



JOURNAL
OF THE
PANJAB UNIVERSITY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Incorporating the Panjab Historical Society)

Vol. XVII

April-July, 1964

CONTENTS

- ◆ Socio-Economic Crises in the 18th Century Pakistan and India
—*Sayed Ali Abbas* 1—56
- ◆ Sialkot—An Ancient City of Pakistan
—*Ahmad Nabi Khan* 57—70
- ◆ Shah Alam and the Ruhlia Catastrophe
—*Miss Shakeela Sharif* 71—85

**Panjab University Historical Society,
Lahore (West Pakistan)**

Socio-Economic Crises in the 18th Century Pakistan and India

By Sayed Ali Abbas

Introduction :

The everfirst and a contemporary analysis of the reign of Aurangzeb and the three subsequent decades after his death, pointing towards the factors responsible for the dissolution of the Mughul empire, was made by Shah Wali Ullah, the great saint and reformer of the 18th century, who was born in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign and had grown up *paripassu* with the decline of the Mughul empire.

Shah Wali Ullah had seen with his own eyes the wicked generosity of Bahadur Shah, the imbecility of Jahandar Shah, the inaptitude of Farukh Siyer, the shallowness and sexual hunger of Muhammad Shah and last but not the least the massacre in Delhi by Nadir Shah. No one better than him could point out the weaknesses in the administrative system and the political institutions. The analysis made by him of the Mughul decline two centuries earlier appears still up-to-date.

Shah Wali Ullah in his writings accuses the entire social order of his age to have contributed to the general chaos in the country. Yet he places the greater part of the blame on the wickedness of the ruling classes, the kings and the nobles. "Weakness of the central authority," he maintains, "led to the provincial governments to declare their independence. The Divine will," he warned the kings, "wants that you should give up pursuits of *joie de vivre* and draw sword and do not bring it back to sheathe unless distinction is established between the faithful and faithless and the heathenic rebels are brought to book so that no chance is left to them to raise their heads again."¹

Shah Wali Ullah further holds unbalanced economic conditions as another basic wrong in the empire. He claimed that the crumbling of statecraft had been due to :—

(a) the limited and insufficient khalsa land ;

1. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami : Shah Wali Ullah Dehlavi ke Siyasi Maktoobat, Aligarh, 1950, p. 13.

- (b) the empty treasures ;
- (c) the crises in the Jagirdari system ;
- (d) the poisonous effects of Ijarahdari ; and
- (e) the non-payment of salaries to the troops.²

Whatever be the causes, the fact however remains that "the Mughul empire, after Aurangzeb, fell like one of those Etruscan corpses which though crowned and armed are destined to crumble at the breath of heaven or the touch of human hands. And still more did it resemble some splendid palace whose cupolas and towering minrates are built of materials collected from every quarter of the world to collapse."³

Regarding the process of decline, suffice to say that Bahadur Shah, who succeeded Aurangzeb, had a mild temper. What Aurangzeb is suggested to have lost with bloodshed, his son (Bahadur Shah) was able to regain with affection. The non-Muslims, alienated in the preceding reign, re-entered the Mughul folds in his reign. But Bahadur Shah was generous to a fault. He would say yes to every one and no to none. Apparently his policy of a compromise and friendship with all was a success. But he failed to change the hearts of the treacherous indiscreet and unscrupulous nobles whose ever-growing selfishness appeared more vigorously in his reign. Hitherto the nobility had played an important role in the integration and consolidation of the empire. Now it was the reverse. Their mutual jealousies and self-seeking interests eventually dragged the empire to its in-avoidable end.

Bahadur Shah, having utterly failed in bringing a harmony among his officers, himself assumed a policy of indifference "to let matters drift and patch up a temporary peace by humouring everybody without facing problems and saving future troubles by making decisions promptly and courageously."⁴ Thus, the decadence in the character of the kings, the deadly effects of selfishness in the nobility, luxury, and intestinal feuds collectively, became ruinous for the state and the people. Jahandar Shah and Muhammad Shah were

2. Khaliq l.c. p. 10.

3. Keene: The Moghal Empire, London, 1886, p 26.

4. W. Haig: Cambridge History of India, Cambridge ; iv, p. 324.

the worst specimen of the hardy and noble warriors such as Babar and Akbar. Despite the luxury and pomp of the prosperous reigns of Akbar and Shah Jahan, the Mughul emperors had to a large extent succeeded in maintaining their personal vim by means of military campaigns and hunting expeditions. Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, too, is said to have never slept within a covered roof of a palace during his career as an emperor.⁵ Even Farukh Siyer is said to have inherited some traits of the great Mughul rulers. But Jahandar Shah and Muhammad Shah were notorious for their indulgences. The latter was known with a popular title of *Rangila* and either of them were not ashamed when caught up in the tresses of their concubines. Under these monarchs the court turned into a tavern and the palace a brothel; indecency and unseemliness received patient to stalk all over the land in their naked horrors and no crime was too horrible to be left undone.

The Mughul kings had usually a soft corner for their foster kins. In the days of the great Mughuls they were a great strength to the rulers. Under the later Mughuls, however, they were always bent upon profitting themselves by acquiring more and more fertile lands as Jagirs and as many as possible. They, being witnesses to the working of every secret wheel, obtained all the knowledge necessary to secure success when opportunity offered. Hence treachery, sedition and disloyalty was commonly practised. Majority of them were cruel and if their authority remained ineffective outside, they executed it within their palaces by ordering any one to be killed or blinded.

Lack of good sense and a popular indifference towards improvement brought the state of things so low that it being impossible for any one to secure prosperity for the empire. If the rulers were imbecile and corrupt, the nobility was degenerated and still worse. Associated with women, eunuchs, and parasites, and completely hemmed in by evervating pleasures, they were only a blot in their names.

Despite their ignoble character, the nobility was much more ambitious than the kings during the first half of the 18th century. According to contemporary authorities Zulfiqar Khan was ambitious to

5. Irvine : See Bahadur Shah's character.

carve out an independent principality in southern India during the last days of the emperor Aurangzeb.⁶ This is not surprising because the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan had considerably enhanced the market value of the leading nobles. The impending struggle for throne after Aurangzeb, and this being an expected regular feature at the death of every Mughul king, provided ample opportunities for adventurers of skill and experience like Zulfiqar and Nizam ul-Mulk.

However for the nobles themselves the war of successions were not a small risk. Some times, as it happened immediately after the second war of succession (between the sons of Aurangzeb), senior most nobles (Zulfiqar Khan and his father Asad Khan) flocked round a prince (Azam) who was the expected winner, and thus they lost their position before a far junior officer (Munim Khan) who supported the cause of the victor (prince Muazzam). Thus, ensued further jealousies between the old and the new nobility and the former availed of every opportunity to undo the achievements of the latter.

The war of succession after Bahadur Shah developed a new trend. Now, the struggle was not between the princes of the royal dynasty but only between a prince (Azim-ush-Shan) and a noble (Zulfiqar). Nay, it exposed a fact that henceforth the real power of the state lay in the hands of the nobles and that the position of the king was gradually receding into insignificance. The victory of Zulfiqar over prince Azim-ush-Shan firstly, and over princes Jahan Shah and Rafi-ush-Shan later, was the victory of the nobility over the ruling dynasty and the subsequent struggle of Farrukh Siyer with Sayed Brothers was only a shadow of the past in which the withering prestige of the emperor stood on its last legs.

Thus the war of successions which were once a personal concern of the princes turned into civil wars with the passage of times—a situation which proved disastrous for the Mughuls. Besides, these struggles for throne, twelve in total⁷, drained out the entire resources of the

6 For details see Sarkar, Aurangzeb, v, p. 101

7. Dara Shikoh.	1 (against Shuja)
Aurangzeb.	3 (against Jai Singh, Dara & Shuja)
Shah Alam.	2 (against Azam and Kam Bukhsh),
Jahandar Shah.	3 (Azim, Jahan Shah and Rafi).
Farrukh Siyer.	1 (Jahandar Shah).
Muhammad Shah.	2 (against Sayed Abdullah and Dilawar Khan).

empire in men, money and material. The loss which the people, the poor citizens, and the peasants may have suffered is beyond comprehension.

The crises in the Jagirdari system appeared seriously in the reign of Aurangzeb, and the situation became more appalling in the subsequent years. The attempts to reforms ventured by Ikhlas Khan, Munim Khan, Zulfiqar Khan, Inayatullah Khan and Nizam ul-Mulk were opposed by the groups affected. The assigned lands having been exhausted, the emperors were obliged to give up their claims on crown-land which too were gradually distributed. The emperors in the later 18th century therefore, were reduced to the position of a parasite, dependent on the mercy of the nobles offering nazars and presents.

Apart from the mansabdars who held prominent position and were fabulously rich, the majority suffered for want of pay. Economically frustrated, they turned violent and occasionally insulted publicly revenue officers, looting and plundering the town. "Their efficiency was decreased and the majority turned into a body-mercenary who served only for what they were paid and were ready at any moment to desert to a higher bidder."⁸ And yet almost all of them lived a voluptuous life. They were sodomist; they indulged in adultery; use of liquor was frequent and the entire society had fallen a prey to the evil influence of an artificial approach towards life.

Social degeneration, under the Mughuls therefore, is as much a cause of their decline as a result of it. Similarly the agrarian crises in the 18th century tumbled headlong the entire structure of the administrative machinery built-up by Akbar and Shah Jahan. Hence the importance of the study.

A number of Tazkirahs form an important and interesting study of the 18th century Muslim Society. Nawab Dargah Quli Khan, the author of *Murraqa-i-Dehli* was in service with Nizam ul-Mulk. He appears keenly interested in the social and cultural life of Delhi. His account of the fairs and festivals of different classes of people such as dancers and musicians is extremely useful. Similarly *Tazkirah-i-Shuarah-i-Urdu* of Mir Hassan, *Nikat ush-Shuarah* by Mir Taqi Mir, and *Majmuah-i-Naghz* of Qudratullah Qasim are useful contemporary

8. Irvine: *The army of the Indian Mughals*, London, 1903, p. 96.

accounts which throw considerable light on the structure of the society; the corruption and other social vices prevalent among the people, and the forces of the supernatural belief which had captivated their minds. Above all Shah Waliullah's Hujjatullah-al-Balighah ranks high in the religio-political literature produced by the Muslim scholars of the 18th century. His Siyasi Maktoobat edited by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami are extremely useful for the study of socio-economic as well as political conditions during the decline of the Mughuls.

Some significant Administrative manuals need also be mentioned with regard to the Agrarian crises. The Nigar Nama-i-Munshi, compiled in 1098 H. contains personal letters exchanged between the nobles and the princes. It also contains some arz-dashts to the emperor, as well as farmans, nishans, and parwanas, etc. The manual covers all the branches of Mughul administration except the mansabdari system, and throws considerable light on the institution of Jagirdari, functions and duties of various officials, the system of ijarahdari and the method of assessment. It also contains the famous farman of Aurangzeb to Rasikdas Krori.

Similarly the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, of Jawahar Mal Baikas, Farhang-i-Kardani of Jagat Rai Shujai and Khulasat-us-Siyaq are invaluable administrative manuals which contain letters of appointments, undertakings, arz-dashts, administrative practices of diwan-i-aala, mir bukhshi, mir saman, sadr, the functions of diwan, amin, and krori and the land revenue and ijarahdari system. A comparative study of these administrative manuals is important as well as interesting.

DEGENERATED SOCIETY

Its Causes and Consequences

The organization of the nobility was one of the most important institutions on which depended to a large extent the very existence of the Mughul empire. The organization which was based upon the mansabdari system embodied both civil and military functions of the state. "It constituted an agency through which the standards and manners of life, centralised in the person of monarch, were diffused in the lower classes. The nobility at the court¹ was thus the instrument of the royal will. They were always at the beck and call of their master. The Mughul emperor was the source from whom they derived their all pleasures in life ; on whose favour depended their success and future career. These nobles were the adorners of the court, the sword of the throne, and the pillar of the State. Despite their racial, regional, and religious differences they were imbibed in a common cause of loyalty to the reigning dynasty."

Abdul Aziz suggests that the nobility "constituted the style, the habits and customs of the people, their ideas, tendencies and ambitions. Their tastes and pleasures were often unconsciously fashioned on this model. The peerage acted as the conduit pipe for this stream of influence." Their patronage of art and culture followed the same line ; and "where the interest was not genuine the enlightened pursuits were followed and encouraged as a dogma dictated by fashion. The current of public opinion and social conventions was set by the practice follow-

1. The court was an assembly of the heads of the various administrative departments in the administration of the country. Besides the Wazir who was the senior most officer under the emperor (also called Vakil in Akbar's time ; see *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, pp. 260-8) there was a Diwan, a Khan-i-Saman, a Mir Bakhshi, a Chief Qazi, a Chief Sadar, a Muhtasib representing the major Departments of Revenue/exchequer, Imperial House Hold, Paymaster (army), Civil and Criminal Law, Religious endowments, and Charity, and Censorship of public morals, etc., respectively. Under minor departments Mir Atish *i.e.*, Chief of Artillery represented his department in the court ; see Sarkar : *Mughul Administration*, pp. 22-3.

ed at the court or by the nobility".² Under Akbar the system was also an instrument of the new agrarian policy which aimed at augmenting the resources of the State by the improvement and expansion of cultivation through such a measures as providing facilities of irrigation, and substituting lower grade crops by better crops and by a system of corporation. The nobles were also required to encourage the pesants with loans, etc. in their respective jurisdictions for the cultivation of irrigation lands.

Apart from the Mughul princes who came along with Babar or Humayun and were known as Mirzas, the nobility was divided into various categories. Nobles having a mansab of 200 zat were known as Amirs.³ Under Shah Jahan this limit was raised to 500.⁴ Umara-i-kibar and Umara-i-Uzzam were nobles having a mansab of 1000 zat or more.⁵ The mir bukhshi at the court was called the Amir-ul-Umara or the chief amir.⁶ The nobles were recruited from the divergent stock of fortune-hunters from different countries who in the words of Bernier "enticed one another to the court".⁷ Their racial and ethnic feelings divided them into various groups and thus prevented them to form a strong baronial class. Their different sections could be easily played off against one another by the emperor, who was usually jealous of their grouping into a union or independence. But individually in their capacities as holders of smaller units of administration, when united together, they integrated as a whole into a royal absolutism.

The nobles were responsible for the expansion of the empire without exposing the emperor to any danger. Thus, conquests depended mostly upon the bold initiative of the zealous enthusiastic, and enterprising generals, who maintained independent

2. See Abdul Aziz : The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, Lahore, p. 158

3. Blockmann, i, p. 239.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

6. *Ibid.* The amir-ul-umara could sit on a throne with the consent of the emperor. When Humayun became king he conferred the title upon Hindu Beg and also granted him a golden throne, see Badauni : tr. Ranking, i, p. 457.

7. Bernier, tr. Archibald, p. 204.

troops and artillery, responsible to them. The loyalty and disloyalty of the troops to the emperor depended upon the loyalty and disloyalty of their masters. If the general fought for the emperor the troops also fought for the emperor. If the general ordered to fight against the emperor the troops had little hesitation in firing upon him. The blind obedience of the troops to the cause of their employers gave further strength to the position of the generals particularly in the far off provinces where the control of the central government was less effective.

The Mughul officials were paid in cash as well as in jagirs, which if in a well-settled land, were more profitable and preferred. They enjoyed jagirs during their life, or when in service. According to Mughul law the property of mansabdars was escheated in the name of the emperor after his death. "The Great Moghal", observes Bernier, "constitutes himself heir of all the umarajs or lords, and likewise of mansabdars or inferior lords, who are in his pay; and what is of the utmost importance, that he is proprietor of every acre of land in the kingdom, excepting perhaps some houses and gardens which he some time permits his subjects to buy or sell, and otherwise dispose off among themselves."⁸ Under the system no one was possessed of wealth derived from a hereditary domain and therefore no one could live on his patrimony. No one could consolidate a strong position for his family.

The law had its merits as well as demerits. Its consequences however, proved far reaching.⁹ The system was conducive to the

8. *Op. cit.*.

9. The escheat system had some sound reasons. The first being that all officers usually owed to State a debt which was never cleared till their death. They as mansabdars, were required to maintain troops, carriage-animals, horses, etc., for the State requirement and for all this paraphernalia each mansabdar was paid from a jagir granted to him. He was required to deduct from the revenue of the jagir a fixed amount for animals, horses, his troops and his personal salary according to rank and to deposit the surplus amount in the imperial treasury. However, during their frequent engagements in battles a check upon these officers was not possible and the accounts were never cleared. According to *Mirat-i-Ahmedi* Raja Jaswant Singh had not paid his dues for a long. When he was appointed subedar of Gujrat he promised to pay rupees 2 lacs every year, till his debt be cleared. (ii, p. 272).

Mustaid Khan reports that Shaista Khan the subedar of Bengal had drawn from the treasury rupees one crore and 32 lacs in excess to his pay for 12 months. Aurangzeb ordered the amount to be considered as loan (p. 170). (*Continued*)

highest development of individuals and it did succeed in bringing forward the best talents. During the days of Akbar the number of mansabdars including grandees was quite manageable and in accordance with¹⁰ the assignment of jagirs within the conquered territory. But the number of mansabdars started increasing immediately with the beginning of Jahangir's reign and it continued in the subsequent period with the same pace until the system was completely paralysed in the reign of Aurangzeb. Now a Jagir was granted against a mansab on paper but in fact there was no land which could be assigned in compliance with the orders.¹¹

Khafi Khan records about the end of Shah Jahan's reign "...that after a heavy shower of mansabs—there had remained no more Khalsa's left with the king. The treasury balance were at a miserable ebb, and the list of the mansabdars big and small knew no bounds. The jagir holders and those who drew cash salaries were alike in desperate straits; complaints were useless and they had to content themselves with a mansab without a revenue."¹² The crises in the system of administration and a negligence for finding out its remedy gave birth to intrigues and consequently manoeuvring for easily manageable jagirs became an important pre-occupation of the nobles and their agents at the court.¹³

Akbar had based his mansabdari system on sound footings by imposing upon his officers all possible checks and restrictions. High ranks and offices were granted to princes and nobles only in extreme confidence with the emperor. Of all the four princes Salim held the highest rank of 12,000/10,000 horses;¹⁴ Murad and Danial died during

Thus the military accounts remained uncleared and the exact amount of the state dues and liabilities remained unknown even after the death of the officers. Under the circumstances, the only alternative for the emperor was to escheat the property of his officer immediately after his death. (See also Ali Muhammad, i, pp. 266, 319; Manucci, ii. p. 417).

