CHAPTER VII
JĀGĪRS IN AWADH

A. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:

Most of the civil and military officials holding a mansab in the Mughal empire were paid their salaries by assigning them the revenues of well-defined tracts (in terms of parganas or villages therein). The total pay claim (talaq) of an official had to be exactly equal of the jama' of the area assigned in his jāgīr. Some of these mansabdārs were also paid their salaries in cash (naqdi) by the emperor out of his income from unassigned areas (khalisa). The mode of payment was always decided by the emperor himself, at-least in theory. The jāgīrdārs were supposed to make their own arrangements to collect the land-revenue and to administer their jāgīrs. Often the small jāgīrdārs or those posted in far-off areas used to farm-out their jāgīrs to people known as jārādārs for a fixed sums after allowing the deduction on account of the local claims and the cost of collections.

1. For discussion of jāgīr system in the Mughal empire see, Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, Chapter VII and Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, Bombay, 1966, Chapter III.
The earliest form of the term jagir appears to have been jai-qir, (jai meaning 'place' and qir meaning 'holder') as in indicated by a document of 1559/ from Awadh. Subsequently, through a linguistic corruption such assignments were called jagirs, though the earlier spelling also recurs though rarely. Iqta' and tuyul were also used as synonyms for jagir and tuyuldars as a synonym for jagirdar. The assignments held by the princes of blood were put under the formula, tuyul-e-wuklai padshahzada-i-walatabar.

1. FM-1 (967/1559) one among the earliest known farmans of Akbar confirming a madad-e-ma'ash grant of 2600 bigha in pargana Sahali, sarkar Lucknow to the ancestors of latter Firangi Mahal family.

2. Abdul Qadir collection-4 (1026 'amli/1617) in UPSAL. This chaknamah stipulates of demarcating 480 bigha as madad-e-ma'ash to one Shaikh Abul Qasim from pargana Nasirabad sarkar Manikpur. The made out of the jai-qir of one Jam 'Ali Beg.

3. See 'Abdul Hameed Lahori, Badshahnamah, Bib.Ind.,Calcutta, 1867-68, I (ii), p.216 for the iqta of one Fidai Khan at Gorakhpur; about the iqta of Madha Singh at Khairabad, Ibid., I, (ii) p.222; about the iqta of suba Awadh to Islam Khan, Ibid., II, p.164, also in Muhammad Saleh Kambo, 'Amal-e-Saleh, Bib.Ind.,Calcutta,1912-46,II,p.310; Mutaqid Khan son of Najabat Khan was assigned the faujdari as well as the tuyuldari of sarkar Bahraich during 31th R.Y. of Shahjahan at the mansab of 2000 z/2000 s (800 2-3H) Ibid., II, p.272.

4. See Insha-e-Roshan Kalam, f.7 about the complaint of Sher Andaz Khan that the bandits, highway robbers and Mewatis carried on their activities in pargana Luckhow, Bijnore and andilah unchelked as their areas of operations in which lay the jagirs of the princes (tuyul-e-wuklai padshahzada-i-walatabar) and the big nobles like Aziz Khan and others and these areas were outside the faujdari jurisdiction of Sher Andaz Khan.
About the extent of the jagīrs in Awadh prior to 1780 A.D., we have no statistical information. Awadh was one of those provinces in which all jagīrs were resumed to the khālisā (imperial lands) in 1574-75 by Akbar. Presumably, the jagīrs began to be given here from 1581 onwards, after Shahbaz Khan Kambo's unauthorised concessions to the nobility in that year. In the 31st R.Y. of Akbar (1586-7), the emperor remitted one-sixth of the revenues of the khālisā in the subās of Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi, on account of low prices, and the remissions totalled 4,05,60,596 dams. This suggests that in these subās, the khālisā had a jama' of 24,33,63,576 dams as against the total jama' of the subās of Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi as 1,01,58,01,546 dams recorded in the Ain. Though the size of the khālisā in the subās of Awadh cannot still be separately determined, it is probable that it could not have been much less than 8,11,21,192 dams of the total revenue yielding area, the mean of all the three subās. The remainder must have been assigned in jagīrs.

There is little specific information about the relative sizes of the khālisā and jagīr lands in Awadh during the 17th century. But the Dastūrul 'āmal-i Shahjahani,

2. Ibid.
belonging to Aurangzeb's later years, shows that the vast bulk of the revenues in Awadh had been assigned in jagirs and little remained in the khalisa. Unluckily, the sarkar-wise figures do not accord with the suba totals, but the general picture is clear enough:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suba/sarkar</th>
<th>Total jama'</th>
<th>Jama' of the khalisa'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suba Awadh</td>
<td>27,95,79,419 dams</td>
<td>67,74,800 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. sarkar Awadh</td>
<td>5,20,31,300 dams</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sarkar Lucknow</td>
<td>10,85,56,025 dams</td>
<td>62,00,000 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sarkar Bahraich</td>
<td>44,16,306 dams</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. sarkar Khairabad</td>
<td>7,02,33,000 dams</td>
<td>48,00,000 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. sarkar Muazzamabad Gorakhpur</td>
<td>2,43,250 dams</td>
<td>4,32,210 dams</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Add o588, ff.36b-37a. However, the total jama' of the khalisa for the entire suba according to the sarkar total was 1,14,32,210 dams, a much higher figures than has been actually shown. Similarly there is an apparent error of transcription for sarkar Muazzamabad Gorakhpur.
If we examine the surviving documents from Awadh during the 17th century, we would find that those relating to the jagīr administration are very rare, while papers relating to the madad-i maʿāsh grants and even zamindāri rights are quite numerous. This is obviously because the families that have preserved documents have been more concerned for maintaining their claims on the maʿāfi and zamindāri titles, while the jagīr papers were of no interest from such motives, unless, of course, they related to inʿām or altamgha jagīr. Nevertheless, explorations at the Regional Records Office (Allahabad), Research Library of the Department of History (AMU) and the National Archives of India (New Delhi), resulted in the discovery of a certain number of papers, which, studied together, help to give some picture of the jagīr administration as it functioned in Awadh during the 17th century.

