CHAPTER VIII

ADMINISTRATION.

The Mughul Empire, though monarchical and highly centralized, was neither based on force nor on religion. Its foundations were laid on benevolent despotism, and enlightened secularism, getting strength from passive acquiescence of the populace who had been left undisturbed in the observance of their religious and social rites. Nor was it a foreign rule in the sense of colonial system. True, the governing class was largely composed of foreign elements, yet they had adapted India as their home and taken to the Indian way of life.

As the government was despotic in form and bureaucratic in structure the monarch enjoyed a pivotal position in the state machinery. The sovereign with certain limitations was the supreme law maker, the head of the executive and the highest court of justice. He was the Shadow of God, the sole foundation of law and right; incapable of doing wrong, irresponsible and irresistible in his authority. Abul Fazal had thus stated the essence of royalty: "Royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun... Modern language calls this light farri-i-izidi (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it Kiyan Khura (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one, and man in the presence of it bends the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission." It was the responsibility of the king to govern the country with wisdom and justice.

1. Ain, Bloch; I. p.3.
tempered with firmness and tolerance, and put down the storm
of strife and selfish ambition. "Kingship is a gift of God,
and is not bestowed till many thousand good qualities have
been gathered together in the individual." The imperial throne
was a competitive post which could not become the monopoly of
a particular individual, and the indivisibility of sovereignty
was a convention tacitly accepted. In the absence of any law
of succession, "the warrior's sword was called upon to solve
the problem which the jurist's pen had left in perplexity
and doubt." Under such conditions the character of the ruler
counted much for the success of this system.

Muhammad Shah was devoid of the qualities indispensable
for conducting the government and maintaining the prestige of
Mughul sovereignty. The divine claims of the Mughul crown
had acquired such firm foundation that no individual however
powerful could ever dream of overthrowing the Timuride dynasty
and setting up his own in its place. The king-makers had
deposed and killed Farrukh-Siyar, but another Prince of the
royal blood was raised to the throne. Nizamul Mulk revolted
and established his autonomous government in Haiderabad, but
never proclaimed himself the Emperor. Peshwa Baji Rao humbled
the power of the government by conquering Malwa and Gujrat,

1. Ibid. p. 2.
2. Ibid.
sacked the imperial capital, but contented himself with the
deputy governorship of a province, accepting the position of
a subordinate official of the Mughul crown. The provincial
governors and Rajput chieftains, all independent within their
territories paid homage to Muhammad Shah, offered presents
to him, received his Farmans with due ceremony, and no Muslim
governor stopped Khutuba being recited in the Emperor's name
or issued his own coins; their allegiance was to the Mughul
crown and not to an individual. A clear distinction between
the king and the crown was growing up but lacked the firm
foundation of democratic institutions.

The central government was run by a council of four
ministers, namely the chief Wazir, the Mir Bakshi, the Mir
Khan-i-Saman, and the Sadr, assisted by minor officials like
Divans of Khalsa and Tan, Mir Atash, two or three subordinate
Bakshis, Darogha of Dak Choki, a corps of clerks, numerous
officials in charge of royal Karkhanas and the court, Daroghas
of the fort and palaces and various secretaries to the ministers.
These four ministers were independent of each other and answer­
able only to the king. " The four ministers were certainly
the four pillars of the Empire, but not like the symbolical
pillars of the Turkish Empire which held the tent, but pillars
like those of the Mughul Taj, which do not support the structure
but add to its dignity, majesty and beauty." The Wazir was
the chief Divan, and intermediary between the king and other
officers, supervised the transaction of central and provincial

1. Ibn-i-Hasan, p. 351.
departments by examining the records submitted to him by
their heads, exercised power of appointments, transfers and
promotions and kept an eye on the work of the governors. The
enormous power entrusted to the Wazir was fraught with two
great dangers, namely the man in the office could at any time
donorate the king if the latter was weak in character, and
secondly, if the former was incapable and irresponsible in the
discharge of the duties, the entire administration might collapse.

