CHAPTER-III

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION II: THE
PROVINCIAL BUREAUCRACY
For administrative convenience, viability and efficient execution of work the Mughals had divided the Empire into Subahs. During the Sultanate period there were administrative divisions known as iqtas and military areas under governors given different designations like iqtagars, wallis, muqtas, hakims, amirs, maliks etc.) and tributary or feudatory chiefs. But this system was not uniformly enforced. Babar and Humayun depended upon the existing system with some variations. Sher Shah established a fairly centralised system of administration by infusing a new spirit into the older institutions. The theory of Qanungo that Sher Shah had no provinces but only sarkars and parganas has been contested and disproved by Parmatma Saran. In fact Sher Shah had several provinces, for example, Malwa, Punjab and Ajmer under powerful governors.

Under the Mughals Akbar started with administrative innovations and a significant change effected by him was the establishment of a regular system of provincial administration. The small administrative units numbering accounting for nearly fifty under Sher Shah were altered by Akbar as he instituted a division of the empire to twelve provinces in January 1580.

1. S.R. Sharma, Mughal Govt. And Administration, p. 236.
2. S.R. Sharma, Mughal Govt. And Administration, p. 237.
Thus a uniform system of administration with officers bearing the same titles and having the same official language, i.e., Persian uniformity of rules and regulations and administrative procedure and routine work was introduced and enforced by Akbar in all the provinces of the empire. The view held by Parmatma Saran¹ that under Akbar and his successors there were two types of provinces, viz., regular provinces under direct imperial rule and the subordinate states seems to be oversimplified. In fact the subordinate states, ruled over by Indian Chiefs who acknowledged overlordship of Akbar, officially formed part of the provinces in whose jurisdiction they fell and were called as districts (sarkars) and sometimes even as parganahs. They were not called states although their rulers enjoyed full autonomy, and were not 'provinces' of any category.

Division and subdivision of a Province - A Mughal Subah was divided into a number of sarkars and each sarkar consisted of several parganahs. Moreland², however, gives an impression that the administrative and fiscal divisions were quite different from each other as they existed in the Mughal empire. His assertion is that the jurisdiction of a Faujdar extended over an administrative charge quite different and independent of the fiscal units of the sarkar and the parganah. P.Saran³

1. P.Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, pp.70-71. Saran makes another arbitrary division of the provinces into major provinces and minor provinces. There is no evidence to show that there was any such division under Akbar.
disproves the theory propounded by Moreland and asserts that such a distinction did not exist. He, however, says that the administrative charge and fiscal jurisdiction of a district coincided with each other. Further to deal with this controversy an attempt has been made to establish "that the "aujdari constituted an independent administrative unit and its territorial limits varied in place and time". This tends to effectively establish what Moreland had propounded earlier and the proposition amounts to suggest that there existed besides the sub-division of sarkars and parganahs, the sub-division of Faujdaris.

However, on a perusal of the evidence available, we find that the regular divisions and sub-divisions in the Subah were the sarkars and the parganahs, and the examples of Faujdaris only refer to some exceptional cases arising out of special administrative considerations. It is also significant that in the Mughal administration the term Faujdar and Faujdari denote the meaning of an administrator and his charge.

**ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND ITS WORKING:**

As regards administrative structure of the provincial government the Mughals established the same net work of official as in the Centre. The head of the province was Sipah Salar or Subahdar who came to be termed as Nazim under the successors of

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Akbar. As the role and functions of the Subahdar has been dis­
cussed at length in a separate chapter, here only a discussion 
of the provincial officers and functionaries other than the 
Subahdar follows.

Next to Subahdar in official hierarchy, though not in any 
way subordinate to him was the Diwan. Virtually these two 
principal officers between them shared the responsibility of 
efficient working of the administrative machinery. The Diwan 
was basically responsible for revenue, civil justice and a 
general supervision over the department of Sadr.¹ The other 
important officers who served at the level of provincial admi­
nistration were the Pakhashi, the Sadr the Mir Adl, the Qazi, 
the Kotwal, the Mir was and the Waqia Nawis.²

APPOINTMENT OF PROVINCIAL OFFICERS:

The provincial Diwan was appointed under a hasb-ul-
hukum of the Emperor (written by the Wazir) and a sanad bearing 
the seal of wazir or the imperial Diwan.³ The provincial Sadr 
was appointed by an imperial sanad on the recommendation of the 
Sadr-us-Sudur and the sanad bore his seal also. The Qazi of the 
Subah as well as those of the towns and parganahs were appointed

¹ P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughal, p. 170.
² Akbarnama, III, p. 282. Abul Fazl says, ....... and in 
every province he appointed a Viceroy (Sipah Salar), a 
Diwan, a Pakhashi, a Mir Adl, a Sadr, a Kotwal, a Mir 
Bahr (admiral) and a Waqia Nawis (Recorder)".
³ Mirat, sup. 173, Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, 
p. 42.
on the nomination and under the seal of the Sadr-us-Sudur by an imperial sanad which was obtained through the office of the Sadr of the province and not directly. The provincial Bakhshi who often worked as the Waqia Nawis was similarly appointed through the office of the Mir Bakhshi under his seal. Another officer appointed by the imperial sanad issued direct from the office of the Sadr-us-Sadur was the Muhtasib of the province as well as of the towns.

