In modern times, town administration is the responsibility of the district authorities, municipalities and corporations as the case may be, and the authorities provide facilities and civic amenities to the public.

In medieval times the idea of a corporation or municipality was unknown, but the functions which these organisations perform in these days were performed by such persons or bodies as the circumstances and the resources and the requirements of a town demanded. The medieval Indian towns made progress in the direction of a clean and efficient administration, which differed in its structure and effectiveness from town to town. The dignity and greatness of a city rested on justice, peace and plenty. 'For justice assureth every man his own peace, causeth tillage, trade and arts to flourish.' The efficiency and effectiveness of the administration depended primarily on the integrity of the public officers and their regard for the welfare of the people as well as the co-operation and good will of the public.

SECTION - I : JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Emperor as the 'shadow of God' and 'fountain of Justice' was the highest judicial authority in the country. The Mughul emperors considered imparting of Justice as their foremost and sacred duty and took particular delight and interest in doing so. The king being the chief judge was the legislator and defender of the laws as well as the dispenser of justice, and tried civil and criminal cases in original and heard appeals made to him. All the kings from Akbar to Aurangzeb dispensed justice and took/kocn personal keen interest in the judicial administration. Nothing like modern legislation was prevalent in the seventeenth century save a few ordinances issued by different kings from time to time and later on amended by Aurangzeb in the light of Islamic law. The observations made by Bernier regarding it are contradictory. At one place, he says, "...no great lords, parliaments, or judges of local courts exist as in France to restrain the wickedness of those merciless

1. Ain, Vol. II, p. 41. According to Abul Fazl the king, either personally or through the officers appointed for this purpose, should impart justice to people. See also Peter Lundy, Vol. II, p. 200, and Bernier, p. 203.
3. Wheeler, p. 8. In the context of justice of Mughul kings he says, "The Mughul Padishahs of Hindustan spent half their time in public...They received petitions and administered justice in public...."
4. Jahangir regarded "the daily administration of justice in public as one of his most sacred duties", Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 182, and 'justice was the main stay of Shahjahan's government (Ritqo fitqo mulk o mali munhasir bar fehem o insaf"st) wa. 370, I.O.L. and according to Aurangzeb the 'garden of administration was watered by the rain of justice', (Gulistane Saltant ba Sahabe Adl) References taken from, Ahmad, Justice in Medieval India, p. 67.
Diwan, the Bakhshi, the Kotwal the Kazi and other officers sit together daily or four days in the week. Here all disputes are disposed off..."1.

The king on the recommendation of the chief Qazi appointed competent judicial officers in various parts of the empire. These judicial officers were men of high scholarship and integrity. The Qazis were held in respect by the people and enjoyed considerable freedom of action. Manucci says, "Never had it been heard of in Hindustan that anyone had ventured to put forth a hand upon the sacred person of a Qazi."2 The Qazis of different towns had original civil and criminal jurisdiction and also acted as courts of appeal according to their rank.3

From the Qazi of the town appeals lay before the Qazi of the province or the Subedar and ultimately with the king of the aggrieved party so desired. "If any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case appealed to the governor or diwan or to the Qazi of the Suba, the matter was reviewed and judgement awarded with great care and discrimination lest it should be mentioned in the presence of the king that justice had not been done...."4

The kings were accessible to all the people.

1. Pelsaert, p. 57.
Complaints made against the high-handedness of government officers were attended to and punishment meted out in a fair and evenhanded manner. Instances are not lacking where the accused officer was sentenced to imprisonment or otherwise censured or punished.

Akbar encouraged, "just complaints against the servants of the crown by various proclamations." Jahangir says in his *Tuzuk*, "After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the chain of justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention." There are innumerable references in the records of foreign travellers to the use of the chain of justice to draw the attention of the king to wrongs done or miscarriage of justice.

Shah Jahan fixed Wednesday for the administration of justice, and appointed confidential persons to invite plaintiffs to his court. Hanrique who visited the country in Shah Jahan's time mentions the paying of compensation by a police officer to a person who was wrongfully arrested. Similar facilities were available to commoners of Aurangzeb's court, who made their representation to him without fear.