Munim Kha, the Wazir of Bahadur Shah, Zulfiqar Khan of
Jahandar Shah, and Saiyid Abdullah Khan and Saiyid Husain Ali
Khan, the ministers of Farrukh-Siyar, and Muhammad Shah in the
first year of his reign, were commanding personalities,
possessed of prudence, energy and singular dexterity in the
management of men and affairs. Though they had reduced the
Emperor to a state of subordination, but they executed the
state business efficiently, and preserved the prestige of the
Empire. In the case of Muhammad Shah, his Wazir Qamruddin Khan,
was sluggish, luxurious and pleasure-loving, and when both of
them lost interest in the public work, other ministers stepped
in their shoes, and divided offices and wealth among themselves.
Siding with Koki's clique he succeeded in ousting Nizamul Mulk.
The new Wazir Qamruddin was less aggressive and resourceful,
possessed neither the ability nor the will to dominate the
Emperor. " For the quarter century (1724-1748) that he held
the office in the realm, the administration merely drifted
along, under this harmless kind old man, who always foresaw
the trend of affairs and the effect of every measure, but had
never the courage to tell the honest truth to his master or
dissuads him from any wrong course on which his heart was
set. In fact he considered it supreme wisdom merely to keep
his post and do as little work as possible." Mir Bakshi,
Samsam-ud-Daulah, leader of the Indian party usurped all
power and he utilized it to the utmost for his personal
aggrandisment. In the court the Indian party was decidedly
the strongest, and possessed standing majority; the Mughul
lived either in obscurity or repaired to the Punjab, Kabul and
Haiderabad for service under their leaders. Samsum-ud-Daulah
was supreme in Emperor's council. His suggestions and
recommendations in formulating the state policies carried
weight, and he reduced the monarch to a nullity with the help
of Raja Jai Singh and other Indian born Muslim Amirs. It was
after his death that the indolent Wazir confronted a critical
situation created by the appointment of Safdar Jung as Mir-i-
Atash in March, 1744. Though he succeeded in saving his office
with the help of Nizamul Mulk, he eclipsed in a short time by
his dominating rival. " The Emperor, on account of the
rebellion of the nobles, the fear of his own life, and the
temptations of his evil passions, shut up the gates of justice
and gave no ear to complaints. In a short time, many
of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the
pasth of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infidels,
rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity

and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects." The author of Hadisa Nadir Shah writes: "The affairs of the government had been upset. The enemies of the Emperor, intoxicated with the pride of the extreme wealth, and the increasing status, like Wazirul Mumalik Aitzmad-ud-Daulah Bahadur, and Samsam-ud-Daulah Khan -i-Dauran had neglected the affairs of the government. They were idle, commanded no respect, and did not fear the Emperor, except indulging in corruption they had no work to do." Abdul Karim, the author of Bayan Waqai, attributes the cause of this laxity to the prevailing factions among the ministers of the government. If any minister formed plans for the stability of the government and the welfare of the people, the other would thwart them to discredit him, the Emperor could say nothing for he feared the fate of Farrukh-Siyar.

If one minister suggested the punishment of a refractory zamindar, the rival would plead his case saying that he was his man and he would teach him loyalty. The Zamindar thus set at liberty would become more powerful than before. The government officers became disobedient and disloyal to the Emperor, befriended the refractory and rebellious element and displayed indifference in checking the advance of the Marathas. During this period, thousands of towns and villages inhabited by gentlemen, learned scholars, and Ulema were destroyed; the flood-tides of tumult coming from the south struck at the gates of the capital; the invaders possessed of the produce

1. Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran f.6.100(m).
of the provinces reduced the imperial soldiery to a state of beggary; and the government officers and mansabdars lost authority and confidence. The suggestion of Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran's author that Faujdars and Superintendents of police should be appointed on the way from Faridabad to Gwalior to check the disorders implies that raja authority had disappeared from this area. Harcharan Das informs us that in the year following the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Jats and the Sikhs invaded Sirhind and captured several villages. It was only after an expedition sent from the court under Azim-ul-Ullah Khan that they were suppressed. In the Ganges Jumna Doab, the Rohillas were supreme, and were carrying their depredations up to the gates of Delhi. In fact Muhammad Shah's authority did not extend beyond Palam.

Muhammad Shali had never disturbed the honest's nest by punishing or admonishing his ministers or officials of the central government for their negligence in the execution of state duties. His ministers and captains failed to stem the tide of Maratha invasions in Malwa and Gujrat. They made peace with them by surrendering territories and paying Chauth without his permission; they flouted his commands and threatened him with rebellion; they upset the military arrangements by their own mutual jealousies in the battle of Karnal; they embezzled vast amounts of money and usurped jagirs in crown lands, but the Emperor never expressed his resentment, never questioned their integrity, but on the other hand continued

1. Harcharan, f.373(a).
lavishing rewards on them. The ministers and nobles too flattered him by presenting trays of vegetables, fruits, meals, rich cloth, animals, jewels and money.

