concerned with accounts only.

Āīn - P. 194-195.

Blochmann P. 262. At certain places I have not been able to agree with the translation. Besides certain changes, necessary explanations have also been added.

IMPORT-

IT MATTERS grants and the inspection of financial statement every sixth FERRED. month, but it formed a part of his daily routine. The Mir

Sāmān and the Dīvān appeared in the Darbār every day like other heads of departments and represented important cases

X1

connected with their duties. It was on such occasions that

the King placed his own orders with the Kārkhānās, looked into the orders of other departments, learnt of all big orders placed by others, and approved the prices fixed by the

X2

department.

Prices of articles and animals fixed and reported to the King:-

Tuzak. 2nd year, P. 66. Elephant from Ratan S/O Bhoj Hāda

Rs.

was valued at 15 thousand and named

Ratan Gaj.

" 10th.

Elephant from Rāja Sūraj Singh valued

at Rs. 20 thousand named Fauj Singār.

" 15th. P. 326.

38 elephants received in the year

valued at Rs. 2 Laks and 41 thousand.

X1. The regulation definitely provided for referring important cases to the King. (Addl 6598, F. 33 clause I.)

X2. The fixing of prices formed an important function of the Mir Sāmān though expert advice was necessary and it was sought and sometimes arranged by the king himself yet he was officially responsible for it. (Or. 1641, F. 20B)

- Ain P. 101 -

The importance of this duty can be seen from the prices entered in the Ain for such articles.

Ain P. 101 - For cloth industry, tailoring department and King's wardrobe.

Do. P. 103-111 - For woollen shawls manufactured by the state.

Do. P. 119-124 For weapons " " " (all

Do. P. 160-170 For Building material. prices

Tūzak 3rd Year P. 70 - A ruby piece from Āsāfr Khān Qazvenī Vakīl was valued at Rs. 75 thousand.

Jahāngir differed and valued it at Rs. 60 thousand.

" 13th P. 244 - A piece of diamond from the mine of Kokra (Behār) cut by the diamond cutters of the state was valued at Rs. 3 thousand and the experts said that if it had been a little whiter it would have fetched Rs. twenty thousand.

" 11th P. 155 - A dagger from Khān Jahān valued at Rs. 50 thousand.

" 12th P. 193 - A diamond piece bought by a Firangi for sale. He demanded Rs. 2 lacs for it. The expert jewellers at court valued it at Rs. 80 thousand. Hence no sale was effected. Mahābātt Khān purchased it for one lac at Burmānpūr and presented it to the king.

Lāhorī 19th, P. 607 - Six horses purchased by Shāh Jahān valued at Rs. 25 thousand one of them at Rs. 15 thousand.

" " P. 480. - A diamond piece from Shāista Khān weighing 116 rattis valued at Rs. one lac, polished in the workshop after which it weighed 100 rattis.

) MANUFAC- The King's interference and vigilance reached still
RED ARTICLES further when the regulation required the valuable articles
HIBITED. manufactured in the government workshops of the capital or
provinces or purchased from outside to be exhibited in the
darbār before the king. Weapons of war, articles of luxury
or any useful thing which either for its importance, or work-
manship could interest the king, was produced before him.
This procedure not only brought the skill and the workmanship
of the country to the notice of the monarch but the artisan
also who was produced before him. Thus the credit did not
wholly go to the department and its high officers only for
every achievement but to the artisans as well who were at
times lavishly rewarded for original designs, superior skill
and unusual workmanship exhibited by them.

This completed the control and the supervision of
the king over the department from its finances down to its
inner working and output.

PERSONAL
ATTENTION
OF THE
KING.

The most conspicuous case under Jahāngīr besides numerous other cases of a variety of articles appreciated and artisans rewarded, is that of a dagger, the hilt of which was made of Dandān-i-māhī (Fish's teeth) with black spots.

(ablaq) The one of this quality was sent by Shāh 'Abbās to Jahāngīr for which he had taken a fancy and a search was made for fish's teeth of the same quality and shade throughout the country and Jahāngīr says, "I appointed several skilful men to go to Irān and Tūrān to look for them and to bring some from anywhere and any person, anyhow, and at any price." By chance one piece of a great beauty and delicacy was found and purchased for a trifle in the city of Āgra and was entrusted to the artisan of the state Kārkhānās for making hilts. Jahāngīr has recorded his opinions about his artisans, their workmanship and the reward he gave to them on this occasion. "I ordered the ustāds (masters or experts) Pūran and Kalyān, who had no rivals in the art of engraving (Khātim bandī) to make dagger hilts of a shape that was approved at this time and has become known as the Jahāngīri fashion. At the same time the blade and the sheath and fastenings were given to skilful men, each of whom was unique in his age in his art (Yaktāyān-i-roze gār). Truly, it was well carried out according to my wish. One hilt came out coloured in such a way as to create astonishment. It turned out of all the seven colours, and some of the flowers looked as if a skilful painter had depicted them in black

lines round it with a wonder working pencil. In short, it was so delicate that I never wish it to be apart from me for a moment. Of all the gems of great price that are in the treasury, I consider it the most precious.....; the masters who..... had exercised great skill and taken great pains were rewarded. Ustād Būrān with the gift of an elephant, a dress of honour, and a golden bracelet (kara) for the wrist, and Kalyān with the title of 'Ajāib Dast (wondrous hand) and increased mansab, a dress of honour, and a jewelled bracelet (Pahaunchī), and in the same way, every one according to his circumstances and skill received favours."

As Jahāngīr had a mania for precious stones which has been noted by every European traveller to his court, so he had a taste for painting. The skill he had acquired in judging his artist's works is thus recorded in his own words. "Abul Hasan the painter who has been honoured with the title of Nādir uz-Zamān drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the Jahāngīr Nāma and brought it to me. As it is worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect and his picture is one of the chefs d'œuvre of the age.

..... If at this day the masters 'Abdul Hayy and Bīkgād were alive they would have done him justice.

..... From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him till his art has arrived at this rank.

Truly he has become Nādir-uz-Zamān (the wonder of the age) As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows." X

In the end it may be pointed that there is abundant material scattered in the chronicles of the period to trace the gradual developement of every industry under these three

X. Tauzuk, P. 235.

Rogers, II, p. 20-21.

do. P. 116-117. Bishan Dās painter was sent to Persia with the Royal ambassador Khān 'Alām to take the portraits of the Shāh and the chief men of the State. His work is mentioned on p. 117 and portraits of the Shāh were much appreciated; Bishan Dās is termed as unequalled in his age for taking likeness. He was given an elephant as a reward.

S.T. Roe. P. 196 to 201. mentions about Jahāngir's taste for paintings and portraits and the case of six copies of the portrait presented by Roe shown to him the same evening which were done by court painters, and he found it difficult to recognise the one which belonged to him.

Hawkins, P. 111-112. - mentions about Jahāngir's mania for precious stones.

monarchs. The attention which Akbar paid to his Kārkhānas and to recruiting artisans from different countries and in training local men in every art is recorded in the Āīn under each industry and is noticed by Father Monserrate also. ^{X1}

As for example, about shawl industry, Abūl Fazl says, "Formerly shawls were brought sometimes from Kashmīr. Now high and low all keep it on shoulders. Kashmīr industry developed and received a new life. In Lāhore alone more than one thousand Kārkhānas exist." (Prices varied from 150 Gold Mohars (Rs 1,050) to Rs. 6 per piece).

Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān continued the patronage. The chronicler of the latter reign about carpets says, "the industry of Kashmīr and Lāhore had developed to such an extent that woollen carpets are now prepared there at a cost Rs 100 per yard and the woollen carpets prepared in the Kārkhānas of the ruler of Irān are like a sackcloth ~~xxxviii~~
before them. Now all the halls of the Royal buildings are ^{X2} furnished with these woollen carpets."

X1. Monserrate, p. 36 speaks of a large number of artisans, iron workers and goldsmiths, p. 201. Akbar's interest in Kārkhānas, personally visiting and sometimes himself working there.

P. 207 Akbar trading on his account.

P. 195-60 Lāhore second to none in India and Europe in art and craft.

Pelsart. P. 19 & 26-28 describes the demand for varieties under Jahāngīr and speaks of carpets with silk and gold thread - no scope left for china silk.

X2. Lāhord I, p. 448. Sālih (p. 515) says Rs. 90 a yard.

Shāh Jahān's attention to and patronage of home industry is incidentally revealed in a case of charities of his reign. Once before his succession to the throne and again during the illness of his favourite daughter Begam Sāhib, he had taken a vow to send Rs. five lacs to Mecca. When he succeeded to the throne and similarly when his daughter recovered, he fulfilled the vow but unlike Akbar and Jahāngīr, he did not send the amount in cash but ordered that goods to the value of the said amount should be purchased at Ahmadābād and then sold in Ḥejāz and the amount received together with the profit should be distributed there in charity in accordance with the instructions given for the purpose. X

Thus the system of maintaining the Kārkhānas by the central government not only fulfilled all the needs of the State at a low price but gave an encouragement and impetus to different industries of the country and the improved works executed and articles manufactured in state factories must have served as models and furnished better designs to the local artisans.

X. The amount on both occasions was sent in several instalments but the orders for purchasing goods in Ahmadābād and Sūrat were given on every occasion Lāhorī (1) 4th year, p. 407 (2) 10th year p. 281, Pt. II, (3) 16th year P. 310 Vol. II, (4) 18th, 406. Sālih MS. (5) 21st year, p. 331 (6) 24th year, p. 443.

Last two references show that on all previous occasions a profit of 50 per cent had accrued by the sale of these goods.

The following list of the Mīr Sāmān s of Shāh Jahān's reign shows the importance which the office had, by that time, acquired.

<u>Name.</u>	<u>Rank.</u>
Allāmī Afzal Khān	4,000 Zāt - 2,000 Horse
Mīr Jumla	4,000 " - 2,500 "
Āqil Khān	2,000 " - 500 "
Sādulla Khān	3,000 " - 500 "
Āqil Khān (Second time)	2,500 " - 800 "
Mulla 'Imād-ul-Mulk)	1,500 " - 500 "
(later on Fāzil Khān) reached the rank of	3,000 " - 800 "

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CHAPTER VIII

THE SADR.

Outline.

Introductory:- The position of the Sadr in an Islamic state:-
 Al-Māvardī, Ibn-i-Khaldūn, Nizāmul Mulk (*suijāsat Nāma*), MSS.
 Ādāb-i-saltanat, Zakhīratul Mulūk, Sulūkul Mulūk.

Indispensable for the state and the king. Representative of the ulamā; the highest authority on Islamic Law. The Duties of the Sadr.

Sadrs in the early reign of Akbar occupied a distinguished position; change in Akbar's policy and attitude due to the irregularities of sadrs; vigilance over them and curtailment of their powers.

Regulations:- Persons eligible for land and stipends from the department. Necessary qualifications for the post of Sadr. Regulations analysed.

Reforms in the award of charitable lands, and their working under Akbar.

The Department of Sadr:- The transaction of business. The procedure in grants of lands. The relations with the Dīvān of the Empire.

The reform and after:- The chief features of grants under Akbar. The position of the sadr and ulamas. The efficiency - only one case of corruption.

Jahāngīr:- His attitude; rise of the Sadr; frequent grants of lands to the poor but no revival of Sadr's powers; conflicting passages in records about his powers analysed.

Shāh Jahān:- more generous than Akbar, and more methodical than Jahāngīr; on the whole very cautious in grants of lands; very few mentions; cash charities more frequent and better regulated. A case of irregularity; Sadr removed from office. Inquiry and review of grant deeds. Order for inquiry analysed; inferences drawn from it and statements explained from administrative point of view; conclusions from the case about the chief features of grants under Shāh Jahān. The maximum amount of such awards. Exceptional cases.

Other Charities. Poor Houses; supply of cooked meals and cash awards. Cases quoted.

Chief features of such charities and their limited benefit.

The List of Prominent Sadrs of the period.

The need of the state and the object of kingship, according to Muslim jurists consists in the protection of subjects, (Islamid Law) king and the protection of Shari'at./ The Muslim is not only expected to be a true Muslim himself, but to see that all of his Muslim subjects are also true Muslims and the dignity of Islam and Islamic Law is upheld. ⁽¹⁾

The protection of Shari'at means the enforcement of Islamic Law in the state and the regulation of all its affairs and policy on its basis. The king exists to carry out that law and all of his orders must be based on it. The one who lives up to this standard and acts up to this ideal is called Hākim-i-'Ādil (a just king), and it is this position alone which entitles him to the obedience of his Muslim subjects. ⁽²⁾

The protection of Shari'at has two aspects - the propagation of the knowledge of Shara' and its enforcement as law within the state. The one implies the maintenance of a class of scholars devoted to the study, the teaching and the propagation of that knowledge, and the other of appointing one from

(1) Māvardī. Fr. Translation. p. 95.

Ibn-i-khaldūn. Translation, p.95; Pt.II. Protection and justice for all.

Adab-i-saltanat. Persian text. p.11-12. A king should fortify his wealth by Religion and secure this gift of God by thanksgiving. The one consists in the obedience to the Laws of God and the other in looking after the comforts of the subjects.

(2) Ādab-i-saltanat. p.16. The order of the king must be based upon the Firman of God.

Zakhīrat-ul-Malūk, p.89. For the position of the king as Hākim-i-'Ādil.

Or 256 (Nizāmul Mulk) p.53. For obedience to Sultān-i-'Ādil.

Siyāsat Nāma, p.54. For king's duty towards maintaining Islamic Law, and basing his orders upon it and looking to the scholars of Shara' and upholding their dignity.

amongst those scholars who may be distinguished for learning and piety as an adviser to the king in all his acts of state. The scholars devoted to that knowledge are called *ulamā* (the learned) and the one selected from amongst them is termed *Shaikh-ul-Islām*.

The term is loosely used as far as the Delhi sultanat is concerned. The office appears under different names as *Shaikh-ul-Islām* (the chief of *Islām*), *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt* (the chief of the *Qāzīs*), the *Sadr* (the chief).

The author of *Sulūk-ul-Mulūk* in his discussion of the position of this office in the state uses the term *Shaikh-ul-Islām*. He says that one selected for his learning and piety from amongst the scholars of *Islām* was called by this term, and he, by virtue of his high learning and the respect of the office was considered as the real guide, chief or *shaikh* of *Islām* in the state, and it was the term which the scholars themselves used for him.

(1) The kings, at times, summoned a body of *ulamās* as well, whom they consulted on important matters. The *ulamās* thus summoned for advice and consultation were called *Sudūr*, and the one permanently attached with him was called *Sadr* (the

(1) *Siyāsat Nāma*, p.54. A king should summon the *ulamās* at least once or twice a week and converse with them on religion and principles of justice, and listen to the stories of just kings.

chief). Thus Sadr becomes synonymous with Shaik-ul-Islām and technically he can be regarded as the chief or the representative of the ulamās in the state and in the councils of the king. From this point of view the term Sadr-ul-Sudūr (the chief of the Sudūr) used by the Mughals was more accurate than the rest.

The Position of the Sadr

According to the Muslim jurists the Sadr is the connecting link between the king and the people, the upholder of Shāra' and the spokesman (Naqīb) of the ulamā. He is indispensable for the state and the king.

The king should show him every possible mark of respect and consult him in all matters of law and religion. Whatever opinion he gives on such matters, the king should not show the slightest hesitation in acting upon it.

and military
All civil officers of the state should carry out the orders passed by him in his capacity as a Sadr, and if any opposition is offered to it even by a noble or a pillar of the state, the king should not be slow to punish him so that the position of the Sadr be upheld and his respect increased in the eyes of the people.

The stipend or salary of the Sadr should be fixed in such a way that he may not be required to turn towards the Divān, the Vazīr or any other officer of the state.

The Duties of the Sadr

He should keep a close vigilance over the ulamās of the state, inquire into their condition and capacities as teachers

and instructors, exercise full control over the teaching of all sorts of knowledge in the state. Thus while exercising a sort of censorship in this matter, he should be in touch with teachers and students and discourage, and if necessary prohibit, the teaching of subjects which might affect the religious ideas of the Muslims.

He should encourage and properly reward the honest and capable teachers and intelligent and promising students.

The Qazis and the muftis should be appointed from this class of teachers and students, and deserving cases recommended to the king for award of stipends and lands.

"If the king appoints such a Shaikh-ul-Islām and he carries out his duties in a way calculated to enhance the prestige of Islām and the dignity of Shara' and the promotion of its knowledge, the king can be said to have fulfilled the duty of the protection of Sharī'at."⁽¹⁾

His position in the state determined the scope of his activities and outlined his duties, which were threefold.

(1) As the most distinguished scholar of Islām and the religious head, he exercised a sort of censorship over education, ideas and morals of the people. It was in this capacity that he exercised an immense influence and his hand reached every individual of the state. Here he acted as the representative of the ulamās of the state and brought to the notice of the king what he thought detrimental or prejudicial to the interests of his religion and the king had little option in it.

(1) Sulūk-ul-Mulūk. F. 21-23.

(2) Islamic Law being the basis of the Law of the State, he became the head of the judicial department and as such responsible for the appointments of the Qāzīs and muftīs in the state and the proper discharge of their duties. In this capacity, he kept himself in touch with all the ulamās, scholars and students of Islām to ensure a regular supply of officials for his department. This enhanced his power and gave him a definite place in the administration of the state.

(3) As the chief connecting link between the king and the people, by virtue of his position as the Chief of Islām, he recommended to the king the cases of ulamās and scholars devoted to the service of the religion for suitable stipends to relieve them from the anxiety of earning their livelihood, and brought to notice also other deserving cases for state help. This duty brought him in contact with the Divān of the State and further increased the sphere of his influence.

At the beginning of Akbar's reign the Sadrs occupied an important position, but as far as the history of the period and its administrative side is concerned, their position appears to have been determined by the use of their power to award stipends and jāgirs to ulamās and the needy people.

Under the Delhi sultanat, there is no evidence to show that the Sadrs enjoyed this power, but under Akbar its use by them is definite. About the first Sadr of the period, Shaikh Gadāī, Badaoni says that he cancelled the lands held by old families and awarded them to those who could stoop to flattery.

Early
Sadr s of
Akbar

him and attend upon him while people of worth

(1)

bad and good families had to put up with all sorts of insults.

His successor Khvāja Muhammad Sālih Harvī continued to enjoy the same power, though according to Badaoni, the Dīvāns of the period had an upper hand in it.⁽²⁾ The same power and duty is emphasised in the appointment of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi. He was appointed Sadr-ul-Sudūr so that he might award Madad-i-Ma'āsh in consultation with Muzzaffer Khān (Dīvān). The Shaikh was a learned man, a distinguished scholar and belonged to the family noted for learning and piety. He also appears to be a man of different type from his predecessor, and he soon asserted his power, became permanent and independent of Dīvān's interference. He made a free use of his power and awarded huge lands. Badaoni says that if the awards of his period be compared with the total awards of all former Muslim kings of India, his would be certainly greater.⁽³⁾ Though the statement is an exaggeration, yet it gives an idea of the power of the Sadr at that period.

The Shaikh was the last of the Sadrs under Akbar who enjoyed the power and prestige associated with the office. The irregularities of former Sadrs and the defects of the department led to a close investigation, as a result of which not

(1) Badaoni, II.p.29; and people used to console themselves by this couplet. تر فوتنش خاتم - نار دیب ن ترا در بورت
عین زینی داره اخلاق - نیرتبت یز لد ایلہ بورت

(2) Badaoni, II.p.52.

(3) A.N. II.p. Both Abul Fazl and Badaoni attribute his appointment to Muzzaffer and criticise him for it. Bayazid says that 'Abdul Nabi was appointed for his high learning. E. 130.

only the powers of the Sadr were curtailed but Akbar's faith in the class of the ulamas as a whole was entirely shaken.

The powers of the Sadr and the regulations for awarding lands for charitable purposes are given in the Āīn under the chapter of Sayurghāl. Abul Fazl says that "His Majesty, in his care for the nation confers benefits on people of various classes . . . he considers doing so an act of divine worship." (1)

Four classes of men were considered eligible for such grants of lands and stipends.

- (1) "Enquirers after wisdom who have drawn hand from worldly occupation", and spend their time in search of knowledge.
- (2) "Such as toil and practise self-denial" and have renounced the society of man.
- (3) Such as are poor and physically weak and unable to earn their livelihood.
- (4) "Honourable men of gentle birth who, from want of knowledge, are unable to provide/themselves." (2)

The subsistence and allowances paid in cash were called vazifa and lands conferred "milk" or madad-i-ma'āsh.

"As the circumstances of the men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party,

(1) Āīn, p. 198.

(2) Blockmann, p. 268.

and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called Sadr."⁽¹⁾

Regula-
tions
analysed

The language of the above passage deserves some notice,-

- (1) It does not make high learning and piety a necessary qualification, as required by Islamic law. The Sadr is to be experienced and honest, and thus merely an efficient officer.
- (2) It widens the scope of the grants. They are neither limited to ulamās nor to Muslims alone but open to people of all creeds who can be eligible according to the regulations referred to above. Hence the Sadr is to be tolerant and kind to all.
- (3) The Sadr loses the power of making awards himself. He is to inquire into the conditions of the people making petitions for such grants. Abul Fazl makes this position further clear. "In accordance with His Majesty's instructions the deserving cases are brought to his notice by the distinguished officers of the court, and a large number of them receive the assistance they desire." Thus the king decided the cases whether put before him by the Sadr or by other officers.

Inquiries
and
Reforms

This was the result of a series of irregularities and a gradual development of the policy of Akbar. At the first instance, the inquiry was made into the lands held by persons before the appointment of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi, and the lands held by Afghān Chaudhrīs were converted into khālsa and only the grants certified by the new Sadr were allowed to continue. As long as 'Abdul Nabi enjoyed/king's confidence, he continued to award jāgīrs and even cases brought to the notice of the king

(1) Āin. p. 198. Lines 8-10.