10. Blockmann: pp. 595, 597—604; Abul Fazl reports 1589 mansabdars under Akbar and Abdul Aziz on the authority of Nizam 1803, see Aziz, p. 109.

11. Bernier; tr. Archibald, pp. 225-26.

12. Khafi Khan, pp. 759-60.

13. For details See Irvine, Later Mughals vol. i.

14. Abul Fazl: iii, pp. 649-50, Badauni, Ranking: p. 342.

their father's regime with 9,000 and 7,000 ranks respectively.¹⁵ Prince Khusrau who was the eldest son of Prince Salim held the second highest rank of 10,000/10,000 under his grandfather, which honour eventually put an air in his mind to rival his own father at the death of Akbar.¹⁶

Among the nobles who held the rank over 5,000 were Raja Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka who received further promotion to the rank of 7,000/6,000 horses. But out of 30 nobles who held the rank of 5,000 during the regime of Akbar only eight were living at the time of his death. They were : Mirza Shah Rukh, Mirza Rustam, Saeed Khan, Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Jagan Nath, Shah Beg Khan, Qilij Khan and Raja Bikramajit. In all there were 10 nobles above 5,000 rank.¹⁷

Jahangir commenced his reign on the solid footing laid in by Akbar. But instead of appreciating the difficulties which his father had encountered in the system, he showered mansabs on all high and low without discrimination. This practice continued till the end of his reign. As a prince he had enjoyed the maximum rank of 12,000/10,000¹⁸ but he now raised prince Pervez to 40,000/30,000 and Khurram to 30,000/20,000. Prince Shehryar and Dawar Bukhsh, however, remained at 12,000/8,000 and 8,000/3,000 respectively.¹⁹

Among the nobles, besides 50 mansabdars of the rank of 5,000, there were six mansabdars each of 6,000 and 7,000 ranks. In all, excluding the princes, there were sixty-two (62) mansabdars with a rank of 5,000 or more in the regime of Jahangir as against only ten under Akbar.²⁰

Jahangir introduced another evil in the system by proclaiming that "whoever desires his birthplace to be turned into his Jagir, should make a representation to that effect so that in accordance with the Chingiz

15. Abul Fazl, iii, p. 839.

16. Abul Fazl, iii, p. 721.

17. Aziz, pp. 114-15.

18. Abul Fazl, iii, pp. 649-50 ; Badauni, Ranking, ii, p. 342.

19. Tuzuk Jahangiri, pp. 160-61, 195, 347 ; cf : Aziz, op. cit.

20. Aziz, p. 228, 74-78.

Canon (Tura) the estate might be conveyed to him... and he might be secured from apprehension of transfers".²¹

Introduction of du-aspa and seh-aspa sawar rank was another important feature of this reign, which was granted in reward of exceptional services. But the grant, being jealously guarded, was withdrawn even in case of petty offences to the emperor.²²

Shah Jahan was conscious of the evils introduced by Jahangir but without realizing the complexity of the situation arising from a considerable increase in the number and rank of mansabdars, he continued reckless awards of mansab, which flow, was more excessive in his reign than in the reign of Jahangir. The maximum rank of a prince which was 40,000/30,000 (Pervez) under the preceding reign, was now raised to 60,000/40,000 (Dara Shukoh) and hitherto the maximum rank of 7,000/7,000 for the nobles, was now raised to 9,000/9,000 for Yamin-ud-Daula Asaf Khan.²³

The total number of ranks over 5,000 in the second decade under Shah Jahan's reign, was 38 in which included 8 princes; their rank ranging from 5,000 to 60,000. Amongst the nobles there was one mansabdar of 9,000, nine mansabdars of 7,000, eight mansabdars of 6,000, and twenty mansabdars of 5,000. Thus comparing the ratio, the increase in the number of mansabdar under Shah Jahan and Jahangir was the same as under Jahangir and Akbar.²⁴

Under Aurangzeb situation hardly improved with the exception that the maximum ranks of the princes and the nobles were reduced from 60,000/9,000 to 40,000/7,000 respectively.²⁵ But in his reign the total number of mansabdars from 5,000 to 40,000, including 10 princes, were 71 (Thirty-five mansabdars from 6,000 to 40,000²⁶ and thirty-six

21. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 23 ; cf : Aziz *Ibid*.

22. *Ibid*, Badauni, Suggests that du-aspa-yak-aspa and nim-aspa sawars also existed in the reign of Akbar before reforms; see Badauni, Ranking, p, 191 ; Aziz, p. 200.

23. Hamid Lahori, ii. pp. 292-3, 717-18 ; M. Saleh Kamboh: Amal-i-Saleh, Bibliothica Indica, ii. ; pp. 448-50.

24. *Ibid* ; Aziz, pp. 125-6.

25. Abul Fazl, p. 54 ; Muhammad Ali, p. 370.

26. Aziz, pp. 132-33, 27, Faruqi : Aurangzeb and his Times, Bombay, 1935, p. 201.

mansabdars of 5000 only).²⁷ The ratio, therefore, in the increase of mansabdars during the reign of Aurangzeb was more than in the reign of Shah Jahan or his predecessors.

Akbar's mansabdars, though less in numbers, drew much higher personal salary as compared to the salaries of the mansabdars in the following reigns. In his reign a mansabdar got only 5% over the pay of his trooper besides his 'zat' salary. But under the following reigns a mansabdar pocketed the pay of two troopers out of three or three troopers out of every four.²⁸

Thus mansabdari was a much profitable business in the later reigns than under Akbar. The sawar rank made its appearance in A.D. 1593,²⁹ whence there being practically no zat rank without a sawar rank. The practice continued under Jahangir despite amass creation of mansabdars. When Shah Jahan realised in his reign the evils of the system, he introduced reforms in the salaries as well as in fixing the ratio of the minimum number of sawars to be maintained by a mansabdar.³⁰

However, in the reign of Shah Jahan, a mansabdar of 3000 sawar rank drew his salary amounting approximately to rupees 17 lacs per annum which was the pay of the viceroy of India under the British government. If Moreland's views be accepted that the purchasing power of a rupee under Shah Jahan was four times greater than in his own times,³¹ a mansabdar of less than a thousand sawar rank should be economically

27. Abul Fazl, iii, p. 49-50. Aziz, p. 71.

29. *Ibid.*

30. In the first case the 'zat' salary of a mansabdar was reduced, and in the later case it was ordered that a mansabdar should keep troops one-third of his sawar rank in his own jagir and one fourth of his sawar rank when he was serving at some distant place. Introduction of these reforms obviously means that before Shah Jahan's orders, the ratio of the sawar rank maintained by mansabdar was still low and the zat salary of a mansabdar was higher.

After the introduction of Shah Jahan's reforms for example, a mansabdars of one hundred sawar rank was supposed to keep 33 troops in his own jagir and 25 outside. Thus out of the total amount of 10,00,000 dams which he received against his personal salary *i.e.*, 200,000 dams, and the salary of his troopers, he pocketed either 5,20,000 dams or 600,000 dams extra and about three times more than his personal salary.

31. Moreland : India at the death of Akbar, London, 1920, p. 262.

as well set up as the viceroy of India in the twenties of the 20th century.

Further, the heavy emoluments to the nobles and cheap cost of living enabled the nobles to live a princely life which was very much desired by the emperors. No king ever wished his court nobles shabbily dressed, or suppressed economically. On the contrary, costly presents which were frequently offered by the nobles to the king on different occasions made it necessary that the nobles should be secure from financial embarrassments. Heavy emoluments to the nobles were also deemed essential as the emperors wanted them to be closer with the people by undertaking the construction of various public works. When Babar built a palace and a garden near Agra, after the battle of Panipat, he also encouraged his nobles to follow his example.³² Similarly Akbar's example was followed by his nobles when the former founded the new city of Fatehpur Sikri.³³

Yet, some of the nobles were fabulously rich. In Akbar's time Pir Muhammad Khan rose from the position of a Mulla to that of an Amir. He lived a princely life. Once during a hunting expedition he was accompanied by Khan-i-Khana whom he surprised by a hastily prepared meal which provided variety of dishes in hundreds and every dish in abundance.³⁴

Commenting upon the wealth and style of living of the nobles, Bernier observes : "they maintain the splendour of the court and are never seen out of door but in most superb apparels mounted sometimes on elephants, sometimes on horse-back and not infrequently on palkies, attended by many of their cavalry and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in form and at either sides of their lords not only to clear the way but also to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks".³⁵

Delaet's comments on the nobles of Akbar and Jahangir are precise but full of meanings. He observes that : "the luxury of the nobles could scarcely be described seeing that their one concern in life

32. Badauni, tr. Lowe, ii, p 112

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid* ; p. 19.

35. Bernier tr. Archibald, pp. 213-14.

was to secure a surfeit of every kind of pleasure".³⁶

Hoardings amongst the nobles was common, although not very much desired. Makhdoom-ul-Mulk died in the year 990/1582 A.D. in Lahore. Qazi Ali was commissioned by the emperor to find out the particulars of his property. He discovered such a vast treasure as defied the eye of conjecture to open their locks. Several ingots of gold were discovered in the sepulchre, where he had caused them to be buried as corpse. The entire wealth which lay open to the eyes of the world was so much as no one but the Almighty Creator could only ascertain.³⁷ Another noble Qutb-ud-Din Muhammad Khan left a private treasure of rupees ten crores,³⁸ whereas Asaf Khan, wakil-i-mutlaq of Shah Jahan left behind him a treasure of Rs. two crores and fifty lacs.³⁹ His successor⁴⁰ amir-ul-umarah Ali Mardan Khan whose emoluments were near rupees 2½ lacs per month left equally a large amount after his death.⁴¹ Ghazi-ud-Din Feroze Jang was one of the leading generals under Aurangzeb. He was the only Mughul general who retained his position even when, due to an epidemic outbreak, he had lost his eyesight.⁴² His property, recorded after his death, consisted of one and a half lacs of rupees in bills on bankers, 1,33,000 gold muhurs, 25,000 huns (gold) and nim-polies (gold), 17,000 gold polies, 400 adhalli (half), 8,000 silver polies, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen, and thirty-eight elephants.⁴³

Very often nobles spent all what they earned for fear of escheat after their death. As such same nobles became either extravagant to an extent that they ran into debt,⁴⁴ or as Tavernier suggests, they left a treasure of which the emperor had no knowledge.⁴⁵

36. Delaet : The Empire of the Great Mogol, tr. Hoyland annotated by S.N. Bannerjee, Bombay, 1928, p. 90.

37. Badauni : Lowe, p. 32.

38. *Ibid*, p. 341.

39. Abdul Hamid (E. & D.) vii, (Bibliotheca Indica) pp. 68, 69.

40. *Ibid*, ii, p. 321.

41. *Ibid*, (E & D), vii, p. 124.

42. Irvine, i, p. 270.

43. *Ibid*.

44. Bernier ; Archibald, p. 213.

45. Tavernier : Travels in India, tr. V, Ball, London, 1678, i, p. 18

The policy of escheating the property, as has been elaborated elsewhere, was to prevent the formation of a strong baronial class. But the law was not strictly followed after the reign of Akbar. Jahangir granted Rs. 40,00,000 left by Khan Dauran to his sons.⁴⁶ After the death of Shah Nawaz Khan, the same emperor was touched by the hardships on the family of the deceased and granted a mansab of 5,000 to his younger brother, Darab.⁴⁷ Similarly on compassionate grounds Zahid Koka was granted a rank of 1000/400 after the death of his father, although he was only ten years old.⁴⁸

Manuncci says that a favourite slave of Shan Jahan was beaten to death because he persisted in offering betels to the nobles at court against the orders of the emperor. His property was however exempted from confiscation.⁴⁹ According to Mirat-i-Ahmadi Aurangzeb too had abolished the policy of confiscating the estates of the deceased nobles against whom there were no government claims, although no such concession was allowed during the previous reigns.⁵⁰

The practice of restitution proved disastrous for two main reasons: Firstly because, the earlier practice of escheate had turned nobles knave and indescend. Invariably every noble, fearing the practice of confiscation concealed his valuables and cash surplus to the needs of his descendents.⁵¹ Secondly, the practice of restitution emboldered the nobles to withhold the imperial revenues and their accounts were never cleared. Above all they had the hope of making their assignments hereditary.

If this practice was overlooked in exceptional cases under Jahangir and his successor, the later Mughul emperors made efforts to stop it. Bakhtawar Khan reports that Aurangzeb relinquished the government's claim against the ancestors of the state officers which was deducted from their salaries as a routine. He also abolished the law of confiscating the properties of the deceased mansabdars against whom there were

46. Rogers and Baveridge, ii. p. 172.

47. *Ibid*, ii. p. 88.

48. Samsam, tr. Beveridge, p. 572.

49. Manucci, i, p. 202.

50. E & D viii, pp. 160-161.

51. Travenir tr. Ball, i, p. 18.

no sufficient claims.⁵² This amount which was realized from the officer's salaries contributed considerably to the imperial revenues. It was totally abandoned by prince Azam Shah, who, as Ghulam Hussain remarks, abhorred the practice.⁵³ Muhammad Shah, too refused to forfeit the property of Muhammad Amin, wazir-ul-mumalik, which amounted to several crores, although the imperial treasury was empty due to the immense levies of Sayed Brothers.⁵⁴

Thus, when the declining process of the Mughul empire was rather fast the impolicy of measures adopted by the later Mughuls on mere compassionate grounds for a few nobles, made them cupidinous and aspirant for independent hereditary jagirs.⁵⁵ The war of successions after Shan Jahan successively one after another reign further enhanced their importance. If on the one hand their frequent claims for mansabs and Jagirs, etc., were a bargain with the emperors,⁵⁶ on the other hand their gradual economic stability against the receding financial resources of the empire, placed them in a predominant position. While the emperors, deprived of active politics,⁵⁷ reconciled themselves in the closets of the harem, the nobles busied themselves in securing their positions at court between intrigues and counter-intrigues.

There was no such bond that obliged nobles to stick to their master. Their loyalty, devotion and obedience was subject to the calibre of the emperor. The nobles of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb gave the emperors their due place but the extinction of the old nobility exposed the weaker sovereigns to greater danger particularly at the hands of those nobles who were young in age, immature in policy, weak in experience and devoid of scruples. Profitable Jagirs turned them into a hereditary feudal class, divided them into factions,

52. Bakhtawar Khan : *Miratu-ul-Alam* (E. & D.) vii, pp. 160-1.

53. Ghulam Hussain, *Siyer-ul-Mutaakherin*, tr. Briggs, i, pp 205-216.

54. *Ibid*, p. 205.

55. Zulfiqar Khan who was aspiring for the Deccan States during the life-time of Aurangzeb, see Sarkar Aurangzeb, V, p. 101.

56. Sayed Brothers who wanted wizarat and the post of chief bukhshi for themselves, after they placed Farrukh Siyer on the throne, see Khafi Khan p. 711-12.

57. Jahandar Shah and Muhammad Shah.

and developed in them mutual jealousy and distrust. The result was internal disruption at the court and frequent civil wars. All this was enough to shatter the very roots of the empire.

Shah Wali Ullah, the famous Muslim Scholar and Jurist of the 18th Century, was born in the year 1703 when the Mughul boundaries were expanding. But his growth in age was paripassu with the decline of the Mughul empire. He had seen with his own eyes, the various political, social and economic problems facing the Mughuls which he had opportunities to analyse. Writing about the nobility he observes : "These nobles were rulers for generations and every one of them tried to vie each other in ostentatious living. A time came that if a noble wore (a dress of) one lac of dirham he was looked with contempt. If a noble did not possess a magnificent residential house, bath, gardens, and fine beds to rest, he was considered to be bankrupt. They incurred much expenditure on food and garments"⁵⁸

At another place he explains more vividly the condition of the society, he says : "When countries are being spent in the throes of patriarchal government, the people start behaving like beasts. They indulge in pillage, plunder, and sensual pleasures, such as sodomism and effeminacy. They are deceitful and unreliable ; but in matters of dress and other occasional functions, they spend profusely. They find little time for statework but they unceasingly engage themselves in dances, chess, hunting and pigeon-fencing. Exorbitant taxes are charged from the people who are ruined and oppressed. Among the nobles, the hunger for more and more money spreads jealousy in them and thus the vices spread wider and wider ..."⁵⁹

Shah Abdul Aziz, the revered successor of Shah Wali Ullah laments that extravagance of some nobles had reached its climax. The harem of Nawab Qamar-ud-Din Khan, the wazir of emperor Muhammad Shah, used to take bath in the rose-water.⁶⁰ According to Shakir Khan, inspite of such lavish expenditures, when Qamar-ud-Din Khan died,

58. Shah Wali Ullah : Hujjat-Ullah-ul-Balighah, Abdul Haq; ii, cf: G. Hussain : Shah Waliullah ki Talim, 1963, p. 256.

59. Shah Wali Ullah : Hujjat-Ullah-ul-Balighah, tr. M. Ismail (Burhan-i-Ilahi, Lahore), p. 132.

60. See Malfuzat-i-Shah Abdul Aziz, Mujtabai Press, p. 110,

cash and gold worth rupees twelve crores was discovered from his residence.⁶¹ Roshan-ud-Daula, an upstart, got a lift from the rank of 1000/500 to 7000/7000 in one revolution.⁶² Within a short time (in the reign of Muhammad Shah) he had hoarded so much of wealth that his palki and the elephant were heavily decorated with gold ornaments, so much so that the palki carriers and beggars used to collect several tolas of gold every day.⁶³ A *lungar* (لنگر) which was sponsored by him distributed a huge amount of cooked food of all qualities among the poor.⁶⁴

Syed Abdullah Khan Barah used to distribute among the poor rupees 20,000 every month.⁶⁵ He paid rupees 200 for the transport from his residence to the imperial fort which was not a very distant place.⁶⁶ In the marriage of Ikram-ud-Daula, and Siraj-ud-Daula, sons of Mahabat Jang, one to two thousand of Khilaats were distributed to musicians, etc. which cost from rupees four hundred to one thousand each.⁶⁷

Inflation of money in the nobility introduced in them immorality and personal vices. Use of alcoholic drinks was almost a fashion. Polygamy was practised to the extent of an abuse. Pleasure-women were their usual pass-time who, not infrequently, were brought home

61. Shakir Khan, Tazkirah-i-Shakir Khani (Rotograph), f. 78.

62. His real name was Khwaja Muzaffar a mansabdar of prince Rafi-us-Shan with a rank of 1000/500 and the title of Zafar Khan. When the prince was killed in the war of succession (1712) Khwaja Muzaffar was out of Job. On being informed by some pious person about the advance of Farrukh Siyer against Jahandar Shah, he joined the prince on the recommendations of Sayed Hussain Ali Khan. He was granted a rank of 5000/5000 a standard, a drum, a decorated palki and the title of Zafar Khan Bahadur Rustam Jang. When the Battle was won he was at once raised to 7000/7000 with the title of Roshan-ud-Daula. See Samsam, Maasir-ul-Umarah ii, pp. 33-35.) He had spent rupees sixty lacs in marriage of his daughter with the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah at Aurangabad. See Muhammad Ali, Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS). f. 198 ; Ghulam Ali, Imad-us-Saadat, p. 36 ; Harcharan Das, Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai, (MS), ff. 393-4 ; Ghulam Hussain, iii, p. 857.