1. Ahmad, p. 89. Also
3. Ahmad, pp. 88 and 184. A woman complained of Kotwal, who was punished by Jahangir. In the case of Muhammad Khan Jahangir made personal inquiry.
The author of *Mirat-i-Alam* speaking in the context of Aurangzeb's attitude towards the dispensing of justice says, "He appears two or three times every day in his court of audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without any hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality." Edward Carlyon, who visited Agra at the close of Aurangzeb's reign, says of the King's court as a place, "where all men, even the poorest may demand admittance, and seek redress at his hands". The judicial department specially in the towns decided the cases speedily.

While in the provinces or distant places facilities may not have been available for appeals, in the more important towns and particularly the capital, fear of the king exercised a salutary effect on the high-handedness of government officials or men of status. "This sad abuse (injustice) of the royal authority may not be felt in the same degree near capital cities such as Dehly and Agra or in the vicinity of large towns and sea ports because in those places acts of gross injustice cannot easily be concealed

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   i) Aurangzeb transferred a faujdar on the complaint of a woman.
   ii) Similarly in contempt of court cases the maximum penalty was allowed to be given against government official. (Ahmad, p.68). One Aurangzeb reprimanded a subordinate Qazi and dismissed him from his office for showing partiality in one of his decisions.


3. Bernier, p. 236. He thinks that the suits were speedily decided"
from the court. 1 Witt 'in every big town, reported to the king all that transpired in the provinces. Shahjahan "upheld the maxim of his father that true justice must be enforced rewarding the meritorious and punishing the guilty. He kept his eye on his officials, punishing them rigorously when they fell short in their duty". 3

SECTION - II: KOTWAL AND THE TOWN ADMINISTRATION

The Kotwal was the chief officer responsible for town administration. He was in fact the pivot around whom all the multifarious activities of the town revolved. The contemporary sources both indigenous and foreign furnish ample information regarding the powers and functions of the Kotwal.

The Kotwal was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, for apprehending criminals and executing the decisions of the lower courts. Besides this he performed many of the functions which in modern times are performed by municipal officers. How important this office was, is evident from the qualifications prescribed in the Ain for the recipient of such an office. According to Abul Fazl the, "appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane." ¹

The Kotwals were directly appointed by the king or by some high official ². He had a large staff of his own, consisting of a deputy ³, a number of horsemen, infantry and sentries. Manucci says, "Under his (Kotwal) orders there is a considerable body of cavalry and a great number of foot soldiers...." ⁴. The place where the office of the police

3. M.A., p.245. According to it, Muhammad Amin was the deputy to Sarbarah Khan kotwal of Dihli.
4. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 421. See also Mirat, p.153. It says Kotwal was entitled to have 50 horsemen, besides utilising 100 men of the governor of the province.
chief was located was called the 'chabutra kotwali', besides there were other chowkis in the town. These 'chabutras' also served the purpose of keeping in confinement the criminals who were brought in.

The most important duty of the Kotwal was to prevent crimes, such as thefts and to recover stolen property. Manucci says, "He (Kotwal) has the duty of arresting thieves and criminals....if any one is robbed within the bounds of his jurisdiction, he is forced to make good what has been taken."

The kotwal was also responsible for maintaining peace and law and order, by arresting the disturbing elements. After the war of succession when Dara was paraded in the city, disturbances occurred, which were immediately attended to by the kotwal who, after investigations, arrested those responsible for the disturbances. In fact the kotwal was the link between the ruler and the ruled and carried out the various orders of the government which were issued from time to time.


3. Manucci, Vol. II, p.421. See also Thévenot, p.28. According to him kotwal had to answer for all the robberies committed in the town. See also Fryer, Vol. I, p.246. It was the responsibility of the kotwal to discover the house breakers. See also Tuzuk, Vol. I, p.432.

4. Khərī Khan, Elliot Vol.7, p.246. See also M.A. pp.94, 95. According to it all mischief mongers were handed over to the Kotwal.