(2) Blochmann.p. 268.

by persons of high position were referred to him. Manlāna Muhammad Amīr, a distinguished scholar from Shirāz was introduced to Akbar and he "from the high opinion that he had of his introducers increased his dignity and sent him along with Prince Murād to the house of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi, who was the centre of Ahl-i-Sa'adat."⁽¹⁾ Badaoni refers/his own two or three cases put before the king in which he was asked to see the Shaikh.⁽²⁾ But when that confidence was shaken, the power was gradually curtailed. First an order was passed requiring all persons holding a grant of five hundred bighas or more to get a fresh sanction direct from the king, and later on all holders of more than a hundred bighas were deprived of three-fifths of their lands.⁽³⁾ Finally, during the sadārat of Mīr Fatahulla Shirāzī, the power of the Sadr was definitely reduced to the grant of land up to fifteen bighas only, and all higher grants required king's sanction in the first instance; and later on, under the sadārat of Mir Sadar Jahān, the grants below a hundred bighas were also examined and the Sadr was ordered to make necessary reductions in consultation with Abul Fazl.⁽⁴⁾

(1) A.N. III. p. Beveridge, p. 329. 22nd year.

(2) Badaoni II. p.207. p. 237. (His return from Rāna's expedition.) p. 251. (permission for pilgrimage withheld).

(3) Āin, p. 198. In the first instance women of Īrān and Tūrān were exempted but later on they too were required to get a fresh grant for more than a hundred bighas.

(4) Āin, p. 199. Badaoni says that Shaikh himself seldom gave more than 100 bighas to anyone (p.205) On one occasion, in reply to Badaoni's complaint he told him that he held the largest grant under him which was one thousand bighas. (p. 207)

Other reforms connected with the grant of lands were that (a) grantees desiring a change of land should lose one-fourth of their lands and receive a new grant.

(b) "If anyone held Sayūrghāl together with a partner, and the farman contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the Sadr should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further enquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the crown and remaining domain land, till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty."

(c) All Sayūrghāl land should consist of one-half of tilled land and one half of land capable of cultivation, and if the whole be tilled land, one-fourth of the whole should be taken away.

All of Akbar's reforms were not vexatious for the holders of sayūrghāl or madad-i-ma'āsh lands. When it was brought to his notice that holders of grants were not given lands in one and the same place and the weak ones holding lands near the kālsa or jāgīrs of mansabdārs were harassed by unprincipled men, he ordered that they should get lands on one place which they might choose and certain villages were told off for this purpose. Thus the weak were protected. (1)

Similarly when order was restored and the holders of grants were made secure after these siftings, they made improvements in their lands and laid out gardens, the government

(1) Āin. p. 199.

A.N. III. p. 240. There is a reference to a similar case under Sikandar Lodi.

officers tried to demand revenue taxes, but they were not allowed to interfere with their legitimate profits. (1)

Throughout these siftings Akbar not only took a personal interest in the reform of the department but several times conducted the inquiry personally. Abul Fazl has quoted several instances which Badaoni has omitted, and on one occasion, he also says that in the year 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.) the king invited prominent mashaiks from different parts of the Dominions, and granted audience to each of them separately and was pleased with some of them, but they too betrayed themselves. The flattery of some and the greediness of others for bighas disgusted him and this further created a distrust (2) in his mind and prejudiced him against their class.

But while giving credit to Akbar for his desire and effort to reform every branch of administration and for the search of honest and efficient officers, the ulamas should not be condemned wholesale. It was the period of decline and decay in which they had passed their lives and they were not free from the effects which the decline of kingdoms and the degeneration of nations produces upon individuals. The entire society exhibited the same signs in every branch of life and government. Though it is a matter of regret that this class

(1) See note on previous page.

This must refer only to the case of gardens and not to lands. Jahangir mentions a similar case with pride that such a tax has never been levied by any monarch of his family.

(Tauzak, p. 252)

(2) Badaoni, p.285. also p.278; ulamas of different places invited and interviewed.

A.N.III. p.234.(Personal inquiry). And also during the Panjab Tour in the 22nd year.

did not prove itself better than the rest, yet it was not devoid of honest persons of real worth, scholarship and contentment. The recorded cases must be of those persons who were really depraved and had sought influence and recommendation to reach the court and the king, but they were not all. Badaoni, while honestly condemning all such persons who belonged to his own class, points out certain cases in which their contentment was brought to the notice of the king and the people. Shaikh Alladiah Khairabadi never accepted any grant from the king. His son Shaikh Abul Fatah maintained the same dignity. When one Mathi Afghan Kasi ~~Afghan~~ was invited by Akbar to the court, he obeyed the orders but when he reached Fatahpur, he sent a message to him that he had arrived in obedience to the Farman, but he should inform His Majesty that his interview has never proved auspicious (mubarak na amda) to any ruler. Akbar did not trouble him any more. He was immediately allowed to return without seeing him. Similarly when Shaikh Abul Fatah, referred to above, was summoned to the court, and a question was put to him, he waved his hand and said that he was hard of hearing and could not hear, and thus he got his freedom and was sent off. (1)

The department of Sadr does not appear to have been very elaborate like other departments of the central government. In the Ain there is only one reference that the Sadr was assisted in his important duties by a distinguished clerk, bitikchi, who had to look after the financial business and was styled Divan-i-Saadat. On another occasion, in

(1) Badaoni, II. p.286. See also cases in Haft Aqlim.

connection with the draft of farmāns Abul Fazl used the term *daf̄ter-i-Dīvān-i-sa'ādat*, which implies that he had a regular staff like other Dīvāns, but his position as judged on the whole, was much inferior to the other Dīvāns. (1)

He acted in all matters under the direct orders of the Sadr and every order or certificate of *madam-i-ma'āsh* issued by the office must bear the seal of the Sadr. (2)

The procedure in the grant of *sayūrghāl* lands was the same which was followed in the grant of *jāgirs* for the salaries of *mansabdārs*. The deserving cases for such grants were brought to the notice of the king by the Sadr as well as by other courtiers in the darbār. The Sadr put all such cases and the business connected with his duties like the heads of other departments in the darbār. He stood on the right side of the throne and presented the business connected with his department. He was also given a chance in the *Ghusal Khāna* under Shāh Jahān where he could introduce the petitioners who could not be presented in the darbār for the lack of time or about whom he wanted to make a special mention to the king. (3)

The cases thus decided by the king followed the usual procedure. They were entered in the diary of the *vāqī* *Navis* which after passing through its first stage became *yāddāsht*.

(1) *Aīn*, p. 195 and 198.

(2) MS. Add. 6598.

(3) See references under the chapter "King and State-business." MS. Add. 6599 F. 33b. All cases to be put before the king and action to be taken in accordance with the orders. Orders to be executed with the seal of the Sadr.

(memorandum) and Ta'līqah at the second, and Sarkhat at the third. The Sarkhat became the draft of the Farmān in the office of the Dīvān-i-kul, and when it had been checked by the Mustaufī, signed and sealed by him, it was sent to the office of the Dīvān-i-Sa'ādat who noted its contents and got it signed by the Sadr. After his seal and signatures, it was forwarded to the Dīvān-i-kul.

The cash allowances and stipends paid through this department were dealt with like the salaries of the Begums and of the Ahadīs and Parvānchas were made out for them to avoid delay and inconvenience.

The Sadr
and the
Dīvān

The office of the Dīvān received copies of all the orders passed by the king on cases submitted by the Sadr and entered in the diary of the Vāqi' Navīs when it had reached the stage of Yaddāsht.

When Yaddāsht reached the stage of Farmān and it had been signed and sealed by the Sadr, it was forwarded to the Dīvān.

Similarly the Dīvān received the Parvānchas issued for the salaries paid through the department of the Sadr.

The Dīvān's office also received the list of persons holding charitable lands with necessary information supplied

(1) Āin. p. 192-195. Blockmann, p. 258-263.

For the details of the procedure see chapter on Farmāns.

(2) MS. Or 1641, F.36-86b.

in the form of a chart by the Department of the Sadr in accordance with the regulations. (1)

A copy of the draft of the statement which the Chief Sadr received from the sadrs of the provinces showing the land held by the grant-holders of madad-i-ma'āsh in each Pargana.

5500 bighas	(Total land held in the Pargana)
100 bighas	(Lapsed to the Government in the year)
<hr/>	
5400 bighas	Balance.

Grantor under Akbar,	Under Jahāngīr,	Under Shāh Jahān,
2100 bighas.	2100.	1200.

MS. Add. 6598 F. 34 A.

(1) The study of the two Farmāns of grants of land made to Kaikubād Parsi in the province of Ahmadābād published by J.J. Modi in his book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar", is very useful for the purpose. It confirms many of the points mentioned in the Āin about such grants and the procedure followed in making them and in the draft of the Farmāns and the orders issued by the central department to the provincial officers concerned. In this case the grant was first reduced to one-third as in all other cases, but on appeal the old grant of 300 bighas was made in the 48th year of Akbar's reign.

(Farmāns given on p. 38, and p. 119.)

The
reform
and after

The reforms of Akbar were directed in the first instance towards the resumption of lands held by undeserving persons or without legal authority. The inquiries which began with the holdings of five-hundred bighās and above were in the end carried even to less than a hundred bighas. Abul Fazl is silent about the resumptions of lands, which were made, as a result of these inquiries, but Badaoni is loud enough in announcing and condemning them in his own way. Though he has nowhere given any figures yet his remarks are suggestive enough and they give a clear idea of the extent to which these resumptions were carried under Akbar. He says that in the year 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.) when political disturbances in Bengal and Behar spread to other parts of the Empire also, the ulamās said that the king disturbed our madad-i-ma'ash lands and God has now disturbed his country.⁽¹⁾ Similarly at the appointment of Mir Fatahulla to the sadarat, he remarks that the office was nothing more than Siyaha Navisi (clerkship) and the Mir was raised to the office not to give lands to the poor but to take from them that which they held. In the year 994 (1585) when Kamalai Shirazi was made the officiating Sadr in the absence of Mir Fatahulla who was sent to the Deccan Badaoni thought the arrangement was made to resume the remaining tracts of charitable lands from their holders.

The second object was to regulate the department and the future grants of madad-i-ma'ash. As a result of a series of

(1) Badaoni, p. 343.

inquiries into the grants of lands, the powers of the Sadr were greatly reduced. Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi could award as much as he liked ('Ālam mī dād), but Mīr Fatahulla in spite of his high position and the favour of the king had not the power to grant even five bighas.⁽¹⁾ Though the statement is not without exaggeration yet it is not very far from truth, because Abul Fazl says that under Mīr Sadr Jahān the successor of Mīr Fatahulla the powers of the Sadr were limited to the grant of fifteen bighas. This was the last of the orders of Akbar in this line and it appears to have continued till the end of his reign.

Though resumptions were made on a large scale and the powers of the Sadr were reduced, yet there is no reason to believe that further grants were not made. As late as the 41st year of the reign, Qāzī Nurulla was deputed to inquire into the condition of the sayūrghāl lands of the province of Āgra and to make fresh grants to the needy people.⁽²⁾

Another reform in the same connection and with the same object of curtailing the powers of the Sadr was that separate sadrs were appointed for the provinces, and the list of appointments shows that no regard was shown to the necessary qualifications for the office as required by Shara". In the words of Abul Fazl they were "experienced persons of good

(1) Badaoni, p. 343.

(2) A.N. III. p. 713.

intentions." (1) Mr. Edwards in his work "Mughal Rule in India," (p.174) says that in 1581, Akbar abolished the appointment of Sadr altogether, substituting in its place six provincial sadrs. This statement is incorrect and he has not given any authority for it. The office of the Chief Sadr continued throughout the reign of Akbar as the appended list of their names shows. The appointment of provincial sadrs was in connection with the organisation of the department and similar to the appointments of provincial Dīvāns and Bakhshīs. The arrangement continued as a part of the administrative system through ^{out}/the long period of the Empire.

The Efficiency Akbar's object appears to have been achieved, and efficiency established in the department. After the fall of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi, Akbar's personal vigilance appears to have continued through the remaining period of twenty-seven years (1578-1605), and during this long period there is only one case of irregularity in the department, in which the charge of corruption and bribery was brought against Hājī Ibrāhīm Sirhindī the ⁽²⁾ sadr of Gujrāt in the 28th year of the reign. He was tried, found guilty and imprisoned.

(1) A.N. III.p.372. 26th year.

Delhi, Mālva and Gujrāt - Hakim Abul Fatah.

Agra, Kalpi and Kalinjar - Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi.

From Hajipur to Sarū - Hakim Humān.

Behār - Hakim 'Alī. The Panjab - Qāzī 'Alī Badakhshī.

Bengal - Hakim 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

(2) A.N. III. p.408.

Badaoni, II. p. 277-278. He is more definite.

Though Badaoni condemns the regular resumption of lands till the close of his work yet he too does not mention any case of irregularity besides the one quoted above.

Jahangir

Miran Sadr Jahan the last of Akbar's sadrs was known to Jahangir since his boyhood. When as a prince he used to go to Shaikh Abdul Nabi's place to take lessons in Hadis, Miran acted there as Shaikh's assistant. Jahangir was very friendly with him and had on one occasion spoken to him, "after my accession to power, I would pay off all of your debts or would give you the rank which you would then demand." Jahangir kept his promise and gave the sadr the option. He demanded the rank of four thousand which was conferred upon him. ⁽¹⁾

The personal acquaintance with the sadr and the favours bestowed upon him appear to have considerably increased the prestige of sadarat. Besides these relations Jahangir was personally more inclined towards religion and the ulamas and saints in general. Thus not only the favour was shown to the Sadr but an order was given that he should every day produce deserving people before him. ⁽²⁾

Similarly, to Haji Koka, the foster sister of Akbar, was entrusted the duty of presenting deserving women for grants of lands and cash in the female apartments before the king. ⁽³⁾

Under Jahangir grants of lands to the poor besides other s

(1) M.U. III.p.350. He held the rank of two thousand at that time.

(2) Tazuk. p. 5.

(3) Do. 21. She was the sister of Sa'adat Yar Koka.

M.U. I. p.133. After her the duty was entrusted to the nurse of Nur Jahan Begum, on whose seal the Sadr acted in the case of females.

sorts of charities were more frequent and higher than can reasonably be expected under Akbar, and there are several mentions about them in his memoirs, but the most conspicuous feature of such grants is that they were all made by the king in person.

"As I have made a regulation that deserving people and darvesses should be produced before me every night, so that, after looking into their conditions, land, cash and dress may be awarded to them, amongst them they produced a man . . .⁽¹⁾

The same statement is repeated at the close of the 9th year where he says that in accordance with this regulation, "this year I awarded to the poor with my own hand and in my presence fifty-five thousand rupees cash, one lac and ninety thousand bighas of land, fourteen villages, and twenty-six ploughs and eleven thousand Kharvar (ass-loads) of rice."⁽²⁾

Similarly he reviewed the condition of the people of Cambay in the 12th year of his reign during his visit to Gujrāt. The poor got grants of land or cash while others received Khil'ats and horses. Nearly every one of the residents of the port was rewarded in one way or the other.⁽³⁾ At Ahmadābad arrangements were made to inquire into the condition of females. While leaving Ahmadābad, Jahāngīr says, "At the time that Ahmadābad was adorned by the setting up of the royal standards

(1) Tauzak, p. 124.

(2) Do. p. 136-137.

(3) Do. p. 207.

- (1) Tanzak, p. 218. Rogers, p. 440.
 (2) Tanzak, p. 268.
 (3) Do. p. 303.
 (4) Do. p. 345.

This is the last reference in the memoirs as far as the
 for the poor and hot water in mosques for ablution.
 should be allotted for the purpose of providing winter clothing
 given that a village with a revenue of three thousand rupees
 winter season were brought to the king's notice, the order was
 the people of Kashmir owing to the severity of cold in the
 cash charities. (4) In the 17th year, when the sufferings of
 villages, two quabas and one garden were given away besides
 year 85 thousand bighas of land, 2,325 kharvar of grain, four
 stout people and deserving persons in Kashmir. (5) In the 16th
 In the 15th year an order was given to present the neces-
 as madad-i-ma, ash. (2)

Kashmir and seven Qutabah Land (plough) in Kabbul between
 44,780 bighas, two extra villages, 320 kharvar of grain from
 In the 14th year there is a reference to the award of
 large number of poor people." (1)
 fact - that my coming has been the cause of benefit to a
 delighted with my visit to Ahmedabad, yet I have this state-
 never took any rest from this duty. Although I have not been
 my witness that I did not fail short in this task and that I
 after many years, no single person should be excluded. God is
 sole endeavour was that as I, a king, had come to this country
 persons and the bestowing on them of money and land. . . . My
 my employment by day and night was the seeing of necessary

grant of lands is concerned, and as noted elsewhere the period onward was the period when Jahāngīr's troubles due to ill-health and political conditions commenced and lasted till the close of his life.

The power
of the
Sadr in
making
grants not
revived

In all of these awards there is no reference to the grants being made by the Sadr. The figures given above are the figures for the year mentioned therein. It was the usual practice of Jahāngīr to give such figures in each case at the close of every year. The same is found in Peshkash, rewards and hunts. Hence it can be inferred that (1) either no grant was made by the Sadr at all. Every case was referred to the king and his sanction obtained, and thus every case came to be recorded in the diary of the Vāqi⁶ Navīs on whose record the total was based, or (2) that the figures do not include the grants made by the Sadr independently in his office, and (3) in that case they must be very small otherwise they must have been mentioned by Jahāngīr. But a passage in Maāsir-ul-Umara clashes with this conclusion. The author writing about the influence of the Sadr says that Āsaf Khān (vakīl) reported to the king against his liberality in the grants of madad-i-maāsh lands in the words "What 'Arsh-i-Āshiānī (Akbar) had bestowed (upon the poor) in fifty years Mīrān Sadr Jahān has given away in five years."⁽¹⁾ It means that not only that the Sadr had the power of making grants but that he exercised that power very liberally; and this view goes entirely against the impression formed by the study of the memoirs. In the absence

(1) M.U. III. p. 350.

of any other source of information and definite material on the point, the solution lies in the comparison of the dates of the references noted above with those of the statement of Maasir. The above complaint refers to the period of the first five years⁽¹⁾ of Jahāngīr's reign while the personal references of the king are recorded between the 8th and the 17th years of the reign. Thus there is reason to believe that though Jahāngīr ordered in the first year of his reign that deserving persons should be presented before him every night, the Sadr had the power of making grants on his own authority and he exercised that power freely. After the complaint was made the king took the matter in his own hands and gradually the power of the Sadr should have been in abeyance, if not definitely curtailed. Besides this, the Sadr had grown very old and ~~though~~
~~he~~ continued to attend the court yet he could not be expected to have performed his duties with the same zeal as he did in the early part of the reign. This impression is supported by casual references, in the memoirs, of persons who were appointed to present such cases or who presented the needy people on their own account, but there is no mention of the Sadr in them at all.⁽²⁾

Thus the conclusion is that

- (1) the Sadr under Jahāngīr had the power of making the grants of land on his own authority and the scope of that power in the early part of the reign was much greater than that fixed

(1) Āsaf Khān Qazvēnī was sent to the Deccan, where he died in the 7th year.

(2) The terms used are "trusted persons", "persons acquainted with my temperament (mizājdān) should present". Names mentioned in connection with grants and charities:- Tazuk, pp.49, 51, 121, 218, 229, 272, 303.

by Akbar;

- (2) this power did not last long and probably after the fifth year and definitely after the seventh year, the king himself made all such grants;
- (3) the figures, given in the memoirs, of grants made between the 8th and the 17th years do not represent the average grants but the highest made by Jahāngīr;
- (4) there is no record of such grants between the 17th and the 21st year, and having regard to the political conditions and Jahāngīr's worries there appears to be no possibility of such grants being made in that period.

Shāh
Jahān

Shāh Jahān continued the policy of Jahāngīr towards the poor and the ulamas of his sect, but he was more methodical than his father and more generous than Akbar. On the whole, he appears to have made distinction between various kinds of charities. He was very cautious in making grants of lands, while, on the other hand, he fixed large sums for charitable purposes to be spent every year in the manner and on occasions prescribed by him. There is a complete record of such charities from year to year which is an indication of the strict adherence to his orders and of the regularity in the procedure which must ultimately depend upon the efficiency of the department concerned.

But as far as the grants of lands are concerned, there is only one record, and it is found in the first year of the reign. "Mūsavi Khān Sadr, in accordance with the royal orders

presented a group of needy and deserving persons before His Majesty. All were benefitted. Besides the daily allowances and the grants of madad-i-ma'āsh lands, rūpees thirty thousand were given away in cash."⁽¹⁾ "The total grants made in the year were nearly four lacs bighas of land together with 120 entire villages besides a large amount distributed in cash."⁽²⁾

This is the only reference found in Shāh Jahān's reign about such grants, and as it was the first year of the reign, a year always of rewards and charities, the record must be regarded the highest and the recurring grants of the reign as not worthy of mention in the annals of the reign. There are of individual grants, but they are two more references of a different nature and they have been treated below in a separate section. But, on the whole, there is evidence to infer that grants continued throughout the reign but they were made with caution and discretion, and that they never reached such huge figures which could be recorded in history.