A jagīrdār receiving his assignment in an area would invariably be an outsider. The documents show that a jagīrdār would either appoint his own agents to collect the taxes on his behalf or farm out the taxes of his jagīr with a view to assuring stable revenue-receipts. When the jagīrdārs made their own arrangements by appointing some agents, they used to take from the latter a qubūliyat (agreement) to collect
certain amounts. Such deeds were executed, keeping in view the hasil (previous revenue collection) figures of the jagīr. The cost of the collection and other obligations of the jagīrdār were always deducted from the amounts agreed to be paid by these agents. We possess an actual specimen in the form of a qubūliyat deed executed in 1116 F/1708 by one Dilawar for a jagīr in pargana Sandila, having a jama' of 41 lakh āms. In all, excluding the cost of maintaining the sehbandī troops and peshkash to faujdār, Rs.2200/- were to be paid to the jagīrdār in two instalments.

The āmils generally belonged to the jagīrdār's own staff, and were, like their masters, usually outsiders. One recalls that Charles Elliott on the basis of his own reading of documents relating to the Unao district, gained the impression that the āmils "were hardly ever natives of the pargana, and did not necessarily hold the office for more than a year." The āmil had to maintain an armed contingent

1. See NAI 1487-(1116 F/1708). This qubūliyat was executed in the presence of village official including Jangash Das, amin, shigdār and mehta, Kishan Das, waqāi' nigār, Tilak Chandra, ḡarkun and the mutasaddis of the Government. The instalments were not equal. Rs.13,200/- were to be paid in kharīf and Rs. 8,800/- in rabi seasons.

for quelling any minor resistance to his authority, and in case he met stiffer opposition, he could call the faujdār to his help. Very often the big jagīrdārs were also entrusted with the faujdāri jurisdictions in their respective jagīrs. The payment to the āmil was done either by allowing him a certain percentage of the revenue-collection or a fixed salary.

The assistance of hereditary village officials such as the qanūngos and the chaudharis was indispensable for the āmils of the jagīrdārs. They used to present the previous year's assessments, which were accepted in toto, but in case the āmil asked for a higher assessment, the revision of the previous figures was also done by these officials. Similarly, they helped the āmils in collecting the outstanding balances from the peasants as per their records, against which there were no appeals.

From an early document (c.1619) from sarkār Bahraich, it appears that some jagīrdārs used to assign a village of their tankhwaṅ jagīr to their troopers directly. If in such

1. Ibid., p. 109.
2. Ibid., pp. 106-7.
3. Ibid., pp. 112-13.
a village some areas had been already granted to the madad-i-
ma'āsh holders, the troopers were directed not to interfere
with such possessions.

The small jagīrdārs, or those having their postings
in a far-off area, always tried to farm out their jagīrs.
Certain conditions were imposed upon these revenue contractors or ijāradārs. There are actual instances where they
were asked to treat the ri'aya gently so that they might
remain settled and carry on cultivation. It was thought to
be the duty of the ijāradār to see that even "one biswa of
cultivable land should not be left uncultivated." It appears
from the claim by a patwāri (village accountant) that here-
ditary officials serving in the ijāra villages were paid their
salaries by the revenue-farmers. The system of ijāra had

1. Allahabad-789. The village kapana was in tankhwāh jagīr
of one Mirza 'Isa, and he had assigned this village to
to a lady by imperial farman was to be exempted from
four of his troopers. A madad-i ma'āsh grant made over
from their collections.

2. NAI-1574 (37th RY of Aurangzeb). This qa'ul-o-garār
relates to village Somb in pargana Sandilah suba Awadh
in the jagīr of prince 'Azimuddin ('Azimushshān) at a
total jama' of Rs.445/- for the year 1101 F/1693. The
gubuliyaat was given by Muhammad Qa'im, the qumashta.
The total arāzi (area) of the village was 445 bighas.

3. NAI-1287 (1254/1838). This parwana was issued to the
chakledār of Sandila to enquire into the complaint of
a village patwāri regarding his pay claims against the
mustajir.
become so popular during this period that even the a'immadārs or holders of madad-i ma'āsh grants started this system of the revenue realization in their villages. The ijārādārs had no salary or land grant in view of the services performed by him; but, as Butter put it, "the difference between the sum, which he has for the year engaged to pay into the public treasury" constituted his official income. In case of natural calamities, the ijārādārs could be provided some relief by being allowed a deduction, and by the jagirdār not insisting upon the full amount for which the contract was held.

The terms on which ijāra of a jagīr was given are set out in a document of 1081 F, (1673 A.D.):

1. Firanqi Mahal-84 (4th Ḥijrah of Farrukhshiyar). The village in question belonged to Mulla Nizamuddin and was situated in sarkār Bahraich, while the grantee residence happened to be at Lucknow. (This collection of Firanqi Mahal documents is preserved in the Department of History, Aligarh Univerity, Aligarh).


3. A jagīr having a total jāma' of 4,40,000 dāms belonged to Durvesh Beg mansabdār and others. It was situated in pargana Husampur and 'Arif held it on an ijāra tenure. He had agreed to pay Rs. 7,332/- in two instalments. (See Allahabad-885 (1080 'amalī). But the perusal of the receipt issued by the jagirdārs to 'Arif for the same year shows that he paid only Rs. 4,000/- (1,60,000 dāms). He was also exempted from any further obligation of any subsequent payment for the year (1080 'amalī) (See Allahabad-889).

"Agreement (Qaul-o-qarār): J. Mir Abu Turab, mansabdar, affirm that (tract carrying a jama' 'dāmi of) 2,10,000 dāms from pargana Misampur, sarkār Rahraich has been assigned in our jagir with effect from the beginning of the kharif, Udi II, 1081 'amalī. Therefore, at my own will, I have given the said (territorial) assignment of dāms in ījōra (farm) to Mir Sayyid Muḥammad 'Arif in fixed payment of Rs. 2,850, to continue to long as the jagir is retained by me, so that he may pay the said amount to me annually according to the following particulars. Should, God forbid, a natural calamity happen, then according to the (official) rate (of remittance) for the said pargana, I will allow a deduction in the said amount. But if by God's grace, more is realized in excess of the said amount, that is left to the said Sayyid." The following figures follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Jama')</th>
<th>2,10,000 dāms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>comprising</td>
<td>2,00,000 dāms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...;...;...;...</td>
<td>10,000 dāms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equivalent, for the year at 7 month., 7 days Rs. 3,162

Deduct on account of nēnkār (salary of officials), muqaddami (muqaddams' pay) (illegible) Rs. 312

(Balance) Rs. 2,350
From this document, it is clear that the *ijāradār* pledged himself to pay a certain amount annually to the *jāgīrdār* - in this case, a fixed proportion of the *jama' dāmi* (7 months, 7 days in the month-scale). From this he was allowed a fixed deduction for payment to local officials, etc. This explains the claim of the *patwāri* on the *ijāradār* we have just mentioned. The *jāgīrdār* allowed him the profits of the enterprise, as Butter defines them; but the *ijāradār* could claim a reduction on account of officially sanctioned tax-remissions for the locality.