The decline in administration, and virtual collapse of the central government led to anarchy in the provinces which had either ceased to be governed by the centre, or came under the occupation of the Marathas. The governors assumed independence, having severed all connections with the court, except sending presents and flattering letters to the Emperor, and maintaining outward show of royal dignity in their provinces. The central government had become so ineffective that no interference was made in the local affairs of the provinces. The Subedars appointed all their subordinate officers and granted to them titles and ranks, paid no revenue due from them, and received no orders from the Wazir. The governors of the Punjab, Oudh, Bengal and Haiderabad, who still professed to be the servants of the crown, were de facto rulers of their territories. As a check to their independence and power, in former times governors were transferred from one province to the other after few years, but in this reign they were allowed to enjoy life long tenure in the office. Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal governed his province for 17 years, (1710-27), Saadat Khan of Oudh for 16 years (1723-1739), Zakariaya Khan of the Punjab for 29 years (1726-1745) and Nizamul Mulk for 25 years (1713-48).
Revenue Administration.

The Muslim and Hindu practices were in conformity as regards the claims of the Indian ruler to a share of produce from the land and to levy taxes on various professions and trades. According to Muslim Sharia the head of the state was legally authorised to impose Zakat, Khums, Jazya and Khiraj on land. Besides the strictly legal taxes some taxes were permitted by custom and usage. Some extra Sharia taxes were also levied, though various rulers at various time issued orders prohibiting the levying of such taxes.

The most striking feature of the period under review is the final abolition of the Poll-tax effected in December, 1720, by the orders of Muhammad Shah on the request of Raja Jai Singh. Though Nizamul Mulk tried to revive the institution in March-April, 1725, but it was never carried out. The Emperor also issued a Farman abolishing taxes like Tamgha, Baj and Zakat, in all numbering one hundred and one; taxes on corn, plants, medicines, oil, salt, sugar, all kinds of flower essences, earthen pots, and other things on which the livelihood of masses depended were abolished. The revenue officials were further urged in this Farman not to extend the hand of tyranny and suppress the strong who oppressed the weak. Likewise in other Farman, the Amin was asked to be courteous, kind and well-wisher of the cultivators. He should

1. Majma-ul-Imsha, f.77(a.b).
grant loans to the poor farmers who could not purchase seed and oxen. As far as his intentions were concerned they were noble, and Muhammad Shah followed the policy of his predecessors. But weak as he was, he could not enforce his commands with any success. The petty officers as well as the governors extorted money by all unfair means. We have seen how Hamid Ali Khan and Mubariz Khan in Gujrat and Muhammad Khan Bangash in Malwa had acquired huge sums of money by imposing new and odious taxes on the citizens and invading the villages of the peasantry and workers. The tax on Hindu pilgrims for the Ganges had been abolished, but there is a record of a complaint by one Muj Ram to Raja Jai Singh. He wrote to the Raja, "According to his previous order about the abolition of the tax, general announcement was made in Gaya, but the Nazim had fixed 23 lakhs Dam as tax on forced subscriptions, gifts and service. He should therefore send another letter of remission with the seal of Roshan-ud-Daulah. The author of Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran writes that two taxes, Bah Dari and Baj were very oppressive and should be abolished. For everywhere, amirs, mansabdars and jagirdars in their own areas collect this tax. As a result the merchants sell their goods on high prices, and masses suffer from it. The Bah Dari tax seems to have been a government charge in certain areas, for when Churaman Jat submitted on

1. Siyaq Nawa of Anand Ram, f.22(b).
3. Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran, f.27(a,b).
7th Rabi' 1130 A.H. he was given the rights of Rahdari and Zamindar of Akbarabad.

**Jagir System.**

The king as the proprietor of the land assigned his share of the produce of a specified area, from a village to a province, to a government employee instead of paying in cash for the services his post required. The assignee was authorised to exercise execution duties in so far as collection of revenue necessitated. The right of collecting revenues did not make him the owner of the land; he could neither buy it, sell it or mortgage it. His hold on the assignment was of a temporary nature as he was liable to be transferred to another place in case he abused his powers or failed to execute state business satisfactorily. He could collect neither more than that sanctioned by the state, nor impose taxes on his own account. All remissions granted by the government were to be carried out, and if particular area under his charge yielded more than what had been assessed at the time of assignment, his jagir would be reduced accordingly. He was not empowered to exercise executive duties of maintaining law and order unless they were entrusted to him, although he had the power to appoint his own men for the collection work, and wielded considerable influence in deciding disputes among cultivators if their panchayats referred them to him. He was not in hereditary

1. Miratul Haqaiq, f. 132 (a).
possession of the fief, and could not bequeath it to his son or any of the relations. The jagirdars collected revenues through their own agents or entrusted the work to the Faujdar. The governor had no control over the jagirs.