Besides these officers there were a number of officers at the sarkar and parganah level. The powers and functions of the officials at the provincial and local administration has been discussed here.

The Provincial Diwan - In the province the office of the Diwan was the most important next to the Subahdar and functioned independently of him. He was appointed under a hasb-ul-hukum of the Emperor (written by the Wazir) and a sanad bearing the seal of the Wazir or the imperial Diwan. He acted directly under the orders of the imperial Diwan and was in every way answerable to him. His main responsibility was to keep intact the financial structure of the Subah and to arrange for the realization of the government dues fully in time. The Subahdar and the Diwan both had to keep a strict and jealous

3. Mirat, sup. 173, Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42.
watch on each other. It was advantageous in the sense that the Centre had a real picture of the activities of both of them by getting report from them at the headquarters.\(^1\)

The provincial Diwan was subordinate to the imperial Diwan and entered into constant correspondence with him.\(^2\) After appointment when the provincial Diwan started for his province he had to take leave not only of the Emperor but also of the High Diwan.

The functions of the provincial Diwan can be obtained in detail from *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* and the Aurangzeb's farman included in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi I*. We are, adding below a summary from the translation of *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* as given by Jadunath Sarkar.\(^3\)

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1. Jadunath Sarkar has quoted instances of clashes between the Governor and the Diwan. It seemed that the former wielded greater authority as the executive had of the province. Wazir Khanfi, the Diwan of Bengal was recalled by Jahangir because Islam Khan, the governor did not want him. Similady Khan-i-Dauran, the governor of Orissa, protested against the arrogant ways of Muhammad Hashim, and the imperial chancellor removed him. (P.Saran, *Provincial Govt. Of The Mughals*, p. 195 also quoting Sarkar - *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 221-222).

2. Akbar issued an order in 1596 that all provincial Diwan should report their proceedings to His Majesty in accordance with the suggestions of the Imperial Diwan Khwaja Samsuddin. (*Akbernama*, III, p. 670). The real aim of this order is not clear (P.Saran Provincial Govt. Of The Mughals, p. 189). A succinct and comprehensive account of the Diwan's duties is given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Sup., 173; Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42).

"Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the imperial treasury, that no body may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the featbdars and other sources, give receipts (Qabz-ul-Wasul) to their agents. See that no amil exacts forbidden cess (abwab)".

"At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original rough paper (Khasrah) the exertions and speculations of the amils, and recover for the imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. Report bad or dishonest amils to the High Diwan so that better men may be appointed in place of them".

"If any amil has let arrears of revenue accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by easy instalments at the rate of 5 per cent every season".

"The taqavi loan given last year by the government should be realised in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay or delay payment the government will compel the Diwan and the amin to make the amount good".

"Send the papers of your department to the imperial record office according to the regulations¹."

From the above instructions we find that it was the duty of the provincial Diwan to make efforts to promote cultivation and keep strict watch over the treasury so that no money can be taken without a proper warrant. He was to see that official donot exact forbidden cess. He was empowered to change

1. Some of these regulations are stated in Aurangzeb's farmans to Rasikdas. See Sarkar's Mughal Administration, pp. 144-151.
payment of revenue from one form into another for convenience of the cultivators. Occasionally he acted as auditor also. He undertook full control over the allocation of expenditure to different departments.

The Diwan was required to assist the governor in establishing peace and order through proper revenue settlement and easing the problems of the peasantry and the general public as well. When Abdullah Khan Uzbek was made Hakim of Malwa, Khwaja Muinuddin Farankhudi was sent as Diwan of the province together with the former Khwaja Muinuddin Farankhudi had worked as one of the Diwans in the Diwan-i-Buyutat and had established his reputation for integrity and ability. Akbar's instructions to Khwaja Muinuddin Farankhudi were to enquire into the position of the jagirs and to define the Khalsa land. While the governor Abdullah Khan Uzbek was to rule over Malwa, the Diwan was to boost the spirits of the peasantry to larger efforts at cultivation. He was also to remedy the absenteeism which might have occurred due to the marching and counter marching of forces, and with the assistance of other officers who were also appointed "he was to allot fiefs according to the rules of eternal dominion."

In the system of appointing joint-governors the Diwan was also sent with the joint-governors. Mukhtar Beg was sent

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1. Wazir Khan was entrusted with the Diwani and auditorship of this Subah (Bengal). See Riyaz-us-Salatin, p. 170.
as Diwan under this system in 1585-86 in Malwa. This system was, however, subsequently stopped.

Faizi, while on the visit to Malwa, has praised the provincial Diwan Khwaja Muhib Ali, who was Diwan of the province in the year 1590-91. Faizi remarks that Muhib Ali was administering Malwa efficiently. Further, we find, the same Diwan is engaged in crushing the disturbing activities of the sons of Nazr Be. The sons of Nazar Be were having jagir in Handia. Khwaja Muhib Ali, the Diwan, gathered together Jamaluddin Husain and other fief holders of Malwa, and set forth to remedy matters. The wicked men dispersed thereupon on the advance of Muhib Ali and near Bijagarh fought with the landholders and were defeated. Qambar Be was wounded and died. Thus, it can be inferred from this instance that in times of exigency the Diwan did military duty too. Besides his own contingent the Diwan was also given a fixed number of additional troops and also an emergency force.