While the *jāgīrdār* had to make arrangements locally to collect the revenue either directly or through contractors, he had to meet certain obligations to the government. For this purpose the more substantial *jāgīrdār*, at any rate, used to keep a *wakīl* permanently at the imperial court to safeguard his interests and to receive the orders on his behalf. Two very interesting papers concerning a dispute between a *jāgīrdār* and his *wakīl* have survived, which shed light on this part of the functioning of the *jāgīrdār*’s establishment. The two documents are translated in Appendix to this chapter.

One major obligation on the part of the *jāgīrdār* was the maintenance of a number of animals of standard breed for the imperial stables, providing the cost of feeding
them as per schedules and a number of other supplies under the general name of Khwurak-i Dawabb. It appears that the amount required for the purpose was sent by the jagirdar to his wakil. The wakil, in turn, paid the required money to the ijaraadars (farmers) of the Khwurak-i Dawabb, met the expenses for maintaining the animals (horses as well as elephants) and, when the time for maintaining the animals was over, handed them over to the officials of the Imperial stables.

In addition to these duties, the wakil was called upon to look after the interests of his master at the Court such as getting him a better jagir. In the present case the wakil was allowed the sum of Rs.300/- by the jagirdar to be spent on the business (muhimsazi) of getting a new jagir assigned in pergana Amerhi.

The accounts submitted by the wakil in connection with these expenses were subjected to rigorous scrutiny. He had to present all the original receipts under the seals of the ijaraadar of Khwuraki-dawabb and the mutasaddis of dawabb, at the time of the audit by the jagirdar's officials.

In case of any dispute between the wakīl and the jaqirdar regarding the settlement of these accounts, the matter was apparently placed before some Imperial officials. Unfortunately, the exact designation of this official is not given in our documents; he might well have been the dīwān or faujdar.

The work of revenue assessment and collection in the jagirs was greatly facilitated by the ganūngo and the chaudhari at the local level. Elliott says they were appointed by a sanad from the Emperor from amongst the leading families of the locality. Elliott who used documentary material from the Unao district and other areas of Awadh, believed that there was little material difference in the nature of the work performed by these officials. Normally a zamindār of the area was always appointed as the chaudhari. While a member of an accountant caste (notably Kāisths) was appointed to the post of ganūngo. Very often they acted in a manner antagonistic to each other i.e. the chaudhari tried to protect the interests of the land owning classes, while ganūngo acted in a manner to serve the imperial cause well. In ordinary article of property freely saleable. The ganūngo were always consulted

1. Elliott, op.cit., p.112. W.C.Benett holds for 'Ray Bareilly district that the office of Chaudhari was held by the respectable but thoroughly second rate families and the great houses never took any appointment as local officials under the Mughal government. (W.C.Benett, A Report on the Family History of the Chief clans of the Ray Bareilly District, Lucknow, 1870, p.58).
by the 'āmils before the revenue demand was fixed upon a particular village or upon any landholder. Generally their recommendations were accepted by the authorities, but in case the demand was to be raised, it was left to the qanūnto to distribute the additional tax burden keeping any eye over the actual conditions. In the raivati villages as well, he was held primarily responsible for the payment of the revenue by collecting it from the peasants. The presence of these revenue officials with more or less well defined tracts of country was conspicuous enough in the 'Ray Bareilly district to merit Benett's remark that "the pargana boundaries generally corresponded with the limits of the chieftains authority and the distribution of his clan and each was already furnished with a body of hereditary revenue officials." The tenures, so created, were somehow considered 'sacrosant' as the holders of these offices were seldom 'turned out and replaced by the new families' though it happened that different branch of the same family was installed in these posts.

Apart from Elliott's description of these officials in Onao district and Benett's remarks pertaining to the

1. Elliott, op.cit., p. 113.
3. Elliot, op.cit., p. 111.
ganūngo of 'Ray Bareilly' district, we have a series of Persian documents belonging to a family of ganūngo in pargana Lahorpur, sarkār Khairabād, beginning from the 17th century. The information of these documents, apart from confirming the features already noticed by Elliott, bringout a number of other interesting features.

It is almost certain that these pargana officials acted in a manner as to exercise some check upon each others jurisdiction, thus precluding the possibilities of fraud. A parwāna of 25th R.Y. of Aurangzeb recalls a representation by the wākil of a ganūngo to the effect that the Hindu chaudharīs and ganūngo of the adjoining pargana principal. Now these Hindu officials were refusing to do on account of the ganūngo being a Muslim. The earlier practice was ordered to be restored.

The ganūngo might make recommendations for the imperial favours and subsistence grant to the needy and poor. A parwana of 1074/1663 records that Sheikh Muhammad Amin, the ganūngo had brought to the notice of the court the poverty of Sheikh Nazar Muhammad and recommended a subsistence grant for him, as a result, 155 bigha of land was assigned to Shaikh Nazar Mohammad as madad-i ma'āsh.