Each town was divided into several wards, which were supervised by one of the subordinate officials. The record of the inhabitants was kept with the kotwal. "The kotwal", says Abul Fazal, "should keep a register of houses and frequented roads. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it and of whatever events therein occur." A record was kept of the strangers coming to the city. Spies were employed to keep the kotwal informed of important incidents. Says the kotwal, "Abul Fazal, he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the others should have no acquaintance and keeping their reports in writing employ a heedful scrutiny." Abul Fazal further says, "He (Kotwal) was directed to establish a separate sarai and cause unknown arrivals to alight therein, and by the aid of divers detectives take account of them." Abul Fazal further says, "He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration." According to Manucci the kotwal engaged sweepers, who served as spies.

4. Ibid, II, p. 44.
5. Ibid, II, p. 44.
According to Abul Fazal, through his (kotwal's) watchfulness and night patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and evil disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. Every mohalla of the town was patrolled by police-men, and a check was kept on those coming in and going out of the town at night. Manucci says, "In every ward there is a horse-man and twenty to thirty foot soldiers who in a sort of way go the rounds." Similarly Bernier says, "the cotoual or grand provost, sends soldiers in every direction, who especially pervade the bazars, crying out and sounding a trumpet." Sentries were appointed to guard their allotted areas day and night. Thevenot gives an interesting account of the measures taken for security at night, "The cotoual is obliged to go about the street in the night time, to prevent disorders, and set guards in several places. If he finds any man abroad in the streets, he commits him to prison...Two of the officers that wait on him, about nine of the clock beat two little drums, whilst a third sounds two or three times a long copper-trumpet....Then the officers or sergents cry as loud as they can, 'caberdar', that is to say, take heed; and they who are in the neighbouring streets, answer with

2. Ibid, p. 44.
5. 'Guzer-banen' in the text (Supp. p. 178). 'Macebearers' in the translation is a misrendering.
another cry....This round is performed thrice a night, to
wit, at nine of the clock, midnight, and three in the
morning. 1

The towns were always garrisoned by a considerable
force for security purposes. According to John Fryer in
Surat 1,500 infantry and 200 horses were stationed for
security purposes. 2 Mandelslo speaking about Ahmadabad
says, "A guard was kept in the city day and night and it
had a considerable garrison." 3 The governor and the kotwal
were responsible for such securities. According to
English Factors, the Governor, the Captain of the castle
and kotwal of Surat were cashiered by Emperor Aurangzeb,
after Shivaji's attack. 4

Foreign travellers have mentioned in detail the
preparations made by the authorities of the towns of
Ahmadabad and Surat against the attack of Shivaji. The
cooperation of the public was also sought, and money was
realized from them. John Fryer says, "They are collecting
an hundred thousand rupees till their wall be finished...
besides Europe/gunners at every gage, which are six in

1. Thévenot, p. 27. See also Fryer, Vol. I, p. 247, who
says, "It is the catwals business with a guard of near
two hundred men to scour the streets and brothels
of idle companions; to take an account of all people
late out, to discover fires and house breaking...all
night long he is heard by his drums and trumpets shouting
and hallowing of his cre.: in their perambulation through
all parts of the city; with lights and flambeurs...". See also Mirat, p. 8 and Janrique, Vol. II, p. 188.

number, besides 36 bastions with half a dozen great guns a piece; upon the top they have piled spiked timber to annoy the scalers. Every gate is barbed with iron spikes to break the rushing in of the elephants; these also are under a district command.\(^1\) Compensation was sometimes paid to those who suffered at the hands of robbers or decoits.\(^2\)

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1. Fryer, Vol. I, p. 249. See also Abbe Carre, p. 148 and Finch, p. 27. Similar types of arrangements were made in the year 1609 in Surat against Bahadur. See De Lecet, p. 20 who says about Ahmadabad, "The gates of this city are strictly guarded and no one can come in or go out without the governor's permission". See also Finch, p. 63. All these precautions were taken against the attack of the neighbouring chiefs.

