CHAPTER - VIII

ADMINISTRATION

A. CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Babar and Humayun had neither the leisure nor the disposition to reorganise the administrative system. All the significant institutions of the Great Mughals may be attributed to the genius of Akbar. The administration of the Surs had completely broken down. Akbar had to begin almost from scratch. Akbar was an original thinker and a constructive statesman of high calibre. He overhauled the entire administrative machinery from the bottom to the top. He set up the central structure of the Empire having ministers and departments of the Central Government. He was the first Muslim ruler who set up a well organised system of provincial government. He evolved a workable basis of the revenue system and introduced the mansabdari system and eradicated many of its evils.

THE PROVINCIAL STRUCTURE

The provincial structure of the Mughal government was exactly a miniature of that of the Central Government. The foundation of the Mughal administrative system lay in the division of the empire into provinces and districts. It was Akbar who divided his empire into subahs or provinces and made the governor of each subah responsible for every branch of its administration, but the actual administrative unit from the beginning was the sarkar or district, each of which had a military commander, distinct from the revenue officer. The districts were further sub-divided into the divisions (Mahals) which usually but not invariably coincided with the old Hindu local Parganas. In areas
where the means of communications were scanty, a further sub-division was sometimes made into 'tappas'.

The Mughal province of Lahore as already stated, coincided roughly with the province of Panjab, under the British rule. The boundaries of the Mughal Panjab expanded and contracted from time to time. In the early Mughal period the Panjab extended from the river Satluj to the river Indus, a distance of 180 kos, and its breadth extended from Himber to Chaukhandi, a distance of 86 kos. After Akbar, the Panjab was divided into two provinces, viz: the subahs of Lahore and Multan. Kashmir and Kabul remained separate provinces. Cis Satluj Panjab up to Hissar remained under the Governor of Lahore for some time. Though Multan, Kashmir and Kabul provinces were under the direct control of their respective separate governors, they always acknowledged the supremacy of the Governor of Lahore.

The main officials of the province were the governor also known as Nazim or Subahdar, the Diwan, the Ruknai, the Qazi, the Sadr, the Buyutat, and the Tensor. Their powers, functions and duties are briefly given below:

1. THE SUBAH DAR

The principal duties of the Subahdar or Dipihsalar or even Subah (Governor) were to maintain order, to ensure the smooth and successful collection of revenue, and to execute the royal decrees and regulations sent to him.

The provincial governor was placed at the head of the provincial administration. Minor provinces were occasionally entrusted to the governors of the adjoining provinces. This was done either to

1. India at the Death of Akbar-Moreland, P.
3. The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire-Ibn Hasan, P.304
4. The Viceroy
5. 'Nazim' means, the Regulator of the Province.
6. Mughal Administration-Jadunath Sarkar, P.61
show a special favour to a person or for the sake of better supervision and control. In 1634, Ali Mardan Khan was made the governor of Lahore and Kashmir, which post he occupied until 1640. On his accession, Shah Jahan appointed Yasin-ud-daullah, the governor of both the Lahore and Multan provinces and the latter carried on the administration of Multan through his deputy Amir Khan, son of Yasim Khan. Khan was officially called the subahdar although he was the deputy of the governor of the Lahore province.

The governor was charged with maintaining peace and preserving order to bring under his supervision the administration of all the departments so far as carrying out of Imperial directions was concerned. He was to put down local rebellions, carry out minor military operations on his own in the province, or in the neighbouring areas, dispense justice, and listen to complaints against public servants. He recommended officers for promotion and Imperial honours and collected the tribute due from the local feudatory chiefs and remitted them to the Imperial treasury. He kept the Emperor informed of whatever was happening in the province and carried out the orders he received from the Emperor. He could conclude peace but the terms made were subject to ratification by the Emperor who could modify them or reject them as inadequate if he thought it necessary.

The governors were always chosen from the capable military officers who were also gifted with executive ability. They were expected to be men of character and integrity. In particular, the selection of the subahdar of Lahore was a matter of real importance. The Great Mughals were always cautious to keep a strict control over this Frontier province of the Empire since it separated the province of Kabul from India. Unlike the Himalayan wall of the north, as

3. The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, Ibn Hasan, P. 330
stated in the first chapter, rugged stretch of mountainous country from Baluchistan to Kashmir, inhabited by ferocious tribes of Turko-Iranian origin is pierced by a number of passes, the Khaibar, the Kurram, the Tochi, the Gomal and the Bolan. It always fell to the lot of the governors of Lahore province to deal with two main problems; first, to keep the frontier tribes under control and the second, to guard against aggression from beyond e.g. Mir Yusuf Ali had to deal with the Baluchis, and Mirza Kamran quelled the rebellion of Sam Mirza, the able successor of Shah Ismail of Iran, Mir Muhammad, the Khan-i-Klan (1566-1568) dealt with the first invasion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the governor of Kabul, and that of the Malikars, an incalculable tribe of the Salt Range; Sa'id Khan (1578-1585) had to face the second invasion of Muhammad Hakim Mirza in 1581. During the governorship of Shaikh Farid (1610-1616), Ahad's rebellion was crushed. Because of the defensive needs of the Province, Sher Shah Sur had to build the fort of Rohtas and Islam Shah had to establish five more strongholds, Mankot being one of them. This Frontier problem was so acute that Akbar had to shift his Imperial Headquarters from Agra to Lahore from 1584 to 1598 because the condition of Kabul and Kashmir provinces was very disorderly and the frontier turbulent tribes were continually causing disorder in the Panjab. Every Mughal Emperor was conscious about the strategic position of this province and thus appointed capable persons as governors who could grapple with the

2. History of India-Vol.I, Eskine, p.100
3. Akbarnameh-Vol.II, Beveridge, pp.410-412
5. Akbar nameh-Vol.II, Beveridge, p.544
8. Akbar the Great-Mughal-Smith, pp.331-350
9. Akbar the Great-Mughal-Smith, pp.630-650
problem and find a lasting solution.