The Records maintained in the Diwan's Office - The office of the provincial Diwan kept the following records:  

(a) Records dealing with the Executive Department and their answers together with separate files of the revenue of the mahals of the Khalsa, under the seals and signatures of the Qanungos and Zamindars. The estimates, realisations and expenditure together with the Roznamcha and awarija under the seal of the Karori.

(b) Records dealing with the department of the mahals of jagir lands in the order of the amount of salaries granted by the Emperor. The papers of the mahals showing the balance in the same way as the records of Khalsa, and the dastur-ul-amals of parganahs concerning the land revenue and the sair jihat (imposts), under the signatures of the Qanungos.

(c) Record of the department of counting the wells in each pargana signed by the concerned Qanungo.

(d) Records dealing with the Department of inams and commissions to headmen, Qanungos and Muqaddams.

(e) Return of rates of commodities signed by the rates-clerk.

(f) The account of the deposits in the treasury under the seals of Karoris and Fotahdars.

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1. P. Saran, Provincial Govt. Of The Mughals, p.192. Saran has prepared the list on the basis of British Museum Manuscript Add. 6588, fols. 72 b-73b.
(g) The Roznamcha of the income and expenditure.

The provincial Diwan's office had a big record-room (Daftarkhana) where papers pertaining to all items in which some finance was involved were preserved. The copies of these records were prepared and sent to the imperial Diwan or at times the copies were preserved and the originals were despatched. However, the item that received his special attention was the revenue accounts of the mahals, and whenever there was any transfer of some mahals, a due note and return was prepared and despatched to the headquarters under his seal.

Office Staff Of Provincial Diwan - The provincial Diwan served vital interests of the Empire in the province and in consideration of the burden of work upon his shoulders and in order to maintain his efficiency he was allowed quite a substantial secretariat which included officers appointed by the Centre as well as those appointed locally, by the provincial Diwan.¹

The officers appointed by the Centre were as follows:

1. Peshkar - Secretary or personal assistant - under the seal of Chief Diwan.
2. Derogha - Office superintendent who was also a mansabdar - under the seal of the Chief Diwan.
3. Mushrif - Head-clerk appointed by imperial sanad and received a salary of Rs.40 per mensem. His office also included the inspection of the pan-amrket.

¹ P. Saran, Islamic Polity, p. 129.
4. Tahvildar-i-daftarkhana - Treasurer, appointed by imperial sanad and received a salary of Rs.40 per mensem.

The officers appointed by Diwan of the province were as follows:

1. Munshi of the Kachahri.
2. Huzur nawis - clerk dealing with the correspondence with the Central government.
3. Subah nawis - clerk dealing with the correspondence with the governor's office.
4. Muharrir-i-Khalsa - clerk of the 'Crown-lands'.
5. Muharrir-i-daftar-i-tan - clerk in charge of disbursement of the salary.
7. Muharrir-i-Wazifa - the clerk in charge of stipends of all kinds.
8. Muharrir for weighing and measuring.

Thus, the provincial Diwan occupied pivotal position in the hierarchy of provincial administration and Mughal administration as a whole. Appointed, promoted and transferred or dismissed by headquarters, he was responsible to the imperial Diwan. In financial matters he enjoyed the same status as the governor enjoyed in executive matters. "The Diwan was the head of a graded series of services on the revenue side, from the amalguzar down to the patwari and patel, just as the governor
was the head of a similar range of services from the Faujdar down to the shiqdar and village chowkidar. However, in comparison to the governor the rank and status of the Diwan was lower than that of the governor.¹

The Bakhshi - Abul Fazl does not describe the functions of the Bakhshi in the province. But from references in the contemporary and subsequent authorities we know that the provincial Bakhshi performed the same duties as the Mir Bakhshi in the Centre. He owed his appointment to the Central Bakhshi who signed his sanad. He was subordinate to the governor and formed part of the governor's contingent. The maintenance and control of troops within the province and the enforcement of imperial regulations was his responsibility. He was responsible for the recruitment, proper maintenance and equipment, discipline, periodical musters of men (chehra), enforcing the branding regulations and holding periodical tests according to the instruction of Mir Bakhshi. His officers took the inspection of horses and the review of soldiers on his instruction.² It was on the basis of the certificates regarding the fulfilment of the conditions of mansab issued by the Bakhshi that the salaries were paid to the mansabdars and soldiers by the Diwan of the province. This way he was the paymaster of the mansabdars and the army posted there in the province. In case of

². Ray, Some Aspects of Mughal Administration, p. 112.
the Diwan kept record of deductions if the conditions were not fulfilled. If a mansabdar dies, the Bakhshi takes over his jagir. The mansabdar had to seek permission of the Bakhshi when taking leave from the station.¹