1. LUL - 46885.
2. LUL - 46887.
An interesting mahzar recites the services rendered by the predecessors of the petitioner, present the ganūngo and their dealings with the imperial officials of the area. Most of these services related to religious and social welfare. The preceding ganūngo (ancestors of the present) are said to have helped the inhabitation of the qasba, building, mosques, madarsa, khangāhs and sarāī (inn). Due to their efforts the tenets and practice of Islam had been established, juma' and 'Id prayers were held in congregation, food was distributed among the poor. Similarly, arrangements were made for the instruction of the students. They maintained good relations with the jagirdar, by securing payment of the revenue dues in time and treating their gumasthta (agents) in a befitting manner. In the 40th R.Y. of Aurangaeb, one Lal, a Bais Rajput of havelī Lahorpur had raised the banner of rebellion, and to suppress this uprising, naib-faujdār of Khairābād came to Lahorpur and stayed with the petitioner, who, in turn, entertained him in a befitting manner. But the petitioner was arrested and was forced to pay Rs. 5,680/- to the naib-faujdār. He was released as a result of the intervention of the influential persons of the locality. A number of respectable persons of the locality signed in their endorsement of the

1. LUL - 46905.
statement. The possibility of the involvement of the qanūngo in the said rebellion can not be ruled out.

In remembrance of these services, the qanūngo were entitled to get either 2 1/2% of the total revenue collected or held 2 1/2% of the assessed land on revenue free tenures. This gave him a direct interest in raising the amount of assessment and collection. His counterpart, the chaudhari was always rewarded by grants of rent free land or a money grant. In addition to their sanctioned perquisites, they seems to have usurped a number of fiscal rights during the 18th century. Another mahzar from the family of qanūngo of at Lahorpur records that the qanūngo felt entitled to extort bhent, nānkār and other gifts within his jurisdiction. Similarly a parwana of 1048/1638 records that Shaikh Hamid qanūngo held responsibilities of kōtwāli in pargana Laharpur and was also collecting the sair taxes from havelī Laharpur. But these rights were being usurped by one Lakman chaudhari. The parwana set aside the latter's claim.

The qanūngos in collusion with the 'āmil often managed to become land holders themselves, thus doing away

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 131.
2. Elliott, op.cit., p. 112.
3. LUL - 46904.
4. LUL - 46883.
with the difference that had existed between them and the chaudharis. At the same time the position of the latter receded into the background and, according to Elliott, their interest in the work of revenue-collection declined, leaving the ganūngo in the undisputed authority. As a matter of fact there was only one among fourteen pargana in the district of Unao, where the chaudari could manage to maintain his position unmolested before the Annexation. In the Ray Bareilly district, Bennett points out that there was a strong tendency among the ganūngo to enter into ta'alluqadārī settlements. However such attempts were mostly thwarted by their powerful neighbours, still they were able to enquire the "small estates of Hardaspur and Sinohra."

In case of the Lahorpur family it not clear whether the zanindāri rights were acquired by the ganūngos subsequent to their gaining the office. But a parwana of 1122/1711 recognises these two as separate rights held by a member of the family, possessed from earlier times within the particular village of Laharpur. The village headmen (muggadam), cultivators (muzārian) etc. being the ri'aya of that place were called upon to recognise these two

1. Elliot, op.cit., p. 112.
2. Bennett, op.cit., p. 49.
separate rights of the said ganūngo, and hence he alone was entitled to get all the perquisites attached to the zamindāri and ganūngo rights.

But while the ganūngo might have scored off against the chaudharis within the machinery of revenue administration, they were themselves becoming subservent to the zamindār. As the zamindārs grew stronger, the ganūngo tended to collect the land revenue on behalf of the land holders instead of the government. Their other fiscal rights simply depended upon their proximity to the respective land holders, while in the ordinary villages their services were dispensed with altogether. This at least was what happened in Rae Bareilly district. It may well be that, with the collapse of the transferable jagir system in the 18th century, the basis of the twin offices of ganūngo and chaudhari in the old form had already been removed.

1. LUL - 46890.
APPENDIX

(i) Allahabad - 396

1, Puland Khan, mansabdar in the biradari (clan) of His Highness Diwan Khudadad Khan Jiv affirm as follows: Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif held the office of wakil at the Imperial Court on behalf of the said Khan. After the termination of his appointment as wakil, the said Sayyid handed over the tashiha-namas (certificates of contingents) and other documents and papers of jama-khurch (income-expenditure) of the khwurak-i dawābb, Miyan Muhammad Yusuf, son of the said Khan. As a dispute ensued, the matter was taken before Faulad Khan. On this account Sayyid 'Arif presented the receipt (qabz) of the farmer (ijāradar) of khwurak-i dawābb and dastaks (certificates) under the seals of the officials (mutaşaddiṣ) of the imperial horse stables and elephant stables and other papers, to the agent of Faulad Khan and Ghasi Ram, the (new wakil) of Khudadad Khan. However, the case before Faulad Khan not having yet been settled, Diwan Khudadad Khan Jiv and Miyan Muhammad Yusuf maintained their dispute with the said Sayyid. Now that Miyan Muhammad Yusuf came to the town of Biswa, I took Sayyid 'Arif along to the town of Biswa. Muhammad Yusuf told Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif: "Previous to this you had given in writing a tamassuk (bond) for Rs.3000/- for the expenses of badr naviri (audit) from the beginning of your term as wakil to termination of appointment: Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif replied
that badarnavis (audit) has not been in accordance with proper norms (be-hisāb). Miyan Muhammad Yusuf told Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif: "The Jama'-khurch of khwurāk-i dawābb etc. of the period of your wākilship have been lost." Now he should submit copies afresh so that the accounts of his period as wākil might be settled. Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif produced copies of the jama'-kharch of khwurāk-i dawābb etc. together with receipt (qubuliyat) of the farmer of khwurāk-i dawwāb before Miyan Muhammad Yusuf, Ghasi Ram, Diwan of Khudad Khan, Shaikh Habib Ullah, the darogha of the Court of justice. Miyan Muhammad Yusuf allowed deductions (mujrā) of Rs.200/- which the said Sayyid had paid to Miyan Muhammad Yusuf in rawalbandi*, and also Rs.556/- that Shyam Das shiqqdar of pargana visampur had forcibly realised from the village Bedaura of the property and zamindari possessions of the said Sayyid in excess of the jama' and had recorded under receipts (wusul). Finally, after disallowing (bāzyāft) the (expenditure of) Rs.200/- on account of Muhammad Khan, mansabdār, and not writing off the expenditure of Rs.300/- on account of expenses for assignment of pargana Amuthi, in all Rs.1,480/- annas 5 came out the balance due to the said Khan, (itemised) as follows:

* The meaning of this term could not be traced.
1. The sum the said Sayvid asked Udai Singh banker (sahu) of Shahjahanabad to pay to Muhammad Khan mansabaar, and entered as deduction in his accounts of jama'-kherch, not allowed by Muhammad Yusuf, and required to be refunded. Rs. 200

2. The sum Diwan Khudad khan Jiv had got paid to the said Sayvid for arranging the assignment of pargana Amethi, and the said Sayvid truthfully admitted that without spending the sum, he had drawn the amount from the jagir and entered in the jama' and kherch register; he sought condonation, but Muhammad Yusuf refused to condone it. Rs. 300

The balance (lattima) in the accounts of the jama' and kherch. Rs. 980 annas 5
MEMORANDUM

List of receipts of the ijaradārs of khwurāk-i dawābb and other papers which were given by Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif to the undersigned Ghasi Ram 38 sheets received by the signatory, Ghasi Ram (seal).