The Mughals never failed to react against incompetence or abuse and did not hesitate to remove even their favourite governors from their charge if their conduct was found to be unsatisfactory. Akbar was touring the Panjab in 1578, when he was approached by some people, who complained that Shah Quli Mohram (1575-1578), the governor, did not punish the oppressors and that, in consequence, the administration of justice was not in good state. On inquiry the complaint was found correct and the governor was reprimanded and cashiered. Shah Jahan dismissed Wasir Khan, the governor of the Panjab on the ground of oppression. All the governors of the Panjab, who held office during the period under our study, have been discussed earlier under their respective Emperors.

2. DEWAN

The provincial Dewan was selected by the Imperial Dewan and was appointed directly from the Imperial court and was in no way subordinate to the governor. He acted directly under the orders of the Imperial Dewan and was in every way responsible to him.

The provincial Dewan was the second officer in rank in the province. He was not subordinate to the Subedar. The Subedar was the head of the military, police and executive services while the Dewan was in charge of finances also. His duties were to collect revenue, to keep accounts of expenditure and receipts, to disburse the salary of provincial officers and to administer civil justice. He was instructed to encourage the growth of agriculture and to keep a strict watch

1. -Vo .II ,Beveridge,P. 7
2. -Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text,P.158
3. - -Ali Muhammad Khan,P.173
4. n the year ,Akbar issued an order that all provincial Dewans should report their proceedings to His Majesty in accordance with the suggestions of the Chief Dewan, Khwaja Shams-ud-din"(Ain-A- Akbari-Vol.III, Jarrett,P.670)
over the treasury. He was to scrutinize the accounts of the revenue collectors and to see that there were no arrears of revenue. He was required to send regular periodical reports on the condition of the crops and other produce of the Panjab to the Imperial Devan.

The Dewan received all the records of the collection, remissions and arrears of land revenue from various parts of the province. His agents in various parts of the province realized sales tax, 'Rahdari' dues, octroi and whatever other taxes were levied by the Emperor. It was his duty to see that money was spent only by proper authorisation, i.e. for the purposes approved by the Emperor or the Imperial Dewan.

The Dewan maintained the following records dealing with the Executive Departments and their answers together with separate files of the revenue of the mahals of the crown lands, under the seals and signatures of the qanungos and zamindars. The estimates, realisations and expenditure together with 'rozmamachas' and 'awarijas' under the seal of the karori (collector), (ii) Records dealing with the department of the Mahals of the Jagir lands in the order of the amount of salaries granted by the Emperor, (iii) Record of the department of counting the wells in each pargana, signed by the qanungos concerned & (iv) Records dealing with the departments of 'inams' land commissions to Headsmen, Qanungos and Haqaddams.

The following were the provincial officers of the Devan's office: (i) the Peshkar or the Secretary and Personal Assistant; (ii) the Darogha of the Devan's court and office; (iii) the Mushrif, an inspector or head clerk; (iv) the Tehsildar-i-daftaar Khana treasurer of the office; (v) the staff consisting of the munsifs of

the kachehry such as the husur nawaiz, subah nawaiz, the Muharr-i-
Khals, Muwarr-daftar-i-tan, Muharrir daftar, the clerk in charge
of weighing and measuring, the clerk in charge of imports. From the
clerk to the treasurer, the writer of rates, the writer of news, the
man in charge of the office and the peon and the watch of the kache-
hry all were on establishment of the Provincial Dewan.

3. THE BAKSHI

The Bakhash was an equally important officer in the Province
and was usually second in command to the governor. He had to act as
a provincial news-writer as well. He was in charge of the military
establishment of the province. Under the instructions of the Mir
Bakhashi, his subordinates at the Farkars, the towns and the districts
held yearly inspections of horses and reviews of soldiers. He had to
pay to the mansabdars serving in the province.

At the time of an expedition it was the duty of the Bakhashi to
see that all the mansabdars and other officers were summoned to take
part with their quota of men and horses. The Bakhashi was the chief
commander of the army of that particular expedition and he had to
look to the needs of the army, during the operation. He had to report
to the Emperor all that happened in the province as the results of
the expeditions and the progress of the work of the various depart­
ments in the province. By the virtue of this position he could report
provincial matters to the Emperor without referring to the governor

1. The Court.
2. The clerk dealing with the correspondence with the Central Govern-
men.
3. The clerk dealing with the correspondence with the Governor's
office.
4. Clerk of the lands under government management.
5. Salary Disbursement clerk.
6. The Office clerk.
7. "In the Empire of the Great Mughal, the Bakhashi was an official of
a high rank who had charge of the registration of body of troops
and had to pay them." (Encyclopedia of Islam- Vol. I, P. 600)
of the province.