63. Khushhal, f. 936.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. Ghulam Hussain, ii, pp. 552-53,

and included in the harems as concubines or wives.

Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, had more than 2700 women in his harem out of whom 2,000 were his maid-servants and the rest wives.⁶⁸ "The greatest blot on his (Shuja-ud Daula) character", says his biographer, "however was his excessive fondness for the company of women and his addiction to sexual hobbies which absorbed much of his time, interfered some times with the business of administration and neutralized his great qualities of head and heart. In this respect he fell below the standard of age, for though 18th century Indian and European princes (Louis XVI of France) alike were guilty of immorality, none was a greater voluptuous than Shuja-ud Daula".⁶⁹

The estimate of the Nawab Wazir is further supported by George Forster a contemporary traveller who remarks: "Shuja-ud-Daula was equally rapacious in acquiring as sordid in preserving wealth. His excess in venery, which new no control led him to commit actions derogatory to his station as well as pernicious to his health, and even when his order had produced an irrevocable stage of decrease, he continued to indulge in promiscuous use of women".⁷⁰

Shuja-ud-Daula was not a solitary example of immoral nobles. A number of histories, chronicles and tazkirahs reflect upon the general character of the nobility in the 18th century. Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan reports that during the reign of Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan son of Qazi Asad Khan, remained all the time plunged in dissipation.⁷¹ According to Khafi Khan, Sayed Abdullah the wazir of the emperor Farrukh Siyer, had collected innumerable ladies in his harem; most of them were concubines.⁷² The same historian reports that when Sayed Abdullah was at the acme of his career, he had managed to woo some beautiful royal ladies whom he included in his harem for gratifying his animal desires.⁷³

68. A.L. Srivastava : Shuja-ud-Daula, Lahore, 1945, ii, pp. 299; Ch. Ali Abbas : Life and Times of Imad-ul-Mulk, p. 90.

69. *Op. cit.*, 299.

70. See also Chahar Gulzar Shujai for sensual indulgences of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula, f. 395 onward.

71. Shakir Khan; f. 101.

72. Khafi Khan, ii, pp. 933-4.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 821-2.

The Muraqqa-i-Delhi paints a more vivid picture of the life of wazir-ul-mumalik : "He was much addicted to wine and much attached to the beautiful boys. His house resembles Gulshanabad due to the gathering of young boys. His castle, enlightened with moon-like faces, is an abode of faries. Wherever he discovers a beautiful boy, he longs his company. Who so ever is proud of his beauty is attracted to his majlis. He is a govial sodomist. The sons of Kalawant⁷⁴ attends his majlis in crowd. Beautiful boys come to him in troops".⁷⁵

Husain Ali Khan, amir-ul-umarah and mir bukhshi of the emperor Farrukh Siyer, 'too, indulged in dissipation at the end of his life which brought sufficient discredit to his name.⁷⁶

Ghulam Hussain Khan says that Qamar-ud-Din Khan, wazir of the emperor Muhammad Shah, was a great drunkard. He was wholly engrossed in his pleasures and spent his time in intemperence and in the company of handsome youths which he could procure from all parts of the empire.⁷⁷

Qazilbash Khan Umid, who had migrated from Persia in the reign of Muhammad Shah was employed with a mansab of 5000. It is said that his beloved Mir Abdul Hai Taban used to supply his sodomist lover young boys well dressed in female garments and ornaments.⁷⁸

Another noble of Muhammad Shah by the name of Abdul Ghafur was exceedingly dissolute. He would dress up himself like a pleasure-woman; his hands and feet hina-dyed, and wearing many gold ornaments. Dancers were invited to dance at the gates of his residence while he would sit before them with a cup of wine in his hand. In excitement he would himself dance along with others after covering his head with a shawl like a woman.⁷⁹ In adultery he had crossed limits. He would get hold of any poor lady carrying a pitcher and appropriate her

74. Kalawant Means singers.

75. Dargah Quli Khan : Muraqqai-Delhi, Taj Press, Deccan, pp. 33.

76. Samsam, i. p. 321.

77. Ghulam Hussain, tr. Brigg. p. 234.

78. Meer Hasan : Tazkirah-i-Shuarah-i-Urdu, ed. Habib-ur-Rehman Khan Sherwani, Aligarh, 1922 ; p. 465. cf : Karim-ud-Din : Tazkirah-i-Tabaqatush-Shurah, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Urdu, p. 167.

79. Irvine, ii. p. 263.

for gratifying his passions.⁸⁰

Corruption did not prevail exclusively in the nobility. Their ladies sailed in the same boat. Mughlani Begum,⁸¹ the wife of Mir Mannu, Governor of the Punjab and Multan was a fast woman. She successfully poisoned her husband (1753), and after six months, her only son, Muhammad Amin, the baby-governor of the province. Both the father and the son had shown similar symptoms at the time of death.⁸² About Mughlani Begum, Hari Ram Gupta observes: "Ambitious as she was, she loved power, which sometime exceeded the bounds of propriety. Her strong sexual urge instead of proving a great asset developed into a low passions".⁸³ A number of courtiers at Lahore claimed her charms. Miskin⁸⁴ was one victim of her low passions, Ghazi Beg was another whose love-episodes with the Begum were on the lips of lay-men.⁸⁵

Within the royal harem condition of the queens and princesses was different. Whereas the nobles enjoyed life with considerable economic stability, in the imperial palaces there was neither to eat nor to wear. Shakir Khan (who was also the diwan of Prince Ali Gauhar, later on the emperor Shah Alam II) narrates that in the reign of Alamgir II he was taking a mug of broth from the pauper-charity kitchen to the prince for official inspection when the prince asked him to give the same to the ladies in the palace as no fire had been kindled in the harem-kitchens for the last three days.⁸⁶ Another

80. *Ibid.*

81. Her real name was Qudsia Begam.

82. Mir Mannu was son of wazir Qamar-ud-Din Khan and was assigned governorship of Lahore and Multan after his victory over Ahmad Shah Abdali in the last year of Muhammad Shah's reign. He was poisoned by his wife Mughlani Begum while he was enjoying a hunting expedition so that she may be the governor of the province. After six months similar was the fate of Amin, her son, whose regent she was—for details see Hari Ram Gupta: A study of the Punjab under the later Mughuls, Lahore 1944

83. Hari Ram Gupta, p. 110.

84. His real name was Tahmasp. His memoirs Tahmasp Nama are a valuable account of the later Mughal Governors in the Punjab. See History of India Elliot & Dowson, viii, p. 100. H. R. Gupta; cf: Ali Abbas: p. 24.

85. *Ibid*, pp. 122-24.

86. Shakir Khan; Cf: Sarkar: Fall of the Mughal Empire, Calcutta, ii. p. 37.

court chronicle of this reign reports that one day a few princesses could not bear the agony of starvation and disregarding the dignity and parda they rushed out of the palace for the city when stopped at the gates of the fort they passed a day and a night in the quarters of the fort-guards after which they were persuaded to return to their closets.⁸⁷

In spite of such deplorable state of affairs, no lesson was taken to improve the condition of the palace either economically or morally. The king,⁸⁸ who was entering his sixtieth year in 1758, had no hesitation in marrying Zeenat Afroz Begum, a young girl of 18, while his own health was totally broken down and he suffered fainting fits, being unable to walk in the midst of a march with his wazir.⁸⁹ A princess, Hazrat Begum,⁹⁰ who had refused the offer of marriage with him earlier in 1756 was wreaked with vengeance as the doors of the princess's quarter opening in the palace were closed.⁹¹

Occasionally the imperial harem were composed of women who belonged to a mean class of society. Prostitutes and dancing girls were wooed by the emperors and included in the harem as the first lady of the palace. Lal Kunwar, the harem of Jahandar Shah is an example. Another, of similar category, was Udham Bai brought to the palace by Muhammad Shah immediately after his accession. She remained favourite with the emperor for a short time but later her fortunes were eclipsed. After the death of Muhammad Shah, her mean origin excited her passions for the darogha-i-haram, an eunuch named Jawed Khan, and during the reign of her son, both of them virtually dominated as the pivot of all party-politics at the court.⁹²

Such was the condition of the upper classes in the society which were to stand as model for the common people. Their influence upon the masses was immense. Shah Wali Ullah whose observations in his

87. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani (Rotograph) f. 174; cf. Sarkar, ii. p. 37.

88. Alamgir Sani (1754-59) sat on the throne at the age of 55, Sarkar, ii. p. 1.

89. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, f. 185; Sarkar ii, p. 4.

90. She was the daughter of the emperor Muhammad Shah.

91. Tarikh-Alamgir Sani, ff. 67 b, 68 a.

92. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah (E & D) viii, pp. 112-13. It is suggested by the same chronicle that she had developed secret intimacy with the eunuch during the reign of Muhammad Shah, *Ibid.*

contemporary period were very deep explains the extent of the influence exercised by the court and the nobility over the common masses. He maintains that the contagious disease of luxury and debauchery of the rulers and the nobles found scope of attaching every class of society.

There was no one, either among the peasantry class or in the upper class who was not indulgent.⁹³ Exceptions apart,⁹⁴ the life in the 18th century was the replica of the lives of nobles and kings. People looked towards them as symbol of fashion and made efforts to immitate. They flocked to the mosques which evidently spoke of the hold of religion upon their minds, but at the same time a cup of wine would bring more cheerfulness at their looks. One could hardly differentiate in their zeal and enthusiasim with which they visited the shrines and khanqahs of the famous saints or the balakhana (uper flat) of the prostitutes.⁹⁵

It is difficult to say that there effected no major changes in the moral values which existed before degeneration and after. These social vices, such as dissipation, prodigality, intemperance and dissolution, as studied in the preceeding lines, were common in the 18th century among all the categories of the soceity. Evidently these evils existed even before. In the 18th century they were diffused in the masses on a larger scale, more so in the absence of a sufficient restrain from within and without. However, the fault lay in an artificial approach towards life,⁹⁶ in which had sunk not only the innocent masses but also those who were once responsible for the spread of Islam in India.⁹⁷ These saints and mashaikhs says Shah Wali Ullah, "have gone astray from the straight path, and they also mislead the people".⁹⁸ The

93. Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligah, tr. Urdu, p. 136.

94. Imad-ul-Mulk, Ghazi-ud-Din Feroze Jang was one exception, who was kept aloof from the usual and common vices of the age with some strictness and force. He married only once at his own will (Ganna Begum); the other, Umda Begum, daughter of famous Mughlani Begum was forced upon him by Abdali. For detail see Ali Abbas, l. c. cf: Sarkar F.M.E. ii, p. 104. See also Indian Antiquiry, 1907, pp. 46-9.

95. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami : Siyasi Maktoobat, p. 52.

96. *Ibid.*

97. Karim-ud-Din, p. 107; see also Nala-i-Andlib of Khawaja Nasir Andlib.

98. Shah Wali Ullah : Al-Balagh-ul-Mubin, Lahore, 1951.

shrines and khanqahs had lost their original sanctity. They were the places, especially on the occasion of Urs, where immoralities were common. They were reduced to meeting places of the lovers. Marri-making and frivolous activities of the voluptuous were unbound and unrestrained. Muraqqai-Delhi portrays a few Urs festivals. It says "during the urs of Khuld Manzil the participants pitched the tents there. The lovers with their hands under the arms of their beloveds are to be seen in every nook and corner and they are seen dancing in every bazar and street. The drunkards having no fear of *muhtasibs*, move about hither and thither in search of more and more wine."⁹⁹

The Khanqah of Majnun Nanak Shahi, situated at the bank of river Jamna, was another such place where characterless people enjoyed. Dargah Quli Khan remarks: "every day people flocked there in great number. Numerous voluptuous ladies in covered litters went there to meet their lovers in the open air and gratified their sexual urge fearlessly."¹⁰⁰

Social vices however were one major factor, but in no case the sole factor, in the degeneration of Muslim society. There were many other factors supporting the same such as the infirmity of Muslim ideology ; the impact of Hindu religion upon the Indian Islam ; and the influence of the Rational and Neutralistic Movements of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Islam as a religion constitutes a simple code of life which is devoid of artificial and superficial elements. In Pakistan and India it spread not by sword but through missionary activities of the sufi's of which the prominent names are : Pir Shams Tabrezi, Qazi Qutb-ud-Din, Baba Farid Shakar Ganj, Khawaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and Sultan Sakhi Sarwar.¹⁰¹ These venerated persons came from different countries of Central Asia and settled in all parts of India with one and definite object *i.e.* to spread Islam.¹⁰² The Muslim converts were thus an additional strength to the Muslim governments eversince their

99. Dargah Quli Khan, l.c.p. 12.

100. *Ibid*, pp. 24—31, 39; Insha Allah Khan Insha : Darya-i-Latafat tr. (Urdu) Brij Mohan, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Urdu, Deccan 1935, p. 56,

101. S.M. Ikram, History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan, Lahore pp. 190—91.

102. *Ibid*.

advent in the subcontinent.¹⁰³ But the saints of Islam, it is suggested, adopted an incorrect approach to conquer the new converts morally and spiritually, who, as observed by Prof. K. R. Qanungo: "established dargahs and khanqahs deliberately on the sites of the ruined places of Hindu and Buddhist worship. This served a double purpose of preventing the revival of these places of heathern sanctity, and later on in installing themselves as the guardian deities with tales of pious fraud invented by popular imagination. Hindus who had been accustomed for centuries to venerate these places gradually forgot their past history and easily transformed their allegiance to the pirs and ghazis. The result of this reproachment in the domain of faith ultimately created a more tolerant atmosphere which kept the Hindus indifferent to their political destiny. It prepared the ground for the further inroad of Islam into Hindu society, particularly among the lower classes who were gradually won over by an assiduous and persistant propaganda regarding the miracles of these saints and ghazis which were in many cases taken over in toto from old Hindu Buddhist legends".¹⁰⁴

The theory propounded by Professor Qanungo about the Muslim missionaries in Bengal is true with some reservation. The practice of occupying the non-Muslim places of worship may be rare, but the working of miracles by the Muslim saints is very commonly claimed, which might have considerably influenced the Hindu mind already pregnable with their legendary history. This might have also originated the grave-worship in India, which in its developed form was lamented by the 18th century reformer: Shah Wali Ullah.

However in northern India, and especially the country which is now West Pakistan, the credit of the spread of Islam goes to the Ismailis, who having come from Persia or Yemen, had settled in the Punjab and Sindh.¹⁰⁵ Their doctrine, which provided a sort of halfway

103. op. cit.

104. Kalike Ranjan Qanungo: A History of Bengal, Dacca, ii, pp. 60-70 cf: Ikram: Muslim Civilization, pp. 191-92; Qanungo says that the most notable examples of the occupation of Hindu worship Place by a Muslim saint is the transformation of the Sringi-Rishi-Kund into the Makhdum Kund of Rajgir and the translation of the miracle working Buddha of the Dava-Dutta legend into a venerable Muslim saint, Makhdum Sahib, see *Ibid.*

105. Ikram, p. 193.

house between Hinduism and Islam gradually died away shortly afterwards when the influence of sunni pirs and rulers increased in the region.¹⁰⁶ By the end of the fourteenth century, Islam had its convert in all parts of India with its channels in the various sufi-orders established at central places. Their preaching affected in a varied manner the growth of Hindu and Muslim societies. They dyed the orthodox Islam in the local traditions which eventually brought about the so-called Hindi-Muslim culture.¹⁰⁷

The influence of Islam was more striking on the mind of the Hindus. The large-scale conversion to Islam within a short period obliged them to analyse the sharp contrast of social freedom offered by the two religions. Consequently a new conception of human relationship began to catch roots, and Islam again forced the idea of reformation in indigenous society as in Europe in the contemporary period.¹⁰⁸ The reformers: Rama Nand, Nanak and Chaitanya, denounced the rigidity of caste system and developed an approach towards life which was neither Hindu nor Muslim. They accepted the moral values propounded and accepted by all religions and prohibited all—that was denied.¹⁰⁹ Such a halfway approach between Muslims and non-Muslims in India developed a new school of thought christained as Indian liberals which culminated in the foundation of Din-e-Ilahi under Akbar, the great Mughul.¹¹⁰ Akbar advanced one step still further and the inter-marriages between the Mughuls and the Rajputs bridged up rapidly what seemed to be a wide gulf of cultural and traditional differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. The movement, however, healthy for the Mughul stability, was somewhat anti-Islamic. Akbar's personal interest in the new movement preven-

106. op. cit, p. 194.

107. The origin and development of Hindustani (Urdu) regional languages and the evolution of Indo-Muslim culture *i.e.* music, painting and architecture, etc.

108. It has been argued that the movement of Martin Luther in the 15th century Europe and its popularity was influenced by the advent of Islam.

109. A detailed study has been made of this movement by Tara Chand; Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Allahabad, 1954; see also Ch. xiii; S.M. Ikram *l.c.*

110. For Din-i-Elahi its causes and effects see Makhan Lal Roy Chaudhri's : Din-i-Elahi ; see also religious policy of the Mughuls by Siri Ram Sharma.

ted any severe opposition during his life time. But as soon as the great Mughul closed his eyes, the anti-liberalism caught roots ; its harbingers being Khwaja Baqi Billah,¹¹¹ and Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Sani.¹¹² The rhetoric appeals of Shaikh Ahmad's letters kindled religious fervour and resulted in the religious revival to come after some time,¹¹³ because the teaching of Mujaddid in his contemporary age were not diffused in the masses.¹¹⁴

Jahangir had though promised Shaikh Farid, fervent admirer of Khawaja Baqi Billah, that after his succession to the throne he would uphold Islam in his kingdom.¹¹⁵ Yet the strong fabric of Mughul-Rajput relationship proved unbreakable. This encouraged the liberal school, although indirectly. The two movements progressed simultaneously and culminated in a sharp division of the Muslim society as well as in the Mughul dynasty. Dara, the eldest son of Shah Jahan became the spokesman of the liberal school, once professed by Akbar, his grandfather,¹¹⁶ and the teachings of the Mujaddid Alif Sani deeply influenced Aurangzeb, who not only became a disciple of Khawaja Muhammad Masum, son and successor of Mujaddid, but

111. Khwaja Baqi Billah who introduced Naqsh Bandi Order in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was born in 1563 at Kabul. After completing his schoolastic education at his birth place and Samarqand he visited several saints for spiritual training. Ultimately he was asked by a leading saint of Bukhara to begin his missionary activities in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent; Khawja Baqi Billah worked for some time in Lahore and then made Delhi his headquarter. See Ikram : Raud-i-Kausar, 1958, pp. 114-22. Ikram : Muslim Civilisation, p. 264.