The removal of Mūsavī Khān Sadr from his office in the 6th year and the complaint brought by his successor Sayed Jalāl against his administration of the department reveals certain facts connected with his sadārat. Sayed Jalāl, a highly distinguished scholar and the representative of a well-reputed family of Sādāt was appointed Sadr in place of Mūsavī Khān because

A case of irregularity

(1) & (2) Lāhorī, I.p.200 and p.251. The amount recorded in different places came to Rs.fifty thousand, besides one lac sent to Kabul to relieve people of the distress caused by the attack of the ruler of Turan. (p. 216)

"he did not perform the duties of this high office as they ought to be performed". Some time after, the new Sadr brought to the notice of the king that

- (1) Mūsavī Khān had awarded madad-i-ma'āsh lands and vazīfas (stipends) to undeserving persons without having brought them to the notice of His Majesty.
- (2) Some occupy the land and enjoy the vazīfa on the basis of forged Farmāns (faramīn-i-libāsī). On the basis of the report an order was passed
 - (a) that the rent of one Fasl (crop) of all madad-i-ma'āsh lands of the Dominions, whether they be in the khālsa or in the jāgīrs of amīrs and mansabdārs should be withheld and deposited elsewhere;
 - (b) it should be given to the holders of grants when their asnād (certificates) are verified and their claims established;
 - (c) holders of grants personally known to the king to be exempted from this order;
 - (d) the holders of grants residing in the capital and its suburbs should see the Sadr-ul-Sudūr while those of the provinces should get their sanads verified by the Sadr of their provinces who would act in consultation with the governors.

As the order left a great scope for the discretion of the officers concerned who were to examine the validity of the Farmāns as well as of the claims of the holders, it caused

great consternation in the holders of such grants. Hence another order was issued to allay their fears and to limit the discretionary powers of the officers,⁽¹⁾ by which

- (1) the rent withheld was to be paid to the holders, and the inquiry was to be instituted and the rent of the next crop to be withheld if necessary verification was not obtained by that time;
- (2) holders of grants residing in the capital and suburbs were to get the verification from the chief Sadr, while in the provinces the Sadrs in consultation with the provincial governors were to issue fresh certificates to the holders of the Farmāns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and of the present reign after inquiring into the cases of death, flight (farārī), transfers and possessions;
- (3) if the holders be soldiers or artisans their lands were to be resumed, and while the rest fulfilling the conditions were not to be interfered with;
- (4) if the original holders of the grant be dead and the grant included the term "with sons" (ma' farzandān), the lands were to be allowed to remain in the possession of their rightful successors; if there be no such mention in the farman, the land must lapse to the government, and if its possessors were considered deserving separate report was to be made about them to the court.⁽²⁾

(1) The first order which required the investigation of claims was also set aside because Shah Zāhān's favourite daughter was seriously burnt at this time, and he did not want to touch this class of people on such an occasion.

(2) Lahori, II. 17th year. p. 365-366.
Mirāt MS. F. 81.

This case together with the step taken by the king and the new sadr who was neither interested in the subordinate officers of his department nor concerned with its previous administration must have led to a thorough overhauling and sifting.

It also shows that (1) the sadr had no power to make grants in his own authority but he did so. Hence the report was made (_____ / _____ / _____) be ān ke ahvāl ānhā ba 'arz . . . rasānād, that he made grants to persons without bringing their condition into the notice of His Majesty; (2) there were certain cases in which the validity of the farman was also challenged. The words are "ba farāmin-i-libāsi arāzi-i-madad-i-ma'āsh va vazaif mutassarraf and."

Both of these cases must be regarded the greatest irregularities of the department, but it leads to a question how such cases could succeed? As far as the regulations are concerned a farman for such grants required nearly the same procedure which was necessary for the grant of a jāgīr to a mansabdār. It had a lengthy process and the necessary papers passed through numerous hands as noted under the Farmāns. Thus a case initiated by the department of Sadr could not reach its final stage without passing through the prescribed course which left no scope at all for a fresh grant beyond and above the powers allowed to the Sadr. Thus I am inclined to conclude that the charge against Mūsavī Khān was that he made grants to undeserving persons (ghair mustahqān) as the

text says, but they were within the powers allowed to him. As they were the cases which were not brought to the king's notice, so the cause of complaint and the chance of their reversal arose.

The second charge is still more serious and more difficult to understand - how was it possible to forge a farman in the face of the regulations which existed and that, too, in the time of Shāh Jahān, who exercised a strict vigilance over the affairs, and under the vizārat of a minister like Islām Khān? It may also be noted that the office of the "arz-i-mukarrar" and the Dārogha of the Ghusal Khāna, both of which were highly responsible posts in connection with the Farmāns, were held by Sa'dulla Khān at that time. But as the words are definite, they are to be interpreted in one way or the other. I am inclined to think that as far as new grants were concerned there was no scope for such an irregularity. It must have been done in cases in which the Sadr had some option, and in my opinion such an irregularity was possible in the lands which were entirely under the charge of the Sadr, as from time to time entire villages were set apart for such grants. Secondly, such underhand dealings could be possible in cases of the deaths of the original holders of grants and in allowing their successors to remain in possession of lands without proper authority. In both of these cases the Sadr could manage to let the possession of the land pass into the hands of persons whom he might favour without being necessarily

detected for it.

This inference is corroborated by the orders which were passed in this connection. If the cases were of forgery of farmanas they must have been treated by the government with great severity, because such occasions are rare, and governments usually make much use of them to prevent their recurrence; but there is no mention of such a step at all in this connection. The absence of such a mention and step itself shows that the cases were not of a serious nature. Secondly, the order definitely defines the scope of investigation, which includes cases arising from deaths. In all such cases no fresh farman but a certificate must have been enough and obviously it must be the certificate of the Chief Sadr.

However, this is the interpretation of the words used by the writer of the Chronicles in the light of the administrative system of the Empire. It does not in any way lessen the importance of the charge brought against the Sadr, which was certainly a serious one, but at the same time it also shows that such cases did not pass unnoticed. The Sadr was removed from the office even before these cases came to light. Hence the suspicions of the king or his secret information which led to his removal were fully justified.

It may also be observed that the Sadr had greater power of committing such irregularities in cases of Vazaifs for which only parvanchas were required and for which other officers must have mainly relied upon the papers submitted by

the department concerned.

The main conclusions drawn from this case may be summarised thus:-

- (1) The Sadr under Shāh Jahān also had certain powers to make such grants.
- (2) The grants continued throughout the period.
- (3) The grants were not big.
- (4) The grants were ordinarily made for the life-time of the grantee.
- (5) The soldiers and artisans were not ordinarily eligible for such grants.
- (6) The case revealed irregularities of the Sadr and they were promptly attended to by the king and the entire holdings of the sayūrghal lands and Farmāns of all the three reigns were examined and thus the department was purged for the first time since the Enquiries of Akbar's reign.
- (7) The object of the inquiry was not to resume the lands on the lines followed by Akbar, but to detect irregularities of the department and ensure honesty in the holders of grants.

There is no definite record to show the amount of such awards but casual references in the annals collected together do give an idea of it. It appears that before Akbar turned his attention towards the department, the awards were much higher than those which became settled later on. In the case of a descendant of Muhammad Ghaus, a famous saint, Badaoni mentions that he was given a jāgīr of a kror,⁽¹⁾ but later on there

⁽¹⁾ Badaoni, II, p.34. I think this means bighas and not rupēs as the author usually omits the word bigha in such expressions.

The maximum amount of awards

appear to be very few cases of even a thousand. When Akbar lost faith in Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi and ordered the revision of grants, the order issued referred to lands of five hundred and above, which means that the maximum number of awards was between 500 and 1000. 'Abdul Nabi's retort to Badaoni that he had given him the highest madad-i-ma'āsh, which was one thousand bigha, also shows the same. On another occasion, Badaoni in his usual way says that the holdings of a thousand and five hundred were in most cases reduced to one hundred only,⁽¹⁾ and 'Abdul Nabi himself usually granted only up to one hundred bighas to the teachers of Hadīs, etc.⁽²⁾ Thus the award of 100 to 500 bighas seems to be the normal course during the rest of Akbar's reign and it appears to have been maintained by his successors. Jahāngīr makes a special mention of an award of a thousand bighas to Maulāna Muhammad Amin, the disciple of Shaikh Mahmūd Kamāl, a distinguished saint of his time, whose residence Akbar had visited, and by whose company Jahāngīr himself was much affected at Lāhore; and similarly there is one mention of an exceptional award of five villages to Shams Khān, a hermit near Kabul whose residence he visited. Under Shāh Jahān, a faqīr, Hāmīn, whose ointment cured the wounds of Begam Sāhib after she was badly burnt, was awarded one village⁽³⁾ in his native place, and it was one of the most

(1) Badaoni, II. p. 274.

(2) Do. p. 204.

(3) Lahori, II. p. 409.

unusual occasions of the reign, and one Muhammad Aslam, a distinguished Qāzī is mentioned with a land yielding rūpīs two-thousand in Kābul.⁽¹⁾ Both of these are rare cases and it is why they are particularly mentioned.

Thus 100 to 500 bighas appears to be normal, 1000 very unusual or the highest in the ordinary circumstances, and above one thousand very rare.

As to the value of a bigha, the revenue derived from it varied in several provinces, but it was never less than one rūpī,⁽²⁾ and as for a village, it appears that at places it yielded as much as Rs. 3,000,⁽³⁾ but the five villages given by Jahāngīr near Kābul cannot be expected to have yielded so much.

Exceptional Cases

There are few scattered cases in which the general rules of awarding madad-i-ma'āsh lands were not strictly observed and as they do not fall under any of the four groups fixed by Akbar, they should be regarded as exceptional.

In the first year of his reign, Jahāngīr made such grants to the zamīndārs of the Panjab in the tracts of land lying between the Chenāb and the Behat rivers for help given to him in the revolt of his son Khusrāw.⁽⁴⁾ In the 5th year when a complaint was made by a widow against Muqarrāh Khān the governor of Gujrāt that he had shielded one of his servants who had

(1) Salih MS. p. 444.

(2) Āin, Tr. Blockmann, p. 270.

(3) Tauzak, p. 345.

(4) Dō. p. 32.

MURdered her daughter, Jahāngīr gave away half of the jāgīr of the governor held by him in Bambay in lieu of his salary as madad-i-ma'āsh to the widow.⁽¹⁾ Shāh Jahān while depositing one of his generals Allah Vardī Khān in the 16th year of his reign from office gave him madad-i-ma'āsh land yielding 34 Lacs of dāms (Rs. 8,500 yearly) for his subsistence, and a village to Hāmūn faqīr as a reward, as noted above.

A study of the forms used for the grants shows that lands were given for laying out gardens which were required to be kept open to the public and ultimately to be used for the benefit of the poor and to give shelter to the travellers.⁽³⁾

Other Charities
Another important function connected with the duties of the Sadr was the looking after the poor and the destitute and meeting their needs and requirements out of the funds placed at his disposal for this purpose. This mostly consisted in feeding the poor on particular occasions, or during famines and providing for their clothing, especially in winter. Under Akbar, this part of the department also appears to have been organised. Abul Fazl in the Āīn under the chapter of Alms, says, "His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries. . . . Many enjoy daily, monthly or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting. . . . it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars . . ."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Tauzak. p. 83.

(2) Lāhorī, II. p. 309, 409.

(3) MS. 6585. FS 147b.

(4) Āīn, p. 172. Blockmann, p. 266.

"There is a treasurer alway in waiting at court, and every beggar whom His Majesty sees, is sure to find relief." (1)

Cash

Akbar had always had cash ready by his hand at court, in the palace, and on his outings. A courtier nominated by him kept some gold and silver in the court, a krōr of dāms (Rs. 2,500) in the palace, and a large sum of money was always carried in a purse with him. (2)

Badaoni corroborates this statement though he means to ridicule it. "In the evening there was a regular court assembly of needy Hindūs and Musalmāns, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering and a most terrible crowd." (3) On two occasions he himself was benefitted by the bounty of Akbar and given cash from the same fund.

"When I went up and stretched my hand to do the Pābos (touch the feet), His Majesty withdrew his feet, and when I had gone out of Dīvān Khāna, he called me again, and filling his both hands with gold, he gave me fifty-six asharfis (gold mohars) and allowed me to depart." (4) When on his return from the Rānā's expedition, he went to see Akbar, he gave him ninety-six asharfis in the same manner with his own hands. (5)

It also appears that Akbar had some arrangements of distributing charities in cash outside the court as well. "On one Friday, had assembled the people in the polo ground where about a lac of men and women assembled. Sultān Khvāja Sadr and Qulīj

(1) Āīn, p. 197. Blockmann, p. 266.

(2) Do. " Do. p. 14-15.

(3) Badaoni III. p. 326. Havell, p. 516.

(4) Do. p. 228. Badaoni proceeding on Rānā's expedition.

(5) Do. p. 269.

Khan distributed cash, but there was much chaos and about eighty of the women and children were hurt and crushed. Accordingly the officers were ordered to admit less number on such occasions and Badaoni says that after some time the practice was given up.⁽¹⁾ It does not appear to have been revived either under Jahangir or Shah Jahan. In the 23rd year of the reign, Akbar regulated charity by erecting permanent poor houses and sarais, "so that the poor and the needy of the world might have a home." The arrangements were made for the poor travellers also and Abul Fazl says that "in a short space of time the orders were admirably carried out and those without resources enjoyed the comforts of a home in a foreign land."⁽²⁾ Badaoni says that separate arrangements were made for the Hindus and the Muslims. The one quarter was named "Dharampura" and the other "Khairpura". When a large number of Hindu jogis flocked to the place a third house was opened exclusively for them and it was named "jogipura", and Akbar used to go to meet them secretly at night.⁽³⁾

The practice of thus feeding the poor and making arrangements for travellers and providing them also with food in the Sarais was continued by Jahangir and the order was given in the first year of the reign for making arrangements to supply meals to the poor and the travellers in such houses.⁽⁴⁾ Under Akbar and as well as under Jahangir, by the time of this order, the

(1) Badaoni, II. p.324. He puts this arrangement in 994 while Abul Fazl mentions under 986.

(2) A.N. III. p. 262. Beveridge, p. 381.

(3) Badaoni, II. p. 324.

(4) Tauzak, p. 35. Rodgers, p. 75.

arrangement appears to have been limited to the capital and its suburbs. Hence in the 6th year of the reign Jahāngīr ordered the erection of such houses in all big cities like Ahmadābād, Allahābād, Lāhore, Delhī, Āgra and he says that six had already been established and twenty-four others were now ordered.

There are several cases under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān of making provisions for the distribution of cooked food in times of famines in different parts of the Empire. In the first year of the reign Jahāngīr sent rupis three thousand to Kashmere for the same purpose.⁽²⁾ Shāh Jahān in the fourth year of his reign had such arrangements made at Burhānpur and Ahmadābād and rupis five thousand were distributed every Monday besides cooked meals and rupis fifty thousand were sent to Ahmadābād.⁽³⁾ Similarly in the 19th year, rupis two hundred per day were sanctioned for ten different places for the supply of cooked meals and rupis ten thousand were sanctioned for other reliefs and placed at the disposal of the Sadr and rupis thirty thousand were sanctioned in the following year for the same purpose.⁽⁴⁾

All the three emperors utilised other occasions also for charities, the most common being the birthday of the king and

(1) Tauzak, p. 99. Rodgers, p. 204.

(2) Do. p. 36. Do. p. 77.

(3) Lāhorī, p. 363. Mirāt MS. F. 76B.

(4) Do. II. p. 472, 489, and 632. The arrangement continued for one year.

his sons, Hindū and Muslim festivals, the entry of the king into a city during his tours, and on his return to the Capital; the king's illness or of his children and recoveries also formed the particular occasions for the benefit of the poor. (2)

Besides these occasions which were usual under Akbar and Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān fixed rupīs seventy-two thousand to be distributed every year on five occasions connected with his faith as a Muslim. (3) They were continued throughout his reign and the sum was distributed at the place where the king happened to be on that particular occasion. Thus the benefit was not limited to the capital alone.

The chief feature of these charities is that they proceeded from the conception of king's duties towards his subjects, and as far as the poor were concerned, Muslims nowhere made any difference between caste and creed. The state considered its duty to provide the means of living for the subjects under its care, and thus those unable to earn their living

(1) Charities never described under these festivals

(2) The most conspicuous example under this head is of the illness and recovery of Shāh Jahān's favourite daughter, Begam Sahib, 17th and 18 year of the reign. p. 354, 394, 395, 400.

(3) 12th Rabi I. Prophet's birthday, - Rs. 12 thousand.

27th Rajah - Rs. 10 , ,

15th Sha'bān - Rs. 10 , ,

16th Ramazān (the month of Fasts) - Rs. 30 , ,

10th Muharram, Caliph 'Ali's martyrdom - Rs. 10 , ,

and fifty thousand on the anniversay day of Queen Muntāz

Rs. 72 thousand

Mahal; if the king happens to be away from the capital in that case only Rs. 12 thousand to be spent. This was limited to the city of Agra alone. It may be pointed out that the benefit of above-mentioned Rs. 72 thousand, in my opinion, must have been limited to the Muslims alone, as charities under such items are by Islamic tradition given to people of faith and good conduct only.

were maintained by the state at the state expense and the department of Sadr fulfilled that function. It was for the same purpose that Akbar devoted so much attention to purge this department of its evil practices and to limit its benefit only to the deserving ones. The four groups of people made eligible^X included those whose energies were devoted to the good of the public and their time was better engaged in it than it could be in other spheres of state-activities, hence they were freed from the care of earning their livelihood. This referred to scholars of all classes and the ulamās and darvishes devoted to the cause of their religion. The third^Y referred to the protection of the old families of good birth and high descent whose descendants through the vicissitudes of time were unable to support themselves. There are numerous examples of such cases and special instructions were issued to provincial officers to attend to such cases. The provisions made for the descendants of government officers and arrangements to maintain and educate the sons of nobles at the court after the death of their fathers were all the result of the same policy. The fourth group included the old, the weak, the disabled or incapacitated and also those who at times fell under adverse circumstances. They can be termed as unemployed in the modern sense. The case of one Shaikh Ziaulla was referred to Akbar that his family was so hard pressed that they were all living on grains only. He belonged to a respectable family of scholars. Akbar was much affected and he invited him and

^X See P. 257.

included him among those who attended his private assemblies in the 'Ibādat Khāna.⁽¹⁾

The second feature was that Akbar took this duty upon himself and most of these charities were distributed by him or under his supervision. The powers of Sadr and his influence were curtailed in this respect also. The poor houses were placed under Abul Fazl. The Divān was included with the Sadr on other occasions. Jahāngīr continued the same tradition and he was very cautious in this respect. He often appointed several persons to distribute such charities so that their benefit may be more general.⁽²⁾ On one occasion he appointed twelve persons to distribute one thousand every Thursday during his stay in Kābul.⁽³⁾ Shāh Jahan in the 20th year of his reign entrusted the work to fifteen trusted persons.⁽⁴⁾

The third feature was that in spite of the good intentions of these monarchs and the large sums being spent on such charities, the benefits were not lasting. Charities do not appear to have been well regulated under Muslim monarchs. The benefits in this sense were occasional, and temporary. No permanent institution or organisation came into existence for charities apart from the fixed vazifas and grants of lands. At the most it had an advantage of saving a section of the poor from starvation the king made it and his chief concern wherever he moved.

(1) Badaoni, II.p.201-202.

(2) Tāuzak. Examples of appointing more than one person, p.21, 39, 49, 51, 120. Widows and other helpless collected and Jahāngīr distributed charities with his own hands near Ahmadābād, p. 229.

(3) Tāuzak, p. 51.

(4) Lahori. p. 63L.

THE SADRS.

Akbar's reign:-

1. Shaikh Gadāī Kamboh.
2. Khvāja Muhammad Salīh.
3. Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī.
4. Sultān Khvāja.
5. Amīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī.
6. Mīrān Sadr Jahān.

Jahāngīr's reign:- Do. (continued till death at the age of 120 (date not known, - references found till 11th year of the reign.)

7. Mūsavī Khān (date of appointment not known.)

Shāh Jahān's reign:- Do. continued till the 16th year of by Shāh Jahān's reign, deposed from office, succeeded

8. Sayed Sadr Jalāl Bokhārī Gujrātī (till his death in the 20th year.)
9. Sayed Hidāyatulla. 21st year till the end of the reign. (Communicated with Aurangzeb on behalf of Shāh Jahān together with Afzal Khān.)

Most of Akbar's Sadrs had no mansab, they were given lands only.

The last one Mīrān Sadr Jahān held the rank of two thousand, and was raised to four thousand by Jahāngīr and reached 5000-1500.

Mūsavī Khān started at 3000, reached 4000-750. Sayed Jalāl started at 4000-700, reached 6000-2000. It was the highest rank held by a Sadr and he was decidedly the best of the Sadrs of the line and highly honoured and reputed for scholarship, honesty, integrity and selflessness.