4. **WAQAI MAVIS**

The agency through which the central government learnt the news of the provinces consisted of (i) Waqi Mavis, (ii) The Svanih Magar, (iii) The Khufia Mavis, (iv) The Harkarah. At first Waqi Mavises were employed to report provincial occurrences, but owing to the suspicion of their entering into collision with the local offices, a new set of officers viz. Svaniah Magars (who, too, were called Khufia Mavis) were appointed to reside secretly in provinces and to report news. Eventually the latter were entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements within the province. "The reports of these officers were read out to the Emperor at night." This branch of the intelligence department soon became very popular with the provincial governors, Dewans and with the Emperors, as it kept them informed of the happenings and conditions of their localities. It was on the basis of such a report that in 1578 when Akbar was touring the Panjab, he found that actually the lands given as madad-i-maaz had been encroached upon. The Emperor redressed the grievance. Even such an occurrence as the death of a few travellers on the road by a sudden storm near Lahore were reported to Jahangir.

The Waqai Mavis used to appoint agents in most of the small parganas to report to him the occurrences of those places out of which he selected what was fit for the Emperor's ears and incorporated it in the provincial news letters. In the offices of the

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1. *The Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, P. Saran, P. 66
3. Sometimes written as Waqai Magar.
4. A writer or surveyor of occurrences.
5. Writer of the secret reports, the most confidential agents.
6. A spy, who generally brought oral news and at times also sent news letters.
7. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*-Text, P. 175
Governor, the Devan, the Faujdar of the environs of the provincial capital, the court of justice, he also maintained clerks who brought to him every evening a record of what had happened there during the day. In many of the important parganas separate reporters were posted directly from the Imperial Court, to send to the provincial Sisha (ledger of receipts) of the escheated jagirs of Munsabdars who were dead, absconding or absent.

5. THE SADR AND THE QAZI

Next to the Dewan, the most important officers were the heads of the judicial and religious departments. These two departments were often combined, although a distinction seems to have been kept up between the jurisdiction of the various officials connected with this department.

It was the duty of the Sadr Qasi to recommend to the imperial department deserving cases of pious and learned men for the endowment of land. He also served as the head of the judicial department. In this capacity he was required to supervise the work of the qasis of districts and towns. He dispensed justice, performed marriages among the high personages of the province and acted as the Registrar General for the whole province.

A Qasi was also posted at every large town and a seat of a faujdar. The smaller towns and the villages had no qasi of their own, but any plaintiff living there, could carry his suit to the qasi of the neighbouring town in whose jurisdiction the small town or village lay.

6. DEWAN-I-BAYUTAT

Dewan-i-Bayutat was the representative of the Khan-i-Saman

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1. The Kotwal's Chabutra (Court).
2. Hirat-i-Ahmedi-Ali Muhammad Khan, PP. 174-175
4. The Nizam Administration-Jadunath Sarkar, P. 107
5. Pl. of Bayut (Houses). An office for registering the effects of deceased persons.
in the province. He was an officer who registered the property of deceased persons, in order to secure the payment of the dues of the state. He was to make provisions for the 'Karkhanas' (Factories) and fix the prices of articles. He looked after roads and buildings, supervised imperial stores and ran state workshops. He took charge of escheated properties. He also looked to the comforts of the Emperor whenever he was touring the province.

**DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION**

The Panjab like other provinces was further divided into a number of Sarkars or districts. Every Sarkar had a Faujdar, an Amalgajjar, a Qazi, a Kotwal, a Siltshi and a Qiansadar. Their duties and powers are briefly given below:

1. **FAUJDAR** - He was the head of the Sarkar and was usually a mansabdhar of high rank; sometimes as high as four thousand horse. As such he was appointed by the Emperor by a Royal 'Wazman'. He was the direct representative of the Emperor, in the area under his command, working however, under the supervision of the Bakhshi. He was to maintain peace and order, to keep the roads free from robbers and thieves and to enforce Imperial regulations. He was in charge of a small force. It was his duty to keep the army fully equipped and in readiness for service. He was required to assist the collector in the work of revenue collection. He also worked as the Kotwal of the rural areas which had no Kotwals of their own.

In the maintenance of peace and the discharge of executive functions in general, the Subedar's assistants were the Faujdar. These officers were placed at the head of suitable subdivisions of the province. "In short, the Faujdar, as is evident from his designation, was only the commander of a military force stationed in the 'Sarkar' to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take
cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to
overawe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge
or the censor.

FAUJDARS AND THE FRONTIER FORTS:— The western and northern side of
India comprised from west to east, of provinces of Multan, Kashmir
and Lahore. A part of the north-western boundary of Multan and Lahore
was exposed to aggression from beyond the passes as well as from the
north-western Frontier province beyond the Indus and the Lakshar
country between the Indus and the Chenab. Forts were established in
the Shivalik hills and were given under charge of the Faujdars to take
full measures for the defence of the country. These forts were built
in the year 1630, when almost all those parts of the Himalayan front-
iers had come under the direct sway of the great Mughals.

i) Jammu:— This fort was in the north of the Rechna Doab situated
between the Ravi and the Chenab, at the foot of the hills, protected
at the summit.

ii) Nagarkot:— Situated north of the Bari Doab, between the Ravi and
the Beas on the slopes of the Kangra hills, which was surmounted by a
massive fort. Shah Quli Khan was the Faujdar of Nagarkot, in 1633.

iii) Mau:— The capital of this fort was Murpur, generally known as
Dhamari, also in the Bari Doab, ‘Mau’ is situated half way between
Pathankot and Murpur on a ridge of low hills running to the east of
the Chakki river.

iv) Jaswan:— This fort was situated in the Jaswan Dun of the outer
hills, now in Hoshiarpur District. The state of Jaswan was annexed in
1573 and was thus established as a Mughal cantonement under a Faujdar.