In spite of these limitations put on the jagirdars, the system was productive of many evils which in the long run shattered the economy of the government. The system worked successfully as long as an efficient government could enforce its laws against fief holders and the collectors of the revenues. But with the decline in the central government on account of political disorders and the inefficiency of the ministers, the whole structure of the economic organisation collapsed and utter bankruptcy followed. In the reign of Aurangzeb, due to reckless assignments, rapid transfers of jagirdars, extortion of money through fraudulent practices by the officers and the deeply rooted corruption in the officers of the Diwan, cultivation suffered, salaries of the soldiers fell into arrears, and the financial stability of the government was totally ruined. Bhimsen writes, "There is no hope of a jagir being left with the same officer next year, when a jagirdar sends a collector to his jagir, he first takes an advance from the latter by way of loan. This collector, on arriving in the village, fearing lest a second man who had given a larger loan to the jagirdar was following (to supplant him), does not hesitate to collect the rent with every oppression. The ryots have given up cultivation; the jagirdars do not get a penny."

During the reigns of Alamgir’s successors these conditions continued unchecked resulting in the decline of agricultural production and the impoverishment of the Public Exchequer. The extent of Khalsa lands was further narrowed down. Right up from Bahadur Shah to Muhammad Shah, all the monarchs granted lands most lavishly and recklessly to their favourites. Nizamul Mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan possessed jagirs in the most fertile area of the Empire, in Bareilly and Moradabad, in the provinces of the Punjab and Gujrat, Saadat Khan in Allahabad and Oudh, Muhammad Khan Bangash in Bundelkhand, Samsam Daulah in Delhi and Agra, Zafar Khan Roshanu Daulah in Panipat and Sirhind. Though the system had grown rotten and hence unpopular among the mansabdars, possession of a jagir was still thought better than dependence on the government for the cash salary. It was source of income and prestige. The nobles and the government officials like Mir Bakshi, Diwan-i-Taz and Darogha of artillery secured for their young sons of fourteen and fifteen years mansabs extending from hundred to five hundred, and felt proud on their gradual promotions. Besides these jagirdars who were required to render some service to the government a large number of persons including men of letters, doctors of theology, physicians and widows etc had acquired lands as madad-i-mash and were exempted from the payment of revenue. On Hakim Masihul Zaman Khan possessed jagirs in the parganas of Akbarabad and Alwar worth six lakhs eighty two thousand Dam, and had to pay nothing, as no government work had been entrusted to him.

Only in Pargana Koil (present Aligarh) 893 bighas of land had been given as madad-i-mash, or subsistence allowance, to widows and orphans, theologians, Kazis and Muftis by Muhammad Shah. Thus more and more area of the Empire passed into the hands of the jagirdars till in the first decade of the second half of the 18th century, the government lost control over lands in the provinces of Delhi and Agra. According to Shah Wali-Ullah the main cause of the bankruptcy was the alienation of the Crown lands.

These jagirs were secured by the mansabdars on the payment of money in the form of bribes to the Bakshis and the clerks of the revenue department. These underlings openly demanded money before giving a letter of appointment, and according to the prevailing rates, one had to pay hundred rupees if he had obtained a mansab of hundred Zat. The author of Miratul Haqaiq writes: "The position of mansab had been reduced to such a condition that mansab and title have absolutely no value, and the jagir does not come into possession. Disappointed and distressed at this condition the royal servants have confined themselves in their homes. Nearly from one lakh to two lakhs of people are in this condition, and the number of the royal servants is greater." Muhammad Shah was himself responsible for encouraging this system and accepted bribes through his agents from the mansabdars. Kokij and her

2. Miratul Haqaiq. f. 92(a).
partisans had accumulated vast sums of money by this practice and Muhammad Shah shared in the ill-gotten wealth.