سیماده صاف و ارادات میان میان از تاریخی اور میان غلاب
اعیر غفت و عالی پا به علوک و دوچیکه را ثابت دیانت نشاند
سخاوت پر خان غیر شده باشند و عده زدن و قارگران و زیدان
ذنونها که نکوشان برای جکه و اران می افتشند او جمی گنون و زن
بکه اش فان نکو را فرازه و راقه و سستی باید که نموده که این
و تجاه و نکند و اینچه برداشی این غسل نکو تعمیل و ده
و بجا و نکند و پاچه برداشی این غسل نکو تعمیل و ده
حکم و حاصل است که انداده و پیش غسل و غسل و زن این چهار
در برابر پنهانی چون حکم میان سلطان گردان را تلقان نمایند
توف صد و پیش از نمایی و کاره و نیزه و همچشمی میان اینکه اند
گرس و دولت نویشی بعثتی که میان میان طبلان بخواهند
او نویه در کوه و لاعن داشت نامید و ناکه میانه از زین و زن
مشی خود پیش نموده که اوره بکه از جمکه که را می خورد
میخت زایده از پ بلکه همیار و اوت و انتها و همکه را فقیر

نهال نیکوہ ورتب و اصلت پیورف ناکیوساون بمنزهون
 اسایا واید ارم و قیوسی تا عروودولت امطرار و نظرت داد
 می خوده پنهن در پس چینب باع و صاث چاهه و لیک
 باوشماهی ویوب سایشی رام سایون بمنزهون سایهان
 بندن فیرق برک نیکا جمعت مقافی اعلی اوزی پیز
 نیزین بیز افاده خارج یافی زراعت کنای از بندی فهموت
 تنها و بیل نیفسه ان نصی از رو قصبه نیزی ایوسکا و مومه و یخ
 شاه بجهان باد بجهان بایع نیلیت و حدایان اکاه شنیز وست است بیز
 بیکه تصوره میان پنگوکو رازی مذکوره پیغوره و کلیه
 شاه ای و کلاره و بیل نیفسه ایلیز بجهان بایع
 حاملات از اراده ارشاد چاهه و لیست از نان آنچه ایش و سایه و ایونه
 نیزیم نشود که بجا بیع و خواهی تباخی دست ایصال یونه
 و دست ایصال یونه و باشد دینهاب قدری دست ایصال یونه

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
P/ 49, BRITISH MUSEUM ASIA 6585									

سرکه و بیه فلان تغیره شدیکه تصریح کنندگو راضی نکوہ ایل
 نیکه پیه کوهد و چارسته تغیره انهاوکل رنکه فرسخ را نیز هم
 از اصرف پاکیح فوده و بیه بیهادی دلات ایصال طبیت و دل
 و دلته بند و دینهاب تاکید دند بدمه بیه پیه هم
 نیکیت ایس بیش نیزه ایل و بیع پیه که بعکش و دلسته دل
 و دلعم و دلیشت پیه کنندگو راضی پیه بکشیده و دلسته دل
 لرچ روزانه چون اصلت باع و بیه دلسته دل دلسته دل
 شاه بجهان باد بجهان بایع نیلیت و حدایان اکاه شنیز وست است بیز

take a sheletter and use the wells therefor for drinking water.
 out of a Parvana granting madad-i-ma, ash Land for laying
 copy of a Parvana granting madad-i-ma, ash Land for laying

CHAPTER IX.

The Review of the Position of Ministers

and

Checks imposed on their Power.

Outline.

The departure from Muslim Jurists.

The Chief Dīvān and Chief Bakhshī.

The Mīr Sāmān,

The Sadr.

The relative position of Ministers.

Checks on Ministers' powers.

- (1) Officers at court associated in state work.
- (2) Counsels not limited to Ministers:- kinds of meetings-
methods of deliberations - nature of matters discussed.
- (3) The vigilance of the king.

Ch

CHAPTER IX.

The Review of the Position of Ministers.
and

Checks imposed on their Power.

The position assigned to the Vazīr by Muslim jurists, the influence exercised by the Vazīrs of Eastern Muslim monarchies and the objects with which Akbar started to re-organise the vizārat in his empire have been noted in the previous chapters.

The Muslim jurists in giving all power and influence into the hands of one vazīr and suggesting the possibilities of an unlimited vizārat provided facilities for the proper conduct of administration by one all-powerful minister in cases of weak, negligent or minor monarchs; Akbar started with the idea of creating safeguards against the powers of such a minister and of depriving him of the influence which could make him all powerful in the state. Thus the aim and objects of Akbar were opposed to those of the Muslim jurists and he departed from their tradition.

The vakīl of the Mughals who concentrated all civil, military and judicial powers in his own hands was the first to be affected by the policy of Akbar. The office was retained with all its former dignity and status but was deprived of all power.

The Chief
Dīvān and
the Chief
Bakhshī

The real civil and military powers were divided between the Chief Dīvān and the Mīr Bakhshī, but they were not kept independent of each other like the Dīvān-i-vizārat and the Dīvān-i-'Arz of the Sultanate. The organisation of the Military and of Imperial service on one uniform mansabdāri system made both the ministers jointly responsible for the efficient working of both the premier departments of the state.

The Chief Dīvān enjoyed a little higher status in the routine work of the administration. The Mīr Bakhshī, on the other hand, was given an additional influence at the central government by his darbār duties. The position of the Chief Dīvān (or Vazīr) was further affected by depriving him of judicial powers, usually associated with the office of the first vazīr of the Muslim monarchies. Thus both remained heads of their own departments working together through defined and well-laid channels and answerable only to the king.

The Mīr
Sāmān

The third minister, the Mīr Sāmān, by the nature of his duties and routine could be expected to occupy the position of Amīr-i-Hājib of Ibn-i-Khaldūn or the Vakīl-i-Dar and Bār Bak of the Delhi sultanate, but his sphere of influence was curtailed, firstly by assigning the darbār duties to the Mīr Bakhshī, secondly by the creation of the post of the Dārogha of Ghusal Khāna in whose hands passed all the important and confidential work of the Private Chamber; and thirdly by giving an unusually high status to the Dīvān of his department. He shared equal power with him in his own department and his importance can be judged from the examples of several Dīvān-i-

buyūtāt going direct to the chief vizārat, viz., Muzzaffer Khān, Muqīm and Ghiyās Beg I'timād-ul-Daula. Thus the Mīr Sāmān failed to get that power or wield such an influence as could make him the chief officer of the Dargāh or the Darbār. However, he occupied an equal status with other ministers and enjoyed an equal influence at the court by his presence near the king like the Mīr Bakhshī.

Thus the duties of the Vakīl-i-Dar and Dār Bak of Delhi,⁽¹⁾ the Hajib -i-buzurg⁽¹⁾ of Sāmānid and of Sāhib-ash-Shurat⁽²⁾ (Captain of the Guard) of the Abbāsides who in their own kingdoms dominated the court were divided between the Mīr Bakhshī and the Mīr Sāmān.

The creation of the post of the Dārogħa of Ghusal Khāna, who acted as a private secretary to the king in the Private Chamber, and of the post of 'Arz-i-Mukarrar, who had the duty of revising royal orders and placing them a second time for king's sanction, and the placing of both of these officers directly under the king and appointing trusted persons personally known to him, further created a check upon all the first three ministers who by the nature and importance of their duties remained near the king.

(1) Barthold Turkestan, p.227. One of the first dignatories in the kingdom.

(2) Barthold Turkestan, p. 228. Second in rank at the Dargāh. Nizam-ul-Mulk Siyasat Nama, p. 81, attributes the Household duties of kitchen, etc., to vakīl-i-Dar. This should not be confused with the vakīl of the Mughals. It may also be pointed out that the military command of the town usually associated with Sāhib-ash-Shurat was given to a separate officer under the Mughals.

The Darogha of the Ghusal Khāna, the 'Arz-i-Mukarrar and the Musavvada Navīs (officer in charge of the Draft of Farmāns), divided among themselves the duties of the Dabīr of other Muslim monarchies, and these officers enjoyed the respect which is attributed to that office in the Chahār Maqāla. (1)

The Sadr

The Sadr was the fourth minister. His immense power of influencing the Muslim section of the population was entirely shaken by Akbar and his scope of activities in that direction was very much limited by the general policy of Toleration towards all non-Muslims. His powers from the administrative point of view were curtailed firstly by the internal arrangements of the administrative machinery by which all grants of lands made by the Sadr passed through the hands of all other ministers, secondly by restrictions imposed on the use of the power of making such grants, and thirdly by the creation of Provincial sadrs. Though Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān were favourably inclined towards their sadrs yet no change was effected in the policy chalked out by Akbar.

He remained the head of the judiciary also, but his power in that sphere appears to have substantially suffered by the personal attention of the king to judicial cases and his holding

(1) P. 12 - 25 (Persian Text - Gibb Memorial)

weekly courts regularly for that purpose. Hence, he lost much of his influence in all the spheres of his activities, and the sadrs of this period were never able to enjoy the power, honour and prestige which the Muslim jurists recommended for that office. Whatever respect they had was personal and hence each one of them received it in proportion to his worth, capacity and efficiency.

Thus the powers of the dominating, all-powerful vazir of the Muslim jurists were divided among four ministers of equal rank and status, and in a system of checks and balances in which all the four ministers enjoyed independence in their own departments, yet came in contact with each other on several points, there remained neither the possibility of passing the entire power into the hands of one of them, nor of any one dominating the rest.

The vakīl, whenever the one existed, occupied the highest rank and the first position in the state. Though at times there were cases in which others also occupied an equal rank of salary with the vakīl, yet none held/^{one} higher than him at any time.

Among the four permanent ministers, the Dīvān decidedly enjoyed a higher status in the administration but not always the highest grade of salary. There are cases in which a Chief Dīvān started at the rank of 1500 or 2000 Zāt while other officers held the rank of six or even seven thousand. The rank in all services was personal and no salary was fixed for any post. Hence the distinction of the Chief Dīvān in

The relative position of the ministers

the administration was of his office and not of his personal rank and grade in service. This system of appointing the chief minister from any rank of service and not giving him the highest salary even after his rise to the highest office further created a check upon his influence and prevented him from becoming the first man in the state by virtue of his office and personal troops, the strength of which depended upon his personal rank.

Mīr Bakhshī was next to the Chief Dīvān in status. Bernier says that he occupied the second or the third position, while Lāhorī, in connection with Sa'dulla Khān's appointment to the office of the Mīr Sāmān, says that it was the post next to the chief vizārat (dar rutba talo pāya-i-garān māya-i-vizārat ast. p. 347 II.). Abul Fazl has placed Mīr Bakhshī next to the Dīvān but he has not included Mīr Sāmān at all in the list of ministers. The reason for this omission has been noted in its proper place. I am inclined to think that Mīr Bakhshī by the nature of his work and influence decidedly occupied the second position among his colleagues. Lāhorī's words can be interpreted to mean that the holder of the office could reach the chief vizārat direct as the Mīr Sāmāns and Sa'dulla Khān himself did reach and so did the Mīr Bakhshīs.

Thus Mīr Sāmān was the third and the Sadr, without any doubt, the fourth in the ministers, and there is only one case of Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī under Akbar becoming Chief Dīvān from Sadārat.

As pointed out under the Mīr Sāmān, the Dīvān-i-buyūtāb also reached the chief vizārat direct though he was by no means included among the ministers, and there is one solitary example, of Rāi Rāyān under Shāh Jahān, becoming permanent Dīvān-i-Kul from a subordinate post in the same department.

Checks
on Ministers'
powers

The system of balancing power did not stop with its division among the four ministers. Akbar appears to have carried it much further during the process of the development of his institutions. At times, the supervision of administrative affairs was entrusted to officers attached with the court not holding any post in any of the departments of the central government.

(1)
Offi-
cers
at
Court
asso-
ciated
in
state
work

It has been noticed under the Dīvāns that Mīr Abul Fatah and Zīn Khān Koka were, at one time, ordered to sit in the Dīvān's office and keep themselves informed of its affairs.

In the 27th year of the reign, several prominent officers were entrusted with the supervision of markets and various articles were placed under them.⁽¹⁾ In the 28th year the general supervision of certain branches of administration was also placed under prominent persons including princes.⁽²⁾ In the 36th year,⁽³⁾ Khālsa lands were divided into four divisions and placed under four different persons. In the 39th year Asaf Khān

(1) A.N. III. p. 396. Mirzā Khān looked to horses, Rāja Bīrbāl to cows, Abul Fazl to woollen goods and so on. The supervisors received a commission of $\frac{1}{2}\%$ from the purchaser and 1% from the seller.

(2) Do. p. 404. Jahāngīr had the supervision of punishments, rewards, marriage and birth ceremonies. In such cases there were more than one person in each branch.

(3) Do. p. 605. Abul Fazl says "though Qulīj Khān (Dīvān) worked well yet by reason of the vastness of the country the measure was a far-sighted one."

Qazvenī was sent to Kashmere to make suitable awards of jagirs to officers and he had no connection with the Divān's department at that time. (1) In the 40th year the Empire was divided into five circles to suppress the realisation of the prohibited tax of Tamgha, (2) and each circle was placed under one such officer. The king himself took the charge of one circle. Similarly four circles were formed for the suppression of the baj tax. (3)

(2)

Counsels
not limited
to
ministers

Another check upon the powers of the ministers was the opening of king's counsels to other officers and nobles. There appear to be three kinds of Counsels (Majlis), (1) those in which departmental affairs were discussed; (2) in which all important political and military matters apart from purely administrative affairs were discussed; (3) in which topics of general and academic interest were talked upon in the presence of the king.

As for departmental matters, the practice appears to have been more popular under Akbar than under his successors. As his was the period of the development of all institutions such counsels must have been considered necessary. Later on, when regulations were framed and traditions were formed such affairs must have been conducted by the minister concerned in

(1) A.N. III. p. 661. called also Anjuman.

(2) Do. p. 670.

(3) Do. p. 801. 46th year.

In certain cases ministers were also included.

consultation with the king. Hence there are no references to such counsels under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Even in the alterations made in the mansabdārī system under Sa'dulla Khān, there is no mention of any counsel being held for the purpose. Even under Akbar, such counsels were limited to ministers as Heads of Departments only. Such cases have been noticed under Dīvāns.

The second kind of counsels were popular under all the three monarchs and references about them are found under each of them. Monserrate (p.213) had mentioned counsels of war held by Akbar during his stay when Akbar marched against his brother Hakīm Mirzā. Abul Fazl has recorded several meetings of this nature. The invasion of Gujrāt was discussed in the 17th year (A.N. III. p.4), and the Bengal situation in the 19th year, in which Rājā Bhagvant Dās, Bīr Bar, Todar Mal, Lashkar Khān and Shahbāz Khān took prominent part in the discussion. In all such cases the king presided. Abul Fazl has recorded the detailed proceedings of a meeting in which Mirzā Hakīm's letter for peace was discussed. In this case Akbar did not attend the meeting, and Abul Fazl was deputed to open the discussion and report the opinions of each of them. Everyone spoke in favour of accepting peace and against marching upon Kābul, while Abul Fazl put forward his own arguments in favour of an immediate march. They could not come to an agreement and it was decided that each of them should speak to the king individually. Akbar did not agree with them. The march upon Kābul was

ordered and the results justified his action.⁽¹⁾

Method
of deli-
beration

As to the method of discussion in these meetings, Mon-serrate says, "he (the king) asks each counsellor privately for his own opinion, and then himself decides upon the course which seems to be supported by the largest number and the most experienced. He asks their advice even about subjects upon which he has already made up his mind, saying to the nobles, 'This is what I think should be done, do you agree?' They reply 'Salaam, O king.' Whereupon he says, 'Then let it be carried out.' If, however, any of them do not agree with him, he listens patiently and sometimes even alters his own opinion." (p. 203-4).

Similar references are found under Jahāngīr and they mostly concern the wars in the Deccan and they have been referred to under the Dīvāns of that reign. Under Shāh Jahan the flight of Khān-i-Ā'zam Lodī who rebelled against him in the first year of the reign was discussed in the same manner and negotiations were carried through Āsaf Khān.

The most conspicuous case of a political nature is that of Mirzā 'Azīz Koka who had opposed Jahāngīr's accession to the throne. After some time, he quarrelled with Jahāngīr's vakīl Amīr-ul-Umara during the course of a meeting in which the king was present. Jahāngīr was displeased with him at his conduct and left the meeting, and held a consultation with the chief officers at the court. It appears that the same procedure of speaking one after the other in accordance with

(1) A.N. III. f.357 Tr. p. 526-527.

the rank was used under him as well. Amīrul-Umārā said, "There is nothing which can admit of delay in putting him to death." Mahābat Khān, in his turn, said, "I am a soldier. I have no right to give any opinion in a council. I have got strength to use the sword. If I do not cut him into two in one stroke (if ordered), you can cut off my hands." Khān Jahan Lodi said, "I feel surprised at his fortune, wherever your Majesty's name has reached, his name has also travelled there. Apparently he has done nothing for which he can be capitally punished. If he is put to death he will be talked of as mazlūm (a victim of oppression) and his name would be on the lips of the people of the world." These words somewhat lessened the wrath of Jahāngīr, and in the meantime his step-mother, Salīma Begam, reached there and spoke from behind the curtain. "All the Begams have assembled together to speak to you for Mirzā Koka. If you come in the female apartments to meet them, it will be proper, otherwise we shall all come out to you." Jahāngīr thus became helpless, went in to meet them, accepted their recommendation and forgave the Mirzā. (1)

This case coupled with several others of the same nature reveals that (1) all such important matters were discussed in a council; (2) the councils were not limited to ministers of the state; (3) everyone spoke there turn by turn in accordance with his rank and position; (4) the king usually presided; (5) discussions were frank and opinions were expressed

(1) M.U. I. p. 686-687.

freely; (6) the decision rested with the king and though it was not made on the views of the majority yet free discussion did certainly affect the views of the king.

The same procedure was followed in the third kind of counsels. Sometimes very useful suggestions were made in them. On one occasion when Akbar asked all those present to suggest any measure for reform which one thought necessary, everyone suggested according to his own views. Prince Salim suggested to stop early marriages. Khān-i-Ā'Zam Koka recommended to deprive the provincial governors of the power of inflicting capital punishment. Rāja Todar Mal desired to have charities distributed every day at the palace, and every week, month or year the officers should be ordered to do the same on their own account. Rāja Birbar suggested the appointment of impartial inspectors in various places to report impartially about the condition of the oppressed, and seekers of justice. Qāsim Khān recommended the building of serāis for travellers on all routes of the Empire. Faizi suggested the fixing of market prices of various articles. Hakīm Abul Fatah desired the establishment of hospitals and Abul Fazl the taking of census in every city and town and recording the name and trade of all the inhabitants, house by house, and to keep an eye upon the income and expenditure of everyone and watch the mischievous ones. Under Shāh Jahān the case of a Governor of the Province who had a bad reputation for his severity was talked of but the name was not mentioned; and Shāh Jahān

expressed his opinion about the use of leniency and severity in administrative affairs. But in these meetings matters of general and academic interests were more frequently discussed than administrative, and their references are found under each of the three monarchs.

These meetings were facilitated by the presence of a set of nobles and officers of all grades who were required by regulations to stay at the court for some time. On the one hand, such counsels and meetings acted as a check upon the powers of the ministers and on the other enabled the king to utilise the brains and experience of many of his capable officers.

(3)
The
vigi-
lance
of the
king

The last and the greatest check was of the king himself whose presence in the court, in councils, in tours and in expeditions and his vigilance over all spheres and activities of the state held together, at times, the most discordant elements, and utilised them to the utmost possible advantage of the Empire.

P A R T I I I .

CHAPTER X.

An Outline of the Judicial System.

Outline.

The position of subjects in an Islamic state. Division into believers and non-believers. No political status for the latter.

The king required to rule according to Shara' - uphold the dignity of Islam - to keep the non-believers humiliated.

The impossibility of ruling India on such lines felt by and confessed by the sultans of Delhi; remarks of Balban and Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī.

But Islamic Law makes both believers and non-believers equal before Law and impartial Justice the right of both.

Islamic Law in the Judicial Systems and its scope in Northern India.

The organisation of the Judicial System in an Islamic state; the two agencies - the King and the Chief Qāzī. The Chief Qāzī - his appointment by the king; his powers. The Qāzī-i-'Askar - his position before the Chief Qāzī.

The king's right to appoint two Qāzīs in a city.

The duties of the Qāzī.

Procedure in court - plaint - evidence - witnesses, etc.

Muftīs - not necessary in all cases.

Muhtasib - His duties - (Al-Māvardī).

The Mughal System based entirely on the same model; the king - the Chief Qāzī - the two judges, Qāzī and Mir 'Adl in every city - Muftī - Muhtasib.

The Qāzīs under Mughals not limited to cities only - appointed in smaller units as well.

The King and the Justice:- Minor cases tried every day in the darbār - time allotted for it - Important cases once a week - a day exclusively reserved for administering justice.

Routine maintained on Tours as well. The nature of the cases brought before the king - more criminal cases than civil.

Appeal:- no fixed rules.

Impartiality and stern Justice - cases cited. Views of Monserrate and Rogers.

The Administration of Criminal Justice.

Separation of Executive and Judiciary not adhered to.

Powers of Provincial Governors and Divāns.

Punishments:- Four kinds in Islamic Law.

Offences punishable with death.

Twenty-five cases collected from the chronicles of the period analysed.

Executions.

Other Punishments.

Cases of Royal Wrath.

Imprisonment:- Principles underlying the punishment not carried into practice - an instrument of oppression in the hands of the Executive - no satisfactory arrangements.

Royal Tours the greatest source of relief to prisoners. Cases cited.

Review of the System.

CHAPTER X.

An Outline of the Judicial System.

The duties of a Muslim king in an Islamic state which require him to rule in accordance with the Qurānic Law and to enforce Shara' in his kingdom have been noticed under Sadārat. It is not possible here to enter into any discussion on the Islamic theory of State or to describe in detail its legal system. However, it may be noted that Islamic Law divides the subjects under a Muslim king into two sections, believers and non-believers and imposes a duty upon the king to see that believers live as true Muslims and non-believers remain in the position allotted to them as zimmis, a position which denies them an equal status with Muslim subjects but guarantees security of life and property and the continuance of their religion and religious practices under certain defined conditions.⁽¹⁾

Thus a Muslim king besides performing the ordinary duties generally connected with his office has also to uphold the dignity of his religion through defined channels and to rule according to Islamic Law.

The impossibility of ruling India on these lines was felt as early as the 13th century. Balban who was the first Muslim king to deal with Indian problems and Indian people seriously after the work of conquest was accomplished by his patron Sultan Shams-ud-dīn clearly confessed it.⁽²⁾

(1) These distinctions, respective positions and rights of believers and non-believers have been very lucidly summarised in Zābuluk-t-ul-Mulūk, Fs.105-113.