1. a na Sar, p. 41-43
2. Vol. III, Beveridge, pp. 884-884
5. Vol. II, Jarrett, p. 319
6. Abdul Hamid Lahori Text, p. 264

v) Kahluri- Kot-Kahlur is situated on the Maina Devi Dhar, on the left bank of the Satluj, on the north-western end of the range of 1 Shivalik hills. This place was the centre of the struggle between the Sikhs, the hill chiefs and the Mughals during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign.

vi) Gwalior (Guler):- In addition to the Guler fort at the capital called Haripur Fort, there were six more petty forts along frontier of the state. These were Mastgarh, Kotla, Gehkhanok, Sandharp, Ramga and Mangth. Of these Kotla was the most important fort.

vii) Dabholi:- Details are not forthcoming.

viii) Sihar:- Situated in Kangra District, it was once part of the Guler State.

ix) Harpur:- This fort was of great importance and was one of the five frontier forts in the Shivalik hills built by Islam Shah which were constructed of stone. All these five forts looked like one fortification to the eye of the spectator.

x) Jasrot:- It was an extinct principality in Kashmir, lying to the north of Jammu. It was situated in the outer Shivaliks to the west of 5 the Ravi and to the south of Karaidbar Range.

xi) Lakanpur:- It was bounded on the north by the Karaidbar range separating it from Basholi, on the east by the Ravi, it was surrendered to the Mughals in 1594-95.

There were other frontier forts and the most important of these

1. "" - "" - o I arret P - Vol.II, H. & Vogel, PP.494-495
2. "" - "" - o I arret P - Vol.I, H. & Vogel, PP.199-206
3. "" - "" - o II, Jarrett P.319
4. "" - "" - o I, Jarrett P.210-211
5. "" - "" - o I, Jarrett P.206-207
6. "" - "" - o I, Jarrett P.138
was on the Indus near Attock which was in the charge of Mirza Yusaf Khan in 1531 when Muhammad Hakim Mirza invaded the Panjab from Kabul. Mirza Rustam Khan succeeded to this post in 1591. Owing to the continual conduct of the hill chieftains, this post continued to be considered of great importance and was always entrusted to able men. Other than the frontier fort of Attock, the forts of Lahore, Sialkot and Rohtas were also of great importance and were under the full charge of the Faujdars. The writer has consulted all the available contemporary and secondary sources to find out the names of the Faujdars who held these forts under their charge from time to time, but that data is not available anywhere.

3. **AMAL GAZAR** - The Dewan was represented by the collector called 'Amal' popularly known as Karori in the district. He had a considerable staff to help him in the Sarkar stationed at the important towns of the district discharging police and other miscellaneous duties.

The 'Amal' was a revenue collector who was assisted by a large staff. He was also to punish robbers and other miscreants in order to protect the peasantry. He was authorised to advance Taqavi (loans) to the peasants and to recover the same gradually. He was to supervise the work of the treasurer of his district and to send monthly reports of receipts and expenditures to the court and remit regularly the revenue of the district to the Imperial treasury.

4. **THE MFAHOLA** - As far as revenue affairs were concerned, office

1. This or was on a under a journey to suppress the rebellion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. It is a massive structure, built mostly for the purpose of defence of the frontier.

4. The Central Structure of Mughal Empire-Ybn Hasan, PP.76, 96, 137, 206
5. The Provincial Government of the Mughals- P.Saran, PP.98-309, 100, 397-399
6. India of Aurangzeb-(Chahar Qilshan), Jadunath Sarkar, PP.128
8. The Provincial Administration of the Mughals-P.Saran, PP.394, 386
of Bitlkchi was next to that of the Amal Gazar. He was required to be a conscientious worker, a good writer, and a skillful accountant. Although officially he was styled as writer, he was indispensable. His duty was to prepare necessary papers and records regarding the nature of the land and its produce and it was on the basis of these records that the assessment was made by the Amalgazar. He was required to obtain from the Qamungos the statements of the average revenue of each village which was calculated on the basis of the last ten years produce. He was required to have a knowledge of the peculiar customs and land tenures obtaining in his district and was also to record the area of arable and waste lands of each village. He was to record the name of each husbandman who brought the rent and to issue him a receipt signed by the treasurer. He was to receive from the 'Patwari' copies of the rolls of the 'Patwaris' and 'Muqaddams' by means of which they had made the collections together with the memorandum given to the husbandmen and was to inspect and carefully scrutinize the same and in case any falsity appeared, he had to report it to the collector. Whenever any cultivator wanted any reference to his account, it was the foremost duty of the Bitlkohi to settle that without delay and at the close of each harvest, he was to record the collections and balances of each village and compare them with the 'Patwaris' rolls.