The Bakhshi also helped the provincial governor in military campaigns against disobedient or refractory chiefs and rebels but also conducted punitive expeditions himself. When an expedition had to be sent, it was Bakhshi's duty to call various officers to participate with the required strength of men and horses.²

The office of the Bakhshi was usually combined with that of Waqia-nigar or Waqia-nawis (writer of the official diary).³ We find Sanai Beg Shamlu in 1652 and Muhammad Casim in 1655-56 working as Bakhshi and Waqia nawis both in Malwa.⁴ They are many other references too. Occasionally a separate remembrancer was also appointed. As the news-writer he reported to the Centre all important events of the province, the amount of revenue collected, important cases decided, the fortunes of the military campaigns, law and order situation, measures adopted for safety of traders and travellers, the progress of

2. S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government And Administration, p.242.
work in all the departments and any unusual happenings. In doing all this the Bakhshi kept his reporters (waqia-nawises) in the offices of the Nazim, Diwan, Faujdar, Qazi and Kotwal for getting daily news. Besides the agents of the provincial Bakhshi, the Central government appointed official reporters directly from the headquarters and they reported directly to the Central government.

The Bakhshi was in direct contact with the Central govt. and worked independently of the governor and as a check on the latter without any fear. This system was brought into practice by Akbar and was considered valuable by Jahangir, who dismissed the governor of Gujarat for mishandling the local 'Bakhshi and newswriter'.

The Sadr And the Qazi - The Sadr was another important officer in the provincial government directly appointed by the Centre. He was appointed on the recommendation of the imperial Sadr by a royal sanad bearing the latter's seal, and worked under his direction. The imperial Sadr sending the provincial sadrs gave them lists of recipients of rent free lands and daily allowances in their respective provinces, and copies of Emperor's regulations concerning the death or flight of servitors (of the mosques), ainadars, rozinadars, students and other persons receiving stipends hereditary and new. They were directed to

1. Ray, Some Aspects of Mughal Administration, pp. 112-114.
act according to the imperial orders.¹

The Sadr was a theologian who was mainly responsible for looking after the interests of the Muslim in the Subah, development of religion, learning and charitable grants of suyurghal aima and madad-i-maash lands, stipends to ulama and deserving scholars. But he made such grants to deserving Hindu scholars too. He had also the task to settle disputes arising (out of succession or otherwise) in these grants. In 1581, Akbar issued orders abolishing the post of chief sadr and appointing a number of Sadrs to look after the work of the grant of subsistence allowances (Suyurghals) and Hakim Abdul Fath Gilani was appointed Sadr of Subah Malwa and Gujrat.²

The judicial department of the province was under the Qazi of the Subah. However, at the Subah level a person who was appointed as the Sadr was also assigned the work of judiciary, or in other words he also worked as the provincial Qazi. In this capacity he recommended candidates for the appointment of the Qazis at the district level. He was helped by a mufti.

¹. Every province had a sadr-i-juz or provincial sadr who was under the orders of the imperial sadr (Sadr-i-jahan or sadr-i-kul or sar-us-sadr). Akbar completely broke the power of the Sadr whose dignity before the Mughal dynasty had been very great. During his reign also the imperial Sadr ranked as the fourth officer of the Empire, (Ain., 30). The powers of the Sadrs were extensive. They were the highest law officers, and were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the Emperor. (Ain., 1, p.281). The Emperor, however, found the sadrs guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. The qazis too were in the habit of taking bribes from the grantholders wearing a turban as a sign.

versed in jurisprudence, who used to point out the law in a case before the qazi. There was a qazi in every city, town or large village. This would be described under the local administration in the province.

**Local Administration** - For efficient and keen supervision and administrative control, the provinces were divided into Sarkars which were further sub-divided into parganahs. The sarkars and parganahs were administrative divisions which also served as revenue divisions. Both sarkars and parganahs were neither exclusively military divisions nor exclusively revenue divisions. Virtually these aspects were blended in the administrative duties and responsibilities of the officers posted in these division. There was a network of officers at the district and parganah level.

**Faujdar** - The maintenance of law and order in the district or sarkar was the duty of the Faujdar. He was esteemed among the important officials in the administrative apparatus. The *Aim* says that as a subordinate and assistant he occupied the first place.¹ Being subordinate to the provincial governor, he could have direct correspondence with the central government.² The Faujdar got his appointment by the Emperor through the farman-i-sabati.³ Abul Fazl states that he was responsible for revenue, police and military. In case of revenue he was only indirectly

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involved, that is, he was to assist the revenue-collector (amalguzar) in the realisation of revenue from refractory revenue-payers. His police duty included the guarding of the area under his jurisdiction and to make inspection of the local militia in order to keep it well-equipped.¹

The Faujdar was "the hakim outside the city, like the kotwal inside the city" remarks the author of Bahar-i-Ajam.² For the occurrences of dacoities and thefts committed in the area of his jurisdiction, the Faujdar was held responsible.³ If the Faujdar was found unable to stop the incidents of dacoities and thefts, there are several references that he was either transferred or dismissed or post down-graded or reduced in his mansab. In fact the Faujdar was required to take proper preventive action to check these occurrences.