112. Shaikh Ahmad, popularly known as Mujaddid Alif Sani, was a prominent pupil of Khwaja Baqi Billah Naqshbandi, He was born at Sirhand the capital of Doab (Faujdari) under the Mughuls, on June 26, 1564. After his early rudiments and edacation at Sirhand and Sialkot, he left the teaching profession at the very enterance of his career in life, and went to the Mughul capital. There his activities impressed many notables, e.g., Abul Fazal and Faizi, etc. and displeased with the innovations in Islam, he entered the missionary life as a disciple of Khawja Baqi Billah in 1599 ; for details of his life see Raud-i-Kausar by Ikram and also Muslim Civilisation, pp. 165—173.

113. See Maktoobat-i-Shaikh Ahmad Sirhandi, Lahore.

114. Ikram, p. 267 ; Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi : Introduction to the History of Freedom Movement, Karachi, 1957, Vol. I, pp. 22-3.

115. Ikram, p. 265.

116. He was author of a number of books on Tasauwaf (Misticism) in Is'am, e.g., Safinat-ul-Auliya, Niwal Kishore, Lucknow and Maraj-ul-Bahrain, ed. by Mahfuz-ul-Haq.

created a definite family link with the great reformer (Mujaddid).¹¹⁷ Whether, and how, "the religious policy of Aurangzeb was forcefully advocated by the Mujaddid's, is not fully substantiated."¹¹⁸ But his influence, of whatever nature and extent, ended with Aurangzeb. What remained behind was the popular feelings of the Hindus and the Muslims to live together. The object could only be achieved by a reactionary policy of reconciliation propounded by Shah Alam Bahadur Shah¹¹⁹ and after him by Sayed Brothers under the emperor Farrukh Siyer.¹²⁰

The impact of the two cultures was rather suicidal for the Muslims in their period of decline. The Muslims had virtually mixed up in the Indian society attempting at the same time to maintain their separate entity as a distinct religion clung to the name of Islam, but discarding the cardinal virtues of the Muslim Brotherhood. They unconsciously accepted the Hindu characteristic of the caste-system, which although had no existence in the mosques, yet appeared forceful in social inter-relations.¹²¹ Thus the water-tight compartment in the Muslim society, prevented the lower, illiterate, and professional classes from freely mixing up with the educated Muslim nobility and whereas the latter accepted the non-Muslim traditions and culture only due to its closer and an age-long contact with the non-Muslims, the lower classes threw themselves entirely to the lot of the local culture and adopted all what was un-Islamic. Alike Hindus, the Muslims, too married their children at tender ages and abhorred the re-marriage of the widows.¹²² They adopted the Hindu-Social-ceremonies on

117. Ikram, p. 271.

118. *Ibid.*

119. The policy was basically political to re-integrate those parts of the empire which had denounced Mughul overlordship under Aurangzeb's strict policy after 1679.

120. See Irvine vol I. for Sayed Brothers policy towards non-Muslims.

121. Muslims have a number of sects, dynastic, racial, regional, or professional, such as Sayeds, Pathans, Mughuls, Shaikhs, Punjabi, Sindhi Hindustani (belonging to the gangetic plains of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent) or Mochi, Manhiar, Nai, etc., none of these branches of Muslim intermixed with one another except in a common mosque behind a Muhallah.

122. Ikram, p. 207.

occasions such as marriages, births and deaths.¹²³

It was the result of this Hindu-Muslim culture that the emperor Muhammad Shah became a disciple of Swami Marayna Singh.¹²⁴ But *Parasti* (idol worship) was denied to be a *Shirk*.¹²⁵ The Hindu were branded as *Ahl-ul-Kitab*,¹²⁶ and Ram and Krishna were generally believed as Prophets sent by God.¹²⁷

This was the nature of the degenerate Indian Islam in the 18th century which influenced the common folk and the religious leaders alike. Even Shah Abdul Aziz, the son and successor of the famous Muslim reformer Shah Wali Ullah professed that there was no harm if the Muslims used the word 'Ram' instead of 'Allah' or Khuda; all these names were synonyms.¹²⁸ Another Muslim Religious scholar, Shah Abdur Razzaq, participated in the Hindu festival of Janum Ashtumi.¹²⁹ Many Muslims took part in the Dasehra procession¹³⁰ and many joined the mela festival of Gur Muktaashwar.¹³¹

What is more some of the Indian Muslims, in this period, had owned the practice of Jauhar ceremony and it was frequently practised by them during the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Muslim ladies jumped into the wells or burnt themselves alive in order to es-

123. For details see Jaffur Shariff, *Qanun-i-Islam*, London 1832, see also Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali: *Observations of the Musalmauns of India*, London, 1832.

124. Nakayana Singh was the founder of Shivanaryius, a sect which developed in the Battia District. See Grierson: *Shivanarayadis: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1916.

125. *Shirk* means to bring an object at par with the Almighty God, see *Diwan-i-Jaushan* ed. by Qazi Abdul Wadud, p. 157.

126. *Ahl-ul-Kitab* means a community possessing the Divine Book see *Kalimat-i-Tayibat*, Matla-ul-Ulum Press Muradabad, p. 27; Ghulam Ali Mujtaba, *Maqalat-i-Mazhari*, Delhi, p. 101,

127. Ghulam Ali Mujtaba l.c.

128. *Malfuzat-i-Shah Abdul Aziz*, p. 44.

129. The birthday of Lord Krishna: see *Malfuzat-i-Razzaq*. p. 44.

130. Hindu festival: see *Insha Allah Khan Insha: Kuliyaat-i-Insha*; pp. 36—208.

131. Hindu festival See Anand Ram Mukhlis: *Waqai Badai: Oriental College Magazine* August, 1950. Similarly many Hindus observed Muharram, carried Tazia, and Mehddi procession see *Quadrat-Ullah Qasim: Majmua-i-Naghz*, i. p. 259, see also *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim* and *Imad-us-Saadat* about Mirza Raja Ram Nath.

cape from the vicious invader.¹³² Mirza Nathan, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, gave the following directions to Saadat Khan on a similar occasion : "You go and stay at the gates of the Mahal. If you learn that I have attained martyrdom in the field, let the harem perform the ceremony of Jauhar."¹³³

Another sign of a degenerated people is their belief in supernatural elements with which they attach their expectations, and find excuse for debility and inaction. The Mughuls, it is well known, were fond of astronomy. Babar, had consulted his astrologer before going the battle of Khanwa against Rana Sanga but the incorrect foretelling of the astrologers¹³⁴ did not deter the Mughul adventurer from the frights of a possible defeat.¹³⁵ Humayun fell from the stairs of his upper chamber while he was reading the stars,¹³⁶ and such a craze for astronomy was not rare during the reign of Akbar and his successors.

However, in the 18th century astrology became a public-vice. The bazars of Agra and Delhi were crowded with them.¹³⁷ The two court astrologers: Mubashir Khan and Munajjim Khan, in the reign of Muhammad Shah, fixed the time for the emperors accession to the throne.¹³⁸ When Safdar Jang, the wazir-ul-mumalik in the reign of Ahmad Shah, lead a campaign against the Marahatas (1752), his personal astrologer, Abdur Rahim Khan, informed him about the auspicious time for every important move.¹³⁹

Witchcraft and Sorcery was too generally believed and practised.¹⁴⁰ A person by the name of Taqi was considered to be an expert. It is said, he used to make money through withcraft which he distributed

132. Majmua-i-Naghz; Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim p. 35; Anand Ram Mukhlis; I. c. O. C. Mag; Aug: 1950, p. 80.

133. Mirza Nathan: *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* tr. Borah, Gauhati, 1936, pp. 594-95; 439-40.

134. Lanepoole : *Medieaeval India*, London, 1906 p. 208.

135. *Ibid.*

136. Richard Burns : *Cambridge History of India*, iv, p. 69.

137. Shakir Khan, f. 112.

138. *Ibid*, Ghulam Hussain, ii. p. 422.

139. Bridge ; ii, p. 223.

140. Anand Ram Mukhlis : *Mirat-ul-Istilah* (MS) f. 444-45 a cf, Mrs Mear Hassan, ii ; p. 357-73.

among others.¹⁴¹ According to Manucci some Muslims enchanted crocodiles with the power of sorcery and killed them with eyes.¹⁴² Mrs. Hassan Ali maintains that "here the enlightened and the unenlightened are so strongly persuaded by the influence of the supernatural evil agency that if any one is afflicted with fits it is affirmed by the lookers on of what degree that the sick person is possessed by an unclean spirit".¹⁴³

The contemporary European travellers, chronicles and literary works throw sufficient light upon the effects of the social vices and the degeneration of the Muslim Society. William Hodges observes: "the private luxury and vices of the Musalman princes too frequently reduce them to a state of real poverty even with large revenues, and too often they delegate to artful designing and avaricious character; the management and concern of the State has become virtually the plunder instead of the facent of their subjects. These new eager after their own private gains, and knowing well that their conduct will not bear the blaze of day conceive at any villany that may be acted by those of inferior degrees many of whom are indeed their agents. Thus it is that the people at large have no real regard for the governors and the natural consequence is that the princes are frequently left in the hour of distress quite destitute of support and an easy prey of any invader".¹⁴⁴

Shah Wali Ullah, another contemporary observer remarks: "Now the condition of the Muslim infantry and cavalry of State numbering more than a lac men is thus. Some of them are jagirdars and some of them paid in cash. Due to the indifference and negligence of the rulers the matter has reached to such a pass that the jagirdars have lost their control over the jagirs and nobody ponders over the reason of such things—that it is due to the weakness of administrative machinery. As the treasury of the state became bankrupt, the cash payment was also stopped. In short all the state servants have been reduced to sheer paupery and beggary and except the name of the state there was

141. Ijad : Farrukh Siyer Nama (MS) ff 64-55 ; Borah pp. 671-72.
Ghulam Husain, ii, pp. 448-9.

142. Manucci, ii, p. 94.

143. Mrs. Meer Hassan, ii, pp. 372-373.

144. W. Hodges : Travels in India 1788—89, London, 1794, p. 103.

left nothing. When the condition of the stipened receivers, artisans, and merchants is thus, the condition of the general people may be gauged. They are suffering from various economic troubles".¹⁴⁵

At another place Shah Wali Ullah maintains: "The heavy taxation had ruined the peasants, artisans and merchants. The king and nobles had no other source of income except land-revenue and octroi duties, and their mounting expenses and extravagant living led to taxes ruthless exaction".¹⁴⁶

This was however, no exeggeration. In the reign of Alamgir II (1754-59) payment to the Maratha mercenary, purchased by Imad-ul-Mulk, wazir, during the Civil War of 1753¹⁴⁷, was a great problem. The unscrupulous wazir, with pre-mature over-ambitions and lust for power, agreed to pay the Marahatas a huge amount of 82½ lacs of rupees if Safdar Jang, the ex-wazir was ousted from the Mughul capital and Imad appointed in his stead.¹⁴⁸

The needful was done which was followed by the instruction from the Peshwa to his brother, that he should squeeze as much money as possible out of the Delhi government—75 lacs or at least 50 lacs. But Raghunath's insensate greed over-reached itself. Through Malhar Rao Holkar, he fixed the amount of rupees 82½ lacs out of which Imad promised to pay 40 lacs immediately and the rest after some time.¹⁴⁹ But the payment of the promised amount was a problem. The imperial treasury and the palace had been exhausted in the previous reign. The only possibilty was the trace out of the hoarded wealth and treasures of the princes and princesses. The first victim of such a rapacity was the brother and sisters of the ex-queen-mother, Udham Bai, of the late emperor Ahmad Shah, who were raised to the princely status in that reign. They were deprived of their jagirs; their cash and ornaments seized and they were oppressed to reveal the hiding places of their burried treasures.¹⁵⁰ The next victim was Intizam-ud-Daula,

145. Khaliq, p. 51.

146. Hujjat-Ullah-ul-Baligha, Urdu. tr., p. 163.

148. The Battle between Safdar Jang and Imad-ul-Mulk, see Sarkar, Fall of the Mughul Empire, i. pp. 483—505.

148. Selection from Peshawar Daftars, xxvii, pp. 98-99.

149. *Op. Cit.*

150. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, f. 38-9,

who too was similarly deprived of his jagirs, cash, and precious belongings.¹⁵¹ But the total amount collected thus was only three lacs of rupees which appeared so nominal before the promised payment of Rs. 82½ lacs. Plans were chalked out for collecting the amount by forced contribution from the nobles and the public servants. The rich were too powerful to be squeezed. The traders and artisans when forced, essembled under the Jharoka of the emperor, who threatened the wazir with a fast unto death, and eventually the forceful exaction was withdrawn.¹⁵²

At this juncture some fools advised the wazir that if Rs. 2/- per head were collected from the capital only more than a crore of rupees would be collected. The advice was accepted and though Rs. 5/- or Rs. 10/- were taken from each person but not even a lac was the contribution. In fact nothing was taken from a person who had in any way an approach to the wazir. Thus the tax was only restricted to the shopkeepers and artisans.¹⁵³

The troops remained usually unpaid, and their salaries accumulated for years and years. They occasionally burst out and humiliated the paymaster for the non-payment. Shakir Khan describes the tragic situation in the reign of Ahmad Shah : "In the course of time matters came to such a pass that a descriptive list of all the articles in the imperial stores: the arms, carpets, cooking utensils, dinner plates, books and band instruments, etc., was made and these articles sold to the shopkeepers. The money thus realised was spent on defraying the arrears of the trooper". Such a situation gave vent to an unspeakable mockery and insult by the public. The troops of the empire carried off the valuable articles of all kinds from the house of the wazir, amirs, *sahus*, traders and artisans to the shops thus reducing the nobles to disgrace. The amirs could not help but to console themselves in wearing the clothes they stood in and to eat in the earthen plates. When an enquiry was ordered by the emperor it was found that the salaries of soldiers were in arrears for three years.¹⁵⁴

151. *Ibid.*

152. *Ibid* : for details see Sarkar, F,M,E., ii pp, 20-6,

153. *Op. Cit.*

154. Shakir Khan, f. 36.

The same author describes how Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi wazir was mobbed by the 'Sindagh' troops at Panipat.¹⁵⁵ He was dragged on foot half dressed, as he then was with only a waist-coat on, amidst every kind of insult and abuses through the bazars and streets, exposed to the gaze of high and low.¹⁵⁶

The condition of the army was no better than their chiefs: the pay-master or the wazir. As has been mentioned their salaries remained in arrears for years. The result was that the poor soldiers sold off their horses, swords, spears, shields to meet their daily requirements or borrowed foodgrain, etc., on credit to be paid when their salary would be granted.¹⁵⁷ This could only be a temporary arrangement as the credit has some limits. The poor soldiers in their distress turned violent. They looted and plundered the rich *banyas*, tradesmen and artisans in the town—a spectacle which presented chaos and anarchy everywhere. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani reports that the unpaid Mughul troops rose in lawlessness and revolted on 18th November 1754. They occupied the Jamia Masjid and the Qudsia Masjid, and looted all the day in the town especially the bakers and sweetmeat-sellers shops.¹⁵⁸

Thus the Mughul nobility which once rightly claimed to be the main prop of the Mughul administrative and military fabric, and which later immediately after Aurangzeb fairly ruled the country on the lines already demarcated by the Mughul administrators, now looked baffled and confused.

155. These were turks employed by Imad during the civil war of 1753. Their horses were branded with the word: (س) meaning thereby: sunni.

156. Shakir Khan, p. 79; Muzaffari, ff. 109-110.

157. A number of Shehr Ashobs (a poetry giving description of anarchy) were written during the period under review. The famous are of Soda who says:

سپاہی رکھتے تھے نوکر امیر دولت مند سو آمد ان کی تو جاگیر سے ہوئی ہے بند
کیا ہے ملک کو مدت سے سرکشوں نے پسند جو ایک شخصض ہے بائیں صوبہ کا خاوند

رہی ہے آس کے تصرف میں فوجداری کول

یہ جتنے نقدی و جاگیر کے تھے منصب دار تلاش کر کے ڈھلتے انہوں نے ہو ناچار
ندان قرض میں بنیوں کے دی سپر تلوار گھروں سے اب جو نکلتے ہیں لیکر وہ ہتھیار

بغل کے بیچ تر سوٹا ہے ہاتھ میں کچکول

158. For Rowdiness of unpaid soldiers see, Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, (MS) see also Kulliyat-i-Akbar (MS) ff. 8a, 12b, 12a, 18a, 20b, 26, 32a, 37b, 75b, 79a.

THE AGRARIAN CRISES

An analysis

The land revenue administration in the first half of the eighteenth century was marked by certain developments which when grouped together virtually broke the back-bone of the economic and administrative stability of the Mughul empire. Some of these developments such as the assignments of Khalsa lands as jagirs and the Ijarahdari or (the practice of revenue-farming) were new to the administration but others as the corruption in the Revenue Ministry, the crises in the jagirdari system, and finally the change in the method of assessment from zabt¹ to nasaq² had in them some inherent defects.

In a country where the land yield may be the main-stay of state-revenue, the originality in financial administration could not be traced out or attributed to a single individual. Akbar raised the superstructure of his revenue-reforms on the foundations laid in by Sher Shah.³ But in spite of his best efforts he faced enormous difficulties in stamping out corruption from his revenue department. When in the eleventh year of his reign he changed the system and enforced valuation on real measurement, the clerks of the ministry, says Abdul Fazl, used to increase the figures without measurement and would open the hands of corruption. They did, whatever they felt like for their personal benefit. The result was that the conduct of the revenue officials was a serious threat to the moral of the imperial servants.⁴ Akbar took a serious view of the situation in his eighteenth regnal year. He decided to abolish the land assignment system and to put the bulk of his mansabdars on cash payment. This could be possible only if the administration of northern-India was taken directly under personal control by Akbar.⁵

1. Zabt means assessment of revenue on cultivated area after measurement.

2. Nasaq may be defined as a method of assessment based upon the previous records showing jama and measured areas of land entered against individual cultivators, or villages or paraganas.

3. W. H. Moreland. *The Agrarian System of Muslim India*, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 82—123. He began by adopting for general use a schedule of assessment rates which had been framed by Sher Shah on the basis of claiming for the state 1/3 of the average produce, *ibid*, pp. 82-3,

4. Abul-Fazl. iii, p. 117.

5. *Ibid*, p. 69.