**The Pargana**

Each Sarkar or a District was divided into 'Parganahs' or 'Mahals'. The 'Parganah' was the lowest fiscal administrative unit. It had a Tahsildar in charge of the collection of revenue. It was here that the land revenue was actually paid to the State. The 'Muqaddams' brought their collections to the pargana treasury. Some-
times the peasants themselves paid revenue into the treasury. The Tahsildar was helped by a staff of clerks; one controlled the treasury, another kept the account of the money realized from various sources, and the third recorded all the arrears due. Several sets of surveyors worked in the pargana at the time of harvest recording the cropped area in various villages. There were four principal officers in every pargana.

1. **THE SIHQDAR**—The Shiqdar was the executive officer of the Pargana and was responsible for its general administration. Besides maintaining peace and order in the pargana, he was to receive the money when the cultivators made payments in the pargana treasury and supervise and control the treasury. He was empowered along with the 'Karkun' to sanction expenditure from the treasury in case of emergency. It was his duty to forward such cases which did not fall within his jurisdiction to the Kotwal of the Sarkar.

2. **THE AMIL**—The 'Amil', 'Munsif' or 'Amin' had to discharge the same duties in the pargana as the Amalgusar, in the district. His main work was that of assessment and collection of land revenue with the help of an adequate staff. He was required to deal directly with the peasantry and not through the headman of the village. Besides, he assisted the Shiqdar in the maintenance of law and order and punishment of miscreants. The term munsif, it seems gradually fell into disuse and 'Amil' remained in vogue, but it does not seem to have been altogether forgotten under Akbar or even much later.

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1. *Saran*, p. 14
3. **THE POTAAR**: The Fotdar was the treasurer of the pargana and had to discharge the same duties in the pargana as the 'Khasandar' (Treasurer) in the district. He was not empowered to make any disbursement without the sanction of the Dewan. In cases of emergency he could incur expenditure on the authority of the Shiqdar and the 'Karkun' provided he represented the case to the government without delay.

4. **THE QAMUNGO**: The qamungo was an old official and perhaps the one officer whose association with the pargana has continued since very early times down to our own day. As at present, he was in a way the head of the 'Patwaris' of his pargana. He was to keep the same record for the parganas as the 'Patwari' had to keep for the village. Formerly the 'qamungos' were paid by means of a commission of 1% which was changed by Akbar and thenceforth they were paid cash salaries from the public treasury besides an assignment for personal maintenance. There were three grades of qamungos in Akbar's time; the first got rupees fifty per month, the second thirty, and the third twenty.

Qamungo was a repository of knowledge of various kinds of land tenures and other peculiarities relating to the nature of the soil and the assessment and collection of revenue. He was an expounder of the laws that applied in India especially to village and district revenue officers, who under former governments recorded all circumstances within their sphere which concerned landed property and the realisation of the revenue, keeping registers of the value, tenure, extent and transfer of the lands, assisting in the measurement and survey of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue payees, and explai-

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1. Treasurer.
4. The Provincial Government of the Mughals, P.389
ning, when required, local practices and public regulations. This was the position till the eighteenth century just before the establishment of British administration.

**TOWN ADMINISTRATION**

**KOTWAL**—The Kotwal was appointed by the Imperial government, on the recommendation and by a 'sanad' bearing the seal of the Imperial commander of the artillery. Besides utilizing one hundred infantry attached to the provincial governor for that purpose, his personal contingent was fifty horsemen. He was in charge of the internal defence, health, sanitation and peace of the provincial capital. He had wide powers as he was the supreme administrator of all the police stations of the province. P. Saran says that the obligations and powers of the Kotwal can be stated under a few broad heads viz., (i) watch and ward of the town; (ii) control of the markets; (iii) care and legitimate disposal of heirless property; (iv) care of the people's conduct and prevention of crime; (v) prevention of social abuses, such as Sati; (vi) regulation of the cemeteries, burials and slaughter houses.

The Kotwal collected information about bad characters, recorded all movements of citizens into and from the city, suppressed crime by punishing all those whom he arrested. The Kotwal supervised the jail and put down minor disturbances in the city. He also inspected markets. All the Kotwals were under the Subedar says Sri Ram Sharma. In the reign of Aurangzeb the inspection of the markets was often entrusted to the 'Muhtasibs'.

Under the Kotwal, there was the 'Mushrif' who was appointed by the government, according to the regulations of the province, and the salary of the 'Mushrif', was fixed at Rupees forty per month. He was

1. The Provincial Government of the Mughals—P. Saran, P. 395
3. The Provincial Government of the Mughals—P. Saran, P. 383
4. Ibid., pp. 383, 395
paid from the Imperial treasury the abstract of his salary being endorsed by the seals of the Kotwal and the Dewan-i-Subah. The Kotwal appointed the bearers in the city allotting to each a certain part which he was to watch day and night.