Receipts (guvāz-ul-wusūl) for Rs.3128/- 11 annas under the seal and signature of Shaikh Firoz ijaradar of khwurāk-i dawābb of the imperial establishment (khassa-i sharifa) for Rs.3128/- 11 annas; 38 sheets.

Dastaks under the seal of officials of the dawābb, 6 sheets.

(i) For handing over 10 horses under the seal of Darab Khan etc., one sheet.

(ii) For handing over one imperial elephant under the seal of Abdul Sahim Khan, one sheet.

(iii) For medicines for imperial elephants, one sheet.

(iv) For medicines for horses, one sheet.

(v) For the straw shed for the stable of horses, one sheet.

(vi) Repairs of the tiled roof for horses, one sheet.

The certificates for monthly payments to Shaikh Firoz, ijaradar(?), one sheet.

Qubuzul wusūl for Rs.227/- received by the signatory, Ghasi Ram, according to accounts, one sheet.

Qabzul wusūl for 8 asharfis under the seal of officials of the office for fines on account of absence, one sheet.

Certificate (for receipt) of interest under the seal of the security (mālzāmin) of Miyan Khudadad Khan Jiv, Rs.1900/-, one sheet.
C. COLLAPSE OF THE JĀĞĪR SYSTEM:

The jāģīr system underwent considerable transformation in Awadh during the 18th century. As Mughal authority declined, officials assigned jāģīrs in Awadh found it more and more difficult to collect revenue. They thus began to lease out their jāģīr to the governor Burhānul Mulk Saʿādat Khan on ijara. His successors as nawāb-wazīrs began to insist that no new jāģīrs be assigned in the province effectively.

After the battle of Buxar in 1764, Shujāuddaulah was obliged to pay Rs.50 lacs as the war indemnity. Similarly a number of subsequent treaties between the English on the one hand and Shujāuddaulah and Āṣafuddaulah on the other side stipulated for the maintenance of a large sepoy army at the nawab's cost. The amount of be paid by the nawab on this account kept on fluctuating. This ultimately created serious dislocations in the finances of the Awadh kingdom. The nawab delayed the payment on one prelex or the others, while company insisted for full and early payment of the amount under the subsidiary alliance. It became increasingly necessary for the company officials to know all the financial resources of nawāb-wazīr's government. Hence the revenue documents were

obtained by the residency officials and this now forms an important source of knowing the exact extent of the khalisa land, in the area held under the jagir tenures, in Awadh at this time.

More account papers certain to 1187 F/1770. The total jagir of the khalisa land in Awadh kingdom was Rs. 13,13,710/14. The entire amount was the area granted in jagirs only i.e. 28,58,555/10/6, and more than half of this amount or Rs. 14,80,000/- was assigned by the nawab to the company. Now Rs. 13,13,710/14/6 now represented the income of these jagirs. But even the holders of these jagirs were none but the blood relations, mother of Shujauddaulah, some close relations and a few petty officials of the nawab. There was no noteworthy tankhwah jagir held by any high military or civil official of the state. Such situation clearly portrayed, "the reduced level of state service and an attitude of the status after the decay of the Mughal Empire."

1. Charles Curtling to Calcutta Council, 30th April and 22nd June 1730, Foreign Department Secret Consultations, 1780, NAI. For an analysis of these documents and a subordinate position of the aristocracy in nawab regime see Richard O. Barnell, North India Between Empires, pp.173-181.

2. Ibid., n. 174.
D. IN'ĀM AL-TAMGHA

One form of ḫāqīr instituted by Jahangir was al-tamgḥā. It was non-transferable and supposedly for life or hereditary. Quite naturally, it was very sparingly granted. But as the Mughal Empire decayed, the al-tamgḥā grants not only became commoner but began to be converted into hereditary properties. In Awadh, we can trace the fortunes of one particular al-tamgḥā grant in special detail owing to the richness of surviving documentary material.

The original documents and oral traditions preserved in an Urdu work, the Nāma-i-Muzzaffari relate to the inām-al-tamgḥā grant held by Dilār Khan Afghān and his successors during the 17th and the 18th centuries. The assignment was situated in what was originally the tappa of Shahābād in pargana Pāli sarkār Khairabād, sūbā Awadh. Since here we have an authentic account of a ḫāqīr-holding family, setting its roots in the soil from the above documents and the history of the family they expose are of great interest.

Dilār Khan Baqarzāi Afghān, son of the rebel Afghan noble Darya Khan, had a chequered military and political