The scheme was carried out but abandoned after five years. The areas that remained directly under the control of the emperor within this period were the provinces of Multan, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Ajmer and Malwa.⁶ But gradually the system of assignment again started. Besides Chunar and Ranthambore and some parts of the Punjab granted earlier as jagirs, Oudh and Allahabad were also assigned in the 4th regnal year. Within the next decade Malwa, Ajmer, Bahraich, Delhi, Kalpi, Agra, Raisin and Multan were also distributed as jagirs.⁷ Thus the problems of the Revenue Department remained unsolved.

Abdul Fazl laments the lethargic attitude of the Revenue Department. He maintains that the local officials varied the sanctioned assessment rates demanding more and more from the peasants; the village headman in collusion with the clerks of the collectors oppressed the peasants in connection with the annual measurement which had resulted in progressive contraction of cultivation. The check on the revenue receipts was occasional rather than continuous. The account of a collector was audited at the ministry only on the occasion of their transfer, or dismissal or when they were called upon to explain. There was no local audit and consequently the Revenue Department was not in a position to detect frauds.⁸ The auditors of the ministry, Abul Fazl adds, had been careless and neglected orders; they guessed instead of relying on actual figures showing excessive balances. They accepted unsupported statements of the collectors and completely ignored the list for the receipts given to the peasants.⁹

When some stability came to the system of revenue administration after 25th regnal year¹⁰ even at this time the condition of the Revenue Ministry was far from being satisfactory.¹¹ With the beginning of the seventeenth century Akbar's method of assessment started decaying, and by 1665 it became entirely obsolete. The reason was that sessional measurements were costly and combrous. It could only be effective

6. *Op. Cit.* p. 282.

7. *Ibid*, pp, 314, 318, 345, 370, 372; cf: Moreland, p. 97.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 87, 381.

9. *Ibid*.

10. W. H. Moreland, p. 98.

11. Abdul Fazl, *op. cit*, p. 381; cf: Moreland, p. 105.

under strong administration. Probably they were unworkable and almost oppressive if the Revenue Ministry was weak or was not properly looked after by the emperor himself. On the other hand the system of group-assessment was cheaper and simpler.¹² Its practice was strictly prohibited by Akbar particularly in khalsa lands¹³ but the Revenue Ministry, being quite familiar with the system, practised it in some important sections of the empire.¹⁴

The group-assessment during early years of the seventeenth century was based upon a data which was a result of the actual measurements, and therefore it was not a failure to begin with. However with the passage of time, in the reign of Jahangir, administration rapidly deteriorated. Jahangir himself complains that assignees and mansabdars had started cultivating the land of the peasants and accordingly he was obliged to issue preventive instructions.¹⁵

Jahangir's Al-Tamgha (grant under seal) was a system closer to the land ownership. Under the scheme a mansabdar could claim his appointment in his own jagirs,¹⁶ which resulted in more corruption and inefficiency. Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan maintains that under Akbar the rapidly increasing imperial expenditure was more than covered by the growth of the empire and the reserves in cash were accumulated. Jahangir neglected the administration and therefore frauds became rife and at least the annual income from the Khalsa lands fell to rupees fifty lacs while the annual expenditure was one hundred and fifty lacs.¹⁷

The reign of Shah Jahan was of comparative prosperity for the peasants. The credit goes to his personal care for the revenue administration and considerable rewards for the collectors which resulted in the increase of revenue.¹⁸ The author of *Massir-ul-Umara* adds that Shah Jahan introduced financial reforms. He reserved khalsa lands worth rupees hundred and fifty lacs of yield and fixed the

12. Abdul Fazl, iii, p. *Ibid*, p. 125.

13. Moreland, p. 125.

14. Moreland, p. 125.

15. Rogers and Baveridge, pp. 8—12.

16. See *Supra*, p.

17. Samsam, ii, p. 813 ; see also (E & D, vii, p. 187).

18. Hamid Lahori, i, p. 409, ii, pp. 247, 319.

expenditure to rupees one lac. Thus he was able to rebuild the economy of the empire. The expenditure was though raised considerably as compared to the previous reigns but so raised the income due to careful administration.¹⁹

The agrarian instability was born in the first half of the seventeenth century when the peasants, in great number, left cultivation and adopted other professions. Hawkins suggests reasons of agrarian unrest in the frequent transfers of the assignees subjecting the cultivators to pay twice the land revenue.²⁰ Terry writing a few years after Hawkins noted that high officials were transferred yearly or half yearly.²¹ Palseart writing at Agra in 1626 laid more stress on the instability of the position of the great men in the empire which ultimately was a burdon on the peasants.²² The result was that with the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb, there appeared a dearth of peasantry class.²³ This coupled with the outbreak of the civil war, the political and administrative stability of the empire was considerably affected.

The agrarian situation in the opening years of Aurangzeb's reign is recorded by Muhammad Kazim²⁴ and by Aurangzeb himself.²⁵ It is reported that the cultivation suffered due to the ravages committed by the local chieftains who took advantage of the disturbed conditions in the empire. They did not miss the opportunity of defying the authority of the king with impunity. Local officers neglected the proper assessment of land and the records maintained by them were deemed unsatisfactory by the Revenue Ministry which could not exercise necessary control over the local administration in the absence of reliable data regarding agrarian problems. It was also suspected that they were corrupt and indulged in malpractices calculated to frauds and oppression to peasantry. There was a general decrease in cultivation and the situation was more than alarming.²⁶

19. Samsam, ii, p. 813 ; E & D viii, p. 187.

20. Hawkins : 1. c. pp. 83, 91, 93, 114.

21. Edward Terry : A voyage to the East Indies, London 1655, p. 326.

22. F. Palseart : Jahangir's India : 1925, p. 64.

23. For details see Moreland: Agrarian System, pp. 144—50.

24. Muhammad Kazim, 1. c, pp. 436-37.

25. A farman of Aurangzeb addressed to Rasikdas Krori, Munshi Malik Zada : Nigarnama-i-Munshi (MS), ff., 129—31.

26. *Op. Cit.*

Aurangzeb took stock of the agrarian situation in his eighth regnal year, when he issued his famous farman to Rasikdas Krori.²⁷ The farman explains the methods of assessment in the khalsa lands and pointing towards some defects in the system, it indicates the procedure to be adopted in future both, for khalsa as well as for jagir lands.

The method of assessment, as given by the farman is compatible with the procedure as contained in the Farhang-i-Kardani,²⁸ and Khulasat-us-Siyaq.²⁹ They maintain that the jama³⁰ of the most of the villages of the parganas was to be assessed in the beginning of the year on the basis of records showing the maximum collection for the past years, the area of arable lands, and the resources of the ryots.³¹

The method of assessment described in the farman has not been named but its description is identical to the description of group-assessment in the Farhang-i-Kardani. Jagat Rai Shujai tells us that the first method of assessment was made on the basis of mawazenah-dah-Salah³² (the jama figures of the last ten years) and it was on this basis that an average jama for the previous ten to twelve year was calculated and the jamabandi or revenue demand was prepared.³³ This is also supported by khulasat-us-siyaq which indicates that the group-assessment became a general practice in the closing year of Aurangzeb's reign.³⁴

27. The text of this farman has also been published by Sir, Jadu Nath Sarkar in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, June 1906, p. 223.

28. Farhang-i-Kardani of Jagat Rai Shuja; is a valuable account dealing with the administrative practices of diwani-aala, mir-bukshi, mir-i-saman, and sadr. The last section deals with the land revenue administration. The account also contains information about the functions and duties of diwan, amin and cories.

29. Khulasat-us-Siyaq is an administrative manual dealing with the mansabdari system and the land revenue administration. The unknown author of the work was in administrative service in the Punjab where he compiled the work on the basis of a number of Siyاق Namas in 1703 A.D.

30. In land revenue administration it signifies the total amount of rent or revenue; here it means the valuation or the maximum estimated income.

31. Munshi, ff. 129—31.

32. Also known as Taqsim. It was a consolidated statement of the agrarian conditions obtaining in pargana for the last ten years. For details see Anon: Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri (MS) f. 41 a; R.B. Ramsbotham: Land Revenue History of Bengal 1769—1787, Calcutta, 1926, p. 165.

33. Gagat Rai Shujai, f. 32 b.

34. Khulasat : F. 23 b.

The change in the method of assessment from *zabt* to *nasaq* is a significant development in the reign of Aurangzeb. It is important because under Aurangzeb such (*nasaq*) arrangements were generally made with the *Muqaddams* or *zamindars*. Akbar had strictly prohibited this arrangement but it was well-established and officially recognised in the second half of the seventeenth century.³⁵ Thus under this system a new class came into existence known as intermediaries who were responsible to the state for collecting land revenue on its behalf.

The major effects of the new change were *inter alia* :

- (1) the direct connection between the peasants and the state-officials which existed before, say in the times of Akbar or Shah Jahan, ceased to exist.
- (2) The government now was not only deprived of the first hand knowledge of the condition of the peasants but it also impressed upon them the weakness of the administrative machinery.
- (3) It was realised that the intermediaries helped by the political and administrative conditions, could emerge out with a position which was more stable and powerful.
- (4) Cultivators found the areas under the new *zamindars* (intermediaries) more secure and they preferred to settle in these areas instead of living in the territories administered by the government. The officials therefore had no options but to make arrangements with the *muqqadams* or *zamin-dars*.

The share of the state from the land yield too, was considerably increased in the times of Aurangzeb. Under Akbar, the share was fixed to one-third of the gross produce,³⁶ and for less fertile lands the share was comparatively less.³⁷ In the times of Aurangzeb the maximum share of the state was risen to $1/2$ ³⁸ although rack-renting was fashionable with the officer who exacted more than the state-

35. See *Supra*.

36. M. Kazim, pp. 781-82.

37. Moreland : *Agrarian System* : p. 82-3.

38. *Ibid*.

demand.⁴⁰ If however there was a draught, or some other calamity befell, the collectors were permitted to charge less than the scheduled rates.⁴¹

The reign of Aurangzeb indicated a definite change in the nature and character of jagirdari system. The system under the early Mughuls was evolved to restrict the power and pretensions of a hereditary landed aristocracy⁴² and to provide the state with an imperial military service. In the land revenue administration the jagirdars occupied the position of intermediaries with no permanent claims on land although the bulk of the state-revenue was collected by them. By the time of Aurangzeb there appeared a crises in the system and by the closing years of his reign the system seems to have lost much of its value and purpose.

The system, observes Khafi Khan, failed to provide an efficient and well-organized imperial military service. The mansabdars were disgrunted and were reduced at least in a majority of cases, to misery and poverty. The system could no longer feed the huge class of mansabdars; it nevertheless pretended to meet the demands of their ever-increasing numbers on papers by manipulating jama figures. The vast gap between the actual income and the fictitious jama figures, after the death of Aurangzeb, created conditions in which hereditary claims on land or claims based on force or local influence was reasserted. Thus the system virtually ceased to fulfil its original function and was replaced by new forms which crystallised into accepted practices during the course of the 18th century.⁴³

As audit of the accounts, Khafi Khan adds, formerly used to show amounts due from the mansabdars in favour of the royal treasury, therefore, it was the practice to appoint mace-bearers to get the mansabdars forward their accounts for auditing and the latter gave large bribes to the former to evade the process of audit. Later, on account of scarcity of jagirs for assignments and increase in the

39. Munshi Malikzada, ff. 929. 142; Khulasat, ff. 17 b-18a.

40. Ali Muhammad, p. 270.

41. The orders say that the collections should not be made more than one half, *ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 265—272; see also Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1922.

43. Khafi Khan ii, p. 396-97: 411-12

number of mansabdars, especially the Marahtas and the Deccanis, who were given high mansabs, the persons belonging to the old families of royal servants (Khana zadan) often could not obtain jagirs for four or five years.

After the appointment of Musawi Khan as the diwan-i-tan it was laid down that newly appointed mansabdars should sign an agreement to the effect that they were not entitled to demand the salary for the intervening period, between the preparation of *yaddasht*⁴⁴ and the assignment of jagirs. However once the jagir was assigned and resumed by the mansabdar, the salary for the intervening period between the resumption of the assigned jagir and the assignment of a new jagir (elsewhere) would be entertained in audit. In order to compensate the bad reputation earned by Musawi Khan for his innovation it was laid down at his request in contravention of the former regulation, requiring that a newly recruited servant should, after the receipt of verification certificate, be assigned a post in the army; that he should not be assigned a charge unless it was voluntary. In spite of the undertaking (given by the mansabdar) for foregoing their claims for salary in the initial period, when the audit was carried out, large amounts were revealed which the state owed to the mansabdars. Although the mansabdars did everything to put up their paper for audit, the auditors of the Revenue-Ministry turned a deaf-ear on them and did not audit their accounts. Even when they succeeded in establishing their claim with constant endeavours, having obtained a patron, or employing an able and conscientious agent, after remaining about seven or eight months without salary and spending a large amount from their pocket, they could get only one-fourth of their total claims in spite of their best efforts and endeavours from the royal treasury. At last all rules and regulations were thrown into confusion by and by and the practice of scrutiny was abandoned.⁴⁵

The extra-ordinary increase in the number of mansabdars affected the land-revenue administration. The assignment of lands fell far short, and in 1691-92, the emperor refused to grant new jagirs on the

44. An extract from the record of events relating to the grant of a particular mansab to a candidate in accordance with the certificates issued by the office of the bukshi.

45. Khafi Khan, ii, pp. 396-97.

fresh recruits.⁴⁶ However, the Revenue Ministry, in order to meet the demand of ever increasing mansabdars, took a recourse to the old practice of assigning jagirs with inflated jama, and then to conceal the manipulation, they evaded the audit of the accounts submitted by mansabdars. This reflected the utter inability of the Revenue Ministry to face the situation boldly and to take necessary steps to improve the worsening condition leading towards the political and administrative break down. Instead, in sheer desperation, the practice of audit was given up.⁴⁷

The condition of the jagirdars too, was far from being satisfactory. Khafi Khan dealing with the collection of dues for maintaining royal animals, observes that the mansabdars were reduced to almost poverty on account of the scarcity of jagirs. Even if they were assigned a portion of their jagirs, the land was found deserted and its yield could not meet half of the expenses incurred in maintaining the royal animals. However no concession was made, and the mansabdars were required to fulfill the condition and the defaulters punished. The agents of the mansabdars lodged complaints with the emperor and the influence of the revenue minister at the court would make the complaints ineffective. A large number of people were put to a great distress and the agents resigned from their posts.⁴⁸ Inayat-Ullah in his *Waqai-Sarkar-i-Ajmer* refers how a faujdar of Ajmer, when failed to make satisfactory collection, suffered humiliation for the non-payment of the salary of his troops and how later his financial position became so poor that he was obliged to disband his troops.⁴⁹

Under Aurangzeb the condition of the khalsa land was as strong as under Shah Jahan. In the twentieth regnal year the yield from khalsa land was estimated to be rupees three crores, which was further increased by a crore at the end of his reign.⁵⁰ In the thirteenth regnal year of Aurangzeb the jama of Khalsa land was fixed at four crore rupees.⁵¹

After the death of Aurangzeb, however, it appears that the khalsa

47. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*

48. *Ibid*, ii, pp. 602-3.

49. Inayat Ullah, ff. 88-9.

50. Hamid Lahori, ii, pp. 711-12.

51. Samsam, ii, p. 813.

land severely suffered. At times when there had left no *Pai Baqi*,⁵² the bulk of the *khalsa* land was assigned to the nobles. The process started in the reign of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. It developed rapidly in the reign of Farrukh Siyer and after the reign of Muhammad Shah the *khalsa* lands were completely extinguished and the privy purse of the emperor depended solely upon the presents or *nazars* offered by the nobles.⁵³ Attempts were made at different occasion to repair the wrong but all in vain.

Ikhlas Khan, a man of great integrity and ability under Shah Alam, was dissatisfied with the policy of his sovereign. As *arzi-i-mukarrar*, he noted the generosity of the emperor in awarding *mansabs* and granting increase in the ranks without examining the recipient's merits. He accordingly requested Munim Khan to do something to bring about a moderation in the administration of *jagirs*. He feared that unless the system was overhauled the resources of the empire, meager as they were compared to the generosity of the emperor, would soon be exhausted and the old servants of the empire enjoying some position and status would be faced with unemployment. Ikhlas Khan therefore, proposed an enquiry before the grant of a *mansab*, about the birth, race, rank and status of the candidate in question. Munim did not like to earn a bad reputation and requested Ikhlas Khan the *darogha-i-arz-i-mukarrar*, to do the same. Ikhlas represented to the *wazir* to institute an enquiry against the reckless grants of *mansabs* but evaded the implimentation of the scheme. At last the work was entrusted upon Mustaid Khan,⁵⁴ who formulated such regulations which placed considerable restrictions on fresh recruitments, disqualifying the undeserving candidates cutting down the rate of increase in the *mansabdars*. But the state had become so weak that the fear of the affected employees, who were mostly the favourites of the emperor, prevented an effective implementation of the scheme. Mustaid Khan was sometimes forced to sign a '*yad-dasht*' without completing the enquiry by the queens.⁵⁵

52. Unassigned lands.

53. For details see the reign of Ahmad Shah in *Sarkar: Fall of the Mughul empire* Vol, I and the reign of Alamgir II, Vol. II.

54. Khafi Khan, ii. pp. 626-28. Mustaid Khan, the author of *Masir-i-Alamgiri*.

55. *Ibid*, p. 628-29.

On the other hand the mansabdars were given another relief by the wazir. He laid down that in future when the jagirs were assigned to mansabdars, the amount payable in connection with the maintenance of animals in the royal stables should be deducted from the jama or the estimated income from their jagirs. The reform removed the hardship caused to the mansabdars and their agents.⁵⁶

The condition still worsened in the two subsequent reigns of Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyer. The emperors now conferred high mansabs on their favourites to create a balance of power at the court.⁵⁷ In the reign of Farrukh Siyer diwan Ratan Chand was in charge of the Revenue Department. But he was so influential and powerful that even the appointment of a qazi was his concern.⁵⁸ According to the author of the *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin*, the majority of mansabdars enrolled in this reign did not deserve the rank of 500, but they were granted the ranks of 5,000 and 7,000.⁵⁹ Khafi Khan laments that the Hindus, khwaja-saras and Kashmiris had obtained high mansabs by force or fraud. They had succeeded in obtaining jagirs which yielded maximum revenue at the cost of other sections of mansabdars. Inayat Ullah Khan another Alamgir's noble, at this juncture endeavoured to introduce reforms. He reported the matter to the emperor and proposed to take away the mansabs from the Hindus and Kashmiris who were not qualified for the ranks held by them.⁶⁰

He was opposed tooth and nail by the affected group. Even Sayed Abdullah the wazir did not agree with the reform scheme. On the other hand Inayat Ullah became unpopular for his proposals to reimpose jizya.⁶¹ But the most sorry development in the reign of Farrukh Siyer was the assignment of khalsa lands as a general practice. What happened can be easily guessed. With the increase in the power and position of the nobility the demands for jagirs became more

56. *Ibid*, ii p, 629;

57. *Ibid*, pp. 602-3.