Political disorders and the decay of the central government had contributed to the loss of jagirs in the Imperial dominions. The big jagirdars like governors and ministers had lost hold on their jagirs in Malwa and Gujrat, Oudh and Haiderabad, Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad, where Marathas and independent governors and local chiefs of the Rohillas and the Bangash had established their rule by destroying the power of the central government. Even in the province of Agra, Delhi and the Punjab, where Jats, Mewatis and the Sikhs were at large, the ministers and the nobles had no authority over their fiefs and got no revenues from them. According to Khafi Khan one are two in a hundred of the wretched assignees could get a morsel of bread from their assignments. The rest were starving and lead a wretched life. It was only the governor who could in fact keep hold over his jagirs in the province by invading and destroying the local chiefs and zamindars. The small jagirdars who had entrusted the work of revenue collection to the Faujdars gradually lost grip over the land and finally all contact with the farmers. They were harassed by three classes; the invaders and the rebels, the governors and the local officers. The heavy hand of the rebellious adventurer first descended on the small jagirs, and the governors had no fear of being checked or challenged by them whereas the local officers like Faujdars were in better position to become defacto possessors of the land. Muhammad Khan Bangash, Haider Quli Khan, Hamid Ali Khan, and Mubaris Khan are the few examples of such usurpers who deprived the helpless persons of their jagirs. Besides
these governors, rebels like Dost Muhammad Khan Rohilla in Malwa, Chattarsal Bundela and Ali Muhammad Khan in Rohilkhand had brought large area under their possession. The Nizam wrote to Muhammad Shah, "The fact is this that the Faujdars make ample gains for themselves in the jagirs of persons having small ranks and position, and nothing is received by them; they, therefore, request to grant them executive authority so that they might be free from the oppression of the Faujdars." This was a period when defacto possession meant everything as mere right in the land had no value. The small jagirdars had neither the personal strength nor the support of the local officers in collecting revenues from their jagirs. Shah Waliullah in his letter to Ahmad Shah had pointed out this evil in these words."

"The Grant of jagir should be reserved only to being nobles, small mansabdars should get their pay in cash, as was the rule in the reign of Shah Jahan. For the small mansabdars cannot obtain authority over the jagirs and resort to farming them out to others. As a result they are always poor and unable to devote themselves in the work of the government." In another letter he describes the economic condition of the country. "Things have come to such a pass that the jagirdars have lost authority over the jagirs; no one understands that its reason is indolence. When the royal coffers became empty, money in cash is also exhausted. At last all employees are

1. Munshat-i-Mosvi Khan f. 66(a).
2. Letters of Shah Wali-Uallah.
scattered and take the bowl of beggary..... The people are affected with all sorts of oppression and unemployment. Besides their poverty and distress they became homeless; despair and frustration have seized them.....(This is not all). Incessant famines stalked the country. Finally, the condition of Muslim community is pitiable." Besides the assignees and the farmers there was a large number of local revenue collectors like Chaudharis and Muqqdamms who acted as intermediaries between the government and the peasantry. With the weakening of the central government and the loss of the assignee's hold over the land, these people found opportunities to appropriate revenues and evade payment to the government. As the peasantry had direct contact with them, they gained influence and power in the villages by expelling the officers of lower rank. Gradually they secured de facto possession of the villages, transformed them into dependencies, and established their absolute ownership.

Trade and Industries.

The Mughul government organised the manufacture of all the commodities which were required for general use in the court and the harem. The Emperor bestowed on the mansabdars and nobles robes of honours on occasions of festivals, birthdays, new year's day, weddings over the chiefs, governors and the vanquished rebels who attended his court. The government had its own Karkhanas or factories where articles were

1. Letters of Shah Waliullah.
manufactured under the direct control of the superintendent who provided raw material to the labourers, paid their wages and kept the finished articles in stores. Berneir thus gives an eye-witness account of these factories. "Large halls are seen in many palaces, called Karkhanas, or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiders are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see gold smiths, in a third painters, in a fourth varnishers in lacquer work, in a fifth joiners, turners, tailors, shoe makers; in a sixth manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslims of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females.....beautifully embroidered with needle work. The artisans repair every morning to their respective workshops where they remained employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes." Agra, Lahore, Multan, Satgaon, Patna, Ahmedabad and Burhanpur, were the important places where state factories manufactured masterpieces of workmanship under the supervision of the provincial governors who were to send them to the court, besides their own presents and local artisans were patronised lavishly by them.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah 36 such factories existed. The amount of turnout diminished after their pillage by Nadir Shah, and they were completely robbed of their contents by Ahmad Shah. Some of the workshops were known after the articles manufactured there - Khilat Khanah, Toshak Khanah,

(Ward robes) Zin Khanah, Bister Khanah, and Pesh Khanah
(Bedding and advance tents for the Emperor's journey),
Zargar Khanah (Gold smith workshop) Khushbu Khanah (Perfumery).
Zardoz Khanah (Gold and embroidery).

The needs of the government thoroughly satisfied by the state-owned workshops, the robes and other persons of means were naturally dependent on the open market. As their number was considerably large, their riches overflowing, and their requirements ever-increasing, industries flourished and trade was brisk. Delhi was the chief centre where all articles of luxury and fashion were sold. The shops in Chandni Chawk were big and magnificent, where jewellery, pots, arms muqqas costing as high as one thousand rupees, articles of fashions, and cloth were available in abundance.