**Village Administration**

A village is as old as the hills which is more true of India than any other country in the world. There was a great variety in the principle as well as details of the composition of villages in ancient India. But as far as their administrative system is concerned, it was uniform in its main features and operation which may be taken as fairly typical of all the various forms of rural communities. The Muslim rulers did not interfere with, alter or modify the local government of village communities in any manner. The contemporary historians say nothing of the government's attitude towards the village community, but their appreciation of it was written in their silent but unmistakable recognition of its value and advantages. They did not destroy it because they realised, as we are entitled to conclude, that they had no better alternative to substitute in its place which would be calculated to serve the interest of the people so well. Hence, they gave it a sort of legal standing by their tacit recognition of it. In the normal affairs of the village communities or their administration no interference was attempted by the Mughal Governors. It is also beyond doubt that the representatives of the communities were invariably held answerable for crimes of a more serious nature, such as murder and treasonable activities. An appeal could be made without any restriction, to an ascending hierarchy of the judicial officials of the government, in disputes of all kinds - civil, criminal, religious

1. A. Ahm an F.
2. India-Preface-XIV
3. a en Powell (1986), PP. 73, 217, 246

*India at the Death of Akbar* - Moreland, PP. 136-37
or social in which the decision of the local body failed to give satisfaction to either party. The provincial government kept touch with the villages by means of (i) the Faujdars posted to the subdivisions, who almost always lived in the district towns; (ii) the lower officials of the revenue department who did the actual collection from the peasantry; (iii) the visits of the Zamindars to the Subedar court; and (iv) the tours of the Subedar. The contact, however, was not very intimate and the villagers were left pretty much to their own devices. Government at the chief towns of the province, was indifferent to their affairs, so long as they paid the land tax and did not disturb the peace.

The following were the functionaries in the villages:

1. **MUQADAM:** The Muqadam was probably the 'Sarpanch' or Headman known by this name for his revenue functions. He distributed the demand slips and collected the land revenue from the cultivators. He was allowed 2.5% of the revenue as his fee. He was responsible for the realization of the land revenue from the village and in the cases of any delay in payment he was called to account.

2. **PATWARI:** There was a chain of officials connecting the village with the pargana (modern Tehsil). For the purpose of the maintenance of revenue records and agricultural statistics there were groups of small circles to each of which a 'Patwari' or village registrar was appointed. After the Kharif harvest inspection it was the duty of 'Patwari' to give the 'Muqadam' (headman) a list, known as the 'Fard Dhal Baasht' showing the demand due under different heads (land revenue local rate etc.) from the owner of each holding. That list was brought up to date and corrected, if necessary, after the instalments for the

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1. S.R. arma, p.348
2. P.Saran, p.166-167, 236, 41
two harvests were found to be not equal or where the demand was a fluctuating one, assessed by the applications of acreage rates to harvested area. The 'Patwari' was bound to help the 'Muqaddam' by exclaiming the accounts and by writing, if required, the receipts to be given to the share holders. But he was forbidden to have anything to do with the actual collection or handling of the money. It was his duty to give to the 'Muqaddam' for preservation at the pargana, a memorandum showing under the proper head of the accounts to be paid in. Abdul Faal says that the 'Patwari' was a writer employed on the part of the cultivators. He probably unlike the 'Jumuno' continued to be paid by the one per cent commission which was taken from the other sources.

"He was the accountant, maintained by the villagers at their own cost, to keep account of the cropped area, the crops sown and the revenue due, demanded from and paid by every cultivator. He seems to have been keeping a weather journal on which were based any claims for remission, the cultivators might demand."

B. REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

During the Mughal period the revenue system was for the first time reorganised by Akbar. He effected many changes which can be studied under three main heads, viz. (a) Method of Assessment; (b) State Demand and (c) Method of Payment. It was in the twenty-fourth year of his reign that Akbar introduced the "Ten Year Settlement", under the supervision of Raja Todar Mal. The salient features of Akbar's revenue system were the measurement of land, its survey and classification. The annual settlement was given up. The revenue was collected in kind but in certain cases cash payments were preferred.

1. Faiz Irshad.
2. Mughal Government and Administration - S.R. Sharma, p. 345
   Mughal Administration - Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 55-56
According to Ain-i-Akbari, each province of India was divided into a number of Sarkars and each Sarkar into Parganas. The Pargana was the unit of general administration under Sher Shah and his successors, and the Sarkar which was a group of Parganas, represented more or less something like the present day commissioners' divisions serving as a medium of communication between the provincial governors and the district and as an agency of general supervision over the pargana administration. For the first time Akbar had divided the Panjab into five territorial divisions. He gave the name Bet Jallandhar to the valley between the Beas and the Satluj; of Bari to that of between the Beas and the Ravi; of Rechna to that of between the Ravi and the Chenab; of Jemhat to the valley of the Chenab and the Jhelum and the Sindh Sagar to that of the Jhelum and Sindh, for details please see Appendix-D.

It is difficult to assess the boundary between the provinces of Lahore and Multan exactly. The limits of the territory covered by the Lahore province and the Sarkars of Multan and Dipalpur of the Multan province can be laid down with tolerable certainty. The measured area of the province of Lahore does not show any noticeable alternations between the statistics given in Ain-i-Akbari and those of Aurangzeb's reign, when nine-tenths of the villages are shown to have been measured. In the Multan province, the practice of measurement was apparently abandoned in the Sarkar of Multan, but almost all the villages of Dipalpur Sarkar had come under measurement by the later

1. Pargana and Sarkar or were mere revenue visions, but Sher Shah enjoined upon his officers the duty of protecting the people from robbery and theft and punishing the evil-doors.