58. Jahandar Shah granted high mansabs to the Harem party. Kokaltash Khan, his foster brother, was granted a rank of 9000/9000; Azam Khan, the younger brother and Khwaja Hassan, the brother-in-law of Kokatash Khan, 8000/8000 each. See Samsam i, p. 817.

59. Khafi Khan, ii, p. 773.

60. Qasim Aurangabadi, ff. 182-3a.

61. Samsam; pp. 306, 319; # 830-31.

vociferous. The mutasaddis (clerks at the court) refused to be contented with the grant of nominal mansabs and clamoured for the assignment against the ranks granted to them. However the jagirs were not available. They proposed the emperor for an assignment from the khalsa lands. The weak emperors obliged for their throne to one party or another ultimately succumbed to their demand. Thus within a short time the entire khalsa land was exhausted.

Even the assignment of khalsa lands could not solve the problems of the mansabdar. Their condition under the direct control of the emperor⁶² was still more serious. The emperor Farrukh Siyer issued orders on request from Lutfullah Sadiq, diwan-i-khalsa, that mansabdars holding rank from 20 to 900 and walashahis holding rank of 7000 and 8,000 should be paid at the rate of rupees 50 per month till they were provided with jagirs. The walashahis had been without salaries for the last ten to twelve months expecting jagirs, when all of a sudden their services were terminated by the chief bukhshi.⁶³

The last attempt to save the system from a complete break-down was made by Nizam-ul-Mulk. He examined the records and papers of the Revenue Ministry and the results of the enquiry were brought down before the emperor.⁶⁴ He observed that :

- (1) Only fit nobles and soldiers should be employed at the court, as in the times of Aurangzeb ;
- (2) the farming of khalsa lands should be discontinued ;
- (3) the jagirs be re-distributed and khalsa lands resumed ;
- (4) the bribe taking should be stopped forthwith ; and
- (5) the jizya should be levied as in the times of Aurangzeb.⁶⁵

The proposals of the wazir, though formally accepted by the emperor, were supported in fact neither by him nor by his favourites. The latter feared that if Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to make his position stronger at the court they were the losers in any case. Nizam's hopes were, thus soon belied and he met with stiff opposition from the

62. Khafi Khan, ii, p. 775.

63. The imperial guards known as Walashahis.

64. Khafi Khan, ii, p. 769; Ghulam Hussain, ii, p. 403.

65. *Ibid*, ii, p. 947.

favourites of the emperor.⁶⁶ It was in sheer disgust that he left the court and returned to the Deccan.

The practice of *ijarah* or revenue-farming on a large scale especially in *khalsa* lands constitutes an important development in the land-revenue system of the 18th century. It was a common practice with the *jagirdars* whenever it suited their needs, especially after the death of Shah Alam. It was accompanied with other developments which contributed to the worsening of the agrarian crises. Whereas the system strengthened the cause of the new class of intermediaries,⁶⁷ it was harmful for the hereditary *zamindars*. At the same time it brought about financial instability in the empire.

The *ijarah* constituted some sort of a contract and it implied the farming out of the revenues of a *mahal* or more than one *mahal*. The *ijaradars* were required to pay the fixed amount as required in the agreement without any reference to increase or decrease in the collections. He remitted the amount in instalments as agreed between the parties and the *ijarahdar* was not permitted to appeal for the reduction of payment, but under exceptional circumstances.⁶⁸ It was different from group-assessment as the latter was an annual settlement and in the former system, arrangements could be made for more than one year.⁶⁹ One of its form was known as *Rasad Afzud*, an arrangement made for a village the *jama* of which had decreased on account of natural calamities. It implied an agreement on the failure of *ijarahdar* for collection and payment of a sum lower than the original *jama*. However it was gradually increased till it reached the original figures.⁷⁰

The *ijarahdari* was a well known practice under the Mughuls. Discouraged by Akbar, it cropped up in the reign of Jahangir.⁷¹ The Portuguese obtained a few *mahals* in Bengal from Shan Jahan on *ijarah*.⁷²

66. Qasim Aurangabadi, f. 183.

67. See *Supra*, pp. 41-42.

68. Khawaja Yasin Delhavi : A Glossary of Revenues Terms (MS) f. 48b.

69. Tawahar Mal Baikas : Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas (MS) ff. 51-2,

70. *Ibid.*

71. J. Xavier tr. Hosten : Nishan No. 3, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (N.S.), xxii, 1927, p. 121.

72. M. Saleh Kamboh, I.c.i. p. 496.

Aurangzeb made a few attempts to put a stop to this system. The emperor was informed about the practice of farming out lands to the chawdharis and maqaddams in the province of Ahmadabad. The emperor disapproved and issued orders to place a check on the practice.⁷³ At another place Aurangzeb ordered that the amins and cories of khalsa land should not farm out villages in the parganas entrusted to them so that the owner of the village could properly manage their affairs and pay land revenue. However if the land was deserted or the cultivators were poor, a village could be farmed out with the prior permission of the owner.⁷⁴ Thus the ijarahdari was discouraged by the Mughul emperor although it was allowed under special circumstances.

During the first half of the 18th century these rules and regulations were generally overlooked more so after the reign of Jahandar Shah.⁷⁵ Under the emperor Farrukh Siyer the system was given official patronage. Shakir Khan observes that the evil practice of ijarahdari was commenced by diwan Ratan Chand. It brought ruin to a large number of people.⁷⁶ Even the khalsa lands were leased out by him on ijarahs like the sale of a commodity bringing lacs of rupees to Rattan Chand.⁷⁷

The practice of farming out khalsa lands and jagir lands continued under Muhammad Shah. Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhila received a number of mahals in ijarah from the wazir.⁷⁸ The practice of ijarahdari, as such, affected the land revenue administration. It gave rise to a class of bankers and speculators who invested their money in the business of revenue farming and thus emerged as a class of intermediary apart from the hereditary zamindars. The new class was urban, and therefore, had no interest either in the prosperity of the zamindar or of the peasants. The system created artificial conditions for a keen competition to engage for a land revenue demand which exceeded the normal jama. The settlement was made with the highest bidder and this practice tended to increase the jama figures for the revenue settlement. The hereditary zamindars, therefore, were faced with an untenable position whether they could outbid the ijarahdars or they were to withdraw from the contest. In either way they could not escape their ruin. Gradually the practice of ijarahdari replaced the old hereditary zamindari by a new class which had interest in the welfare of the peasants as little as in the improvement of harvests.

The peasant of the 18th century, thus, suffered more than any one of his contemporaries in the society. He had to pay from 1/3 to 1/2 of the produce according to the productivity of the land which varied from place to place. Besides the state-share he had also to bear the burdon of the maintenance of patwari, qanungo and muqaddam. He therefore, lived only from hand to mouth.

The agrarian crises, therefore, which started by the mid of the seventeenth century eventually brought about the administrative and political decline of the Mughul empire. By the close of the seventeenth century the institution of jagirdari had failed to adopt itself with the changed political and agrarian system. The glaring contradiction in the assignment system revealed itself in the form of an overwhelming increase in the number and rank of the mansabdars and a corresponding increase in the number of jagirs for assignments. The inflated nature of jama figures and a keen competition among the old and the new nobility for mansabs and jagirs can be regarded as the direct result of these developments.

However, the most important but fatal development in the post Aurangzeb period were the assignment of the khalsa lands as jagirs. It turned the emperor a pauper, dependent entirely on the mercy of the nobles. The condition of mansabdars, with a few exceptions, was also precarious. They held no jagirs; their troops remained without payment for years, and eventually they brought disgrace to their masters. Dissatisfied and frustrated jagirdars could not be expected to perform their duties with efficiency. This coupled with the vices of ijaradari system, the administration completely brokedown. The imperial treasuries were already empty when Nadir Shah came and took along with him about a hundred crores of rupees in cash, jewels and costly utensils. The Mughul rule in the post—Nadir Shah period was just a shadow of the past. Virtually the Mughul rule had come to an end.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Contemporary Manuscripts

1. Anand Ram Mukhlis : Badai Waqai,
(MS) Panjab University Library,
Lahore; see also Oriental College
Magazine, Lahore, November, 1950.
2. Anon : Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,
Rotograph B.M. (MS).
3. Bakhtawar Khan : Mirat-ul-Alam,
(MS) Panjab University Library,
Lahore.
4. Harcharan Das : Chahar Gulzar Shujai,
(MS) Panjab University Library,
Lahore.
5. Inayat-ullah Kamboh,
Lahori : Ajaib-ul-Akhlaq,
Rotograph Aligarh (MS).
6. Khushahal Rai : Nadir-uz-Zamani,
(MS) Transcript, Hyderabad.
7. Munshi Malikzada : Nigar Nama-i-Munshi,
(MS) Panjab University Library,
Lahore.
8. Muhammad Qasim : Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin,
Aurangabadi : (MS) B.M. Rieu I, 276, Add.
26, 184.
9. Shakir Khan : Tazakirah-i-Shakir Khani,
Rotograph B.M. Rieu No. I 679 b,
Add. 6585.

Chronicles Published

10. Abdul Hamid Lahori : Badshah Nama, Bibliotheca Indica,
Vol. i, 1867, Vol. ii, 1868, Elliot &
Dowson, Vol. VII.
11. Ali Ahmad Khan : Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Baroda, 1923.

12. Elliot & Dowson : A History of India as told by its own Historians, London, 1877, Vols. V, VI, VII, VIII.
13. Ghulam Ali Khan : Imad-us- Saadat, Nawal Kishore, 1897.
14. Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai : Siyer-ul-Mutaakhirin, Nawal Kishore.
15. Khafi Khan : Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Bibliotheca Indica, 1869, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII.
16. Mirza Nathan : Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, tr. M. I. Borah, Gallhati, 1936, 2 Volumes.
17. Muhammad Kazim : Alamgir Nama, Bibliotheca, Indica 1868.
18. Muhammad Salih Kamboh : Amal-i-Salih, Bibliotheca Indica, ed : Ghulam Yazdani
Calcutta, Vol. I, 1923.
Vol. II, 1927.
Vol. III, 1939.
19. Qazi Murtaza Husain : Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim, Nawal Kishore, 1879.
20. Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan : Maasir-ul-Umara, Calcutta, 1888-89, tr. Vol. i. H. Beveridge, annotated by Beni Prasad, 1941.
21. Abul Fazl : Ain-i-Akbari,
Tr. Vol. i, Blockmann, Calcutta, 1873.
ii, Blockmann, Calcutta, 1891.
iii, H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1894.
22. Abdul Qadir Badauni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, tr. Banking and Lowe, Revised by E. B. Cowell, 1884.

23. James Bird : A Political and Statistical, History of Gujrat, London, 1835 tr. Ali Muhammad Khan: Mirat-i-Ahmadi.
24. Memoris of Jahangir : Tr. Rodgers & Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909/1914.
25. Memoris of the Emperor Jahangueer tr. Major David Price, Oriental Translation Committee, 1829.

Administrative Manual

26. Anon : Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri, B. M. Rieu I, Add 6599.
27. Tahawwar Mul Baikas : Dastur Amat-i-Baikas (MS).
28. Jagat Rai Shujai : Farhang-i-Kardani, (MS) Aligarh University.
29. Anon : Zawabit-i-Alamgiri, B. M. Rieu III or 1641.
30. Khwaja Yasin Dehlavi : A Glossary of Revenue Terms (MS) Panjab University.

Travel Accounts

31. Della Valle Pietro : The Travels of a noble Roman into East Indies, by Edward Grey, London Hakluyt Society, Maccii.
32. De Laet : The Empire of the Great Mogul, tr. Hoyland ; annotated by S. N. Bannerjee, Bombay, 1928.
33. E. Palseart : Jahangir's India, tr. Moreland, Cambridge, 1925.
34. Edward Terry : A Yoyage to the East Indies, J. Wilkie, London.
35. Francios Bernier . Travels in the Mogul Empire, tr. Archibald Constable, Westminster 1891.

36. George Forster : Journey from Bengal to England,
2 Vols., 1808.
37. Niccolao Manucci : Storia Do Mogor, ed. tr.
William Irvine, London 1908.
38. Traverier : Travels in India,
tr. U. Ball, London, 1678.
39. William Hawkins : The Hawkins Voyages,
ed. by Markham, Hakluyt Society,
London.
40. William Hodges : Travels in India (1780—83),
London, 1794.

Secondary Works

41. Abdul Aziz : The Mansabdari System of the
Mughal Army,
Lahore n.d.
42. A. L. Srivastava : First Two Nawabs of Oudh, 1936.
43. H. M. Elliot : Memoirs on the Races of N-W.
Province of India, 2 Volumes, 1869.
44. H. R. Gupta : A Study of the Panjab under the
later Mughals, Lahore, 1944.
45. Jadunath Sarkar : Shivaji and His Times,
Calcutta, 1929.
46. Jadunath Sarkar : Selections from Peshwa Daftar,
Calcutta.
47. Jadunath Sarkar : Aurangzeb, 5 Volumes,
Calcutta, 1912--1919.
48. Jadunath Sarkar : Fall of the Mughal Empire,
Calcutta.
49. Jaffur Shariff : Qonun-i-Islam,
London, 1832.
50. Khalika Ranjan Qanuhgo : A History of Bengal,
Dacca ; n.d.

51. Makhan Lal Roy, Chaudhri : Din-i-Ilahi.
52. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali : Observation of the Musalmans of India, London, 1932.
53. Pakistan Historical Society Pub. : A History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. I, Karachi, 1957.
54. R. B. Ramsbotham : Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal (1769—87) Calcutta, 1926.
55. Richard Burns : Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, Cambridge, 1937.
56. S. Lane Poole : Madiæval India, London, 1906.
57. S. M. Ikram : History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan, ed. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Lahore.
58. S. R. Sharma : Religious Policy of the Mughals Oxford 1940.
59. Stanley Lanepoole : Madiæval India, London, 1906.
60. Tara Chand : Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Allahabad, 1954.
61. W. H. Moreland : The Agrarian System of Muslim India, Cambridge, 1929.
62. W. H. Moreland : India At the Death of Akbar, London, 1875.
63. William Irvine : Later Mughals, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. I & II, London, 1922.
64. Zahir-ud-Din Faruqi : Aurangzeb & His Times, Bombay, 1935.

Tazkirah Wa Tabsirah

65. Anon : Maktoobat-i-Shaikh Ahmad Sirhandi, Lahore, n.d.

66. Dargah Quli Khan : Muraqqai Delhi,
Taj Press, Deccan.
67. Ghulam Ali : Muqamat-i-Mazhari,
Mujtabai Press, Delhi.
68. Insha Ullah Khan : Darya-i-Latafat,
Insha : tr. Urdu, Brij Mohan Dehlwi, Anju-
mani-Tariqqi-Urdu, Deccan, 1935.
69. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami : Shah Wali Ullah Dehlawi ke
Siyasi Maktoobat, Aligarh, 1950.
70. Khawja Muhammad Nasir : Nala-i-Andlib,
Andlib : Shahjahani Press, Bhopal, 1308 H.
71. Lachmi Narain Shifiqu : Chamanistan-ush-Shuarsh,
ed. Abdul Haq, Aurangabad, 1928.
72. Mahfuz-ul-Haq (ed) : Safinat-ul--Aulia, Lucknow.
73. Maulwi Karim-ud-Din : Tazkirah-i-Tabaqat-ush-Shuarah-i-
Hind. Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu.
74. Mir Hassan : Tazkirah-i-Shuarah-i-Urdu,
ed. Habib-ur-Rehman Khan, Alig.
1922.
75. Qazi Abdul Wadud : Diwan-i-Jaushan.
76. Qudrat Ullah Qasim : Majmua-i-Nagz,
Lahore, 1933.
77. S. M. Ikram : Raud-i-Kausar,
Lahore, 1958.
78. Shah Wali Ullah : Hujjat-ullah-ul-Balighs,
(translation urdu)
i. Abdul Haq, Karachi, 1955.
ii. Khaliq Ahmad Sambhali,
Lahore, 1897.
iii. Maulwi Muhammad Ismail.
79. Sayed Ali Abbas : Life and Times of Imad-ul-Mulk,
Lahore, 1957.
(Thesis M.A. History, Panjab Uni-
versity, Lahore).

Sialkot—An Ancient City of Pakistan

By Ahmad Nabi Khan

Assistant Superintendent, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

Sialkot of today is well known almost all over the world for its sports goods. It is a unique distinction which this city enjoys at present, but looking back to its hoary past, we find it one of the oldest cities of Pakistan with a long and distinctive history which may be traced from the various contents of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The numerous mounds scattered all over the present day district of Sialkot, are an eloquent proof of its bygone glory. These mounds mark the sites of ancient villages and towns where the people lived long ago. Unfortunately, none of these mounds has been excavated so far except the mound where the Sialkot Fort once stood. The silver and copper utensils and coins dug out from time to time by the villagers, mostly belong to the period of Indo-Bactrian kings who ruled the country long ago. The excavations conducted at the site of Sialkot Fort, have also revealed the existence of some old baths with hot water pipes of solid masonry.¹

As popular legend would have it, Sialkot was the metropolis of the Bahika country of the Mahabharata and the capital of the Punjab of the Ramayana.² The earliest reference to this important city occurs in the great epic of Mahabharata in which it has been related that Raja Sul or Shal or Shaliya, the maternal uncle of the Pandavas, was the founder ruler of the city.³ He and his successors ruled the country for

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII p. 328.

2. Bhandari, Sujan Rai, *Khulasatut Tawarikh*, p. 64.

3. According to the latest theory, this city was originally called Sakala or Sagala, a capital town of Madras. In ancient times, the territory between the Chenab and the Ravi was under the sway of this tribe or community which entered India shortly before the Iranian invasion of India. They are sometimes classed among the barbarians, like the Yavanas and there seems to be some evidence for non-Indian culture among them. Dr. Tarn thinks that the name of their principal town, Sagala (Sialkot) does not appear to be Indian. It is a Saka town and points to some old invasion or infiltration of Sakas prior to Alexander which would explain why Indian sometimes classed the Madras among 'barbarians' *c.f.* Tarn,

about 1500 years. The city with metropolitan position, flourished under the rule of this dynasty but with its downfall, a disastrous flood swept it away. It remained in a state of dormant for a long time when a Hindu patriarch of Kashmir, Sum Datt, rebuilt it for himself.