(2) Barni, p.70-79. In an advice given to his son (Note continued)

Later on when his son Bughrā Khān advised his son Sultān Kaikubād on the duties of a king, he made no mention of such duties
 (1) at all. Jalāl-ud-dīn in a remark to his chief adviser Ahmad Chap who always criticised him for his leniency expressed a feeling of shame at his inability to rule as a Muslim monarch. He said, "Every day Hindūs who are the deadliest enemies of Islām pass by my palace beating drums and trumpets and go out to the Jamnā and practise idolatry openly . . . and we call ourselves Muslims and are called Muslim rulers." Farther he says, "Shame be on us, on our Pādshāhī, and on our championship and protection of our Religion (Dīn parvari, and Dīn panāhī) that we allow our name to be read every Friday from the pulpit and the enemies of God and of the religion of Prophet pass their lives in thousands comforts, enjoy wealth and other blessings and live honourably among Muslims with all pride and glory and practise idolatry openly and give currency to their practices of kufr and shirk in our capital, under our rule and before our eyes. May dust (^a/destruction) fall on our heads and on our Pādshāhī."

Such was the clear confession which Jalāl-ud-dīn made as a king and later on no effort to rule on strict Islamic lines was made even by the sultans of the Delhi sultanate.

(Note continued.)

Sultān Muhammad. The thanksgiving of the gift of kingship consists in seeing that "not a single Kāfir in his knowledge or by his consent gets any superiority over a believer nor is able to practise shirk and kufr (idolatry, etc.) boldly and fearlessly." This he regarded first class kingship but an ideal unattainable by him in Hindustān.

- (1) Barnī, p.151. He simply emphasised the essential of the second grade kingship as described by Balban in the advice noted above.
- (2) Barnī, p.217. He ridiculed the idea of Ahmad Chap of regarding him as a Muslim king like Mahmūd Ghaznī.

The second aspect of the Islamic system which guarantees peace and security of life and property to non-believers includes impartial justice, and this aspect of kingship was emphasised by Balban and as well by Bughrā Khān. It is also emphasised by Muslim jurists and in matters of justice they treat both the sections of subjects as equal in the eye of Law. "Justice and Beneficence must be exercised alike for all subjects (*jami' ra'āyā*). King is the shadow of God and the gift of Divine mercy (1) is common to both believers and non-believers (*kāfir o Mu'min*). A king must curtail the hand of oppression (*zulm*) upon the weakbecause the prophet says, the cry of a victim of injustice even if he be a *kāfir* is never rejected by God."

Law It was in the administration of Justice that sultāns of Delhī maintained Islamic Law and as far as the available material is concerned the same can be said about the Mughals. There might have been cases in which Islamic Law must have been set aside under Akbar but such occurrences must be few and their scope limited because his policy in this sphere does not appear to have in any way affected the Muslim Judicial system as laid down by Muslim Jurists. The law of inheritance, Marriage and Divorce are so closely related with the religious beliefs and faith of Muslims that they could not be altered or amended in any form. Hence civil Law admitted no scope for any change and it substantially remains the same even to-day in British India.

(1) Ādab-i-Saltanat. F.14.

(2) A.N. III. p.257, & p. 477, & p.722. Advice to Qāsim Beg Tabrezi Mir 'Adl-i-Urdū (army)

The Law of Evidence and Criminal Law could at times be departed from and Akbar emphasised on more than one occasion that the Qazis should not exclusively rely upon the evidence of witnesses, and recourse should be had to other sources of verifying the truth of the case, and his immediate successors appear to have accepted the same principle in practice if not in theory. Similarly there are criminal cases on record which will be noticed in the following pages in which punishments were not awarded strictly according to Islamic Law.

Scope

In this manner as far as the Muslims were concerned, Islamic Law applied to them in all civil cases. Criminal Law was the same both for the Hindus and Muslims. Similarly Muslim Law of Evidence and Contract applied to the Hindus as well. In cases of Inheritance, Marriage and the like Hindu Law also admitted no scope for any modification.

The scope of Islamic Law was further limited by leaving the ancient village organisation with all its Hindu institutions intact. It was the result of the policy of Toleration and Non-interference in social institutions to which people in that economic stage of life clung. Mukerji in his work on Democracies of the East says that according to Hindu political thinkers, "The king's officers must live outside the village" and under the Hindu rule "they did not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local affairs excepting when their counsel was invited".⁽¹⁾

Accordingly no effort was made by the Mughals to disturb the corporate life of the villages or encroach upon their ancient

(1) Baden Powell, Chapter VI. The Tribe and the Village, p.225.

institutions or to bring them in a line with other centralising agencies; as a result of which they retained their autonomy and "throughout the country the village assemblies are still administering village affairs, finance, and justice. Neither mauryan bureaucracy nor Muhammadan inroads, neither the centralised administration of Akbar or of Aurangzeb, nor the British ryotwari or permanent settlement, have obliterated the traditional rights (1) of the village communities as described in the Arthashastra . . .

The villages with over seventy per cent of the population being excluded, the state responsibility for administering justice was limited to the larger units of government— parganas (or Qasbāt), sarkārs (districts) and provincial headquarters (baldāt).

In these areas civil cases of the Hindūs affecting inheritance, etc., as noticed above were decided according to Hindū religious Law and by Hindū Pandits themselves. Badaoni has pointed out that Akbar ordered that the cases of the Hindūs (2) should be decided by Hindū judges and not by the Qāzīs. This order, in my opinion refers to such cases only and does not cover all civil cases in which both the parties were Hindūs. There are scattered cases of contracts in the records of the period in which both the parties were Hindūs and they were decided by the Mīr 'Adl, or referred to the king. Similarly the cases in which one party was Muslim and the other non-Muslim were also tried by the judges of the State.

In this connection Father Monserrate's remark that "Brachmanae (Brahmans) govern liberally, through a senate and a council

(1) Mukerji, Democracies in the East, p.207.

(2) Badaoni, II. p.356.

of the common people . . ." applies to the administration of justice both civil and criminal in the villages and not to other units of the Empire.

The organisation of the judicial system of the Mughals was entirely the same as laid down by Muslim jurists and established in Northern India by the Sultans of Delhi.

Though the Muslim jurists differ as to the right of the king to administer justice without a Qāzī, yet they agree that the king has a right to administer justice personally, but as the administration of justice according to Law requires a technical knowledge of the subject it is his duty to appoint one of the best ulamās of the age to this post. The office thus becoming unavoidable, they also suggest that there should be a body of ulamās capable of giving Fatvā on legal points and the most capable of them should be selected for the office of the Chief Qāzī.

In this manner they establish two agencies for the administration of justice - the king and the Chief Qāzī.

The Chief Qāzī The king should appoint the one with whom he is personally acquainted and who in his opinion is the best available person for the office. If the candidate is not personally known to him, his knowledge and learning should be tested by a body of the learned and his conduct to be inquired from his neighbours.

His appointment
applied for (Sažā vār nīst kasai ke talab-i-Qazā kunād)

The king has a right to depose a Qāzī because the one who has a right to appoint him possesses also the power to depose

(1) Monserrate, p.219.

him. A certain group of Muslim jurists favours the appointment of a Qāzī for a limited period only and some appear to regard one year at a time as sufficient for him so that he might not neglect his studies of the subject (zī rā ke 'ilm rā farāmosh na kunad).

His powers

When a Chief Qāzī has been appointed for the State, he, by virtue of his office, is considered to possess the right of appointing the subordinate Qāzīs for the dominions, and the Jurist think that when the king once said, "I appointed you Qāzī" (turā Qāzī sākhtam), he acquired all the rights attached with the office. This view is opposed by al-Māvardī who thinks that he does not acquire those rights unless the king says, "Qāzī sākhtam turā bar har kas va dar hama vāqi'at" (I appointed you Qāzī over all and for all matters).

The king has no right to interfere in the judicial powers of the Qāzī. If the king orders him not to proceed to take evidence in a particular case, or asks him to postpone a case till he (king) returns to the capital from his journey, the order is neither valid nor binding upon the Qāzī. Similarly if a case has been tried upon and judgement passed by the Qāzī in accordance with the law and it is just, and the king orders him to open it again, the order is not valid.

The Qāzī-i-'askar

The king has a right to appoint a separate Qāzī for the army (Qāzī-i-'askar), but his jurisdiction is limited to the area defined for him. In a case in which one party resides in the jurisdiction of the Qāzī-i-'askar and the other in that of the Qāzī of the city, and the latter insists on having the case tried in the city-court, the Qāzī of the army cannot try it

unless he has been specially empowered to try all such cases in which one party belongs to his area of jurisdiction. On the other hand, if both the parties belong to the 'askar and they want to take their case in the city-court, they can do so, and the Qāzī of the city has a power to entertain it (zī rā ke vilāyat ū 'ām ast).

More

then one The king has a right to appoint more than one Qāzī in a Qāzī in the city, but in that case their work must be defined.

The duties of the Qāzī

The Qāzī after his appointment to the post should take charge of all the papers in the possession of the former Qāzī whether they belong to the government or to the parties of the pending cases. He should also take charge of the Register of Judgements (Kitāb-i-Hukm).

The Qāzī besides being the judge is also the Trustee of all awqāfs in his jurisdiction.

On his appointment, he should visit the jails and review the condition of prisoners, inquire into their condition and individual cases. If he thinks any of them deserving of freedom he can discharge them but he should weigh the evidence properly before taking such an action and not make haste in it.

Proce-
dure
in
court

He should hold the court in an open place and preferably in a mosque⁽¹⁾ so that the poor may have free access to him but there is no harm if he holds the court at his place provided people are freely admitted there.

He should have kātibs (writers) with him to record evidence in the court, and interpreters in case he does not know the

(1) Barnī, ... A reference under "Alā-ud-dīn Khālījī shows that in those days the Qāzīs held courts in mosques but under the Mughals they held it in government buildings and were prohibited from holding them at their own residences.

language of any party or witness.

The parties appearing in the court have an equal status in the eye of the law, hence the Qāzī should make them sit together at the same place and make no distinction in the arrangements even if the king be a party in a case before him. ⁽¹⁾

When a plaintiff comes to the court without a written plaint the Qāzī should send him to the kātib who would record his statement with necessary details in a prescribed form and summon the defendant.

When both parties appear and the plaint is put before the Qāzī he would examine it, and if it is valid and in order, he would proceed with the case, otherwise reject it.

When the case proceeds the Qāzī shall remain silent and listen attentively to the plaintiff. The Qāzī or the kātib would record the statement in which not a word would be added to what is stated. He would then address the defendant in the words, da'vā karda bar tū īn khasam ham chunīn che mī goī. tū pas iqrār kunad yā inkār (such and such a charge has been brought against thee by this opponent, what hast thou to say to it; confess it or deny it), He would record his answer (iqrār yā inkār) and in case he denies it, he would record the statement given by him in his defence. When the statements of both the parties are thus recorded, he would address the plaintiff (tū ham chunīn da'vā kardai) and to the defendant (tū hamchunīn guftai) and when both of them testify the correctness of their recorded statements, he should keep the papers with him and

(1) Sulūk-ul-Mulūk, F.30. (There is no case of a king appearing in the court under the Mughals.)

examine the case. If a judgement can be passed on it, he would do it at once and if the case is not proved he would ask the plaintiff to produce (bayyinat) evidence in support of his plaint which will be in accordance with the Law of Evidence.

When a witness comes to give evidence the Qāzī would not direct him in any way. When the proceeding is thus over, he should do justice and pass judgement in accordance with Shara'.

If the case is decided against the defendant he will order him to make recompense but would not send him to jail for non-payment unless so requested by the plaintiff and none would be put under arrest for non-payment unless two witnesses give evidence of his capacity to pay (gavāhī na dihandī bar ghinā-i-ū).

Muftī The existence of muftī does not appear to be compulsory. If the Qāzī is capable and qualified to give Fatvā he can decide the case himself, otherwise he will refer the case to the muftī and ask Fatvā (law) from him.

Muhtasib The Islamic state included a Muhtasib also who besides the police duties of examining weights, measures and provisions and preventing gambling and drinking performed the duties of a religious censor as well. Such duties defined by Al-Māvardī give an idea of the scope of his activities.

- (1) He was to see that Muslims offered their prayers, kept fasts in the Month of Ramazan and abstained from drinking, etc.
- (2) It was his duty to stop begging in streets and to forbid a beggar from begging if he possessed means of livelihood.
- (3) He was to examine the credentials of a physician and to stop him from practising if he was not qualified or worthy of it.
- (4) He was also required to supervise the condition of slaves and

to see that they were not harshly treated by their masters.

(5) He was to supervise the boats leaving the shore and to see that they were neither loaded beyond their capacity nor left on the shore during the storm of wind or water which might endanger the safety of the passengers.

(6) It was also a part of his duty to see that no building was erected on a public thoroughfare, and if one is erected to obstruct the way he should order it to be demolished even if it be a mosque (agarche ān binā-i-masjid bāshad).⁽¹⁾

The
Mughal
system
on the
same
model

The Mughal organisation proceeded entirely on these lines. The king appointed the Chief Qāzī (i.e. Sadr) who possessed the powers of a judge. The Sadr had the power of appointing subordinate Qāzīs in the dominions though king's sanction was necessary in all such appointments. The king also exercised his power to appoint more than one judge in a city and their duties were accordingly defined. These were the Qāzīs and the Mīr 'adl. In all big cities and towns the two existed side by side.

The king also appointed Qāzī-i-'askār and Mīr 'adl followed him as well. Similarly the muftīs were not appointed in every case and there is no reference to them at all in smaller units of the government. The muhtasib with all his duties of police and religious censorship existed both at the capital and in the

(1) This portion of the chapter is based on Al-Māvardī, Hedāya and Sulūkul Mūlūk (a MS. which summarises the views of all prominent Muslim jurists on the point, Fs.26-41).

(2) Mirāt. F.425B. "Muhtasib-i-balda va Qasbāt" - appointed through Chief Sadr.

provinces, but he was neither concerned with roads nor with boats and ships and the safety of their passengers as under Māvardī.

Qāzīs
not
limi-
ted
to
cities
only

It is generally believed that the Qāzīs were limited to the capital, provincial headquarters and other big towns only, but the scattered facts of the period conclusively show that they were appointed in smaller units, Qasbāt and parganas as well, the villages, of course, being excluded. Abul Fazl is altogether silent on this point. There are only two references in the Āīn about judicial officers. In connection with the position of Sadr under Sayūrghāl, he says, "The Qāzī and the Mīr 'Adl are under (1) his orders," and in the classification of the officers of the State in several groups, he mentions the term Mīr Dād, who should be "free from avarice, and selfishness, who sits on the eminence of circumspection and insight, and obtains his end by putting various questions, without exclusively relying on witnesses and oaths." (2)

The author of Mirāt is very definite. He says, "The Qāzīs of the Sūba and of Qasbāt are appointed through the Chief Sadr and take charge of their duties on the basis of the Sanad of the court through the provincial Sadr . . . The Qāzīs get cash salaries (Rozīna) and hold madad-iema'āsh lands conditional upon service." (3) Besides this authority which is the best possible one on provincial matters, the financial accounts forwarded by each pargana to the central government included a permanent item of in'ām for the local Qāzīs which was given to them on Muslim

(1) Āīn, p. 198. Bev. Tr. p.268.

(2) Do. p. 5. Do. p.IX.

(3) Mirāt. F.425.

(1)

'Id festivals and the current rates of market prices of each
(2)
pargana received at the capital were certified by them.

However, the existence of Mīr 'Adl in the Qasbāt or par-ganas is not traceable and having regard to the economic con-ditions and the organisation of the society of those days in which there was not much scope for litigation there is no reason to believe that they did not exist there at all.

The
king
and
the
Jus-
tice

The second agency for the administration of justice was the court of the king. The Mughal Emperors utilised to the utmost the sanction given by Muslim jurists to kings to try judicial cases themselves. The access which they gave to the poorest of their subjects and the extent to which that access practically existed has been noticed under king's transaction of state business.

It appears that ordinary ^cases were attended to by the king in the open darbār every day and important cases requiring the evidence of witnesses and their cross-examination were at-tended to by him on the day fixed in the week exclusively for the administration of justice. It has been noticed in the se-cond chapter that Akbar had reserved Thursday, Jahāngīr Tuesday, and Shāh Jahan Wednesday for this purpose. Abul Fazl says about Akbar, "he opens the gates of justice and holds an open court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resource of the crafty, but draws his conclusion from the contradictions in

(1) Mīr 'Adl, MS. Add. 6585.
(2) MS. Add. 6588. F. 89A.
(3) MS. Add. 6579. F. 196.

the narratives, the physiognomy, and from sublime researches and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ pahars." (i.e. about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours).⁽¹⁾ Hawkins says the same about Jahāngīr, "The king heareth all causes in this place and stayeth some two hours every day (these kings of India sit daily in justice every day)⁽²⁾ De Laet makes a mention of weekly courts of Jahāngīr "once a week (on Tuesday) he takes his seat on the tribunal and hears patiently all causes that are brought before him both civil and criminal and pronounces a judgement on each which is final."⁽³⁾ According to Lāhorī Shāh Jahan retired on Wednesday from the Jharoka-i-Darshan to Daulat khāna-i-khās and on that day none was admitted there except the officers of justice (mutassaddiyā-i-'adālat), theologians qualified to give Fatvā (arbāb-i-Fatvā) a few learned noted for their piety and integrity and a few Amīrs who alway remain in attendance. The officers of justice presented the seekers of justice one by one, the king listened to them attentively, cross-examined them politely and passed judgement in accordance with the Fatvā of the ulamās present there.⁽⁴⁾ Later on Bernier witnessed the same at the Mughal court. "All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the Am-khas⁽⁵⁾ are brought to the king and read in his hearing, and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined

(1) A.N. III. p.257. Tr. p. 373.

(2) Hawkins, p. 116.

(3) De Laet, p. 93.

(4) Lāhorī, I. p. 150.

(5) In the underlined words the spellings of the original are retained.

by the Monarch himself, who often redresses on the spot the wrongs of the aggrieved party. . . . Nor does he fail to attend the justice-chamber, called Adalet kanay on another day of the week attended by the two principal kadis (or chief justices). It is evident therefore that barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always (1) unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects."

The continu-
ity of routine
in Tours It may be observed that this arrangement was not disturbed when the king proceeded on military expeditions, pleasure trips or on Tours to different provinces. Jahāngīr appears to be most attentive to this part of his duty and the cases dealt with by him during such trips are more numerous than under his father or his son. The arrangements he made at Ajmere and Ahmādābād for the purpose give credit to him and justify his intentions which he repeatedly expressed during the first and second periods of his reign as noted under vizārat. At Ahmādābād where he found "the people weak-hearted and meek", he selected a place for administering justice "which had no impediment in the shape of gate, or wall, or watchmen (*yaswālī*) or mace-bearers (*chohdārs*)."¹ It was towards the river. He says, "I from the date on which I entered the city, notwithstanding the heat of the air, every day, . . . I sate there for two or three . . . hours and listened to the cries for redress, and ordered punishments on the oppressors according to their faults and crimes. Even in the time of weakness (due

(1) Bernier, p.263. He mentions one day more in the week when Aurangzeb devoted two hours "to hear in private the petition of *ten* persons selected from the lower orders. . . ."

to illness) I have gone every day to the Jharoka, though in great pain and . . . agony, according to my fixed custom (after mid-day prayers) and have looked on ease of body as something unlawful ~~for~~ (1) me." (tan āsāñi bar khud haramdashta)

Bernier also speaks of the regularity of this routine of Mughal Emperors. "The kings of Hindūstan seldom fail, even when in the field to hold this assembly twice during the twenty-four hours, the same as when in the capital. The custom is regarded as a matter of law and duty, and the observance of it rarely (2) neglected." Shāh Jahān made similar arrangements during his tours in the Punjab, Kashmere, Kābul and at Peshāvar.

The nature of the cases before the king

The king tried both civil and criminal cases and he acted both as a court of first instance and a court of appeal. The cases on record scattered in the chronicles of the period show that the king received before him more criminal cases than civil, for which the explanation is quite simple. The nature of the Hindū and Muhammadan civil Law as noted above left little scope for civil cases reaching the court. Only intricate cases or of unusual importance reached him for appeal or were forwarded by the Qazis themselves. On the other hand there was no such restriction in criminal cases and on the whole the policy of all the three monarchs was not to leave wide powers of punishments in

(1) Tazuk, 13th year, p.232. Tr. p.14, Vol II. The access to the king on this occasion can be judged from a case in which a gardener of the Royal Gardens approached the king and complained against a servant of the Governor who had taken away some plants from the garden under his charge. The inquiry was made, the complaint found true and both the thumbs of the accused were chopped off." (p.207)

(2) Bernier, p. 360. At the first of these Justice was administered.

the hands of executive or judicial officers and regulations definitely required the sanction of the king for all capital punishments. Thus Governors of provinces and even the officer at the Capital will not be inclined to take the risk of punishing one with death or with amputation of limbs and would prefer to forward such cases to the court. This was the condition which Akbar established after the organisation of the province and which was maintained by his successors. This is the reason why European travellers under Jahāngīr witnessed such punishments every week at his court. De Laet says, "Capital punishment is generally inflicted before his eyes and with great cruelty, whether in the capital city or whenever he is holding his court." (p.93) Thus whether the accused appealed to the king or the trying magistrates and judges forwarded their case to the king on their own account, the number of criminal cases would be much higher before him than civil. The question of expenses would also create the same result. The accused in a criminal case would be sent to the court together with all witnesses at state expense while in a civil case the parties will bear their expenses.