The Army.

Character and composition.

"The army of the Mughul Empire consisted mostly of a number of contingents recruited, commanded and paid by the nobles or chieftains whom the Emperor authorised to raise and maintain the number of troops assigned to each and who were paid in the lup for their men." Such chiefs were themselves recruited in graded service called mansab which ranged from the command of 20 (mir Dah) to nine thousand in the later period, all aggregating to a number of 27 grades.

They got their pay in cash or in jagir. As the system of assignment had become unpopular, the commanders liked cash salaries and in advance when one of them was ordered to lead a campaign against the rebels or the Marathas. Such advances were regarded as gifts and never repaid by the recipients. The Mir Baksh was the chief officer who inspected the horses, branded them, and identified the rider by the descriptive roll prepared at the time of appointment.

In the reign of Muhammad Shah the high officers held the following ranks.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>9 thousand</td>
<td>Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 thousand</td>
<td>Muhammad Amin Khan</td>
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<td>Samsam-ud-Daulah. 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Qamruddin Khan</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 thousand</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>5 thousand</td>
<td>49</td>
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All of them got cash salaries. But the number of mansabgars who had received jagirs was very large, and the appointments of some of them dated back from the times of Alamgir.

In addition to these contingents kept by the mansabgars, the Emperor had his own personal guards, recruited directly by him. They were well-equipped and well-paid, ever in attendance on their master. They were sent out on rare occasions, when mansabgars were either absent or could not procure the desired

number to meet any emergency. Such an occasion had arisen when Baji Rao invaded Delhi, and all big ministers were far away from the capital. Muhammad Shah had a personal guard of 27,505 horsemen. There were feudatory Princes of Jaipur, Jodhpur and other petty Rajput states who furnished the fixed quota of contingent whenever needed by the government. Thus the cavalry strength of the Mughul army was consisted of the three divisions, the mansabdars' forces, the Emperor's personal guard or Ahdis, and the Princes' troops.

The infantry wing of the Mughul army was a miscellaneous crowd including musketeers, swordsmen, wrestlers, and other non-combatants, and hence held a very inferior position. "In short, the infantry were mere rabble of half-armed men than anything else, being chiefly levies brought into the field by petty zamindars, or men belonging to the jungle tribes." They were recruited from among the inhabitants of the western districts of the U.P., Bundelkhand, Afghan settlements in Farrukhabad and Shahjahanpur, Mewat, Oudh, Rajputana and the Punjab. They received very small pay and a multitude of people assembled at the time of recruitment but only to give way at the first charge in the battle.

The artillery in the later period had become the most trusted and favoured corps in the army. In the reign of Muhammad Shah several battles had been won by the imperial

1. Shakir
2. Irvine. p. 162.
forces with the help of the heavy artillery. Haider Quli Khan had forced Girdhar Bahadur to sue for peace when one wall of the Allahabad fort was battered and in the battle of Hasanpur he, now in the capacity of Mir Atash, had put the forces of Abdullah Khan to fight and compelled him to surrender. Raja Jai Singh succeeded in defeating Churaman Jat at Thun with the help of the artillery sent from the capital, and Nizamul Mulk escaped complete annihilation at Bhopal for Baji Rao had no artillery to storm his camp. The artillery was divided into two sections, the heavy artillery and the artillery of the stirrup or the light artillery. The heavy guns were large and cumbersome to be loaded and moved from one place to the other. There were guns of 17 feet length, and the shot they threw ranged from 60 to 100 lbs. They were sometimes dragged by elephants and from five hundred to one thousand or more bullocks. The Mughuls were fond of giving these guns pompous names, like Ghazi Khan (Lord Champion), Sher Dhan, (Tiger-mouth), Dhumdham (The noisy), Kishwar Kusha, Jahan Kusha (World conqueror) and so forth. The light artillery consisted of swivel guns and field pieces mounted on wheeled carriages. Some of the names of these guns were Gajnal, Hatnal, Shutarnal, Zamburak, Shahin, Ramkalah etc. Mir Atash was the head of the artillery and was assisted by a Mushrif or executive officer. He was to guard the person of the Emperor, the palace gates and walls as well. All bills and demands relating to his department were put by him before the Emperor, but he was not incharge of manufacture work or stores which were under the control of the Darogha of Top Khana.

The Mughul Emperors regarded the technique of the foreigners
to be superior, and were keen to secure their employment in this branch of the army. Irvine is of the opinion that Muhammad Shah probably had Portuguse and other Europeans in his service.