The Faujdar had the duty of protecting the town when it was attacked by the rebellious elements. He was to control the rebellious zamindars by a conciliatory policy or terrify them by a show of military force. He was required to destroy their forts.⁴

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3. Waqai-i-Ajmer, p. 233. He was required to recover the plundered or stolen property otherwise he was held answerable.
The court of the Faujdar was called Kacheri-i-Faujdari. Here the complaints of the city people were heard by the Faujdar. In towns where Subahdars did not hold their courts, the court of the Faujdar used to be held. He heard both kinds of cases, i.e. revenue (diwani) and criminal (faujdari). He took decisions according to the rules of the shariat and had to be in regular consultation with the qazi, mufti and mir adl. We find references of the Faujdar and qazi holding court jointly. In this way when the judgement took place, it was the responsibility of the Faujdar to cause implementation of the decision of the court. In fact our sources are silent in making clear the actual jurisdiction of the Faujdar's court.

In 1695 Emperor Aurangzeb was reported from Hoshangabad in Malwa that Muhammad Khan Bijapuri, Faujdar of Hoshangabad, did not come from his house to offer Juma prayers; nor did he hold the court. Aurangzeb ordered to Bahrahmand Khan, the Chief Bakhshi to write to Muhammad Khan Bijapuri that he must always be regular in holding the court.

Among various duties of the Faujdar the patrolling of highways leading to and from the cities was also very important.

2. Ibid., ff. 65f - 66a.
He was again and again directed to be vigilant in ensuring safety to the banjaras (grain carriers) and traders and further he had to protect them from illegal exactions while they were entering the city to supply grain and other commodities. The Faujdar was also required to see that his subordinates and other local officials did not oppress or tease the people. He had to keep a keen eye on the work of the amin, mutasaadi, amil, karori, qanungo; zamindar and chaudhari on the revenue side. In executive matters he had to make watch on the activities of the Kotwal, Thanadar, Rahdar and local Waqai nawis, Sawanih-nigar and Harkara.1

There are references when the governor of the province was given the charge of the Faujdari too. On 5th Jan., 1704, Shaista Khan II, the governor of Malwa was also appointed the Faujdar of Mandu by the transfer of Nawazish Khan.2

Amil or Amalguzar - Next to the Faujdar, the most important officer in the Sarkar was called Amalguzar.3 under Akbar but subsequently known as Amil. He was responsible for the administration of revenue of the entire sarkar and worked under the direct supervision and instructions of the provincial Diwan. His multifarious duties covered not only assessment and collection of revenue but also punishing disobedient and refractory peasants, highway robbers etc.4 In fact, the Amalguzar

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1. Nigermama-i-Munshi, ff.122b-23ab, 133ab, 260ab.
3. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.46
4. Ibd., p. 46.
was expected to be a development officer, working for agricultural advancement. In order to secure the extension of cultivation he was given the exceptional power of departing from the regulation system of assessment by measurement and agreeing to practically any method which the husbandman chose to be assessed by as also to payment either in cash or in kind."

The Amil had to see that the peasants were not oppressed by the village headmen and collected through village officials and village headmen, actual reports of cultivated land and while making assessment gave due allowance for inferior crops. He supervised and controlled the lower revenue officials such as surveyors, assessors etc. and fixed their daily ration while they were on active duty.2

After the accomplishment of the work of assessment the Amil had to despatch a copy of the abstract within fifteen days to the imperial Diwan's office. In case any calamity occurred to the crops after sending the draft estimates, he was required to make an estimate of the loss and send its report to the imperial court (Diwan's office) without delay. The imperial Diwan had the right to approve it or he could depute a commissioner to investigate and check the matter reported by the Amil.3

The Amil was also responsible for the collection of revenue in the Khalsa land. Moreover, he was responsible for the accounts deposited in the district treasury but for their accounts and for the safety of the treasury and for this purpose the treasury was provided with a double lock system—one of keys was kept with the Amil and the other one with the treasurer. The Amil had to start the collection of the spring harvest from the Holi and Autumn harvest from the Dashahra. He had to despatch monthly reports at the end of the month of the daily receipts and expenditure to the Court and to remit the money to the Central treasury through his honest and reliable agents as soon as the amount collected reaches to two lakhs dams. He was required further to inspect the suyurghal tenures and to send copies of the same to the registry office to be compared with the copy kept there. He had to ascertain the correctness of the chaknamah and resume the share of a deceased grantee or one who is an absentee. He was also responsible for checking the conversion of khudkashta land into a Raiyat Kashta.¹

The Amil was required to send to imperial Court a monthly statement of the conditions of the people, of the jagirdars, the neighbouring residents, the submission of the rebellion, the market prices, the current rent of tenements, the state of the destitute and the poor, of artificers and all other contin-

¹ Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 49-50.
gencies. In the absence of the Kotwal at the district head­
quarters he had to discharge his duties.¹ About the discharge
of duties of the Kotwal by the Amil, P. Saran opines that the
Amil took over only the suburban police and judicial duties
of the Kotwal and not his municipal duties.²