2. Manucci, Vol. III, p. 403. The Surat merchants were given compensation in lieu of their plundered goods by the European pirates. See also Manucci, Vol. I, p. 204. According to him compensation was given to the Dutch, whose factories were robbed in Surat. See also E.F.R. Vol. XI, pp. 310 & 311.
Control of market was an important part of town administration, as it vitally affected the interests of the public and the government. Various officers were appointed for the proper functioning, supervision and control of various markets.\(^1\) An important measure to control the market was that all purchases and sales of commodities were to be made in the markets within the town specified for the purpose. Nizamuddin speaking about Dihli says, "An extensive building was erected near the Badaun gate; and was named the mansion of justice, and the Sultan ordered that all piece-goods brought from the different parts of the empire should be deposited in it and should be sold there"\(^2\). This was a necessary precaution to prevent hoarding and regrating and elaborate regulations had been used in this connection in the time of Alauddin Khalji. Abul Fazal declares it to be the duty of Kotwal not to allow purchases to be made outside the city.\(^3\) Officers were

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1. M.A. pp. 52 & 101. It says that the Daroghas were appointed for the Jewellery market in Dihli. See also Wirt, p. 157. It mentions the appointments of the officers to the markets of Jewels, ivory and wood work. Similarly officers were appointed for the 'Pan' market, who worked under the kotwal.

2. T.A. Vol. I, p. 176. See also E.F.R. Vol. II, p. 183. According to it the merchants were forbidden to deliver goods at the residences but the factors were forced to purchase in the bazar.

3. Ain, Vol. II, p. 44.
The government forbade by law the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks and other intoxicants for common consumption. The laws relating to the sale of intoxicants and of checking the social evils resulting from this came under the purview of the town officers. Akbar and Jahangir forbade the preparation and selling of wine, rice spirit or any kind of intoxicating drug, and the same policy was followed by Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. A few wine shops were licensed, and prices were fixed for the wine sold for medicinal purposes. Ain says, "His Majesty established a wine shop near the palace....The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick person could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop."  

The Kotwal and the Muhtasibs were responsible for maintaining and executing the state laws on intoxicants. The kotwal was required to, "restrain the people from the making, the dispensing, the buying or selling of wine..."  

Manucci corroborates the account of Ain and says, "...No vendors were to be found, for whenever the kotwal suspected that spirits were made in any house he sent his soldiers

1. Ain, Vol. II, p. 44.
2. Tuzuk, Vol. I, pp. 8157. Jahangir says, "I gave an order that as bang and buza (rice spirit) should not be sold in the bazars".
3. Bernier, p. 252. According to him the wine even in Dihli was not open for sell. See also Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 5 & 6.
to plunder everything in it." It was also the duty of the Muhtasib to check and control the use of intoxicant.

Custom levies and other local taxes from the various sections of the populace were realised by administration, such as the tolls from the markets, on the goods entering the city and from public women. Amins, mushrifs, karors, tahvildars, daroghas and mutesaddis are mentioned as the officers responsible for the execution of regulations in this connection. It may be pointed out that the number of officers differed from town to town according to the nature and importance of the town. That certain amount of illegal gratifications for the officers concerned was not uncommon is borne out by Mandelslo's remark that, "It was usual to pay the kotwal fifteen pence per waggon by way of a present."

The custom posts called, 'Chowkis' were generally situated near the city gates for the convenience of realising the taxes. John Fryer referring to Surat says, "...at every gate stands 'choky' or watch to receive Toll for the emperor."

There used to be a large number of the custom stations located within and outside the town. For assisting the custom officials in the 'Chowkis' peons were posted at

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2. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 7. See also Mirat, p. 149. According to it 'he executed the commandments and prohibitions of the law'.
4. Mandelslo, p. 28.
6. Mirat, p. 155. In the light of the records of Mirat in Ahmadabad, there were a large number of custom stations and few of them were exclusively meant for realising 'dues from the cloth markets.'
various stations. The custom dues, were sometimes realised outside the town. In the case of Agra, according to Pelsaert, the duties were realised at its suburb Sikandra, before the goods entered the city and were shipped across the river.

The Mutassadi could detain the goods in default of payment of taxes, in the warehouses built for this purpose, and his agents were appointed for issuing the clearance certificate, and preparing the papers for the charges to be realised on various goods. It was also the duty of this department to register the names of the merchants who went to foreign countries for bringing different commodities and also registering them for remitting a percentage of duties on imports.