Another section of the army was formed by the elephants who served as beasts of burden as well means of display. They carried to the field equipage of the army and baggage of the soldiers, the Emperor and the amirs sat on them in an armoured-flated, conspied seat, called 'Hauda' or 'Imari'. They were sometimes used to batter the walls of the fortresses. But in the later period they had proved harmful in the battlefield and in Karnal they could not stand before the swifty moving cavalry of Nadir Shah.

Salaries and Discipline.

The mansabdras received their salaries either in cash or jagir, but they paid their soldiers in cash. The government had no contact or dealings with the soldiers of the mansabdras, except at the time of muster or in the field of battle where the commander was called to fight with his contingent. During the reign of Muhammad Shah the pay of horsemen was Rs 50/- per month; and that of the foot soldier not more than Rs 20/-. But the salaries due from the imperial treasury to the mansabdras and that from the mansabdras to the private soldiers were always in arrears. Irvine says that they had been in arrears even when the government was stable financially and politically, for "to owe money to somebody seems in that country the normal

1. Hercharan Das. p.66.
condition of mankind." Besides this habit of the Muslim commanders, their economic condition had become extremely bad owing to the loss of jagirs and lavish expenditure on private luxuries in the later period. The Imperial treasury had also become impoverished on account of the loss of provinces and the increasing expenditure of the court and the harem. As a result neither the government could pay the salaries regularly to the mansabdars nor were the mansabdars, who had received jagirs, in a position to clear the dues of their soldiers.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah, both the mansabdars and their soldiers always made complaints to the government for the payment of their dues. Several examples of such cases have been cited elsewhere when Muhammad Khan Bangash, and Nasir Khan wrote letters after letters to the Emperor for the money to pay off the salaries of soldiers under their command. The soldiers of Mubariz Khan broke into mutiny and abused him in his presence and finally deserted him. The army raised and organised by Asad Yar Khan at the orders of Muhammad Shah after the departure of Nadir Shah was dismissed for the Emperor could not pay the dues to the soldiers, and poor Asad Yar Khan had to appease the furious soldiers after selling his valuable belongings. On the death of Amir Khan, 25th December, 1746, his soldiers, surrounded his house and prevented his burial, till after four days, when the corpse began to rot, Safdar Jung took the responsibility of payment, and thus satisfied, the soldiers allowed the body to be taken to the grave. When the soldiers found that their salaries were not paid even for years, they abandoned the profession, sold the horse either to the merchant or the butcher, and joined the
ranks of the unemployed persons. On the day of general recruitment they mortgaged the ornaments of their wives, bought a horse and got enrolled in the army, but after receiving the salary of two or three months in advance, they left the army, sold the horse and secured the ornaments by paying the money to the banker and again sat in their houses.

The non-payment of arrears had not only effected the discipline of the soldiery but destroyed all interest in the profession itself. Large number of soldiers suffering from want of money had given up service of the mansabdars and joined the standards of the powerful chiefs like Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla, Muhammad Khan Bangash, Safdar Jung, Nizamul Mulk, and other provincial governors who were honest and regular in paying the salaries of their troops. Those who could not get employment became highway robbers and thieves while modest ones either took up a new profession or starved. The non-payment of arrears was also responsible for the decline in the morale of the army. During Mir Jumla's stay at Patna the Mughul soldiers became so unruly that in utter disregard of civil law they laid hands on properties of the people. It was common thing to trample the growing crops under the feet of the horse, plunder the foodstuffs and other belongings of the villagers, when the army was on the march, for the commander could not always satisfy their demands because of want of provision as well as money.

There was no regimental organisation nor rules and regulations of discipline and drill. The traces of order, discipline and science are so faint as to be scarcely discernible except in the outward appearance of the men, the management
of their horses, and their dexterity in the use of the spear and sabre, which individually gives a martial air." The only opportunity of learning the manoeuvres and tactics of combined movements the soldiers got was when they were ordered to go out for hunting in the company of the Emperor or the mansabdar. While on march they looked like rabble, observing no rules of movements and discipline; some would go forward, others lag behind, and suffer all kinds of privations. Such a march provided them a good opportunity for desertion. Thousands of soldiers had left the army of Abdullah Khan when he was marching from Delhi to Hasanpur to fight against Muhammad Shah. In the field of battle they could not keep order and on the first charge they gave way. If the commander was killed or disappeared, the whole army would make a quick flight. As they were directly recruited and paid by the mansabdars, they knew no higher loyalty than to their own immediate commanders. If a chief deserted the royal army in the thick of fighting his whole force would follow him and the tables were thus turned in favour of the enemy. Jahandar Shah's defeat was partially due to the desertion of Muhammad Amin Khan and Nizamul Mulk who joined the army of Farrukh-Siyar. There was no unity or cooperation among various commanders who fought on the side of the Emperor as they strove to discredit each other for personal gains. This fact has been fully illustrated in the battle of Karnal. "In short, excepting want of personal courage, every other fault in the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Mughuls; indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, had commissariate, and cumbersome equipment." (Irvine - p-300.).
Weapons and Methods of War.