Kotwal - The Kotwal was in charge of the district head­
quarters towns and occupied pivotal place in Mughal town adminis­
tration. The information gathered through different sources
leads us to believe that the functions of the kotwal were very
extensive, sometimes appearing to be wider in scope than those
of modern municipal institutions.³ He was generally appointed
by the Central government at the recommendation of Mir Atish
through a sanad which bore his seal.⁴

Virtually the appointment of the Kotwal was the discre­
tion of the Central government and it could post any person of
its choice but the opinion of the important inhabitants of the
town, where the kotwal has to be posted, could also have had
a role in making influence on its decision. Similarly adverse

3. For extensive duties of the Kotwal, see Ain-i-Akbari,II,
   pp. 43-45; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 390; Mirat-i-
   Ahmadi, I, pp. 168-70; Nigarnama-i-Munshi, ff. 43f, 144a,
   238 ab - 239 a; Jawahar Nath Bekas Sehswali, ff. 26b -
   27ab; Destur-i-Jahan Kushai, f. 55a; Manrique, II,
   pp. 168-89; Felsaert, p. 57; The English Factories In
   India (1622-23), pp. 124-125; Javernier, I, p. 447;
   Thevenot, pp. 12, 27; Bernier, p. 369; Manucci, I, p. 292;
   Fryer, I, p. 246; Gvington, pp. 137-38; Mannucci,II,pp.295-
   296.
opinion of the inhabitants of the town caused dismissal of the Kotwal. There are documents belonging to seventeenth century preserved in Bikaner Archives to shed sufficient light on the matter. Two cases from Subah Kabul are cited here. In the 25th year of Aurangzeb, the Nazim of Subah Kabul wished to post, an Afghan named Taj Khan Afghan, the Kotwal of Kabul city. But the inhabitants were mostly Irani or Turani and they did not want the appointment of an Afghan to the post. Later on, in the 29th year of Aurangzeb's reign, a similar report was received from the same Subah and therefore the Emperor called the explanation of the Nazim as to why he was going against the desire of the local inhabitants in appointing an Afghan as Kotwal while there were many Irani and Turani candidates deserving that post. For the dismissal of the Kotwal a reference comes from Ujjain, Subah Malwa. The inhabitants of hawili Ujjain were not satisfied with Monorath Ram, the Kotwal and the people requested that some other person may be posted in his place. The request of the people was accepted.

We can infer on the basis of the above information that while appointing the Kotwal the government gave due consideration to the wishes of the city people. It can be said that public pressure in this regard was a significant factor. The Central

2. Ibid., Document No.2962, 21st Zilqada, 29th year of Aurangzeb.
government, therefore, seems to have been cautious for not imposing on the people an undesirable man.

The failure in the discharge of his duties well, complaints by the residents of town against his tyranny, acting beyond his authority, seeking bribes and grabbing money through illegal levies and negligence and disobedience shown to government orders, were the causes of the transfer, dismissal and the reduction in mansab of the kotwal.

The kotwal in his important duty acted as the head of the police. It was his main responsibility to keep vigilant watch and ward over the town and its suburbs. The farman of Akbar contained in Mirat-i-Ahmadi enjoins that "the kotwal of


2. Maasir-i-Nlamgiri, p. 188. Abdul Salam, the Kotwal of Delhi, quarreled with Abdul Casim, the Diwan, thereupon Abdul Salam was transferred, Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 21st Zilqada, 48th year of Aurangzeb. Bazi, the kotwal of Mathura was replaced because he used to interfere in matters concerning the Shariat, Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 6th Jumada II, 42nd year of Aurangzeb.

3. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 12th Zilqada, 39th year of Aurangzeb.

4. Jahangir is said to have publicly flogged the Kotwal of Lahore who failed to prohibit the slaughter of animals and sale of meat. C.H. Rayne, Jahangir And The Jesuits, p. 38; Waqai-i-Ajmer, pp. 211-212.
every city and town and village ought to record its houses and buildings and prepare a note of the residents of every street from house to house as to know what sort of men they are. How many are cultivators, how many professional, how many soldiers and derweshes. Streets should be fixed and a Mir-i-Mahalla (chief of a ward) should be appointed so that the good and bad of that street may happen under his direction. A spy should visit him (mir-i-Mahalla) every night and day to write the events of that street. It should be so settled that whenever a thief comes or there is fire or some unpleasant event takes place, the neighbour should immediately rush to his (the victim's) help. In like manner, the Mir-i-Mahalla and the informer should help him.¹ Manucci informs us that the Kotwal utilised the sweepers, who went to clean the houses of the inhabitants twice daily, as his spies and through them he could get information about everything happening in any quarter of the town.² The kotwal also organised night-watch (chauki) in every ward and himself used to patrolling the streets at night. The men accompanying him in patrolling cried loudly the word Khabardar, i.e. 'alert'.³

The kotwal had to take preventive measures to check the theft, other crimes and murder within the area under his jurisdiction. On getting information of a theft or dacoity, the

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¹ Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 168-70.
³ Thevenot, pp. 27-28; Ovington, p. 137.
kotwal was required to go to the spot of incident with his force. There are references of severe encounters with the dacoits. For precaution against the incidence of theft and crime the kotwal had orders not to permit people to leave or enter the town after close of day without his pass (dastak) and after sunset all the gates of the town were closed and strongly guarded.