1. Muzzaffar Husain Khan, Nāma-e-Muzzaffari, 2 Volumes, Mujtabai Press Kanpur 1917. See Vol.1 pays 165-72 for the text as well as the photographic reproduction of the original farman and pages 7-42 of the same volume for the biographical details.
career. He rose to prominence under Emperor Shahjahan and he reached the zenith of his career under Aurangzeb. He held a number of important administrative and military assignments. In the 21st R.Y. of Shahjahan he received the mansab of 1000 zat/1000 sawar along with faujdari jurisdiction over the sarkars of Kalpi and Kannuj. The title of Diler Khan was also conferred to him this year. In 23rd R.Y. he was asked to accompany prince Aurangzeb in Qandhar campaign. He was instrumental in capturing the famous fort of Bust along with Raja Rajroop from the qizilbash forces. As a reward of these notable deeds his mansab was raised to 2000 zat/2000 sawar. Similarly in Bijapur campaign he fought under the command of prince Aurangzeb and got admiration for his heroic deeds. In 32rd R.Y. he was sent to chase prince Shuja from Benaras along prince Sulaiman Shikoh and as he performed the job successfully, his mansab was raised to 4000/4000 and after the defeat of Dara Shikoh at Namurgh, he switched over his allegiance to Aurangzeb and received the revised mansab of 5000/5000 with the faujdari jurisdiction as well as a milship of sarkar Lucknow. His son Jamal Khan was made his deputy and was granted the mansab of 1000/1000. In the battle of Deora, it was he who broke the strong defence built by Shah Nawaz Khan for which
Emperor awarded him a cash inam of Rs. 50000/- and his 1000 sawārs were made du-aspa seh-aspa. Emperor sent him to expell prince Shuja from Eastern India, where he was firmly established. He fought a number of closely contested battles with the Assames under the command of Mir Muhammad Saeed dir Jumla. There were a number of occasions when the imperial forces were at the verge of defeat but the personal courage and volour displayed by Diler Khan had saved the moments of crisis. Indeed the chronicles of the Mughal court allude in a high tone the victories of Diler Khan. In 7th R.Y. he was called back to the capital and was asked to accompany Mirza Raja Jai Singh to check the Maratha advances. The expedition was quite prestigious for the emperor as it was being sent at a time when Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan and Maharaja Harwan Singh had failed to achieve the desired results. Diler Khan was able to capture a number of strong Maratha forts. Now 2000 of his sawārs were made 2-3 H. He turned his attention towards the chieftains of Deogarh and Chanda, who had not paid the tribute as per agreement. Raja Chanda submitted and presented a nazār of 20000 rupees and 1000 asharfis to Diler Khan, while Rs. 5 lacs & 7000 asharfis were

1. Regarding his exploits at Deorai it is said, "In that contest - which was a testing ground of bravery - Diler performed such feats as obliterated the memory of Rustam and Isfandyar", Mathir-ul-Umera, Vol.I, pp.497.
full for the Imperial Treasury. As a settlement for future war the area of Alwar was allotted for Delhi where his mansab was transferred to 300/500 (1900 2-3 H).

In the reign of Aurangzeb he held much of Alwar (gir), as per the text of the farman issued on 23 October 1672/1072 granting inām al-tamgha in Alwar. At transcribed, he already held a total of 100 lac dams in Pargana Dilgir. According to his requests the total number increased by 1 lac dams, but the enhancement was contested against inām al-tamgha which was limited in the main to 17 villages of Tanna. The territory assigned in far man to Dilgir Khan's Watan. This grant was to the deity.

A later representation by Dilgir Khan's son and successor, Kamal-ur-rahman Khan claimed that in the area of 1500 belonged to the title of al-tamgha, which is now divided into 17 villages, which originally had mosques, tombs and gardens.

1. The copy of the imam of this farman has been conserved by the author of Nama-e-Muzzaffari, vol. 14, alayn, along with its photographic reproduction (obvers portion).
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After Dilier Khan's death in 27th R.Y./1683, the 

jām al-tamgha passed on to his son Kamal-ud-din Khan. He 
petitioned to the court in 29th R.Y. 1686 that one Muhammad 

Tahir muqaddam of the tuyūl of prince Mu'azzam (Shah 'Alam) 
had been hindering people within his al-tamgha assignment by 

exacting forbidden taxes; he had also incurred some losses on 

the arars. It was therefore ordered that the al-tamgha 
villages were to be exempted from all interference whatsoever 

from the revenue officials of the princes jaqīr. Again 

in 31th R.Y./1688, Kamaluddin Khan protested that the deputy 

faujdar of sarkar Thirahābād was making illegal extactions 

for account ṭālīfān, sāir and tānghwāh within his al-tamgha 
of six lakhs. In response, it was ordered by a farrān 

that the jaqīr was to remain in perpetuity with Kamaluddin 

Khan, and his descendants and no forbidden extactions were 

to be undertaken in by the laujdārs.

He was a very celebrated military 

against five years. Apart from his hereditary al-tamgha 

of a award, he held a tānghwāh jaqīr assessed at 7 lac 

7 thousand rāms in sarkar Kalinjar, sūba Allahabad. Another-

1. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 230-3.
2. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 231-6.
The historians of Aurangzebi were filled with a degree of sorrow that they had received
a severe hindrance in Persia. Muhammad Khan
commanded a force in his drive against
the satnāmīs. It is told in the text that "when
the governor had a com back to a group of satnāmīs consisting
of 100 men." Similarly in 35th R.Y. an imperial
fārmān was issued to Kamaluddin Khan to meet out the threat
caused due to the satnāmīs. A perusal of the fārmān
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2
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1. Qādir, ibid., v. 3, p. 251.
2. Naqī, ibid., v. 1, p. 252.
Hindon on 11th June Prince succeeded in reducing the Jat strongholds and forts of Jat. The Prince left the place, leaving Mijicinn in Raja Birhen Singh Sisadi as his deputy. He was provided with the necessary ammunition including the cannon. He tried his best efforts to achieve the desired result, but he could capture only the fort of Jatgarh. Meanwhile the Jats had extended their activities to Bhangarh, Khassagar, Hasagar etc. The Jamils and the jagirdars of the Jats were unable to face their threat and hence they fled to the capital. Thereupon Kamaluddin Khan was appointed the jagirdar as well as the wajdar of Bhanon Bhanon and its mahals to deal the factors firmly so as to enable the Jamils and their gunashtas to realize the revenues without any hinderence.

Kamaluddin Khan proved his worth and crushed the Jat rebellion fully. In the 40th R.Y., a farman was issued to him to accompany prince Muazzam at Lahore and to take any assignment from him in connection with Buluch disturbances at Sultan. He was asked to act in place of Sher Afghan Khan. After a very severe engagement and a closely contested battle, the imperial force emerged victorious.

1. Ibid., n. 255-7.
2. Ibid., I, n. 260.
A victory of Kamaluddin Khan marks the watershed in the history of Diler Khan’s family. He had enormous resources at his disposal in the form of al-tangha and tankhwāh jāgīrs. A number of additions were made to the landed possessions of the family by purchasing the zamindāri villages from the hereditary land-holders. Only in the vicinity of Shahabad, there were as many as 1450 villages passed by Kamaluddin Khan. We are told that most of these villages were purchased by him. These villages were spread over in the parganas of Fuli, Sain, Sanilah, Malihabad, Sirsa, Banan, Barwar.