The early Mughul Emperors had won brilliant military victories over the Indian Princes by the use of artillery and heavy cavalry clad in armour coupled with superb generalship and strategy. "Their tactics were to shoot arrows or dart javelines from horse back, throw their stationary opponents into confusion by their movements and attacks from unexpected quarters, - then extend their own evenings of fast cavalry, envelop the enemy and reach his rear, when in Gibbon's picturesque phrase, "the two horns of the crescent closed together", and the enemy was hopelessly routed." The strength of cavalry was rendered more formidable by the blasting power of the heavy artillery which delivered such a rapid and tremendous offensive that no breathing space for recovery or recuperation was afforded to the enemy. Both these instruments of war proved useful in a pitched battle fought by the two parties wishing for full trial of strength and decisive result. But in encounters fought in the hilly region surrounded by forests and rivers, where heavy cavalry and artillery could not move fast, the weaker party always sought to escape by some tactical process and find out new shelter from where it could harass retreating army of the strong enemy. The artillery was local in action, and ponderous in its movements; it was further rendered stationary by the huge tail of camp which looked like a city with its markets, streets, tents, stores, baggage, all kinds of people, men and women, old and young, combatants and non-combatants, elephants, cattle and beasts of burden.

The cavalry of the Mughuls also suffered from the same
defects of immobility, cumbersomeness and inactivity. The evil of false muster was aggravated during the reign of Mushhammad Shah, when soldiers appeared on hired horses or hastily-purchased ponies, and were enrolled as true soldiers by the corrupt Bakshis. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needly idlers from the bazars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that come to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers. A soldier was more interested in the safety of his horse than in the success or defeat of his commander. If the horse was killed, he was unable to purchase a new one after the termination of war when he would be dismissed from service. Neither his service was secure nor was there any hope of reward after the success of his master. With the rise of prices of food and fodder, and the non-payment of salaries by the mansabdars or the government, it was rather difficult for a soldier to keep a horse and keep him healthy when he could not feed up his family. Throughout the year the soldier lived on the mercy of the banker who used to lend money to him on interest with the hope to be repaid at the time of some war when he was called for muster. It was the custom that Emperor, in the capacity of commander-in-chief, took the field not in person, and as rules of only loyalty but military discipline demanded, the commanders were to follow his orders and act on lines suggested by him. But the authority of Muhammad Shah had reached such a low ebb that in the battle of Karna, Saadat Khan went for fighting against his orders, and Nizamul Mulk did march to support him even ordered several times by the Emperor. Dr Sen thus describe the army in action against the Marathas. "The Mughul forces are huge in numbers, standing firm only in open ground. The Marathas on the other hand suddenly
erupt at one place today and tomorrow elsewhere some fifty miles away. Then they come round again and execute unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight, plunder and fly away. They fall upon foraging parties, attack weekly, held Mughul posts, capture strategic points and thus inspire confidence among their followers.... They seemed to be ubiquitous and elusive like the wind. Then the Mughul forces had gone back, the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attack as before.

The Mughuls still relied on the heavy armour-clad cavalry, and artillery accompanied by thousands of soldiers and heavy baggage. No change was thought out and improved system introduced even after so many failures at the hands of the Marathas.

At the turn of the 18th century musketry had made a rapid progress and gained a prominent place in the method of warfare. Swift rushing cavalry of matchlock men was superior to the army equipped with sword and spear. The secret of Nadir Shah's success lay in the strength of his swift cavalry armed with guns, which put the Indian soldiers to flight in a short time. The Mughul soldiers brave and gallant, believed in the general fighting on foot with swords, sepsars and arrows, while foreigners brought with them superior fire-arms like well-developed guns and pistols, though they were not unknown in India, but frequently used by the infantry which was held inferior to the cavalry and artiller.
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Demoralisation, indiscipline, rivalries among the commanders, heavy equipage of the army, huge cumbersome camp, slow-moving cavalry, and heavy artillery were the main defects of the Mughul army, rendering it totally inefficient and hopelessly useless to stem the tide of the Marathas and the invasions of the foreigners.