Besides the policing duties, the Kotwal had to regulate markets, prevent hoarding, suppress the boarding of stocks, profiteering and prohibit the realisation of certain forbidden cesses. He had to check the use of under-weights and measures by the dealers. It was his responsibility to restrain the people from manufacturing buying or selling of wine.

The Kotwal has been dubbed as 'City Magistrate', 'Criminal Judge' etc. by several European travellers. However, their accounts are not sufficient to show as to what exactly

5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ain-i-Akbari,II, p. 44.
his judicial powers were. There are various reference that show that in little cases and small irregularities, the kotwal exercised judicial power too. For instance a case from pargana Unhel of Sarkar Ujjain in the Subah of Malwa can be cited here. In the said pargana one man named Mohan had two wives who used to quarrel amongst almost daily. The man took them to the kotwal and lodged a complaint. Both the wives were kept in the lockup for three days. On the fourth day the kotwal called them for interrogation and on finding both of them guilty caused them whipped and sometime later released them on the assurance that they would not quarrel again. Mohan had to pay one rupee on account of expenses for keeping his wives in the chabutra and the rupee was deposited into the government treasury.1

The building of kotwal's office and residence was known as 'imarat-i-kotwali' 2 and was usually located in the middle of the town. It contained (chabutra) a raised platform in front3, the bandikhana (prison)4 and store rooms. The kotwal

2. Mutafarriq Maharajgan, b.no.1, Document No.163, Shaban, 1105 A.H., Vakil Report, b.no.8, Document No. 224, 24th Jumada II, 1102 A.H.
spent a very busy day at the chabutra and a large crowd could be seen at his office throughout the day. People came to lodge complaint\(^1\) or to receive a person just released from the prison\(^2\) or to get an accused released on bail.\(^3\) When a man was arrested and brought the chabutra by kotwal's men or revenue collectors or on accusation by a plaintiff, the kotwal personally inquired into his case.\(^4\) In case the arrested person was found innocent the kotwal released him without delay.\(^5\)

Thus the kotwal had multifarious duties to perform and Abul Fazl stresses that appropriate person should be appointed to the post. He further says that the kotwal should be vigorous, experienced, active, astute and humane.\(^6\)

**Qazi** - Certainly the most important duty of the Qazi was administration of justice but he was required to perform a number of other duties also. Almost every town which had a

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1. Vakil Report, b.no.8, Document No.224, 24th JumadaII, 1102 A.H.
3. Manucci was released on bail given by a Hindu, Manucci, II, p. 199.
considerable muslim population had a Qazi. The Qazi of the Subah and the Qazi's of Sarkar, parganah and town were appointed on the recommendation and under the seal of the Sadr-us-Sudur by an imperial sanad, which was obtained through the office of the provincial Sadr and not directly. He was expected to be a scholar of theology, with unimpeachable character.

The Qazis, particularly of big town held mansabs. The Qazi was paid a daily allowance and the madad-i-maash (a revenue grant) was under his purview. There are references that this grant exceeded one hundred bigha a cultivable land. The post of the Qazi was transferable and his dismissal occurred on charges of abuse of authority, corruption, unfair judgement and even on the displeasure of the Emperor. At times he occupied...

1. Apart from Subah capital each sarkar, parganah, town and even forts, which comprised sufficient Muslim population had qazi. Mirat (Supplement), pp. 199, 211, 222-223; Khafi Khan, II, p. 630. See for Sarkar Qazi Mirat (Supplement) pp. 193, 233; Siyaqnama, II. 86-87; Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign, pp. 169-190.


5. Siyaqnama, pp. 86-87.


more than one post. For instance, a man was holding the offices of the Qazi and Sadr, both and in other case occupying the post of Qazi and Diwan simultaneously.

Under judicial administration, the civil jurisdiction of the Qazi pertained to the cases of marriage, divorce, marriage with non-Muslims, inheritance, disposal of stolen property, salaries of the servants of mosques and other property disputes. His court also heard cases filed by one group of merchants against another merchants, officials, and artisans. In his

1. Alamgirname, p. 1035.
3. Selected Waqai Of The Deccan, p. 95.
5. Ibid., pp. 279-280.
8. Ibid., p. 35.
9. The English Factories In India (1637-41), pp. 106-107, for the cases of merchants versus merchants.
court cases pertaining to custom house\(^1\), arrangement of shops in the market\(^2\), and trading contracts\(^3\) were filed and heard. Both Qazi and the Mufti were kept aware of the tax collection in the city or at the market.\(^{4}\)

In the performance of his religious functions the Qazi was required to enforce the Shariat and urge the Muslims to offer the five times prayers of the day and also the Id and friday prayers.\(^5\) He further exhorted the Muslims to observe fasts of Ramzan and pay zakat.\(^6\) The Qazi also read the khutba and led the Id and Friday prayers and announced the visibility of the new moon.\(^7\) The collection of Jaziya was also the duty of the Qazi.\(^8\)