Kamaluddin had made our to each of his four brothers a share from the ancestral property, consisting of 12 villages, one for each of his brothers. Even after affecting a distribution of these shares among his brothers, Kamaluddin Khan possessed, "an estate so extensive that hundreds of the people were employed to work over there."

With the death of Kamaluddin Khan in 1125/1713, the family fortunes came to an end. As none among his descendants were able to perform any remarkable act of military skill in such hour as his eldest son Muhammad Jandar, were confirmed with the possessions of inām-al-tangha grant of his father. The imperial farrān was issued

under the name of Aivd Alaii Khan, 'Abdullar Khan (Barha) Qutubul said the first R.Y. of (Farukh Siyar). By his time the jama of tappal tamaqha was increased to 7 lac jams, but whether this was by increasing the number of villages or by a mere enhancement of jama of the existing grant is not clear. It was now ordered that the entire parganas of Muhammad Sarwar, having a total jama of seven lakh jams, be continued to Muhammad Sarwar, and the zamindars of the land were directed to pay the mal-o-wajib to his families. The total absence of the words like inan al-tamqha from this introdual order is noteworthy. He too had purchased a number of zamindar shares in various villages, like his ancestors, in 1723 to the auditory zamindars of Rajput Gaur clan and sold the number of shares in tappa Rasulabad. 

The total amount paid by Muhammad Sarwar for these considerations was Rs. 1744/11 annas.


2. All in the 19 biswas in five different villages in tappa Khairabad and tappa muskari for Rs. 1124/12 annas while another 1 biswas in three different villages of tappa Rasulabad were sold for Rs. 560/-. Both these were purchased in the year 1141/1728 by the same Muhammad Sarwar.
Diler Khan and Qandar is also said to have died in 1150/1737. Afterwards we have no documentary evidence to reconstruct the fortune of the family, although an account in the Nama-e-Masnavi states that their land rights of the family had originated as a result of a timar (grant of land) and, apart from this grant, Diler Khan and thereafter Kamaluddin Khan had quite high position in the civil and military hierarchy of the Mughal
They held many jagirs in tankhwañ had faujdari jurisdiction and samilship in a number of sarkars, got cash rewards on a number of occasion. Their resources were quite substantial to enable them purchase a large number of zamindars in the parganas adjacent to Shahabad. The hold of the family over the estate continued for quite sometimes. In a judicial court of British period it was remarked in some court of Darwab that, these nawabs (the descendants of Diler Khan) had acquired such a large estate either by mortgage or by fraud or by the use of their armed power. The estate was kept intact for a considerable period, till it was divided into small fractions. In most of the cases the old hereditary zamindars had purchased a number of such shares.

We find that a large number of sub-assignment were made by Diler Khan and afterwards by his successors to the various individuals out of the jām-i-āl-tangha grant. Some such alienations were even ratified through imperial fertmans, but in most of the cases, the sanads were issued by Diler Khan and his successors directly. In 25th R.Y./1682, a fertman was issued by the emperor to confirm the grant of 100 bigha cultivated land in pargan Pali as madad-i-ma'āsh.

1. NM(i), p.167.
and 20 bigha in tappa Shahabad for setting an archerd upon one diwan Azmatullah, on the basis of an earlier sanad issued by Diler Khan. In 1666, fifty bighas of barren land were assigned by Diler Khan to one Maiku, who was working as the chaudhari of the markets in Shahabad. This inām land was in pargana Pali. The incumbent was expected to treat the peasants and other inhabitants with kindness. In 1676 Diler Khan allotted five bigha land to some Muslim chobdars for setting and their separate quarters and settlement in qasba Shahabad. In 1679 he assigned to his son Fatehmandur Khan the village Khānpūr Khās out of his own various villages held in al-tamgha. The assignee was to take special interest in the extension of cultivation and the settlements, recting of the new buildings etc. A parwana from Diler Khan next year clarified the limits of this grant. It included the garden of Wali Niamat and the ferry as well.

In 1685, Kamalud din Khan allotted 21 bighas of barren land in the vicinity of the township of Shahabad to one Malik

1. Ibid., I, pp. 182-5.
2. Ibid., I, pp. 191.
3. Ibid., I, p. 191.
4. Ibid., I, p.188.
Ismail Khan Amurzai an Afghan, with his sons, in order that he might settle peasants there. By another deed Kamal ud-Din Khan ratified the settlement. By Taj Khan Afghan Mehmond and his fathers in the township and reconfirmed his possessions over forty nighas of (cultivated) land. Perhaps in this way as many as fifty-two mohallas were established by the members of various Afghan tribes in Shahabad.

Kamal ud-Din Khan seems to have dealt with the chaudhari and the qanungo as he pleased. He dismissed some incumbents of these offices on grounds such as incompetence and inability to perform their assigned duties, their ill-treatment of the riya and acts of high-handedness. New persons were appointed at their place. They were instructed to treat the ciyat gently and to carry out their duties honestly. Again in 32nd R.Y./1630, the office of the chaudhari of Dilergunj and its ferries were assigned to a new incumbent dismissing the old one. The person so appointed was asked to look at the welfare of the general

1. Ibid., I, p.180.
2. Ibid., I, p.207.
3. Each mohalla was named after the chief of the tribe which resided there, see the compiled list of these mohallas in Nama-e-Muzaffari, I, p.181.
4. Ibid., I, p. 269-70.
Similarly Sher An'az Khan in 1713 appointed Muhammad Qadir as the chaudhārī in the jāgīr.

and often the holders of rights have acted like the jāgīrīs in their respective jurisdictions. For, they used to bestow the zamindāri rights of the villages to their loyal tenants. A sanad issued by Muhammad Sardār Khan in 1115/1702, one Muhammad Sardār Khan sets out assigning the zamindāri rights of the village Bhadsi by way of a free-gift (bakshish). It stipulates that the superior fiscal rights of the village in question were purchased by the ancestors of Sardār Khan. The present and the future mutassādīs of the estate were asked for allowing Muhammad J'afar to appropriate all the dues by way of the rusūmat-e-zamindāri of the village in entirely. The new incumbents were to pray for the well-being of grantholder