This department also controlled ferries. Towns like Allahabad, Benaras and other small towns like Hurshidabad, Rajmahal, Hugli, situated on the banks of rivers, had their regular offices and staff to operate this department efficiently. Tavernier speaking about the arrangements on the Ganges river at Allahabad says, 'On each side there is a Darogha, who allows no one to pass without an order; and he takes note also of the kind of merchandise carried, each waggon being

3. Pelsaert, p. 45.
for clearance. The office remained open from 10 a.m. to 2 P.M.\(^1\) The Shahbandar was responsible for realising the custom duties and for suppressing smuggling. He also deputed various guards, or sentries, to important points for keeping a strict watch over the port.\(^2\) The accounts of different foreign travellers who visited the ports, lead us to infer that this department was functioning efficiently. The first duty of the Captain of the newly arrived vessel was to report to the custom officials and get the vessel registered.\(^3\) In case the office was closed then they had to wait till the opening of the office next day, but in the meantime, the custom officials deputed guards and sentries to watch the movements of the passengers.\(^4\) On the opening of the office, goods and passengers were brought from the vessels in the boats and on the back of the porters of the custom department\(^5\), to custom offices, where they were searched thoroughly, while the guards were strengthened.\(^6\) The searches were made in the custom hall in the presence of the chief officer, and the names of the passengers were registered with the clerk of the department.\(^7\)

\(^1\) Thevenot, p. 2. See also Finch, p. 28.

\(^2\) Fryer, Vol. I, p. 247 and also see Thevenot, p. 3.

\(^3\) Thevenot, p. 2

\(^4\) Ibid, p. 2.

\(^5\) Ibid, p. 2.

\(^6\) Ibid, p. 2.

\(^7\) Ibid, p. 3.
Thevenot gives a vivid account of how thoroughly the searches were made. He says, "The passengers enter into that place one after another, and but one at a time. Presently they write down in a register the name of him that enters, and then he is searched. He must take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes, stocking and all the rest of his cloathes, if the searchers think fit. They feel his body all over; and handle every the least inch of stuff about him with all exactness if they perceive anything hard...."¹ After the personal searches the baggage and other merchandise were detained and deposited in the warehouse,² on which custom duty was charged. After this the passengers were allowed to go out by the wicketgate opening on the street where too guards were posted who allowed passage only on the orders of the officers.³ To check and discourage smuggling all possible means were adopted. Thevenot speaking about it says, "These pions of the custom-house have great canes in their hands to keep off the people with that those

¹. Thevenot, p. 3. See also Landelslo, p. 2 and also Edward Carlyon of Ellswether, p. 38, who says, "Coming, then to the Gate of Surat we must needs pass through the custom house where the customers are so strict that they must perforce serach in all my pockets as well as my trunks and mails". See also Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 24.


³. Ibid, p. 3.
Amongst the amenities of town life which the state provided was the supply of water for the needs of the people of a town. The medieval Indian towns were mostly situated on the banks of a river\(^1\) or a lake\(^2\) which were an important source of supply of water for the general use in the towns. Channels, canals, and ditches were dug for carrying the water from the river to the different parts of a city. There is ample evidence as to the state constructing the canals\(^3\) and supply water not only to rural area for agricultural purposes but to meet the needs of the urban population.

Tanks/reservoirs were constructed for the supply of water to the public, by constructing underground channels as in the case of Fatehpur Sikri\(^4\). The tanks were located in the important centres of the city like 'Maiden Shah' (Royal Squares) or such other important places. Thavenot gives an account of such arrangements in Burhanpur, and how the system was working there. Speaking in this context, he says, "...They are supplied from a large square Basin...the water where of comes from a distant spring, and before it fills that Basin, passes

1. Towns like Agra, Dihli, Lahore, Surat, Ahmedabad, Patna, Dacca, Allahabad & Benaras were all situated on the banks of the river.
2. Ajmer had two lakes, Ansagar and Bisal lake which supplied the water to the town.
4. Lonserrate, p. 31.
by the caravansera for strangers which it furnishes; it then runs under ground to the great Bason in the place which many times is empty at night, because of the great quantity of water which they fetch thence all day long; but it fills again in the night time; and so they seldom have any want. 1. The use of leaden pipes was not unknown.