The Qazi had jurisdiction in criminal cases too. There are evidences of criminal cases like theft, robbery, attempt to murder, murder etc. being tried by the Qazi.\(^9\) He had

\(^{1}\) Ovington, pp. 136-137.
\(^{2}\) Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Document No.3293, 8th Shawal, 38th year of Aurangzeb.
\(^{3}\) The English Factories In Indie (1622-23), p. 320.
\(^{4}\) Mazhar-i-Shahjahani, p. 103.
\(^{5}\) Nigarnama-i-Munshi, f. 206a; Siyaqnama, p. 56; Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, pp. 15-16.
\(^{6}\) Waqai-i-Ajmer, p. 161; Mirat (Supplement), p. 69.
\(^{7}\) Waqai-i-Ajmer, pp. 55-56.
\(^{8}\) Ibid., p. 509.
\(^{9}\) Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 121; Khafi Khan,II, pp.156; Mirat-i-Ahmedi, I,pp.270-80; Waqai-i-Ajmer,pp.4,18-19,68.
authority to release under trial prisoners on bail.\textsuperscript{1} The marriages of the Muslims were solemnized by him.\textsuperscript{2} He also supervised the public mosques\textsuperscript{3} and distributed money along with the Sadr for charitable purposes and distributed money to the poor from the public treasury (bait-ul-mal).\textsuperscript{4} Thus these non-judicial functions of the Qazi increased his importance.

Parganah - Each Sarkar was sub-divided into a number of parganahs or mahals. 'The parganah was the lowest official unit of administration, and below the parganah was the village panchayat, which was popular in origin but recognised by the government'.\textsuperscript{5} There five principal officer in the parganah.

(i) The Shiqdar - The executive head of the parganah was called the Shiqdar. In the exercise of his duties he combined the functions which were performed by the Faujdar and the kotwal in the Sarkar, that is, in the parganah he was responsible for the law and order as well as the criminal justice.\textsuperscript{1} He worked under the supervision of the Faujdar. He

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 282-283.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Fryer, I, p. 237.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Khafi Khan, II, p. 606.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 338.
\item \textsuperscript{5} P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p. 207.
\item \textsuperscript{6} P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p. 212.
\end{itemize}
worked under the supervision of the Faujdar. He was to help the Amil in the realisation of revenue whenever force became necessary in this regard.¹ The nature of his office can be judged from the instructions of Akbar, enjoining the Shiqdars to take the census of the country and note the names, occupations and addresses of the people. He was further directed to take note of the arrivals and departures of dangerous men and prevent men without livelihood from residing in the towns.² These were the functions of the kotwal in the Sarkar which were performed in the parganah by the Shiqdar. With some limited powers the Shiqdar also acted as criminal court.³

(ii) The Amil - The Amil of the parganah had the same duties as the Amalguzar in the Sarkar. He was responsible for survey, smooth assessment with the help of provincial Amin and collection of revenue of the parganah and expand the area under cultivation and ensure the well-being of the peasants who had direct approach to him. In addition to his normal duty, he was required to assist the Shiqdar together with the village headmen in maintaining law and order and punishing the miscreants. These two officers cooperated with each other in the discharge of their respective functions in the administration of the

2. Elliot and Dowson, History Of India, Vol. VI, p. 61.
parganah.\textsuperscript{1} The Amin as assessment officer (as under the Sultans did not exist under Akbar but the post was revived under Shahjahan, when the Amil was left only with police duties and collection and gradually he became in effect Faujdar of the parganah.

The Bitikchi - The Bitikchi was chief accountant and registrar and kept all documents signed by officials and peasants.\textsuperscript{2} Under Akbar there was one Bitikchi and not two as under Sher Shah. The position of the Bitikchi was the same as that of the Bitikchi in the Akbar and indispensable to the Amil.

The Qanungo - The Qanungo of the parganah kept revenue papers—schedules of assessment, record of collections and complete information regarding land tenure of his parganah. Prior to Akbar he received a commission on land revenue, Akbar made him a paid government officer in three different grades.

The Treasurer - The treasurer was called khazanadar or Fotadar.\textsuperscript{3} He was instructed to keep the treasure in a strong room under information to the Shiqdar and the registrar. He should count the money deposited in the treasury daily in the evening and cause a note thereof to be signed by the collector.

\textsuperscript{1} P. Saran, \textit{Provincial Government Of The Mughals}, p.212.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}, II, p. 51
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}, II, p.52.
and compare the day-ledger with the registrars accounts and authenticate it by his signature.¹

For making the provincial and local administration more efficient in its working the Mughal Emperors used to undertake tours of inspection in various provinces and took steps to punish officers found guilty of oppression inflicting upon the people. Akbar made frequent tours for the purpose and attended personally to the grievances of the people. Inspection tours were undertaken in Malwa too by Akbar. Though sometimes these tours were just for pleasure or formal visits but still the task of keeping check on the provincial officers and tending to the grievances of the oppressed and the weak was their main objective.