According to another legend, a Yadava prince called Raja Saliwahan⁴ rose to high power in the reign of Raja Vikramaditya, of Ujjain. He took Sialkot in his possession and built a fort and established the principality of the town. He had two sons, Puran and Risalu. The former was very much influenced by the teachings of the saints and *rishis* and had no inclination towards the luxurious life of the palace. He, therefore, left the palace to lead a simple life in the jungle. The father who wanted to make him his successor, was so much infuriated that he ordered to cut off his hands and feet and to throw him into a well in Karol.⁵ Sad incident though it was, but it made the prince a religious hero. The people began to treat him as a great *rishi*. According to the local traditions, the prince wrote many melodious songs in Punjabi which are still popular among villagers.⁶

W.W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 170-71. The present name, however, is said to have been derived from the fact that it was the fort of a Hindu Raja Sala or Shaliya, the brother of queen Madri the princess of Madra. *c.f.* Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 686-87. (Notes).

4. The birth of Raja Saliwahan is shrouded in mystery. According to a mythological story, he was the son of a serpent called Basak Nag. It is said that during the region of Vikramaditya, a Khatrani girl was bathing in Aik *nullah*. During her bath, she was wooed by a serpent. She conceived and bore a child named Saliwahan, who rose to be a man of great power and wealth and, through the assistance of Basak Nag, became the ruler of Sialkot. *c.f. District Gazetteer of Sialkot*, p. 22. But, according to the researches of Cunningham, Saliwahan's father was a ruler of the Yadava tribe and that he lost his life in a battle. The young prince, Saliwahan then established a new capital at Salbahanpur which is identified with Sialkot. *c.f. Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. ii. p. 21.

5. Karol or Karal is situated near Sialkot and is nowadays called Puranwala after the name of Puran. It was regarded as a sacred place by Hindus and was a resort of female pilgrims who used to visit this place to seek a remedy for barrenness. *c.f. District Gazetteer of Sialkot*, p. 22.

6. But according to the popular legend, the reason of this incident was different. It is said that Raja Saliwahan had two wives namely, Icehran and Lunan. The second young wife fell in love with the prince, and wanted flirtation with him but the prince refused to oblige her. This enraged the Rani and she complained of him to the king. The king suspected him and ordered to cut off his hands and feet and to throw him down into the well. *c.f. Chishti*, Nur Ahmad, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*, p. 494.

His second son Risalu, however, lived to take a more distinguished part in the political events of that time. He was enthroned after the death of his father and soon became a powerful king. His encounters with Raja Hodi⁷ are the famous events of those primitive days. It is related that Raja Risalu had promised him to give his daughter in marriage but, later on, refused to fulfil his promise. Raja Hodi was very much annoyed and decided to abduct Risalu's daughter. He brought a large force and besieged the fort. But, in spite of his best efforts for about six months, he could not succeed in his mission. Meanwhile, Risalu's daughter being anxious for marriage with Raja Hodi, made private overtures and sent him secret messages. Eventually, he succeeded in taking her off to his army at Lūm near Lāhore. After that the two Rajas became friends and Raja Hodi gave the whole of his newly conquered territory to Raja Karam, the adopted son of Risalu.

After the death of Raja Risalu, the country once again was devastated by famine and incessant plunder. It is said that during this period the city had fallen under the curse of Puran Bhagat, who had been mercilessly killed by his father.

These are the anecdotes and semi-historical accounts, found in the indigenous sources, mainly in the religious as well as the epic literature. But, the valuable writings of the chroniclers of the Macedonian conqueror, Alexander, give us an ample record for the earlier periods. According to these valuable sources, the history of the city may be traced with certainty prior to the date of Alexander. It is told by these Greek writers that at the time of the Alexander's invasion, the whole country was divided into small pieces of land governed by local Rajas and petty chiefs, who were engaged in fighting with each other to extend their authority. The territory of Sagala was then held by some powerful kshatriyas. Sagala was itself a fortified principal town of those days and was the main centre of their political and military activities. The Greek historians like Arrian, Curtius and Diodotus

7. Raja Hodi was the chief of the Ghakkar tribe. He had established himself in the country along the banks of the Attock river between Kalabagh and the fort of Attock. He had taken in possession all the country in the west of Jhelum and was a powerful king of those days. *c f.* District Gazetteer of Sialkot, p. 210.

write about this city that it was well defended town not only by a wall but by a swamp also. The swamp was as deep as some of the inhabitants afterwards escaped by swimming across it. Arrian calls it a lake but adds that it was not deep and that it was near the city wall and one of the gates opened upon it. He described the city itself as strong both by art and nature, being defended by brick walls and covered by the lake. Outside the city, there was a low hill which was surrounded with triple line of carts for protection of the camp.⁸

In 326 B.C., Alexander defeated the Paurava chief of Hydespes and moved across the Chenab. The kshattriyas did not like to bow to him without a struggle and shut himself in the fort of Sagala which was readily captured by the invaders. By and by, the invader drew the seige tight in a deadly. A fierce battle was ensued and seventeen thousand of defenders fell by the sword whilst the captured surpassed the enormous figure of 70,000. The fort was razed to the ground and the country was made over to the Pauravas.⁹

Thus the city of Sagala was destroyed by the powerful army of Alexander, but it was destined to flourish once again under the prowess of the Maurayan Empire. After the drop-scene of Alexander's conquest, we see another figure, Chandra Gupta Mauraya on the political stage of the Northern part of the sub-continent under whose leadership the country threw off the last remnant of the Mecedonian yoke. He organized the shattered powers and put the whole country under one sovereignty. During these days, although the history of this important citadel is chequered, yet it is certain that Asoka made it a great centre of Buddhist learning. Many stupas and monasteries of fame and importance were built here for pilgrims of Buddhist faith.

The Maurayan Empire came to an end in C. 184 B.C. and another power, the Sungas, under the leadership of Pushyamitra began to rule over the country. In those days, Sagala was regarded as one of the greatest centres of Buddhist faith. The whole territory between the

8- Cunningham, Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

9. Rapson E. J. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 371. But according to the Greek historian, Curtius, only 8000 men were killed during the encounter. *c.f.* Cunningham. A., *op. cit.*, p. 139.

Chenab and the Ravi was governed by the Madras¹⁰ with Sagala as their capital. It was a renowned centre of Buddhist learning. Rhy Davis, while discussing the subject, gives the following description of the city in somewhat conventional style :

“There, in a country of Yonakas, a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sagala, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods.”¹¹

According to the traditions, Pushyamitra started a campaign to destroy all the Buddhist relics and to kill all the followers of the faith. With this intention in mind, he approached Sagala to exterminate the Buddhist community there, offering a reward of a gold piece for the head of every monk.¹²

It was in this time when Menander, one of the most outstanding general of Demetrius, was busy in subduing different parts of the country. He checked Pushyamitra and after defeating him, occupied the principality of Sagala. The whole population of Madras welcomed him and he was inevitably became a champion of Buddhism in India.¹³ He is the only Greek ruler who has been celebrated in the ancient literature of this country. According to some authorities, he is unquestionably identified with Malinda, the Greek king of Sagala. He made this famous city his official capital and built here a great Greek palace.¹⁵ During his days, the metropolis gained more religious, political and social importance where thousands of saints and devotees lived. Menander also established a mint here for minting his coins which are peculiar in different aspects; there is no Greek monogram on them but only two Kharoshiti letters which indicate that the mint in question had two Indian mint masters.¹⁶

10. Tarn, W. W., *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

11. Davis Rhy, *Sacred Books of the East*, p. 2.

12. Rapson, E. J., *op. cit.*, p. 375.

13. Tarn, W. W., *op. cit.*, p. 247.

14. Law, B. Ch. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 122.

15. Foucher II, p. 448; but Dr. Tarn thinks it improbable and says that the suggestion is not very likely, seeing that in the parallel case of Demetrius in Taxila no indication of a Greek quarter was found; Greeks must have lived in the Indian city as they did in Taxila. *c. f. op. cit.*, p. 247.

For the next few centuries, the history of this city remained uncertain. Little record is available of its political or religious activities till the first part of the 6th century A.D., when the country was brought under the sway of the White Huns who, after the wholesale devastation and massacre, established themselves in Northern India. During their regime, Sagala again became an important place and was given the status of a capital by Mihirangula.¹⁷

The next important reference to this city is of the statement of Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tsang, who visited this country in the early part of the 7th Century A.D. According to his statement, the walls of the city were completely ruined but their foundation still existed showing the circuit of about 20 *li* or 3¹/₂ miles. In the midst of the ruins, there was still a small portion of the old city, which was only 6 or 7 *li* or just one mile in circuit. Inside the city, there was a monastery of one hundred monks who studied the Hinayana or the exoteric doctrines of Buddhism, and beside it, was a stupa, 200 feet in height, where the four previous Buddhas had left their footprints. At 5 or 6 *li* or less than one mile to the north-west, there was a second stupa, built by Asoka on the spot where the four previous Buddhas had explained the Law.¹⁸ The city, as determined by the historians, was visited by this learned Buddhist pilgrim in 630 A.D.¹⁹

For the next few centuries until the Muslim invasion, the history of this metropolis remains shrouded in mystery. It is only in the 10th century A.D. that we find it again taking part in the political activities of the country. The extent historical records reveal that the city at that time was governed by a Brahman patriarch. It is said that the Raja being afraid of direct foreign invasion from Kabul, changed his capital from Lahore to Sialkot. It is the time when we find Mahmud of Ghazna (388—421 A.H./998—1030 A.D.) conquering the territory of Sialkot. After this the Raja again shifted his capital to Lahore.²⁰

In 510 A.H./1184 A.D., Shahabud-Din Ghauri came to Lahore

16. Tarn, W. W., *op. cit.*, pp. 357 and 438.

17. Rapson, E. B., *op. cit.*, p. 180.

18. Cunningham, Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Murtaza Husain, *Handiqatul Aqalim*, fol. 146.

and defeated Khusrau Shah, the descendent of Mahmud of Ghazna. During his journey, he visited Sialkot and ordered for the repair of the Fort. He also appointed a governor to look after the affairs of Sialkot.²¹

After Muhammad Ghauri's return from the Punjab, Khusrau Malik made an alliance with local Ghakkars and beseiged the Fort of Sialkot. But their enterprise did not last long and they were obliged to retreat. On hearing this, Ghauri again marched towards Lahore in 581 A.H./1185 A.D. and arrested Khusrau Malik. Later on, he and his family were sent to Ghazna where he died in 582 A.H./1186 A.D.²²

In the days of Tughluqs (780—816 A.H./1320—1413 A.D.) the account of Sialkot is much more clear. According to Farishta and other Muslim Historians, the city at that time was ruled by a local Hindu Raja named Sahanpal, who was an epponage to the Tughluqs. The Raja as we are told by these historians, was ambitious to regain his independence and, therefore, began to territorize his Muslim subjects. Feroze Shah Tughluq (725—752 A.H./1325—1351 A.D.) then king of Delhi, sent a big force under the command of Imam 'Ali Lahiq, a renowned saint of the day, which was at first met with Sahanpal's brother Jagatpal, ruler of Jagatpur. The Raja fought bravely but was defeated. Victorious Muslims occupied the city and advanced towards Sialkot. There, too, a hot battle was ensued in which a large number of soldiers were killed. The Muslim general himself sustained serious injuries but the Raja was defeated and the Muslims occupied the Fort.²³

In Mughul period, the history of Sialkot becomes much clearer. It was in the year 930 A.H./1524 A.D., when Daulat Khan Lodhi, then, governor of the Punjab, invited Babur to India to overthrow the Lodhi king of Delhi. Babur readily accepted the offer and arrived here with a large force. He took Lahore, Depalpur and Sialkot and appointed his men to look after the affairs of the conquered territory.

The governorship of Sialkot was, however, given to Khusrau Khan Kokaltash, an experienced general of Babur's army. The inhabitants

21. Farishta, (Briggs Ed.) vol. I, p 55.

22. Farishta (Briggs Ed.) vol. I, p. 159.

23. Fauq, Muhammad Din, Tarikh-i-Sialkot, p. 96.

of Sialkot submitted without any resistance and the king, therefore, ordered that no violence should be done to their flocks and crops.²⁴

Daulat Khan, was however, given the governorship of Jullunder and Sultanpur but he was not satisfied with these arrangements and wanted to possess the whole of the Punjab. He, therefore, fled to Baluchi hills and, as soon as Babur left for Kabul, he resumed possession of Sultanpur and advanced towards Depalpur. The Mughul governor Sultan 'Alaud-Din fought bravely but lost the battle. Daulat Khan occupied Depalpur and proceeded to beseige the Fort of Sialkot. In the meantime, Babur also decided to invade India for the fifth time and, in 932 A.H./1525 A.D., sent Amir 'Abdul 'Aziz' with a large force to face the enemy. It was on Friday, the 14th Rabi'ul Awwal 932 A.H., when Babur marched towards Sialkot. The fort was re-conquered and was given to Khusrau Khan Kokaltash.²⁵

During the reign of Akbar (963—1014 A.H./1556—1605 A.D.), this important city gained much more prosperity. It was visited by the Mughul Emperor in 994 A.H./1585 A.D., on his return from Kashmir. He stayed there for a few days and visited the tomb of Imam 'Ali Lahiq, the famous saint and general of the Tughluq period²⁶ and Shah Muhammad Hamza Ghaus, another renowned saint of Sialkot. He also awarded some villages for the maintenance of the *dargah*.

Akbar gave the *pargana* of Sialkot in the *Jagir* of Raja Man Singh, who took great interest in the welfare of the local people. He built a magnificent' mausoleum on the grave of the saint Shah Muhammad Hamza Ghaus. During his days, some families of Kashmir migrated and settled in Sialkot. These families were expert in making paper and Raja Man Singh helped them to organize the industry. It was because of this patronage that people began to name the paper manufacture at Sialkot, as 'Man Singhi Kaghaz'.²⁷

Due to these developments, the city became one of the great industrial and commercial centres of the Empire and, for the facilities

24. Bhandari, Sujan Rai : *Khulasatut Tawarikh*, p. 28.

25. Abul Fazl, Shaikh, *Akbar Nama*.

26. See *Supra*.

27. Fauq, Muhammad Din, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

of the people, Akbar ordered to establish there a mint for minting the copper coins.²⁸

Jahangir (1014—1037 A.H./1605—1627 A.D.) awarded Sialkot to Safdar Khan Khanan. He got the old Fort repaired and also built several other beautiful buildings, among which Shahi Mahal and Rang Mahal are worth mentioning. The local people followed the instance and constructed several beautiful houses, mosques and gardens. Unfortunately, none of these buildings are now extant to show the grandeur of the Mughul architecture.

Jahangir also took keen interest in the advancement of paper industry and due to his patronage, the finest quality of paper was manufactured in Sialkot during his reign. It is said that once he came to Sialkot and ordered to prepare a fine quality of paper for royal use. This fine paper was named as '*Jahangiri Kaghaz*'.²⁹

Due to the efforts of these Mughul governors, Sialkot became a rich and prosperous *parganah* which was, during those days, called as '*naulakha parganah*'.³⁰

28. Abul Fazl, Shaikh, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 13.

29. B. H. Baden Powell gives the following interesting account of Sialkot manufacture of paper :

"The common story runs that a man (whose name has not been handed down to the present time) used to have the pulp beaten by the people, but lifting the pulp from the water was done in secret, in a walled enclosure, and each sheet was valued by him at the then current rupee. One day, his son in law was rather curious to know the art, and through a whole in the wall of the enclosure peeped and found out it was done; after this it became quite common. The chief places for paper manufacture in the Sialkot District are Rangpur, Hirpur, and Makapura, suburbs of the city of Sialkot. From excavation of the ruins, it seems that the sites where the villages are were the old manufactories of paper. The mountain system, the Aik, flows by these villages, and the manufacturers attribute the excellence of their paper to same quality in the water of the Aik. The paper of first quality manufactured in this district is called *Jhangari*, and is named after the great Mughul Emperor. It seems he came to Sialkot and ordered a superior kind of paper to be made; the quality made was what is now produced. It is the most expensive, and lighter in weight than other descriptions of native paper. It is chiefly used in manuscripts of the 'Kuran', the Pothis of the Hindus, and for *Sanads*. The rest are for common use, of different qualities. One half of the total quantity of paper manufactured is sent to Amritsar, and the other half taken by *Kekezais*, who are Boparis as Peshawar; very little finds its way lower down than Amritsar" .c.f. *Panjab Manufactures*, pp. 123—125.

30. Bhandari, Sujan Rai, *Khulasatut Tawarikh*, p. 72.

During the reign of Shahjahan (1037 – 1068 A.H./1628–1657 A.D.) Sialkot became famous for its military importance. There were eight city-gates where military forces were stationed. The names of these city-gates were : Kashmiri Gate, Gujrati Gate, Lohari Gate, Delhi Gate and Mori Gate. These gates were in the charge of Sharwani Pathans who were custodians of the city.

Shahjahan entrusted the 'sarkar' of Sialkot to 'Ali Mardan Khan, the well known engineer who dug a cannal to bring the water from the Chenab to the Imperial gardens in Lahore. As the governor of Sialkot, he provided facilities to the local people and demanded reasonable revenue from the cultivators. He also built some beautiful buildings in Sialkot.

Sialkot was the centre of intellectuals and literatures during this period. Maulana 'Abdul Hakim Sialkoti was particularly one of the greatest scholars of this age.³¹

During Aurangzeb's time (1068–1118 A.H./1658–1707 A.D.) Rahmat Khan was appointed the *faujdar* of Sialkot who built the famous mosque of the town. It was completed in the reign of Farrukh Siyer in 1139 A.H./1726 A.D. It is situated in the Main Bazar and is called as 'Do darwaze wali masjid'. There is an inscription on the top of the front door which reads as under :—

همچو کعبه شد که این مسجد بناء
آسمان گفته که لا اَحصى ثناء
سال تاريخش چو جستم عقل گفتم
رحمت الله کرد این مسجد بناء
۱۱۳۹ هـ

This mosque was repaired twice in 1269 A.H./1852 A.D. and in 1306 A.H./1888 A.D. by the people of Sialkot. The following *qitaband* signifies the first repair which was done by Bisharat 'Ali :—

چون بشارت علی نیک نهاد
خانه کعبه ساخت نو بنیاد
خواست نادر ز سال تاريخش
کصتمش خانه خدا آباد
۱۲۶۹ هـ

Aurangzeb died in 1118 A.H./1707 A.D. and his son, Mu'azzam, under the title of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah, succeeded the throne. He spent all his time in Lahore and died there in 1127 A.H./1712 A.D.