An other source of supplying water to a city was by cells, tanks and reservoirs of various types, situated inside and on the outskirts of the city. It was considered a pious act to build tanks, and sink wells etc. for public use. Della Valle, speaking about the construction of the tanks says, "They (tanks) are made in diverse places by princes, governors of countries, or other wealthy persons, for the publick benefit and as works of charity". 4 In Surat the tank, which was built by Gopi merchant, supplied the city with water. Thevenot was deeply impressed by its construction; he remarks it

1. Thevenot, p. 101. See also Nimar Dist Gazetteer, pp. 219 & 220. It says the reservoir was known as Jali Karanj, from where water was distributed to the town by earthen pipes surrounded with masonry.


3. Thevenot, p. 34. About the reservoir at Surat, he says, "The great Reservoir of water hath six angles; the side of every angle is an hundred paces long and the whole at least a musket shot in diameter....Adjoining to it, there was arrangement for taking water by the beasts". See also Fryer, Vol. I, p. 261, who says that the tank of Surat is in the circumference of one mile and from all the sides, there were descending stone steps.

The sweepers used to clean the public roads but private arrangement were made by tenants, 'each house paying them something monthly, according to its size'. The sweepers, called 'Kalalkhors,' were occupied in removing the refuse from houses and made use of asses to carry the sweepings from the houses to the fields. For the general cleanliness of the streets, lanes and market places the kotwal used to organise a team of sweepers who were deputed to different sectors of the town. Henrique was surprised to see the cleanliness of the streets and markets of Lahore. Drains were used for carrying away waste water from the city. These were connected with some adjoining river. In Agra, few drains dating from the time of the Mughuls are still traceable.

In towns, there was no regular service for sprinkling water on the roads but there are references to streets being watered when the king passed through one. Sweepers were allotted separate quarters outside the city, a practice of ancient India. Ain, referring to the Kotwal's duties, says "He should allot separate quarters to butchers, hunters of animals, washers of the

dead and sweepers... The cemeteries were located outside the city. Similarly, the Hindus burnt their dead outside the city. The slaughter houses also were located outside the city.

Public lighting arrangements were inadequate. The palace gate, forts, castles and the gates of the noble's residences and some of the government offices like the Kotwali Chabutra and Chowki's were the only places which were lighted regularly. In addition to these, some of the important centres, i.e. the central place of the city like 'Chowks' Maidan or squares and market places were lighted. William Finch speaking about the Maidan in front of the castle of Surat says, "the Medon, which is a pleasant green, in the midst, where of is a Maypole to hang a light on, and for other pastimes on great festivals". Arrangements for the lighting and illumination of cities on important occasions, like festivals were made. Ain says, "He (Kotwal) shall have lamps lit on the night of the Nauroz and on the night of the 19th of Farwardin".

Abul Fazl says of the public buildings built by Akbar in Agra, "Everywhere also sarais have been built, which are the comfort of travellers and the asylum of

5. Finch, p. 27.
poor strangers. Many tents and walls are being dug for
the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil,
schools and palaces of worship are being founded.\(^1\)
Similarly Nurjehan Begam built sarais, pleasure gardens,
etc. Pelsaert rightly says, "She (Nurjehan) erects
very expensive buildings in all directions sarais or
halting places for travellers and merchants, and
pleasure gardens and palaces such as no one has ever
made before intending thereby to establish an enduring
reputation."\(^2\)

Thevenot speaking about the public buildings in
(Lahore)
Lahore, says, "It is large, and hath been adorned as the
others are with mosques, public baths, quorvansarais,
squares, tanqueis, palaces and gardens".\(^3\) What has been
said about Lahore regarding these public institutions,
is also true of all the important towns of the country
like Multan, Dihli, Agra, Ahmadabad, Baroch, Surat,
Burhanpur, Ajmer, Agra, Allahabad, Benaras, Patna and
so on.