Appeal

There were no fixed rules and regulations for appeal nor were there different courts of various degrees to which cases would be taken against the judgements of the court of the first instance. But as far as practice was concerned both the parties in a civil case had the right to take their case direct to the king or appeal to him against the judgement of the Qāzi. Similarly in a criminal case the accused possessed the right

of appeal and the trying magistrate had the option to try it himself or forward it to the court at any stage of the trial.

The nature of the civil cases which were brought before the king for trial or were forwarded to him by the judges can be judged from the following few cases. In the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign the Qāzī and the Mīr 'Adl of Lāhore forwarded a case in which 'Abdulvahhāb the son of Kākīm 'Alī claimed rupīs eighty-thousand from the sayyids of Lāhore and produced a bond with the seal of Qāzī Nurulla. He said that his father had placed that sum in deposit with Sayyid Valī the father of these men, who denied it. The son of the Hakīm besides proving the case was prepared to swear on oath on the Qurān, (a procedure which was permissible under Islāmic Law). Jahāngīr writes "I told them to do whatever was right by the Divine Law. The next day Mu'tamid Khān represented that ^{the} Sayyids showed great humility and submissiveness. The matter was a complicated one. The greater reflection given to ascertaining the truth in the matter the better. I accordingly ordered that Āsaf Khān should take exceeding trouble and forethought in ascertaining the truth of this quarrel, and point out such a way that no doubt whatever should remain, if it could not be cleared up, I would examine them in my own presence. Immediately he heard these words, the Hakīm's son lost both his hands and his heart in the affair (i.e. became nervous) . . . and proposed a withdrawal." The withdrawal was not accepted, he was forced to appear before Āsaf Khān for examination in whose presence he confessed that the deed had been prepared by one of his servants, who himself became a witness, and had misled him. He gave a writing to

this effect which was put before the king. "When Asaf Khān informed me of the real state of affairs, I took away his man-sab and jāgīr and cast him out of my presence, and gave the Sayyids leave to return to Lāhore in all honour and respect."

Shāh Jahān received a still more complicated case and of peculiar nature in which two different persons claimed a boy as their own son. The case was tried and decided by the Qāzī and the Mīr 'Adl on the basis of the evidence produced before them but the person against whom the case was decided persisted in his declaration that the boy really belonged to him. Accordingly they forwarded the case to the king who examined the evidence and found no reason to reverse the judgement. Accordingly he passed a remark to test them that the boy should be cut into halves and divided among the claimants. The man in whose favour the case had been decided remained silent while the other trembled with fear and cried out, "Do not cut the boy. I give up my claim." Thus the truth came to light. The boy was handed over to him and further inquiry revealed that (2) the boy really belonged to him.

The collection of the letters of Muzzaffer Khān contains several letters from a Mīr 'Adl who wrote to him as a friend about important cases brought before him and orders received from the king. He mentions a very complicated civil case of contract and partnership in business in which both the parties were Hindūs of the caste of baqqāl. The case was taken directly to the king, and decided at the court but the order was not

(1) Tauzak, p.306. Tr. II. p.158. (Jahāngīr was at Kashmere).
 (2) Brahman MS. F. 19B and 20A (pages 32-33).

executed through the difficulties created by the local officers of the pargana and it appears that the matter was referred by them to the king. But in the meantime when the case was pending the defendant Harbans died and his sons Debi Chand and Ram Chand took possession of the property of the deceased over which the claim of the plaintiff was based. The Mir 'Adl concerned appears to have been newly appointed to the place and he received orders from the court to attend to the matter, and decide it without further delay. He examined the case, found it too complicated and again forwarded it to the king with necessary information. He writes, "the case is complicated and old and owing to the crafty nature of the baqqāls of the Pargana (hila sazi-i-Jamā'a-i-baqqālān-i-Qasba) who neither give out the truth nor try to settle disputes in any way, I find myself helpless. Hence I have sent both the parties to the court." (1)

Impar-
tiality
and
stern
Jus-
tice

A conspicuous feature of the legal system of the Mughals is stern justice and strict impartiality and equality before law.

Justice is a name to which every knee will bow. Equality is a word which many fear and detest. Yet the just was rightly declared by Aristotle to be a form of the equal. Hence impartiality in justice means two things (1) Law is applied impartially

(1) MS. 16859, F.42 A and B. This collection includes several letters which give very useful information about such cases in which either both the parties were Hindus or one Muslim and one Hindu. Apart from this distinction, they also give an idea of the nature of the cases. In one case two baqqāls sue a person for Rs. 20. (F.43). In another one Sāhū Nand Rām complains that his agent Raghūnāth Rāi had despatched gold thread cloth on camels from Ahmedābād to Lahore. His servants were surprised by bandits on the way and cloth worth Rs. one thousand was taken away. Hence he claims inquiry in the matter so that the bandits be brought to justice and the cloth returned to him. As the case happened in the jurisdiction of the said Mir 'Adl so the complaint was made to him and he remarks that the statement appears to be true. (F. 61-62).

with accurate equality to all cases that fall within its definitions. The law may be good or bad. As judged by an ethical standard, the rule itself may be just or unjust; but in every case the rule is universal for the cases to which it applies. But equality before Law goes farther than this. It is not enough to administer Law impartially as it exists.

(2) The Law itself must be the same for all without any distinction of caste or creed, rank or race. Professor Hobhouse says, "Equality before the law as a modern understands it means not merely that the penalties attached to a case of homicide, whatever they may be will be impartially enforced, but that the penalties will be the same whoever and whatever the slayer and the slain may be. It means equal protection of life and limb for every one under the law, and equal penalties on every one violating them".⁽¹⁾

The Mughal Emperors can fairly claim to be impartial in justice according to the standard set above. Apart from theoretical references and sayings of these Emperors which are frequently found in the annals and emphasised by the chronicler of the period, actual cases can be quoted in which impartial justice in the above sense was rendered by them in the period covered by this thesis. In the 24th year of the reign of Akbar a case was brought forward against King's favourite governor and playmate of princely days, Khān-i-Ā'Zam Mirzā 'Azīz Koka who during his governorship of Gujrāt had arrested an 'Āmil 'Alāud-dīn for embezzlement and handed him over to be one of his servants. This servant had a grudge against the 'Āmil

(1) Hobhouse, The Elements of Social Justice, p.103.

and he had him beaten to death. Khān-i-Ā'Zam punished his servant capitally for this offence and Abul Fazl says "this act of justice he performed not at the request of anybody but from piety of God". Thus the man who was guilty of the murder was brought to justice but the matter did not end here. When the father of the Āmil came from Persia to seek redress the case was re-opened again and the king ordered it to be tried by the ordinary court of justice. The responsibility lay upon Khān-i-Ā'Zam to prove himself innocent in the matter. In the end he succeeded in settling the matter by paying a large sum as fine (khūmbahā) according to Shara' to the father of the murdered Āmil. Hence Abul Fazl feels justified in remarking upon the occasion, "His Majesty . . . in his court makes no difference between relative and stranger, and no distinction (1) between a chief of chiefs and a tangled-hair beggar . . .".

Similarly Akbar created a surprise in Gujrāt by punishing with death one of the most powerful military chiefs, named Jujhar Khān, of the late kingdom of Gujrāt for the murder of one Changez Khān. The case was brought forward by the mother of the murdered man during Akbar's stay there. Inquiry was made, and the accused was found guilty and sentenced to death. It may be observed that it was done in the 18th year of the reign when the conquered province was not even properly subjugated. "The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds and was astonished on beholding such justice. . . General public ('Umūm-i-Halāiq)

(1) A.N. III. 24th year, p. 387 Tr.

(1)

received enlightenment from this just sentence."

In the same manner when Jahāngīr heard about Sa'eed Khān Chaghtāī, a prominent governor of Akbar's time, that his eunuch oppressed and tyrannised over the weak and the poor, he sent him a message, "my justice would not put up with oppression from anyone and that in scales of equity (mīzān-i-'adl) neither smallness nor greatness was regarded. If after this any cruelty or harshness should be observed on the part of his people, he would receive punishment without favour." Sa'eed Khān gave an undertaking in writing that if his people were oppressive, (2) he would forfeit his head. One or two governors under Jahāngīr were removed from office definitely on similar charges.

A striking example of impartial justice is found in the case of Hūshang the brother's son (birādarzāda) of Khān Ā'lam the favourite Amīr, who was charged with the murder of some insignificant person whose name even does not appear in/records the of the period, and sentenced to death. Jahāngīr writes, "having summoned him to my presence, I investigated the charge and after it was established, gave an order for his execution. God forbid that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amīrs. I hope that the Grace of God may support me in this." "Hāsha ke darīn umūr ri'āyat-i- (3) khātir-i-shāhzāda na karda tā bā umarā va sāir bandahā che rasad

(1) A.N. III. 18th year, p.32. Tr.46.

(2) Tauzak, 1st year. p.6. Tr. 13.
M.U. II. p. 405.
Price, p. 16.

(3) Tauzak, 16th year, p.333. Tr. II. p.211.

Father Monserrate witnessed the same impartiality at the court of Akbar and he says, "the king has the most precise regard for right and justice in the affairs of Government". In accordance with Mussalman practice cases are decided by a double process before two judges. However by the king's direction all capital cases, and all really important civil cases also, are conducted before himself . . . By nature, moreover, he is kindly and benevolent, and is sincerely anxious that guilt should be punished, without malice indeed, but at the same time without undue leniency." (p.210). Rogers forms the same opinion about Jahāngīr and in his introduction to his Memoirs he writes about him, "It is a remark of Hallam's that the best attribute of Muhammadan princes is a rigorous justice in chastising the offences of others. Of this quality, Jahāngīr, in spite of all his weaknesses, had a large share and even to this day, he is spoken of with respect to Muhammadans on account of his love of justice." (p.xii.)

Shāh Jahān's attention to justice is proverbial like that of Jahāngīr, and this quality is very conspicuously brought out by every writer of his period. Besides the chroniclers and Brahman whose views have been noticed, another contemporary writer Sādiq Khān summarising the characteristics of his reign says that if an account of his justice is recorded a separate volume will be needed for it. Similarly the poet Mulla Shāh Badakhshi emphasises this quality in the following verses:-

ایے اُنفر نبہ نفل نفول تو بود
نفلت خوش باد فل نفول تو بود
چیزے د برابری تو اندر دن
در بک میزان تو عدل تو بود

The As far as the administration of criminal justice is concerned, the separation of the executive and the judiciary was not adhered to. According to the *Ain criminale* the Governor possessed the power of inflicting even capital punishment though in practice a great check was exercised on this power. Pelsaert's remark that the Governor, the *Dīvān* and the *Bakhshī* sit together daily or four days in a week with the judges must refer to important criminal cases only. (p.57)

The regulations together with the instructions sent to the provinces from time to time recorded in the *Mirāt* show that the Governor possessed a right of general supervision over the administration of criminal justice of his province. He himself sat in the court to try cases and *Faujdārs* of the districts sent to him the accused arrested by them and it was his duty to inquire into the nature of the charges brought against them, to send those for trial to the *Qāzī* whose cases fell under Shara¹, to try political offences himself and refer the revenue cases to the *Dīvān* for necessary action.

The *kātvāl* of the city was under his direct supervision and he was instructed in a similar way about the offenders in the city brought before him either by his subordinates or by complainants themselves.

The Governor was also directed to inspect the jails once a month and look into the condition of the prisoners and was authorised to set at liberty those whom he considered innocent and direct the *Qāzī* to try the pending cases of the accused in

(1) *Mirāt*. F. 104 A.

(2) Do. F. 104 B.

(1)

custody without delay.

His powers in such cases are clearly brought out in a case in which the Qāzī of Ahmadābād was rebuked by Aurangzeb for setting at liberty some prisoners kept in custody by the order of the Governor as disturbers of peace (*mufsidiān*) and orders were issued to the Dīvān to see that such prisoners should not be discharged and if a similar case happened in future he would

(2)

be held responsible for it.

Certain references under Aurangzeb show that the Dīvāns of the provinces along with the Governors were also required to keep an eye upon this branch of judicial administration, and in a Farmān Khvāja Muhammad Hāshim Dīvān of Ahmedābād was directly addressed to look into the pending cases and take steps to avoid further delay and act in the matter in consultation with the Governor of the province, and keep the court informed of all such affairs (paivasta haqāiq rā mī navishta bāshand va

(3)

darīn bāb tākīd dānand).

Thus like the king at the capital the Governor as his Nāib exercised a general supervision over the administration of criminal justice in the province and the Dīvān acted as a check upon both the Governor and the Qāzī as he did in other provincial matters.

(1) Mirāt, F. 104 A.

(2) Do. F. 111 B.

(3) Do. F. 104

(4) Do, F. 104 B. Aurangzeb's order to provincial officers shows that Qazis held the court four days in a week. Friday was a holiday and on Wednesdays they were required to go to the Governor's office where probably they sat with him for criminal cases. The court time was from sunrise till mid-day (Zuhar prayers about 1 p.m.).

PUNISHMENTS.

In punishments also Mughals followed the Islamic Law and though at times all the three kings departed from it in certain cases, yet it formed the chief basis for the judgements of the Qazis and the magistrates.

The punishments in Islamic Law are of four kinds:-

- (1) *Qisas*, i.e. retaliation applied in cases of killing and wounding which do not prove fatal.
- (2) *Diya* or '*Akl*' is the blood writ or compensation paid by one who has committed homicide or has wounded another.
- (3) *Hadd*, i.e. an unalterable punishment prescribed by Canon Law, or the punishment exactly defined by the law which may neither be reduced nor augmented, e.g. 1. stoning or scourging for illicit intercourse; 2. scourging for falsely accusing a married woman for adultery; 3. cutting off hands for theft, and various punishments for robbery according to the circumstances.
- (4) *Ta'zir*, the punishment inflicted by the judge according to his estimation. "According to fikh book, *ta'zir* is inflicted for such transgressions as have no *hadd* punishment and no *kaffara* prescribed for them, whether it is a question of disobedience to God, such as the neglect of the fivefold *salat* or of fasting, or a question of crime against man such as deceit, bearing false witness . . ." It may include imprisonment, exile corporal punishment, a reprimand or any other humiliating

proceeding. The chief condition for the application is that (1) the delinquent must be in the possession of his mental faculties.

The kind and the amount of punishment is left entirely to the discretion of the judge. The object of this kind of punishment being reformation, the degree of punishment varies with the individual. Some jurists classify the people into four classes according to social status and the intellectual capacities, but others lay stress on the "inner worth of the individual", his attitude to religion and his mode of life.

The process of trial is simple in contrast to that of hadd. It is inflicted on a confession which however cannot be withdrawn or on a statement of two witnesses, one of whom may even be a woman. Some think the personal knowledge of the judge of the transgression is enough.

As far as *Qisās*, i.e., capital punishment for murder, is concerned, Akbar and his immediate successors took particular care that the power of inflicting it should not pass unrestricted in the hands of *Qazīs* and other magistrates. It was in the 27th year of the reign of Akbar that a suggestion was made to him to take that power from the Governors of the provinces and a regulation was made to the effect which required king's sanction necessary for the execution of the sentence. This was maintained uniformly by Akbar's successors and definite orders or references about it are found under each reign. According to Father Monserrate even the cases in which Akbar

(1) This portion of this section is based on Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.I. p.132, 980. Vol.II.p.186, 1038, and p.710 (for *Ta'zir*), and *Hedaya*(Hamilton) Book VII.

himself acted as judge, the guilty, by his directions, were
 (1) not punished until he gave orders for the third time. De

(2) Laet's remark about Jahāngīr has been noted above. Thevenot
 says, "The king reserves that power to himself and therefore
 when any man deserves death, a courier is despatched to know
 his pleasure, and they fail not to put his orders in execution
 (3)

so soon as the courier comes back." Lahorī says the same
 about Shāh Jahān, "If any one is found guilty and deserving of
 capital punishment in a province, the Nāzim cannot take the
 courage to execute the sentence without obtaining the sanction
 (4)

of His Majesty."

(1) Monserrate, p. 209. He mentions particular cases also,
 209-211.

(2) De Last, p. 93.

(3) Thevenot, III. p.19.

(4) Father Monserrate witnessed the trial of Shāh Mansūr the
 Divān for high treason and also of another officer for adul-
 tery. He describes the scene of the first in the following
 words:- The king ordered the officers of his body-guard and
 those of the corps of executioners and a few prominent gener-
 als, together with Xamansurus (Mansūr) to halt at Baadum (the
 king was on his way to Kabul). He then told Abdulfasilius
 (Abul Fazl) to recite in the presence of these witnesses all
 the benefits which the king had conferred on Xamansurus from
 his boyhood. After this he was confronted with the proofs
 of his ingratitude and treason. The criminal was convicted
 and condemned to be hanged on the evidence of specimens of hi
 autograph-correspondence with Mirsachimus (Mirza Hakim) which
 were produced and shown to him . . . After the execution
 they all returned to the camp. The king's mournful counten-
 ance plainly showed how much pained he had been by the wret-
 ched man's fate. (p.99) Reference has been made to this
 case under Divāns.

For the other he writes:- "The king has such a hatred of
 debauchery and adultery that neither influence nor entreaties
 nor the great ransom which was offered would induce him to
 pardon his chief trade commissioner, who, although he was
 already married had violently debauched a well born Brahman
 girl. The wretch was by King's order remorselessly strangled."
 (p. 210).

Offences punishable with death:-

According to Hedāya, there were only three such offence:
(1)

Apostacy, whoredom after marriage, and murder, but Zīā Barnī in a conversation, being questioned by Sultān Muhammad Tughlī enumerated seven offences, the first three being the same as noted above, which were allowed by God, and the other four:- high treason, rebellion, aiding the king's enemies with men, arms or information, and such disobedience as might cause injury to the state - which kings thought necessary for the maintenance of peace and order, and were included in the code

(2)
of Jamshīd.

I have been able to collect twenty-five cases of capital punishments tried and decided by the three Mughal Emperors under discussion. Of these 13 belong to the reign of Akbar, 12 to Jahāngīr and one to Shāh Jahān. According to offences they fall under the following different heads:-

Murder	11
Open revolt, including desertion to the enemy (not including armed re- volts of Zamīndārs)	7
Theft committed in the Royal Treasury	1
Highway robbery	1
carry forward	20

(1) Hedāya, p. 178.

(2) Barnī, p. 510-11.

Brought forward	20
Plunder pf enemy's camp by soldiers	
without order	1
Adultery by a married man	1
Shiqdār for oppressing the ra'īyyat	1
Obstruction in a royal hunt by one	
jilāndār (groom)	1
Selling the flesh of dog for goat's	
meat during famine under Shāh Jahān	
(4th year of the reign)	1

	25

Executions.

It appears that in the method of executions, Islamic Law was not always adhered to and it depended mostly upon the nature of the offence and the circumstances of the case. Father Monserate, who appears to be a keen observer and an accurate writer fond of details and precision, has recorded the nature of punishments as well. He says, "Those who have committed a capital crime are either crushed by elephants, impaled or hanged. Seducers and adulterers are either strangled or (1) gibbeted."

Of the twenty-five cases of capital punishment noted (2) above, five were trampled under the feet of elephants, one

(1) & (2) Monserrate, p. 210, and 85-87. Elephants were specially trained for various purposes. "They become accustomed to the voice of their keepers and obey them implicitly. They can tie and untie knots, push anything, lift it, put it down again, turn it over. They can cast nooses, and unfasten (Note continued.)

(1)

was strangled, and the rest either beheaded or hanged.

However it may be noted that the Qāzīs and the magistrat trying criminal cases had no such option. They always follow Islamic Law or referred the cases to the king. Salih writes about Shāh Jahān that under him if any trying magistrate be found guilty of exceeding the limits fixed by Shara', he will be punished by him for his offence according to the Shari'at, (dar peshgāhe khilāfat va 'adālat jazāi ān bar vufaq-i-Shari' ba taqdim rasad. I. p.252).

Other punishments:

Abul Fazl in his introduction to the Āīn justifies the cutting of hands or feet in the case of "a vicious man whose black deeds alarm others and throw, on account of their viciousness, a whole world into grief." When all other remedies like admonition, threats or imprisonment have failed, "he should be deprived of the instruments of his wickedness, and lose sight, or his hand, or his foot. But the king ought not to go so far as to cut the thread of his existence (dar gusaikhtan-tār o paud-i-hastī dilīrī na numayand); for enquiring sages consider the human form as an edifice made by God, and do not permit its destruction."
(2)

(Note continued.) them, gather up tiny straws and coins. They can even be taught to dance. In short they are ready to do anything that they are told by their keepers. . . . Criminals are crushed to death beneath their feet. . . . On account of this training they are apt to crush anyone who slips or falls down in mounting on to their backs; for they think that he has been thrown before them for that purpose."

(1) Edward Terry adds killing by dogs and snakes and the like (p.326). I have neither found any case of such punishments

(Note continued.)

The regulations for the provincial governors were also based on the same principle. "He should reclaim the rebellion by a just insight into the conduct of affairs by good counsel, failing which, he should be swift to punish by reprimands, threats, imprisonment, stripes or amputation of limb, but he must use the utmost deliberation before severing the bond of (1) the principle of life."

As far as actual cases of amputation of limb or blinding are concerned, Monserrate has mentioned none which shows that he did not witness any during his stay at the court. Akbar appears to have been very cautious in this matter and Monserrate while giving the description of the instruments of punishment kept by the Chief Executioner, says, "However no one is actually punished with these instruments which seem to be intended rather to inspire terror than for actual use." (p.211)

Jahāngīr issued a Farman after his succession prohibiting the cutting of nose or ears of any person and in the same connection he says, "I myself made a vow by the throne of God that I would not blemish anyone by this punishment." Another Farma

(Note continued.) nor any reference to them, nor of snakes being kept for the purpose, though dogs were maintained for the royal hunt. The editor of Terry's narrative has attributed his information to three sources - 1. his personal observation; 2. "something to Coryat"; 3. "something also to the gossip of other members of the ambassador's (Sir T. Roe's) suite, or of the merchants at Surat" (p.288). It appears that this information comes from the third source. (2) Āīn, p.6. Tr. p.ix.