(Tarikh-i-Shah Shabi-Abas Khan, Bankipur Lib. MS FF 369)

2. Doaba Bist Jallandhar
3. Doaba Bari
4. Doaba Rechna
5. Doaba Chaj
6. Doaba Sindh Sagar
years of the Great Mughals. The Parganas which had not been measured
might, therefore, have been assessed according to some other system,
that is, either by sharing of crops or 'nasaq'. No figures for the
area of the parganas beyond the five rivers are recorded. One of
these Kahlur was a state under its own Raja and must have had its own
system of land revenue assessment, probably sharing of the crops. The
Akbarnama also mentions some states under their own chief in the
Panjab including Kangra and other Himachal Rajas. There was a zabti
system in the Subah of Multan also. In the province of Thatta, shar­
ing of crops was common, one-third being claimed as the State's share
The cultivators had the option to pay in kind or in cash, but they
were encouraged to pay in cash. Here again a very large part of the
country was under the chiefs who collected the land revenue from the
cultivators and paid tribute to the Mughal emperors.

CLASSIFICATION OF LAND: The land was classified into four divisions
under Akbar for the purpose of cultivation and for the assessment of
the proportionate dues to be collected from the peasants. The land
was thus measured by gaj, the tanabd, and the bigha and a different
scale of revenue was fixed to be paid by the cultivators, which re­
mained in vogue throughout the Mughal period. The first class of
the land was "Polaj" which was annually cultivated for each crop and was
never allowed to be fallowed. The second class was "parauti" which
was left out of cultivation for sometime so that it might recover its
strength. Third was Chauchar which land had lain fallow for three or
four years. And the class fourth was named as Banjar land which
remained uncultivated for more than three or four years. The first
two kinds of land, were further classified into three groups viz.,
good, middling and bad. They added together the produce of each sort,
and a third of that represented the medium produce, one-third part of
which was exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Shah,
which was at that time in vogue in the Punjab being the lowest rate
of assessment, generally remained, and for the convenience of the
cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money. When
either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the Chashar land
fell out of cultivation, the husbandmen being in considerable distress
in the first year, two fifths of the assessment was taken and in the
second year three-fifths, in the third year four-fifths and in the
fifth-year, the ordinary revenue was charged. According to the difference
of situation, the revenue was paid either in money or in kind. In the
case of Balanac land it was left to the option of the cultivator to
pay in ready money or by 'kankut' or bhaoli.

In the Bari Doab of this province including the whole of the
province of Multan, Zabti system of assessment was in vogue. The exact
area of a number of mahals which were under the zabti is not known.
But a careful examination of the revenue figures for each mahal shows
that at least fourteen mahals out of fifty-two were 'Naqui' and thirty
eight mahals were under the zabti system.

The cultivators were the direct masters of the land in the
Mughal Punjab. They could sell, mortgage, or give away their lands in
gift. Land passed from father to son like all other property. The
State had an interest in the landed estates of a cultivator who ran
away after defaulting in the payment of the revenue.

The collections were made at Holi in spring and at Dushehra in
Reports of collection were sent daily by the collector. Every month, receipts were sent to the ministry of revenue. Any damage to the crops by unforeseen factors was to be reported to the Emperor who would then order necessary remission of land revenue.

No revenue was charged from serais, cemeteries and cremation grounds. If trees were planted for shade or fuel, the usual revenue was charged, but fruit bearing gardens paid one-fifth when owned by the Hindus and one-sixth when owned by the Muslims. Later on, a flat rate of Rs.3 per bigha was levied on the gardens if the trees were so planted as to leave no land under cultivation. Every revenue official was told that to increase the cultivated area was one of his most important duties. Where necessary, advances were made to the agriculturists for breaking new lands, this made it possible for the cultivators to set off a part of the cost of breaking new land for concessions in land revenue which they received. Those who brought new land under cultivation were recognized as the owners thereof.

There is no record that in any period of the history the whole land was claimed as private property by the Mughal Emperors. However, when land changed hands, elaborate rules safeguarded the claim of the State to the revenue. If an heir or buyer had time enough for cultivating it after acquiring his title, he paid the land revenue. If the heir or the buyer did not get enough time to cultivate the land, the revenue was remitted. The leased and mortgaged lands also paid land revenue under similar conditions.

C. THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The army of the Great Mughals was based on the Mansabdari system which was introduced by Akbar. It was managed by a department totally separate from the civil government of the provinces as now.

1. Court Bulletin-50-1-1708
2. Court Bulletin-13-1-1704
On the other hand, the recruitment of the greater bulk of the army, its training and discipline, its maintenance and equipment and the arranging of campaigns and camps were all done through officials who were also responsible for the Civil Administration of the province. There were no military divisions of the empire, apart from the provinces, like the present commands into which the country is divided. Single troopers got enlisted under the banner of some chiefs little richer or better known than themselves. These inferior leaders again joined greater commanders, and thus by successive aggregation of groups, a great noble's divisions was gathered together. Hence the military organisation was an important subject of the provincial government as it was of the central.

The Bakhsh who was the second in rank to the governor, as stated earlier, was usually the head of the provincial army. He was in charge of the military establishment stationed in the province. His assistants held yearly inspections of horses and reviews of soldiers according to the instructions received from the Mir Bakhsh. He issued warrants for payment to the Hansabdars serving the Province when an expedition was ordered. The Bakhsh saw to it that the various officers called upon to take part in it had the requisite number of men and horses under them. In consultation with the leader of the expedition, the Bakhsh looked after the needs of the army and was represented by his 'naib' in the expedition as well.