The carvansarai was the most notable public
these
institutions. A large number of caravansarais were
buildings
commodious, many storeyed with all sorts of provisions

2. Pelsaert, p. 50.
3. Thevenot, p. 85.
4. Careri, p. 246. Da Laet, p. 81. See also Fryer,
Vol. I, p. 250, who mentions the Caravansarais of
Surat. See also Hanrique, Vol. II, p. 151. Who on mentions
90 Caravansarai in Agra. Nicholas Downton, pp. 105
and 137 for the Caravansarais of Ahmadabad and
Baroda.
and looked quite magnificent. "For these caravanserasues", says Edward Carlyon, "are many 'em of three storeys high, with fine sets of rooms for travellers, together with good vaults and cellars for their goods and suitable stabling for their beasts, and all the chambers opening on into another with private doors and galleries for the conveniency of those that occupy 'em."¹ For the administration of the caravansarai and for safeguarding and providing comforts to the travellers, keepers were appointed. About the caravansarai of Agra, Edward Carlyon says, "Finding there (in a Caravansarai) in such noble lodging as I had never imagined to myself....to each caravansarai is there a keeper appointed, for the better safe-guarding of the goods there in and the comfort of the travellers, and he in return for the payment of a decent sum of money will provide for you both forage for your beasts and victuals and fireing for yourself and all this with mighty care and respect".² According to William Finch the rooms of the caravansarai at Lahore had locks and keys³ for every room.

1. Edward Carlyon, p. 217. He mentions 80 Caravansarais in Agra. See Thevenot, p. 12. Who speaking about them in Ahmadabad says, "adorned with several lodges and Balcony's...two storeys high, and varnished over like a marble with chambers on all sides, where strangers may lodge..." See also Thevenot, p. 12 for the Caravansarais in Birhanpur.

2. Edward Carlyon, p. 217. See also Terry, p. 33 and Linrique, Vol. II, p. 100 & 101, who also mentions that cots too were provided in them. Peter Mundy Vol.II, pp. 120 & 121. See also Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 69, 110.

3. Finch, p. 57.
Ho charges had to be paid for staying in a Caravansarai. If accommodation was not available in a sarai, people had to make their own arrangements by hiring tents. Vendors went about the saraies selling their goods.

Peter Hundy speaking about the Caravansarai of Patna says, "It hath two fair courts each haveinge warehouses round about beneath and roome with galleries to lodge in alofte." Tavernier, speaking about the Caravansarais of Benaras says, "It has several Caravansarais and among others one very large and well built. In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cottons, silken stuffs and other kinds of merchandise." It seem that in addition to such Caravansarais, some were built and reserved for certain communities like the Christians, the Armenians and the Arabs. Some were exclusively reserved for the use of chiefs, nobles and foreign merchants. In Dihli, such a Caravansarai was built by Jahanara Begum. It was spacious double-storied, building and had all sorts of amenities, and was generally used by travellers from Persia, Uzbekistan and other foreign countries. Manucci, speaking about it says,

1. Terry, p. 33. But see Marshall II 7-8, who, however, also mention charges were nominal.
2. Ibid, p.33.
7. H.N.G. p. 74 with reference to Dihli.
to the town. Edward Carlyon thus refers to the baths of Agra, "where you may be bathed and anointed in the greatest luxury imaginable for a trifling small sum".¹ Some provision for public recreation was also made. Gardens with all sorts of amenities, situated at the outskirts of the city, were generally used by the public.² In addition to these, the gardens which were attached to tombs and temples were also used by the public. The government used to spend huge amount of money on the maintenance of the gardens and their upkeep.³ Mosques, temples even churches were built by different communities and the king nobles and big merchants donated large sums of money for such buildings and their maintenance.