(1) Āīn, p.280. Tr. p.37. Abul Fazl emphasises the same and says that Akbar is very slow in taking one's life (A.N. III. 298. Tr. 442).

issued in the 6th year of the reign forbade the Governors of
 (1)
 the provinces to inflict the punishment of blinding.

Cases
 of
 royal
 wrath

In the annals of the period there is one case of Akbar
 ordering one of his servants feet to be cut off for taking off
 the shoes of a villager by force during the royal tour in Guj-
 (2)
 rat in the 17th year. Similarly the tongue of Hamzabān was
 cut off for disbehaviour and disrespect (bad zubāni) in the
 (3)
 17th year, and the tip of the tongue of Khvāja Bhūl was cut
 off for behaving rudely towards Prince Salīm in the 42nd year
 (4)
 of the reign. and the same year one Qāsim was castrated for
 (5)
 violating a chaste woman.

In the 39th year Shēdā Beg Thāvildār of the royal wardrobe
 was stripped and souped with cold water in the winter month of
 (6)
 Bahman for being a regular absentee from kishīk (watch at
 the palace). He died of cold.

Under Jahāngīr there are only two cases of such punishments. The one in which Kalyān the son of Rāja Bikarmājīt had his tongue cut off and was imprisoned, was a case of seduction and murder and the other of royal wrath in which the two kahār had their feet cut off for obstructing the royal hunt at a time
 (7)
 when Jahāngīr was aiming his shot.

(1) Tauzak. Tr. p. 205. (2) A.N. III.

(3) A.N. III. p. 29. (4) Do. p. 577.

(5) Do. p. 733.

(6) Do. p. 666. The spellings of kishīk in Tr. p. 1021 (kashak) are incorrect.

(7) Tauzak, p. 79. Tr. p. 164 (Translation varies from the original). These cases do not include punishments which Jahāngīr inflicted upon Prince Khusrāu's partisans after his revolt. They were treated as rebels; their cases do not fall under regular administration of justice.

There is no case of blinding or cutting of nose or ears either under Akbar or Jahāngīr but the issuing of the two Farmāns by Jahāngīr shows that such punishments were inflicted in the provinces and the need was felt to issue definite orders forbidding them.

A typical case of such punishments is of a thief who was presented before Jahāngīr at Ahmedābād during his stay there in the 12th year of the reign. ". . . the kotvāl of the city caught a thief and brought him. He had committed several thefts before, and each time they had cut off one of his members; once his right hand, the second time the thumb of his left hand, the third time his left ear, and the fourth time they hamstrunged him, and the last time his nose; with all this he did not give up his business, and yesterday entered the house of a grass-seller in order to steal. By chance the owner of the house was on the look-out and seized him. The thief wounded the grass-seller several times with a knife and killed him. In the uproar and confusion his relatives attacked the thief and caught him. I ordered them to hand over the thief to the relatives of the deceased so that they may retaliate on him (tā ū rā ba qisās rasānand).
(1)

(1) Tauzak, p. 214. Tr. p.432. The cutting off ear and nose in this case was against the orders referred to above and Jahāngīr appears to have overlooked it. Similarly it shows that in spite of the repetition of the same offence the criminal was not deprived of his life because the regulations did not permit it in this offence.

I have not been able to get any case under Shah Jahan
as
which could be regarded/the result of royal wrath in the ad-
ministration of justice.

It may be observed that the cases noted above are not the
instances of such punishments but they are all those recorded
in the annals of the period and hence they cover all ^{important} ~~several~~ cas-
in which the king personally awarded such punishments. However
they do not cover the cases of the provinces and there is no
source to trace them or to form any definite opinion about
them on the basis of historical facts as in the above case.
De Laet, Peitsaert and Terry under Jahāngīr and Bernier later
on express their opinions about such punishments which were
certainly cruel but they do not record actual cases which they
might have witnessed. Monserrate under Akbar witnessed two
cases of capital punishments referred to above and both of
them are recorded in Akbar Nāma also.

Imprisonment.

The chief feature of this punishment was that no period
was fixed for it. The Qāzī and the magistrate had a right to
send one to prison for the offence or crime for which the
punishment could be awarded and the accused had to show signs
of repentance to secure his freedom. The object underlying
such a punishment can be both detention and reformation, but
in the former/^{case} there must be some period fixed for it, and in
the latter any other practical step to reform the prisoner

during his term of imprisonment. The lack of the one worked hard upon the prisoner while that of the other defeated the object and placed in the hands of the executive the most dangerous weapon of oppression. According to Islamic Law, the duty of showing mercy to prisoners and inspecting their condition from time to time whether they showed any signs of repentance was a religious duty attached with the office of the Qāzī, but every judge and magistrate can neither be God-fearing nor always conscientious in his duties. There must be some power above him to make him perform it and some definite law to guide him and to hold him responsible for neglecting it.

The lot of the prisoners can as a rule nowhere be expected to be what one would like to see. The accounts recorded by European travellers as well as the scattered cases in the chronicles show that there were neither regular jails in the modern sense nor proper arrangements for keeping criminals and political offenders in custody. Monserrate's account like his other accounts is very lucid on this point also. He says, "Ordinary criminals are kept under guard in irons, but not in prison. Princes sentenced to imprisonment are sent to the jail at Goaleris (Gwāliār) where they rot away in chains and filth. Noble offenders are handed over to other nobles for punishment, but the base-born either to the captain of (1) the despatch runners or to the Chief Executioner." One can

(1) Monserrate, p. 211.

well imagine the lot of each class of these prisoners under these arrangements which agree with the facts of all the three reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Mirzā Kaikubād the son of Mirzā Hakīm (Akbar's brother) was handed over to Jagan Nāth for excessive drinking. Anī Rāi, Jahāngīr's favourite companion had the charge of Prince Khusrau. Similarly Prince Rustam Mirzā, son of Sultān Husain Mirzā, deposed from governorship of Thatta (Sind) for oppression was handed over to Anī Rāi.

Aurangzeb's instructionz to the Kotvāls to take the prisoners to the Qāzī on the expiry of their term of imprisonment and to direct his attention towards their release shows that the Qāzīs fixed such terms as well, but the decision must have depended on their personal dæscretion and not on any fixed rules.

The greatest relief to such prisoners was offered by King tours to different parts of the Empire. It is a matter of surprise that the cases of Akbar's attention towards prisoners during his tours are not recorded by Abul Fazl, though they ar found both under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Jahāngīr released

~~xxxxxxMxxxxxxxxxxxxxx2ik.~~

(2) A.N. III. p. 528.

(2) S.T. Roe. p.246. Mirāt has references to jails at the provincial headquarters only where prisoners from all divisions of the province were sent.

(3) Tāuzak, 9th year, p.128.

De Laet, p.36. For Prisons at Gwāliār, Rantumbhor & Roht Bernier, p. 106-107. For princes sent to prisons to bedone away with.

all those "who had been confined for a long time in the forts
 (1)
 and prisons" soon after his accession. In the 11th year during
 his tour to the Deccan from Ajmere, he released some of those
 (2)
 imprisoned in the fort of Rantambhor. On his return in the
 13th year, he inspected the condition of all the prisoners of
 the same fort, "I ordered that they should bring before me
 the criminals who were confined in the fort so that I might
 look into the case of each of them, and give an order in ac-
 cordance with justice. In brief, with the exception of affai
 of murder, and of any person through whose release disturbanc
 or calamity might ensue in the country, I freed them all and
 to each one in accordance with his circumstances gave his ex-
 penses and dress of honour." (3) There are many individual
 cases also to which Jahāngīr from time to time gave personal
 attention and the result on the whole appears to be effective

Similarly Shāh Jahān inspected the Gwāliār fort, examined
 all the prisoners and released all except those whose freedom
 (4)
 was not considered desirable or safe. In the 5th year
 when he again passed by that fort, there were only eleven
 cases of long imprisonment and they were all released. In
 this connection the chronicler says that it is a fixed regula-
 tion that the cases of the prisoners of the fort by which the

(1) Tāuzak, p.5.

(2) Do. p.170.

(3) Do. p.256. Tr. 59-60.

(4) Lahori, I. p.245.

(1)

king happens to halt should be brought to his notice.

In the 17th year of the reign prisoners were also set free on the occasion of the Jashan held to celebrate the recovery of the favourite princess, Begam Sahib, from prolonged illness, and as an exceptional case prisoners for ~~xixii~~ debts of long standing were also released and their debts amounting to rupis seven lacs were paid from the royal treasury.

(2)

(1) Lahori, I. 246.

(2) Do. II. 365.

Review of the System.

There are two striking features of the judicial system noticed in these pages. Firstly, Akbar and his successors maintained the entire structure of the Islamic state as laid down by Muslim jurists and strictly followed Islamic Law in the greater part of the sphere of the Judiciature as was nowhere done by them in any other part of the political structure of their Empire.

Secondly the judicial department stands in a marked contrast in organisation, in status and dignity to other departments of the Central Government which were highly organised and thoroughly equipped with efficient hands.

Both of these features have at times been noticed by writers on this period of Indian history but the causes which led to such a state of affairs have not been examined. The scope of Islamic Law and its application to a small section feature of the population has been noted above. As for the second, the first and the foremost cause for it was the little scope left to the government for the administration of justice by (a) the religious character of the Hindū and Muhammadan Law noticed above, (b) the organisation of Indian villages which administered both their civil and criminal cases themselves, (c) the nature of the organisation of the society in cities and towns - the paternal and tribal character or the birādari (Brotherhood) system which left little scope for litigation in civil cases, (d) the close contact with each other among individuals established by the peculiar nature and the needs

of the society as a result of which every one knew the other even in a big city or a Qasba. This feature of society still exists in small cities if not in presidency towns of India.

Thus if a civil case of inheritance, for example, should arise it will be decided either by the elders of the family who have better knowledge of the actual state of affairs than the external witnesses can prove or by the Qāzī for the Muslims, and by Hindū courts for the Hindūs. Hence there will be only minor cases of contracts or business dealings between different members of the society which will have the chance of going to the government courts of justice, and the recorded cases of the period also fall within the same category.

Similarly in a society where one knew the other and in which the movements, mode of living and general behaviour of the one were not hidden from the other, in which any news or rumour would spread like a fire and the bad conduct of one would affect not only the person guilty of it but damage the reputation and position of his entire family or Brotherhood, there will be few crimes and still less would be the difficulty in tracing them. Accordingly the detailed study of the history of the period in a connected way in its different aspects shows that crimes like theft, dacoity, highway robbery, etc. were the chief crimes and they were chiefly limited to classes or groups of people who committed them as a profession, of course barring those casual occurrences which accidentally happen in human life and human relations in every society.

Such groups of criminals were treated as enemies of peace

and military force was used against them for which they were also prepared, and their fate was decided not in judicial courts but in plains and battlefields. Minor offences of cities and Qasbas went to regular courts and occasional occurrences of crimes of a serious nature which must always be few reached the king and the nature of the cases tried by kings noted above proves the same.

Secondly, the Government not only maintained the existing structure of the society but helped its continuance in every possible way and thus no change was affected in its chief features or organisation during the long rule of the Mughals and no further scope for the administration of justice by the government was created.

Thirdly, the tendency of the society as well as the policy of the Government was to discourage litigation in every possible way and hence no facilities were created for it.

Thus the courts established in cities and parganas were sufficient to deal with the limited number of cases and no need must have been felt to increase them. Similarly when the object was to discourage litigation no courts of various grades were created to encourage litigants to appeal against each and every judgement. This view is further supported by the procedure adopted in administering justice in which ~~the~~ ^{always} effort was made to reach the truth by various methods and not to decide the case merely on the strength of the evidence produced in the court, and results often justified the use of such measures.

As far as the administration of justice in its limited scope is concerned, its chief features have been noticed.

There is no scope for entertaining the ridiculous assertion of Terry that there was no written law, or supporting the irresponsible remark of Bernier that the cane of the governor or the caprice of the monarch ruled the millions (p.236). The law bound the Qāzī, the magistrate and the king alike. The scope for king's caprice remained only in the method of punishments and its cases have been noticed. The written plaints were presented, written documents submitted, witnesses produced and cross-examined. In a case of murder recorded in the letters of Muzzaffer Khan Jahān, eighty witnesses were produced by the accused in his defence. Evidence was always taken in accordance with the Islamic Law of Evidence. It was recorded and in important cases submitted to the Muftī for Fatvā. The king never sat to administer justice without a muftī. The judgements were recorded as directed by Muslim jurists though they cannot be expected to have been written in an elaborate form as done in modern times when they are needed for the guidance of the Court of Appeal.

The greatest weakness of the system which is conspicuous throughout and is emphasised by European travellers consisted in the corruption of the Qāzīs. The methods which Akbar used against this class of Muslim theologians were not calculated to achieve the object. When the administration of justice was left in their hands and they could not be deprived of that power even by a monarch like Akbar, their status must have

been raised in proportion to other high posts of the Government. Akbar on the contrary not only lowered their rank but lowered their prestige as well.

Their position remained the same under his immediate successors. They were mostly given madad-i-ma'āsh lands conditional on service and whenever the prominent ones among them received any rank it was never high. Even under Shāh Jahān, a prominent man like Qāzī Aslam held sayūrghāl land in Kābul yielding only rupis ten thousand a year, while Qāzī Khushhāl, who held the office at the capital (Shāh Jahānābād), was in
 (1) the grade of only 500 Zāt.

In provinces Akbar required the governors to keep an eye upon all the qāzīs of their provinces and their status does not appear to have risen even under Aurangzeb who ordered them to see the Governor every Wednesday (roze chahār shanba nizde
 (2) Nāzim-i-sūba hāzir shavand).

But the accounts of Pelsaert (p.57) and Bernier (p.236) are much exaggerated about their corruption. The vigilance of all the three monarchs and the strictness which they showed in matters of justice must have led to a great caution in appointments and there are certain names under each reign which were
 (3) respected both by the people and the king.

(1) Sālih MS. F. 445.

(2) Mirāt MS. F. 101 B.

(3) See Haft Aqlim also for Qāzīs at Lāhore under Akbar.

Besides this the limited scope of cases, the facility, the access and the encouragement given to take a case direct to the king, and the system of combining the *Divān*, the *Bakhshi* both with the Governor and the *Qāzī* must have greatly limited the scope of the corrupt *Qāzīs*. Those who possessed ~~the~~ means of bribing the *Qāzīs* possessed also the means to take their cases to the king even from distant provinces. As for the poor, Bernier says, "In Asia, if justice be ever administered, it is among the lower classes, among persons, who being equally poor, have no means of corrupting the judges or of buying false witnesses . . ." (p.237). However, whatever the scope that remained for corruption, ~~it~~ was due to low rank and position in which the *Qāzīs* more than the *Mir 'Adls* (1) were kept.

The chief features which go in favour of the system and the administration were the efforts of all the three monarchs their to establish equality in Law for all, and stern and impartial justice. Not only was the Law one for all but the punishment awarded in recorded cases were the same for high and low. The courts were few, procedure simple, trials quick. There were neither lawyers to live upon litigation nor heavy court fees to maintain the highly organised state department of (2)

(1) It may be observed that *Mir 'Adls* and *Dād Baks* under the Delhi sultanate occupied high and distinguished positions.

(2) Terry, p. 326.

(1)

justice. Whether it was good or bad is a controversial matter in which even the modern experts cannot definitely say Yes or No. But it is definitely certain that the system suited the age in which it existed and the society for which it was maintained. The defects noticed above continued throughout the period but the scope of the harm from them was much more limited than generally believed.

(1) Bernier, p. 236. "There certainly however, some may say, are some advantages peculiar to despotic governments: they have fewer lawyers, and fewer law suits, and those few are more speedily decided." Bernier attributes this to the absence of the right of private property and condemns it to justify the French system of the 17th century. "No doubt this summary mode of proceeding excited the admiration of our travellers and they returned to France, exclaiming, 'O, what an excellent and quick administration of justice! O, the upright kadis! Models for the imitation of French magistrates!' - not considering that if the party really in the wrong had possessed the means of putting a couple of crowns into the hands of the kadi or his clerks, and of buying with the same sum two false witnesses, he would indisputably have gained his cause or prolonged it as long as he pleased." (This shows the trend of Bernier's criticism and also the scope of corruption and the amount needed for it.)

A. and B. Copy of a Plaint claiming the ownership of a house in the possession of the defendant.

B.

که مولای نواده بر پیغمبر مقم ناز و شوره از اسما و مکارهای دین
پنجه کشیده کنند انجام آمی دیر احال کرده و فرازها و فرسای
فرازی خود را بگام داد و نصیرت پیر عزیز کم اکبر بر معاشر
و در این صلحوت بدمولای موقوف نمود و بعد از همان اتفاق
مکارهای علیه شدی دیه را بسط خود را در دزمین بر زمین نهاد
خود رفت و پسر دوزدن را همان را زومیم داد و پس از این قدر
والی کلان و دکتر چک از نزد کادوساله و کارشناسی کنی باز از
شی و عمل معینه خانه هشت کس خود مشیر و نزدیک رئیس از همان هفت
مروج را منع نهفت تغور و لاد همان از زده به تهدید همان هفت
بیوه خانه های که که بخود و پسرخوان رفع می شود را که صدر
شده اند و حصر نمایند و لاد و صورتی که اینقدر می شوند که این
بادوام است و مکارهای سی و پنجه پیش بگیرند و اینکه این شاهد
و میانه از کمال سی و پنجه پیش بگیرند و اینکه این شاهد
و میانه از کمال سی و پنجه پیش بگیرند و اینکه این شاهد

بَعْثَتْ بِنَهْ بَلْسِي دَرْدَرْ وَزَوْدَرْ دَرْدَرْ قَصْبَرْ بَلْسِي
وَرْخَلْ بَلْسِي بَلْسِي دَرْدَرْ وَزَوْدَرْ دَرْدَرْ قَصْبَرْ بَلْسِي
خَلْيَا مَنْعَنْ قَيْفَرْ مَعْنَى جَوَاهَرْ دَاعَسَتْ دَنْجَلَهْ بَلْسِي
مَحْدُودَهْ بَلْسِي طَلْيَا وَرْغَبَا "أَكَاهَوْجَبَا" بَلْسِي
دَاخْلِي وَبَارِي وَبَاضَفْ دَنْسَبْ الْيَمَانِيَّهْ الْأَصْبَرْ شَيْخَ
أَحْمَدْ شَيْخَ تَمْهُودَهْ بَنْهُودَهْ بَنْشِيدَهْ وَنِيكَ كَرْ دَوْهُوبْ لَ
مُوَهْوَهْ مَزْلُودَهْ رَابْعَاهَضْ دَهْسَبْ رَفَوْمَ ثَبَقْ شَرْبَيْهْ غَوْ
وَنِيشَنْ تَغَرْوَهْ رَأْكَرْ كَرْ بَعْدَزَنْ مَنْتَهَهْ دَنْيَهْ غَامْ
مَنْتَهَهْ بَلْسِي بَلْسِي دَلْسُورْ دَنْيَهْ ثَمَادَنْهَهْ بَلْسِي
شَيْخَهْ دَوْعَيْهْ دَخْنَوْتَهْ شَيْتَهْ دَهْمَانَهْ دَخْنَهْ كَعْنَجَتْ
جَبْتَ بَلْسِي شَيْتَهْ دَكَشَهْ كَعْنَجَتْ

A.-C. The mortgage of a house by Uday Ram and Jai Kishan for Rs. 1200 to Beni Ram, etc., showing the application of Islamic Law in such cases.

اـ) **بـقـلـمـ اـمـ عـلـيـ مـوـبـلـ قـالـ دـمـشـ رـهـنـ اـمـ عـيـيـ**
اـتـ كـرـكـاـدـ وـغـرـفـ مـنـدـ بـرـشـمـ فـوـرـاـمـهـنـ بـنـ بـنـ
بـنـ بـنـ وـرـمـ قـوـمـ زـنـ دـارـيـ عـالـجـ اـقـسـ اـرـشـ عـاـجـيـزـ بـنـ بـنـ
بـنـ بـنـ كـلـعـهـ مـنـ مـوـزـيـ اـنـرـاـضـ دـوـبـعـ دـوـبـعـ وـلـ كـرـ
شـتـعـهـ عـاـطـهـ دـوـرـيـ كـلـيـ دـوـغـاـزـ شـلـ لـوشـ دـشـهـونـ
وـاقـيـتـهـ دـمـحـلـ فـرـزـاـمـ دـمـدـوـهـ تـ بـنـ دـوـدـوـلـهـ بـنـهـ
بـنـ بـنـ بـشـقـيـ قـانـ تـسـلـيـ كـوـكـوـسـ كـنـكـوـشـيـ بـيـتـ
اـتـنـ دـرـلـنـفـ بـرـلـيـ اـنـ بـلـيـ بـجـيـ اـنـدـحـتـ بـلـوتـ طـازـمـ
سـكـارـخـانـ وـلـاـثـ اـنـ بـرـسـ خـانـ جـوـلـيـ اـنـ مـلـكـيـ بـجـهـ
ماـذـهـ شـمـلـيـ اـنـ بـكـسـتـنـبـتـ عـاـمـ وـيـاـلـهـ اـرـثـ
پـهـرـيـ قـيـ وـلـكـ وـبـقـلـنـ دـوـكـوـتـ دـرـكـيـتـ سـلـوـرـهـ بـرـجـادـ

B.