1. Ibid., I, p.203.
2. Ibid., I, p. 317-8.
3. For the text of the sanad see: Nama-e-Muzzaffari, Vol.I, pp.315-6. We know that Muhammad J'afar was one of the grandsons of Muhammad 'ubīrak, who happened to be an important functionary in Kamaluddin Khan's establishment and had worked in the capacity of diwan and mutassādī. For sometime, he held the office of the chaudhārī as well. In view of these services he too had received a number of favors and land as well as the cash grants.
Similarly Sher Andaz Khan in 1162/1748 appointed one Muhammad Qadidad as the chaudhār of some area in his al-tamgha grant. A number of madad-i ma'āsh grants were also made by Diler Khan and his successors to the various individuals from their jagirs. The sons of Shaikh Muhammad Mehdi Qadri established themselves at Shahabad and their successors in interest were granted the revenues of the village Kanharpur and Jagipur. We find a very interesting sanad issued by Diler Khan confirming the grant. It states specifically that the grantees should have concern only with the hasilat (revenues) and should not interfere with those who held their dwellings or land under the cultivation in the said villages. The sanad was issued in 1037/1676. An imperial farman then confirmed the grant to one of the sons (Shaikh Hidayatullah in 201 R./1677) who claimed to be holding the villages for, "meeting his needs, setting-up his residence, setting (the place) with people and laying out a sāraī, garden, tanks, well and a khānah." The possession of these villages continued

1. Ibid., I, p. 317-8.

2. Ibid., II, p. 151-2. A perusal of the zimn suggest that the total realization amounted to Rs.380 1/4 annas (asl Rs.339/; izāfā Rs.41 1/4 annas); the jamā' of Jagipur was Rs.16 1/4 annas (isl Rs.34/; izāfā Rs.14 1/4 annas); while the jamā' of Kanharpur was Rs.302/- (asl Rs.275/-, izāfā Rs.27/-). Of course the ratio between asl & izāfā figures is quite interesting.

3. Ibid., II, p. 153-5.
under the uninterrupted control of the successors of Shaikh Muhammad Mohdi, we came across a number of confirmatory
bānāds and fārmān in the subsequent period. A parwana,
issued in the 19th R.Y. of Emperor Muhammad Shah clearly
speaks that these villages, out of the watan and zamindāri
of Sardar Khan, leaked onto the predecessors in
interest of Shaikh Inayatullah. The same villages are now
confirmed to them from 1144 F/1736. The family seems to
have controlled a large number of villages by way of madad-i maʿāsh
and zamindāri rights. In 1129 A.H./1716, Shaikh Hidayatullah
by exten de, to encompass a large number of villages, among his five sons. In all there were 17 madad-i maʿāsh
villages, 3 1/4 zamindāri villages and a number of chaks.
Although we get papers regarding the title and disputes till
1200 A.H., but for the moment we are not concerned with
these details of the fortunes of the family.

Nawab Sardar Khan had also made certain alienations
in respect of his property by the way of madad-i maʿāsh
and zamindāri grants. In 1125/1713 A.D. he assigned five
bigha of land by way of madad-i maʿāsh to the wife of one
Jamaluddin Khansakhel from the village Khānpūr, pargana

1. Ibid., II, p.165.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
1. Shahabad. In 1145/1732 A.D. zamindāri rights of the village Bhadrori in xentirety were bestowed by free gift upon one Muhammad Jafar, a grand son of Muhammad Mubarak, who had been an important functionary of the jagir under Kamaluddin Khan makes it clear that the said village had been purchased by his ancestors so that here the al-tamghā holders had also became jagirdārs.

The five sons of Diler Khan established their houses in the various quarters at Shahabad. Kamaluddin Khan had bari deorhi, Fateh Mumur Khan at chauk deorhi, Chand Khan at Khoradcorhi, Ilahdad Khan at Nala deorhi and Diler Khan at chatideorhi.

Fateh Mumur Khan, a younger son of Diler Khan was a rank holier under Aurangzeb and is said to have died in action during the seize of Bijapur in 1096/1684 A.D. We know that in 1679 Diler Khan himself had given him the village Khanpur to him out of his inām grant. Apart from this, he innereted 12 villages (presumably of zamindāri possessions) out of ancestral property and had himself purchased the zamindāri rights over a number of villages. His sons Murtaza Khan and Mustafa Khan held mansabs and the titles and were.

1. NM-I, p.314.
2. NM-I, p. 311-2.
in possession of a large number of the villages. Salih Muhammad Khan his grandson received the title of Dilur Khan in 1171/1757 from emperor Shah Alam II. Afterwards the branch disappears from our records.

Very little about the family of Chand Khan is known to us. His son Pardil Khan is reported to have received the title of Umar Khan and a mansab of 4000 z/4000 s by emperor Farrukh'syar. In 1129/1716 he granted a sanad of malāfī to one Shah Muhammad Faqir for the upkeeping of a tomb and the performance of the ceremonies of 'urs of the departed mystic'. Pardil Khan seems to have been in possession of 12 villages in the ancestral property, presumably as zamindar.

Ilahdad Khan inherited and acquired a considerable property, but he died issueless. Consequently his wife transferred this property to her nephew in 1137/1724. This comprised zamindari rights over the villages Suhagpur, Maurozour and a number of other urban possessions such as markets and bawis.

2. NM, I, pp. 337-8.
The descendents of Dildar Khan, the fifth son of Diler Khan survive in records till quite recent times. In 1246/1830 the ta'allugadārī rights of Basit Nagar (in Shahabad) were reconfirmed by the king of Awadh on this family. It includes 45 villages alongwith a recognised nānkār of Rs. 5000/- The incumbent was allowed to retain the necessary number of the troops to ensure the smoth administration and security for the peasants. Sa'ādat Khan, a member of this branch was a tehsildār in Awadh administration so that he was able to ensure the continued possession of this ta'alluga in his family. It is said that the descendents of Diler Khan who held as many as 200 villages till the days of Sa'ādat Ḍi Khan who is said to have resumed their grants.