Free medical aid was often available to the inhabitants of a town. Jahangir in one of his orders says, "They should found hospitals in the great cities, and appoint physicians for the healing of the sick, whatever the expenditure might be should be given from the Khalsa establishment".⁴ Similarly Mirat-i-Ahmadi mentions the appointing of physicians and surgeons for Hindus and Muslims separately. They were paid by

¹ Edward Carlyon, pp. 218 & 219.
² Ibid, p. 42. He speaks about Surat. See also Thevenot, p. 18, who speaking about Cambay says, "The outskirts of the town are beautified with a great many fair publick gardens."
³ Mirat, p. 20.
the state. The chief Hakim appointed officers to look after the patients. The government allotted money for medicines and food for the patients.¹

In addition Hindus particularly maintained hospitals for animals, in Ahmadabad², Cambay³ and Surat⁴. For the benefit of the porters who carried heavy loads, on their backs small walls were built in the towns, so that they could lean against them. Jahangir says in this context, "The building of these walls pleased me greatly, and I ordered that in all large towns they should make walls... at the imperial expenses".⁵

Free kitchens (langharkhana) for the use of the poor people were established in towns, and a Darogha or superintendent looked after them. Akbar opened three free kitchens in Agra which were situated outside the town. One was for Hindus called Dharampura, and another named Khairpura for Muslims and a third for the 'Jogia' named Jogipura.⁶ Similarly Jahangir established free kitchens for the poor in large towns. He says in his Memoirs, "On the 1st Bahman corresponding with the 17th Zi-l-qadi, I ordered that in the large cities of my

¹ Mirat, p. 160.
² Thevenot, p. 16. See also Tavernier, Vol.I, p.77.
⁴ Careri, p. 165.
⁵ Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 420. These walls were constructed from 2½ to 3 yards in length on the side of the road for the rest of the collies on the way of their journey.
dominions, like Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Lahore, Delhi, Agara etc., they should arrange bulghur khana (places for the distribution of cooked food) for the poor.

During the time of emergency, like, scarcity and famine, in addition to the regular free kitchens, new kitchens were established and other relief measures were adopted to cope with the situation. In addition to regular bulgharkhanas, money was allotted for the relief of the poor and officers were appointed for its distribution. At the time of festivals and on religious occasions large amounts were distributed amongst the poor.

"In all the cities and towns... pensions, and allowances, and stipends have been fixed for scholars, according to their abilities and qualifications. This distribution of money was assigned to a separate department. According to Sirat, a part of the duties of Sadr-Kacheri-i-Sadarat included the supervising and administering of this department. It consisted of "issuing cheques for the stipends and daily allowances in the city and other towns; passing bills for payment to charitable endowments".

1. Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 263. See also M.A., p. 20. According to it 10 extra kitchens were opened and orders were issued to nobles to practise charity on their own account. Similar arrangements were also made in Lahore. See M.A., p. 105.

2. Bakhtavar Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 150. In Shajahan's reign 79 thousand rupees were distributed through the Sadaq-Sudar amongst the poor, while Aurangzeb made it 1 Lakh and 49 thousand rupees. See also Sirat, p. 110. According to it Aurangzeb sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 1,500 for clothing for the poor and needy and officers were appointed to look after them at Ahmadabad.


The department of public works looked after public buildings\(^1\). Measures were also taken for protecting the town against floods. Akbar in his 28th year of reign constructed a dam to protect the city of Allahabad from the flood of the river Ganges during the rainy season.\(^2\) Similarly in Lahore, to check the flow of Ravi a 'bund' embankment was constructed by Aurangzeb, one and a half league in length\(^3\). In addition to these, the maintenance of the town, the mosques\(^4\), its walls and gates\(^5\) etc., were amongst the duties of this department.

**MEASURES AGAINST ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENT**

In every town steps were taken to enforce public morality. It was supposed to be the duty of town authorities to prevent social evils. Gambling was prohibited for which 'stringent orders' were issued by Jahangir.\(^6\) The authorities took measures to check the practice of Sati. A woman who wanted to burn herself with the dead body of her husband had to take the permission of the Governor, and generally the permission was not given, and in no case was any widow allowed to

\(^1\) Kamar Khan, Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 441.
\(^3\) Manucci, Vol. II, p. 119.
\(^4\) Fīrat, p. 10.
be burnt against her wishes. Rules for marriages, circumcision and sexual morality were framed and strictly enforced and regulated in the interest of the society. The Muhtasib, along with his staff, kept a watch over drinking, prostitution and public morality. The local urban authorities, on festive and religious occasions provided facilities and amenities for their celebrations.