سی او دهارم و چکش زن را در ازان مکرر باشد و زنلا نام
 نکو خود و مسلط ترا باید توان غیب کشیده و خلی و خارجی
 تغایر بسی از زاده و صدر و پستانه جیده تمام موزن نیزه
 اکنضو شصده رو به بوده مکوره می شود پست بیان
 بن بجه زان بن اندیشین میگردکه و مرض دمو عالیاً
 من عیانیه و عائین البغض تسلیم شدن و درین مکون
 محدوده مذبور از مقتضه مکوره می داشتند و همچو
 بعنه شیخ خود اور و عابض بین بینها و قاعده هم رفاه
 شعد شده مذبور مکون بن کارکر عیار یعنی غلبه شد و
 دسته خان اسد باز خالص شیوه برای مژران مکوره ترین
 مکرر بسی از قوم را بکمینه دیز ران مکوره سن مذبور

ج. و کیان سلطان ساخت و فهم نهاده و گردانیده بیکار این
 نکو رسنی مکوره باعث شدیه ملت و عدالت ران کششیه
 موز شده و بمنی مکو رسن مذبوره و کاته محدوده
 مذبوره را لیست دست زده بمنی و بمنی خود را که و متر
 بار سلوبه اند و اینکه که عذاب حادت سندک و پیش از
 شریعه الاولیه علی شهدیه بمنی و مترین و درین مذبور
 سیو شیخ بیان معمولی از تکروه و اخراج اور دهندا و
 بنت خود عبده آگریم بیان از دنیان بن مکونه و فیکنیه
 سلطان پور فی حاجی اور دنقه تیرانه از شریعه برینه
 کیک نزل و می بیزشت بنت کار اویست و رقصه مکوره بول
 مدد و عرضی شد و سعی شغل است بکی بیان و کیک مجز

CHAPTER XI.

Summary and Conclusions.

Outline.

Akbar's policy based upon the experience of the past -

Conquest - consolidation.

The solution of the problem of vizārat and nobility - the continuity of the policy under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

The chief defect of the arrangement.

Direct contact between the king and the people and its effect

The chief defects of the system.

Akbar's policy based upon the experience of the past The geographical features of Northern India, their influence upon the people and the form of government, and the scope of state activities determined by the peculiar conditions of the country have been noticed in the introduction.

The early sultāns of Delhi fully realised the situation in which they were placed, and throughout the long period of the sultanate, the rulers of all the dynasties adhered to the policy of Protection and Toleration chalked out by the founders of the kingdom and in it they achieved

varying success in their own sphere and in their own way like the chequered career of the Hindū monarchs. The element of Islām in the country created its own problem. It has been noticed how sultāns like Balban and Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī confessed their inability to rule according to Shara' in all its essentials and why no attempt was made to follow it. Though they failed in it, though they never adopted any measure for conversion nor ever encouraged it, yet the Islamic character of the sultanate remained dominant. In principle the equality of non-Muslims with the Believers was never recognised, - the right to a share in government posts was never accorded to them. The same state of affairs continued till Akbar took up the conquest of the country and its re-organisation anew.

Conquest conquests he followed the natural order of things and like his predecessors felt the need of bringing the whole of Northern India under one sway without which neither the duty of Protection could be performed effectively nor the continuity of peace guaranteed for the peace-loving population, and its peaceful pursuits. It was the same ideal which the Hindū monarchs since the days of Chandragupta Maurya kept before themselves of becoming Charkra-Vartin. It was a political necessity forced upon the rulers of Northern India by geographical forces in the interest of the people. It needs no explanation and no controversy which is found in two contradictory remarks of two distinguished writers on Indian History. Cou von Noer writes, "It was not passion for conquest which thru-

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the sword into the great emperor's hand", while Mrs. Beveridge, in an introduction to the English translation of Von Noer's work, says that he was "a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales, . . . he believed in supremacy as being in itself a desirable object, and having men and money, he went to work and took tract after tract without scruple." Mr. Vincent Smith agrees with her. This is bad reading of Indian history and the result of the lack of analysing facts. All the conquests of Akbar can neither be upheld by the statement of Von Noer nor condemned by that of Mrs. Beveridge. The conquest of Northern India must be separated from the conquest of the Deccan for which no geographical or political justification can be offered.

Consolidation But conquest was not enough. Akbar's greatness does not lie only in military achievements. Mr. Vincent Smith says:- "He was endowed with a genius for organisation rare among eastern potentates and not common in any part of the world. His mind, capable of grasping broad and original principles of government essential to the consolidation and stability of an extensive empire won by aggressive conquest had also an extraordinary capacity for laborious attention to detail."

(1) Von Noer, ii. p.231.

Akbar from the beginning of his career of conquest showed that he did not only mean to conquer every part of Northern India but to conciliate every section of the people of the country and win them over to his side, to gain their support and to make their power his own strength rather than to exterminate it.

As he moved forward in his work his policy became clear at every step and his task easier. His treatment of the conquered foes, fallen enemies, humbled rebels, turbulent officials all pointed to one policy and one aim, and it was peace for all and with all. With conquest, concessions and conciliation he established peace and security in the whole of Āryāvarta in short space of about two decades. The conquest of the country and the conciliation of local powers was followed by organisation and consolidation to secure solidarity and shake off the impression of the ephemeral character of the ruling dynasties created in the country by their regular changes.

The organisation with which Akbar started began from the top and not from below. The chief features of each part of the organisation have been noticed in their proper places. The first and the foremost problem with which all the ruling dynasties

were confronted was of the relation of the Monarch with his vazirs and nobles. In spite of all the efforts of rulers like Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn on one side, and Sultān Fīruz Tughluq and Bahlūl Lodi on the other, no dynasty of the Delhi sultana found itself secure against its own ministers and nobles, and groups the changes were brought out by both of these powers in one way or the other - Provincial governors and military chiefs became the successors of their masters and the founders of new dynasties. ~~Professor Hobhouse says:-~~

The history of the middle ages in every country is full of the conflict between Monarchy and the local powers in which one or the other triumphed at different times, and Professor Hobhouse on the same basis says:- "Personal absolutism is for the most part limited to a narrow circle . . . A conqueror of a wide territory has, after all, to divest himself of most

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of his real authority over it."

But the manner in which Akbar solved this problem and achieved success in his object is a proof of his "genius for organisation and extraordinary capacity for laborious attention to detail" referred to above. In his organisation, he departed entirely from the tradition of Muslim jurists and the example of other Islamic kingdoms including the Delhi sultanate. He did away entirely with the principle of one all powerful vazi in the Empire and divided his powers and functions among four ministers of nearly equal power, rank and status. The position which he gave to his vākil, the powers which he placed in the hands of his chief Divān, show the originality of his mind, t

The solution of the problem of vizierat and nobility

(1) Hobhouse:- *Morals in Evolution*, p.56.

checks and balances he created in the distribution of work among the Mir Bakhshī, the Mir Sāmān and the routine he established in the administrative machinery which brought all the four ministers including the Sadr in direct contact with each other were conclusively the result of his mastery of detail. The example which he set of selecting his ministers from any rank or class or sect was another departure from both the Muslim and the Hindū principles of government. It dealt a severe blow to the prestige, power and the influence of the aristocracy in the state. An Amīr or noble could not claim or expect to gain the highest post by virtue of his rank or salary. The rank was personal and it had no relation with the different posts of the government. Similarly the example of giving certain amīrs a higher rank than the ministers of state created a check upon the power of ministers. The rank and power were seldom combined in one person. Mirzā 'Azīz Koka under Akbar and Āsaf Khān under Shāh Jahān held the highest rank together with the post of vakīl but the office carried no power. The real power, rank and influence can be said to have been enjoyed for a short time by Shāh Jahān's Dīvān Sa'dulla Khān alone who was given the highest rank held by Āsaf Khān, and his distinction becomes still more conspicuous by the fact that he held it solely on his personal merit without any external or supplementary influence or relationship.

with the king as was the case with I'timād-ul-Daula or Āsaf Khan.

The precedence established of holding regular councils of ministers and high amīrs and referring all important matters to them for making decisions may be said to have proceeded on Hindū ideas and if the remark of Father Monserrate which suggests the number of the council as twenty be correct then it would conform exactly to the Hindū tradition to which reference has been made before.

It may also be observed that in spite of all checks imposed upon the ministers they did not suffer in prestige. The ministers under all the three monarchs, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahan enjoyed perfect confidence of their masters and the conspicuous among them held the highest respect which a minister in any state can expect or hold. Muzzaffer Khan, Rāja Rodar Mal and Mir Fatahulla Shirāzī under Akbar, ^{under Jahāngīr, Muzaffar Khan and Saifullah Khan} I'timād-ul-Daula and Khvāja Abul Hasan under Shāh Jahan deserve special mention in this connection. The four ministers were certainly the four pillars of the Empire, but not like the symbolical pillars of the Turkish Empire which held the tent, but the pillars like those of the Mughal Tāj which do not support the structure but add to

its dignity, majesty and beauty.

The
con-
tin-
uity
of
policy

The structure established by Akbar and the spirit which guided its internal working was loyally followed by his immediate successors as noted under each department and its every branch received a fresh vigour under Shāh Jahān. The merits of a system are better judged by the measure of the success achieved by it in the attainment of the object for which it was established and judged by this standard there can be no better proof of the soundness of Akbar's systems and the efficiency of its internal working when it is seen that during the period of 97 years (1560-1657) (1) only one minister, Shāh Mansūr, was charged with high treason, under Akbar, and the king met him not on a battle-field but in a regular court of justice which condemned him to death and he was silently executed; and the charge remained a mystery and the king/filled with grief at his minister's fate; (2) the officers from the lowest rank of clerkship rose to the highest office of a minister on the strength of their capacity and loyalty without any influence or recommendation/without any distinction of class, caste or creed.

Muzzaffer, Shāh Mansūr, Rāi Patar Dās and Asaf Khān Qazvenī started on very low grades under Akbar; Itimād-ul-Daula himself started as a Mushrif and was a minister under Jahāngīr five years before his daughter Mihrun Nīsa became Nūr Jahān. Both Sa'dulla Khān and Rāi Rāyān started as clerks under Shāh Jahān.

(3) There were only three cases of corruption in the ministerial rank, two of which belong to the reign of Akbar - Khvāja Jahan

and Rāi Patar Dās. The former is charged by Badaoni only, and he attributes his removal, from office when he was working as a colleague with Muzzaffer Khān, to the same cause, while the account of the latter has been recorded under Dīvāns. The third and the most surprising case is that of I'timad-ul-Daula under Jahāngīr. He is charged by Mu'tamid Khān, and there is no reason to disbelieve him when his position and character as a writer are judged as a whole. He is the most reliable and useful authority of the period and though bold and frank yet he was extremely cautious in expressing his opinions about his contemporaries and colleagues. He expresses a very high opinion about the said Dīvān's capacity, learning, skill and polite manners and testifies Jahāngīr's statements about his popularity as well but adds that in taking bribes he was very bold and fearless (baghāiat nekzāt va kār Guzār būd . . . lekin dar rishvat giriftan sakht dīlir va be bāk būd. p.55)

The case of Mūsābi Khān, the Chief Sadr of Shāh Jahān noticed under Sadārat was of irregularity and not of corruption.

The second feature of the system was that the ministers enjoyed perfect security during the term of their office and good behaviour and were not exposed to the dangers which generally arise under absolute monarchies from kings' whims and caprice or court intrigues. None lost his head or office from this cause and none shrank in his duties owing to its fear or uncertainty of his position. It has been noticed before that even Nūr Jahān could not ^{bring} harm any of Jahāngīr's

ministers though all of them were opposed to her plans and they actively supported Shāh Jahān when the time arrived for action.

The third feature was that the entire system moved and every part of it worked under a regular order. From the clerk to the minister of a department every one knew his duties, his position and his daily routine. The clerk could speak to the minister and the minister to the king that the rule was such and such in a particular matter. The term at the tip of every tongue was zābita īnast. Subha Chand. The case of Rād/a superintendent of the office stopping the Chief Divān from exceeding his powers and of Sa'dulla Khān using the term zābita nīst before the king in the case of the most powerful Prince Dāra Shikoh have been noticed. It was the tradition which Akbar established and his immediate successors not only respected it but gave the rules and regulations set by him the sanctity of Law. The king had, of course, the power to act as he pleased, but the minister was certain of his position as long as he acted according to the fixed regulations, and in practice the kings respected the rules and regulations which they themselves framed, and appreciated their ministers who dutifully followed them.

The fourth feature of the system connected with the organisation of the vizārat was the lack of power in the hands of the chief minister. The conditions under which Akbar started arranging his work certainly demanded a radical change and the type of men with whom he had to deal left him no other option than to centralise all real power in his own hands, and leave the con-

conduct of the administrative machinery in the hands of the ministers of equal power and keep in touch with them to ensure its proper working, but when conditions changed and matters improved and traditions became settled, the lack of real power generally needed for the chief in every form of government appears to have been felt by men who were placed in that situation, and it seems to have been indirectly expressed by the chief Divāns of Shāh Jahān. 'Allāmī Afzal Khān is reported to have said that the chief vazir should possess the power of appointing and removing officials placed under him and should be in a position to maintain the largest number of soldiers (1) to overawe the highest amīr in the state. In other words, he wanted him to be the first man in the state, a position which the Mughal system did not permit. Similarly another chief Divān, Islām Khān with whom Rāi Diyānat Rāi was attached as joint colleague found his position untenable and he put heart into the work only when the Rāi ~~got~~ himself transferred to another department. Islām Khān used to say that the entire (2) management of the world is the work of one efficient man. It was this lack of power and/rigidity of the system in this matter which made the machinery unworkable at times when the king ceased to be its motive-power. It was the chief cause which created complications under Shāh Jahān after the death of Sa'dulla Khān, when he was overcome by his failing health and disease and was unable to rule, there was no power in the

(1) & (2) See under Shāh Jahān's Divāns.

state to work the system though everything stood in perfect order. It was this lack of power which immediately led to the struggle among his sons and to the tragic end of his rule.

Direct contact between the king and the people

The second aspect of the system in relation to the central structure was the attitude of the king towards his position in the state and the conception of his duties towards his subjects. The chief features of both of them have been noticed in the first chapter and the practical steps which the monarchs took to carry out their intentions have been observed in the second chapter. Legally the king was the khalifa of God and bound to rule according to the Laws of God. Constitutionally he was an absolute monarch. Theoretically his word was Law and his will the pleasure of all under him. But in practice how far Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān ruled as khalifa of God and to what extent they enforced Islamic Law as Muslim kings has been noticed.

Akbar started with the definite idea of remedying the two conspicuous defects of the system of the Delhi sultans, (1) the difference of status between the subjects as Muslims and Non-Muslims; (2) the lack of scope for a direct contact between the king and the people. The first of them led to complete Toleration and the eradication of the idea of a Muslim kingdom. His institutions carried into practice his ideas about Toleration and his personal policy directed against the Muslim theologians had the second aim in view. Not only that he did not want that idea to be reflected in his institutions but that he did not tolerate the existence of that i-

impression about him, or in any group within his state. The record of his reign is full of this struggle in which he finally triumphed. His kingdom was the kingdom for all (1) religions and for all races. Merit and Loyalty were the test for every rise and distinction, as Lybyer in his comparison of the Turkish Empire with that of the Mughals in India says, "Appointments and promotions were, as at Constantinople, based upon valor and manifestability. Through all the period of greatness the ladder of advancement was kept so clear that vigor, courage and prowess could mount from the lowest ranks to the steps of the throne." (p.283.) The Law was one for the Hindus and Muslims, high and low, and in this sphere the Mughal Emperors decidedly showed an improvement not upon the Hindu traditions of Aryavarta but upon the spirit of the time in which they lived.

The attempt to create a closer contact with every class of people of the country - to gain their will and give solidarity to the Empire was carried out in various ways. The policy of conciliation followed by conquest gained the goodwill of the local Hindu chiefs of importance. Toleration as defined above achieved their active co-operation and further

(1) See Chapter I. supra. Monserrate expresses his views about Akbar's toleration as he saw it in the words, "He cared little that in allowing every one to follow his religion he was in reality violating all religions." (p.142.) Offer to Christian priests to "live freely in his empire and build their churches . . ." (p.47).

helped the reconciliation of other classes. For

Next followed the organisation of the country into provinces instead of parcelling the country into military fiefs which established uniform system and institutions throughout the country controlled directly from the capital. It guaranteed internal security against the oppression of the strong.

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over the weak, and the principle of Abul Fazl noted above that the "hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and celestial armour" for the lover of peace and "life-slaying sword and heart-rending dagger" for the wicked was emphasised by Akbar and his two successors both in words and deeds. It was this Protection and Toleration combined with perfect peace and impartial justice which Faizi expressed in the following lines:

خداوند یے رما خردی داد
دل داد بارزی قوی داد
بعد داد عمارا رعنون کرو
بجز عجل لر خجال ما بردن کرو.

and the same was said for Shāh Jahān in different words by Mulla Shah Badakhshi whose lines have been quoted under Justice.

The devotion of the king to his multifarious duties and attention to every phase of activity guaranteed the continuity of the system once established and his vigilance over officers of every rank and department made the maximum amount of success possible in the ideals and the policy once laid down and closely adhered to throughout the period under review. The

(1) This portion has been dealt with in a separate volume under Provincial Administration.

opening of darbār daily to the lowest of their subjects, the centralisation of all power, all appointments, all patronage in the hands of the monarch, the organisation of Tours to different parts of the Empire and allowing the same access and same benefits of personal attention to the people of other parts of the Empire, the interest shown in the ancient traditions of the people and the respect to their customs, and the celebration of their festivals of Dasehra, Divalī and Rākhi Pūnam like those of Muslim Ids as state functions were the means directed towards the same one end.

The policy gave them their reward. The country enjoyed peace and prosperity, and the dynasty a security which was not enjoyed by any dynasty in India for centuries before it. These points need no elucidation. Every student of Indian History
 (1) is familiar with them.

The chief defects of the system

When the achievements of the state have been observed and the rapid decay of the Empire and with it of the prosperity of the country is taken into account, one is naturally tempted to trace the defects of the system which contributed to this result in spite of all its solid structure.

(1) Lybyer, quoted above, says, "In the days of its greatness, the budget of the Mogul Empire, alike in income and expenditure, reached a height which had rarely if ever been attained before. That of the East Roman Empire under the Macedonian dynasty, and the Saracen Empire in the days of Harūn-al-Rashid, may have rivalled it, ~~and~~^{but} it is probable that only the great western powers, enriched by the industrial revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have reached a financial magnitude beyond that of the Empire of Aurangzeb." (p.295.)

In this respect, the first and the greatest defect of the system was its over-centralisation and its dependance upon the person of the Monarch - which has been noticed above in these pages, but in fairness it may also be added that in the absence of any constitution to guarantee the continuance of the institutions once established the conditions left no other alternative - no group in the country existed to take the place of a powerful monarch nor had any group in India prior to the Mughals given any proof of this capacity or of its sincerity in matters which vitally affect the people and the country. The king had always to act as a guardian of the weak both against its own official agents and the local chiefs.⁽¹⁾ The misery which the independent rule of the chiefs with all their selfish ambitions, mutual rivalries and wars had brought upon the country at different times left no scope for any further experiment in that direction and the Mughal system started

(1) This portion has been dealt with fully in a separate volume on "Imperial Service", which will form the third volume of the subject.

entirely on opposite lines, in which the rights of the landed aristocracy found no place. Hence the defect was not of the institutions but of the monarchical form of Government. The country had not known any other form, the Mughals themselves were familiar with none else, nor could they guarantee the succession of monarchs like Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān for ever. When they disappeared, their dynasty and Empire took the natural turn and suffered the fate which other ruling dynasties ~~suffered~~ in other parts of the world.

The second defect was the policy of conquest which must / be attributed to Akbar to whose originality and natural gifts the Empire owed all its achievements. Akbar like all other monarchs of Northern India yielded to the temptation of carrying his arms farther south beyond the Āryāvarta. When he found his authority firmly established and his kingdom safe, he entered the Deccan plateau and left an unfinished task to his successors who took it up with an equal zeal ~~xxx~~ with which they worked his institutions, and none of them could realise the uselessness of continuing it as Firūz Tughluq had done nearly two centuries before. Had Akbar limited his efforts to the realisation of his ambition of becoming chakravartin, his achievements must have been still greater and the Empire in all probability continued longer.

The third cause which contributed to this result was the absence of national spirit in the country. The idea of national spirit and need for unity is glorified in Sanskrit literature and emphasised by religious and political writers of ancient India, but history does not record it to have been

exhibited at any crisis in the country. When the Muslims entered the land, they equally failed to exhibit it. In spite of all ~~the~~ ideals of Muslim Brotherhood and conceptions of Islāmic State and duty to God, they never showed any unity among themselves in the land of unbelievers. They never considered the Delhi sultanate as their common heritage and never combined among themselves to uphold its prestige or to preserve it. It was their lack of unity, and mutual jealousy and rivalry like those of the Rājput chiefs which more than any other cause shook its foundations at every stage of its life and finally brought it to a close. The Sūr dynasty suffered the same fate for the same cause. The Mughal Empire in its early stage experienced the same. Akbar fully realised it and tried to overcome it, but the history of his dynasty records that he failed to overcome it.

It was the force of the personalities of Akbar and his immediate successors and the fortunate accident of their long lives which contributed to the achievements of their dynasty and the prosperity of the country, and kept in check all those elements both in the higher ranks and the lower. When that force was gone, the Hindūs and Muslims alike showed the same tendency and history repeated itself exactly on the lines which have been noticed in the introduction. The Sikhs, and the Rājputs, the Sayeds, the Sheikhs, the Afghāns, the Ḥanāfs and Ḥanānis, who formed the chief elements of the higher class of society equally contributed to its end.

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