There were three different groups of forces in the provinces. Firstly, the contingents which every high official from the Governor downwards had to maintain in accordance with his mansab. This was, of course, a part of the regular standing army of the military empire. It was maintained more for the general service of the Empire than for

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1. *The Army of Indian Mushalga-W. Irvine*, PP. 57-58
that of the province. At first it was paid usually by assignments made to the 'Mansabdars' carrying an income equal to his salary. Later on the system of assignments was discouraged by Akbar and disbursements of salaries were made directly from the Imperial treasuries.

Secondly, provincial army consisted of the contingents of certain minor zamindars who were called upon to render service at the time of war. The third group of local or provincial forces consisted of cavalry, infantry and other arms mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, as the quotas allotted to Sarkars and Mahals, stationed under the Fauj-dars and petty Fauj-dars, details of which are given in Appendix-C.

So far as supply and transport were concerned there was no separate department for them. Other arrangements were also not adequate. For their baggage and camp equipment the 'Mansabdars' helped by the local authorities, made their own transport arrangements as best as they could. The provisions for the Mansabdars and their men were provided by the 'banjaras' who followed the army.

The regular army was primarily a housed army. The pay of mounted men included the cost of maintaining their equipment and horses. In the artillery which was entirely Imperial, administered as a department of the house-hold, and not of the army, the pay ranged from about three to seven rupees.

The infantry formed a miscellaneous crowd. It included musketeer and swordsmen among the combatant services, and spy guards, wrestlers, porters, sappers and miners, carpenters, water carriers and camp followers of various kinds. The remuneration of the first four categories ranged from 3 to 6 rupees monthly; that of porters 2½ to 3 rupees; of wrestlers from 3 to 15 rupees and of the rest from a dam to a rupee, 7. As to the significance of these rates it

1. Asana Anar.
would be sufficient to note that the higher pay sanctioned for the cavalry was in part, at least an index to a difference in social position. Service in the cavalry was respectable, and a gentleman could enter it, but the other branches of the army almost comprised of all the classes, even the menials, though a partial exception may be made in the case of artillery, in which foreign experts were employed in increasing numbers as time went on.

The so-called army indicated under the Subahs was in the nature of a militia and not a regular army. The figures in question represented in reality, general estimates of a sort of militia or the fighting manpower, which each province, sarkar or mahal was expected to be able to raise and supply to the government in time of need or whenever demanded to do so. The proportion of the contribution of cavalry of each locality was determined more by the material qualities than by the mere numerical strength of its population, and of infantry more by the numerical strength than by the material qualities.

The position of the local cavalry was probably more regular; their distribution over the provinces corresponded roughly to the importance of 'zamindar' and it may be inferred that the forces enumerated under this head were of substantial military value, consisting of troops maintained by 'Zamindars' at their own cost but liable to be called in by the Emperor in case of need.

D. JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The redress of individual grievances was the duty of the Mughal Emperor. For this purpose Mughal Emperors held their courts personally and also maintained some judicial officers. Akbar maint
ed judicial officers known as the Qazi and the Mir Adil but the extent of their jurisdiction was not clearly described. At any rate the litigation, both civil and criminal, as described by visitors was usually conducted before executive officers and very commonly before the Kotwal or city governor.

Judicial organisation does not seem to have made much progress. No record of proceedings, civil or criminal were kept, everything being done verbally, and no sort of code existed, except so far as the persons acting as judges thought fit to follow Quranic rules. The Governor of a province was instructed by Akbar to maintain a small account of witnesses and Oaths.

Certain aspects of the Mughal code deserve notice. It made distinction between first offenders and habituals. It sometimes gave the accused the opportunity of confessing his crime and expressing repentance for it and was then treated leniently.

The sentences on convicts were more of an appalling kind than customary in India. Capital punishment after torture was prevalent. The mode of execution included impalement, trampling by elephants, crucifixion, beheading and others. As minor penalties, mutilation and whipping of great severity were commonly ordered. The death punishment had usually to be confirmed by the Emperor. Akbar drew the line at the old Mughal practice of flaying alive and was disgusted where he inflicted that horrible punishment. Babar had ordered it without scruple. In actual practice even in the reign of Jahangir when that order was stated to have been abolished, one found provincial governors carrying it out on their own.

1. suspect a ey ea y w i ques ons ar s ng ou o Muslim Law"(Moreland, P.34)
2. In judicial investigations he should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths but pursue them by manifold enquiries by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight nor laying burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude.(Ain-i-Akbari- Vol.I, Jarrett, P.37)
3. Mughal Government and Administration-(R,Sharma, P.332)
In the rural areas the maintenance of law and order was entrusted to the revenue staff. In important towns, however, a special executive officer was appointed, who suppressed crime by severe punishments, and this rendered life and property generally secure though wealthy criminals might escape on the payment of heavy fines, and the line between fines and bribes was not distinct. With the decay of authority armed gangs of robbers began to infest the neighbourhood of some of the principal cities, often with the connivance of the local governors who were benefited both by the bribes they received from the robbers and by the savings in police expenditure. Litigation, both civil and criminal, was conducted before these very officers. Civil litigation was thus cheaper and speedy than it is now. Officers wisely paid little heed to witnesses or oaths and relied on their own discernment and knowledge of human nature.

1. severe

... of poisonous snakes was kept by Shah Jahan ready to bite such delinquents and even the easy going Jahangir was no respecter of persons when it came to administering justice. (*India At the Death of Akbar*—Moreland, pp. 34-37, 40-41)