31. Fauq, Muhammad Din, *Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti*, p. 110.

During this period, the Punjab was the target of Sikh robbery and plunder, who had grouped themselves in small bands and were busy in predation. But, due to the influence of the Mughul and Pathan forces in Sialkot, the city remained safe and undisturbed.

In Farrukh Siyer's days (1124—1131 A.H./1713—1719 A.D.) Nawab Zakriya Khan Bahadur was the governor of Lahore and Sialkot. He divided the last named *parganah* into four *mahals*, viz., Gakkhar, Samberial, Mankiwala and Bhalwal. From this times, the importance of this great city was diminished to a great extent and it became a dependency of Lahore.³² In 1161 A.H./1748 A.D. Ahmad Shah Durrani (1160—1187 A.H./1744—1773 A.D.) returned from Kabul to punish Mir Mannu Mo'in-ul-Mulk), who had thwarted his plans at Sirhind. Mir Mannu being unable to face the Durrani king in the battlefield, made an agreement with him and agreed to pay the revenue of the four *mahals* of Lahore, namely, Gujrat, Sialkot, Pasrur and Aurangabad. Ahmad Shah appointed his general, Nasir Khan to look after the *mahals* and to send the revenue to Kabul. But, Mir Mannu did not fulfil his agreement and Ahmad Shah again came to reprimand him in 1165 A.H./1751 A.D. He defeated Mir Mannu and established his suzerainty in the Punjab.

During this period of catastrophe, Sialkot had been appropriately goverend by a local powerful Pathan family. But the Sikhs were gradually getting power and were forming confideracies. It was in 1178 A.H./1764 A.D. that the city was wrested from the Pathans by a group of Bhangi Sikh leaders who appointed Jit Singh as its governor.³³

The Sikh power was at its zenith at the time of Ranjit Singh (1792—1839 A.D.) who invaded Sialkot in 1222 A.H./1807 A.D., through his general, Diwan Muhkam Chand. Ranjit Singh's forces routed the city and massacred the people ruthlessly. Ranjit Singh himself came to Sialkot and appointed Hukma Singh the governor of newly conquered '*parganah*' and gave it in the *Jagir* of his two sons, Kashmir Singh and Pashora Singh.³⁴

During this period, Sialkot lost its importance and was reduced to

32. Bhandari, Sujana Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

33. Kanahayya Lal, Rai Bahadur, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 193.

34. Cunningham, Joseph Davey, *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 70-71.

an ordinary city, Bute Shah, a contemporary author, gives the following account of those day's Sialkot :—

”چون نادر شاه بادشاه و احمد شاه درانی برین ملک تاخت آوردند و اکثر جاها خراب شدند این شهر رو بویرانی نهاد تا آنکه سکهان بسوختند و اکثری عبارات را از پا در آوردند و همه خراب شد مگر اندکی آباد است و کردا کرد این شهر آبادی های متفرقه است که هر یکی را پوره کویند مانند اتک پوره و جته پوره و والی پوره و سکو پوره و حاجی پوره و میانه پوره - - - دور شهر زارات بسیاری از علما و فضلا و سادات و شرفا است و ازان جمله مشهور ترین امام علی الحق است به بزرگی درین دیار مشهور است و خلایق بسیار دور دور عاشوره بر مزار ایشان کرد آیند و بایشان اعتقاد و بسیار دارند و کردا کرد این مقبره قبرستان بسیار است و دوران میان چندین قبر؟ بدرازی نه گز و ده گز ساخته اند - عوام کویند کورهای مردمان نه کره است و نزدیک شهر رود خانه است درغایت ژرفی که از کوه های جمون برآمده آبادی های شهر می گزرد و بران ملی بسته آنکه پخته و خشتین و رعایت استودی کویند که از عبارات شاه و دلا کجراتی است و اکنون از بعضی جاء خراب شده و این رود خانه همواره بآب اندک جاری باشد و در موسم بارشات چنان طغیانی نماید که بغیر پول عبور نتوان کرد“

Translation.—When Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani invaded the country, most of the places were destroyed and deserted. Then the city was devastated by the Sikhs who set it on fire and demolished many of its buildings. But there is still some inhabitation and the people live in the different ‘*muhallahs*’ situated around the city and named as ‘*pura*’ like Rangpura, Chatiyapura, Walipura, Sukupura, Hajipura and Mianapura. The city is full of tombs and graves of famous learned people and distinguished personalities of the city among which the most famous is the tomb of Imam ‘Ali’ul-Haq whose piety is well known in the city. During the period of ‘Ashura’, many people visit his tombs and believe in his greatness and piety. Around the tomb, there is a big grave-yard and among these graves a few are nine to ten yards in length. People say that these graves belong to ‘*naugazahs*’. In the vicinity of the city there is a deep *nullah* which flows from the mountains of Jammu and passes through the city. It had once got a very strong bridge, built of bricks. People say that it has been built by Shah Daulah Gujrati. It has now been broken at places. In this *nullah* water is always flowing but during rains it

flooded to such an extent that it cannot be crossed without boat³⁵."

Thus this historic city witnessed many viccitudes of time and remained well populated and prosperous throughout the ages. During the British regime, it became an important city of the province of the Punjab, It was an industrial centre of the province. After the establishment of Pakistan, the city achieved an all round progress in well established industries and is, nowadays, the flourishing trade centre of surgical instruments, sports goods and agricultural products.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A) Main Sources :

- Abul Fazl, *Shaikh, Akbarnamah*, English translation by H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1898—1920.
- Abul Fazl Sheikh, *A'in-i-Akbari*, English translation by H. Blockmann, Calcutta, 1939.
- Amar Nath, *Zafarnam'ah-e-Ranjit Singh*, Lahore, 1928.
- Beruni, Abu Raihan, *Asar ul-Baqiah*, English translation by Dr. Edward C. Sachau, London, 1910.
- Bhandbari, Sujana Ra'i, *Khulasatut Tawarikh*, Edited by Khan Bahadur Maulana Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918.
- Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, Edited and annotated by Surendra Nath Majumdar Shastri, M.A., Calcutta, 1924.
- Elliot, Sir H. M. and John Dowson, *A History of India as told by its own Historians*, London, 1867.
- Cunningham, Joseph Davy, *A History of the Sikhs*, Milford, 1910.
- Farishta, Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, English translation by John Briggs, Calcutta, 1908.
- 'Ibrat, Muhammad Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*. (Ms. copy of the Panjab University Library, Call No. P. 1176).
- Kanahayya Lal, Ra'i Bahadur, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Lahore, 1887.
- McCrimdile, *Ancient India as described in classical Literature*, Westminster, 1901.

35. Bute Shah, Muhammad. *Tarikh-i-Panjab*. fol. 33.

Muhammad Buta, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*. (Ms. copy of the Punjab University Library, Call No. Ap. III 8).

Pratapa Chandra Ra'i, *The Mahabharata*, English translation, Calcutta, 1883—93.

Tarn, W. W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1958.

(B) Other Sources :

B. Ch. Law, *Historical Geography of India*, Paris, 1954.

Baqir, Dr. Muhammad, *Lahore Past and Present*, Lahore, 1958.

Cunningham, Alexander, *Report of Archaeological Survey of Vols. II and XIV*, Calcutta, 1882.

Dauids T. W. Rhys, *Buddhist India*, London, 1917.

Dowson, John, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, Religion, Geography, History and Literature*, London, 1953.

Farrest. G. W., *The Cities of India, Past and Present*, West Minister, 1903.

Fauq Muhammad Din, *Sawaneh Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti*, Lahore, (N. L.)

Haig, Wolsoley. *Cambrige History of India*, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1928.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol XXII, Oxford, 1908.

Philips, C. H., *Handbook of Oriental History*, London, 1951.

Powell, H. Badan, *Punjab Manufactures*, London, 1804.

Rapson, E. J., *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I., Cambridge, 1922.

Smith, Dunlop, Captain, J. R., *Gazatteer of Sielkot District*, Lahore, 1845.

Smits, V. A., *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1924.

Tarn, W. W., *Alexander The Great*, Cambridge, 1961.

Wheeler, J. Talboys, *The History of India*, Vol. 1 (Vedic Period and the Mahabharata), London, MDCCCLXVII.

Shah Alam and the Ruhila Catastrophe

By Miss Shakeela Sharif

Clive's acquisition of Diwani and betrayal of Shah Alam by concluding the Treaty of Benares (December 1764), with Shujauddaula, sounded the death knell of the Anglo-Mughul relations. Once the Mughul Emperor was denied the territories of Oudh, promised to him by Vansittart in return to the grant of Diwani, Shah Alam commenced negotiations with the Marahtas, who still evinced some designs upon the North Western Provinces, after recovering from the severe shock at Panipat. Najib-ud-Daula their chief Muslim rival, at Delhi, now exhausted and a sickman, had returned to his jagirs, Goth Kada in early A. D. 1770, where he was destined to give up his ghost in October.¹ He had left Zabita Khan, his only son, at the court who somehow or other manoeuvred an access in the Imperial Harem; and notwithstanding his deficient respect for the royal family, he insolently craved for flirtation with Khair-un-Nisa Begum, the sister of Shah Alam².

The Mughul Emperor, having settled terms with the Marahtas left Allahabad in May 1771 A.D. with Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, Bengal Army, and Shujauddaula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, reaching Cora first and later Farrukhabad, the Bangash territory along with Najaf Khan, his Chief Bakhshi. At Farrukhabad Shah Alam conferred the hereditary titles upon the successors of Ahmad Khan Bangash, and therefrom he reached Shahjahanabad on December, 25th.³ Zabita

1. Nuruddin, *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daula* tr. Prof. Sh. A. Rashid, p. xvi.

The chronicle shows the death of Najib-ud-Daula in the 14th year of Shah Alam's reign. Shah Alam had left Allahabad for the capital in May 1771 and the death of the Amir-ul-Umra was reported to him on the way. It was therefore 11th year of Shah Alam's reign.

2. *Delhi Chronicle* tr. J. Scott; *History of the Deccan ii*, p. 248. *c.f.* Keene, *Fall of the Moghal Empire*, p. 94.

3. *Ibid*, p. 249. *c.f.* Poona Residency Record, tr. J. N. Sarkar, Calcutta, p. xxii says that Shah Alam entered the Capital as Emperor on 7.h June, 1772.

Khan's misconduct was reported to him at Aliabad⁴, and he had title hesitation in resolving to inflict a severe punishment upon the culprit. Purchasing the Marahtha arms, Shah Alam ousted Zabita Khan and his deputy Sheikh Qasim,⁵ from the Capital at the cost of some lives.⁶ Asad Burjīn the Royal Palace was also damaged in the ensuing battle.⁷

Zabita Khan, frustrated in amours and frantic with grief and insult, persisted in his attachment with the Mughul Princess. While he was disturbing the peace in the suburb of the capital, Shah Alam resolved his pursuit further, and followed him till Shakhartal.⁸ Mirza Najaf Khan Zulfiqar-ud-Daula, Abdul Ahad Khan and a contingent of the Marahtas routed the Afghans completely⁹; the loins share in the spoils having been siezed by the Marahtas mostly, the emperor returned to the Capital empty handed.¹⁰ Zabita Khan was, however, again admitted to the Mughul court through the meditation of Tukoji Holkar.¹¹ His over-prudence and an understanding with other Ruhila Chiefs as well as with the efforts of Sir R. Barker, there effected a defencive treaty between Zabita Khan and Shuja-ud-Daula on 11th July, 1772.¹² But lack of unity among other Ruhilas, the intrigues of the Marahtas¹³ and Shujauddaula, the jealousy between Mirza Najaf Khan and Abdul Ahad Khan, and finally Zabita Khan's own death on 21st January 1785,¹⁴ prevented the completion of an alliance which could prove a strong barrier against future invasions from the North-West and the East. The gulf of differences between him and Shah Alam still widened with the passage of time. He deemed the Emperor responsible for his ruin at the hands of the Marahtas; the manhandling of his women; and

4. D.C., p. 248.

5. Azfari : Waqiat-i-Azfari (MS) f : 3 (a).

6. Mir Taqi Mir in his Dikr-i-Mir says that he accompanied the campaign of Harcharan Das : Chahar Gulzar-i-Shuja (MS) 509 (b).

7. *Ibid*, f. 3 (b).

8. D. C. vii, p. 248. This was after 20 days of Shah Alam's arrival from Allahabad.

9. Azfari 3 (b).

10. Keene, p. 101.

11. Azfari, p. 3 (b).

12. Buckland, A Dictionary of Indian Biographies, p. 26 c. f. Keene, p. 102.

13. Azfari, f. 5 (a).

14. Keene, p. 1149.

the arrest of his only son, Ghulam Qadir¹⁵, eight years old, was above all considered by him^e inhuman. Ghulam Qadir was admitted in the palace as a page-boy,¹⁶ where his life was severally threatened by the nobles at the court in revenge of a defeat they had sustained at the hands of his father.¹⁷

Ghulam Qadir was, though, saved and returned to the camps of his father under the cover of a night, yet the little foe had in the hearts of his heart a hidden fire of revenge, waiting for an opportuned moment to burst-forth.

His accession to his hereditary jagirs and his withholding of the customary fee to the Emperor was as hostile as his open challenge to the court that he was reaching Shahjahanabad to avenge his early imprisonment. The dis-spirited Marahatas after their rout in Rajputana had left the field empty for him.¹⁸ This coupled with his successful attempt to disaffectioning the Court Nazir Manzoor Ali Khan,¹⁹ he moved out from Guskada with a large force, and destroying the parganas of Shah Nizam-ud-Din, with the deputy of Sindhia, he plundered the whole vicinity. After crossing the river, he encamped near Shahdara. The news of Ghulam Qadir's arrival caused a great alarm in Delhi. Mahadji Rao was commissioned by the Emperor to meet the Ruhila threat. He moved out of the capital with 5 to 6 hundred men besides two artillery palatoons. More troops were mustered near the bank of the river and Shah Nizam-ud-Din was summoned to join him in the campaign. Two cannons were fixed on boats to cross the river from near the Qila-i-Mabarak. Mahadji himself a 'faineant', lagged behind, and sent his deputy Desh-Mukh along with Shah Nizamuddin to fight out the Ruhilas. The imperial troops as well as their commander had no heart to resist the Sikh attack advanced by Ghulam

15. Azfari, f. 4 (a).

16. Azfari maintains that Shah Alam had reared the child tenderly providing for him learned tutors, etc., and other amenities of life. The account seems to be exaggerated as a luxurious life in the Palace could have easily lulled the revengeful passions which Ghulam Qadir carried with him of his imprisonment. Besides no other contemporary account mention this.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Azfari f. 5 (a).

19. Muhammad Ali Khan Tarikh-i-Muzafari f: c. f. Keene, p. 94.

Qadir to the result that half of their army was drowned in the river. Ghulam Qadir, now shrewdly sent assurance to Shah Alam that his arrival in the capital was under the directions from Najaf Quli Khan and that he was insolently and treacherously attacked by the troops of Shah Nizammuddin and Deshmukh whom he had given a deserving punishment.²⁰ In the end Birlas Rai, the Wakil of Ghulam Qadir, solicited further instruction from the Emperor who unable to apprehend the real motives, put off the reply till next day. The Ruhila Chief now himself crossed the river along with his 'entourage', and borrowing five gold mohars from Ram Rattan Mudi offered his 'Nazar' through the Nawab Nazir, as a token of his loyalty to the Emperor, returning to his camps the same day.

Ghulam Qadir embarrassed with pecuniary difficulties, again visited the capital after a couple of days, with five to six thousand men. He entered the imperial palace without permission much to the annoyance of Shah Alam. His petition for loans to enable him to defray the arrears of his troops was given a cold shoulder, and a short-while after he was granted leave to depart. Ghulam Qadir left the Palace with the Nazir Manzoor Ali, and having passed the night near the Zeenat ul-Masjid, he moved onward next morning (13th) to the gardens of Shah Nazam-ud-Din. Having failed in his mission with the Emperor, he commenced oppressing the citizens for raising funds, and his strong determination of applying force might have further added to the terror of the people but for the timely arrival of Begum Samru with a contingent of 800 strong commanded by two Sikhs : Karwat Singh and Bhakkal Singh. The vigilant guards of the Begum foiled the Ruhilas well-planned night attack, and Ghulam Qadir was obliged to return to his camp.

Meanwhile Najaf Quli Khan, summoned by the Nazim reached the capital and admitted to the Royal presence. The emperor conferred upon him the robe of honour, and ordered him to join the imperial forces. A general mustering of the troops in the capital, had already been ordered by the Emperor, under Prince Akbar Shah. About seven or eight thousand horsemen and an equal number of soldiers were enrolled, although the imperial treasures were empty,

20. c. f. D. C. p. 284.

which created disturbances for want of salaries. Partly payment to the troops nipped the standard of a small rising in the bud, and on 22nd of Safar-ul-Muzaffar the imperial army left the capital under Ram Rattan Mudi, and reached the bank of the river where Begum Sumru joined him. The hostilities began and a slight display of artillery from both sides, obliged Ghulam Qadir to subdue. He was pardoned and admitted to the capital through the Nazir and Ram Rattan Mudi. The latter conferred upon him a distinguished Turban, and Ghulam Qadir returned to his jagirs²¹ on 13th November, 1787.²²

Meanwhile the Marahtas were plundering the suburbs of the capital and yet evading a direct encounter with Ismail Beg Khan who was doggedly pursuing the defeated troops of Sindhia. Ghulam Qadir on his way back had besieged the jat fortress of Dieg wherefrom he was summoned by Ismail Beg Khan to join him in the impending battle with the Marahtas. The rival troops collided when the Marahtas, having crossed the river Chambal, advanced further towards the combined forces of Ismail Beg and Ghulam Qadir. Sindhia's troops were exhausted and demoralized. They had no heart to resist the Mughal attack and therefore, fled towards the South—(Dholpur : Dec. 15, 1787) where Ambaji's troops, who had suffered another defeat at the hands of Bijai Singh of Ajmer, joined them. Reinforcement from the South gave Sindhia a courage to attack the Mughul troops again. Ismail Beg Khan—one of the distinguished soldier of his age—undaunted with the superior number of the Marahtas gave battle and was severely injured. Ghulam Qadir, too, failed to resist the Marahtas attack and joined Ismail Beg Khan at Jalisar. Having been denied admission in the capital they made a forced entry into Shah Jahanabad in July, 1788,²³ presenting themselves before the Emperor on 15th, through the Nazir Manzoor Ali Khan. Both of them dropped themselves at the feet of the Emperor stating : "their only object was his honour, and the expulsion of the Marhatas which they promised to

21. Muzaffari, f. 160.

22. Poona Residence Record, p. xxii.

23. Muzaffari, f. 162 (a).

c.f. Poona Residence Records xii. D. C. tr. Scott : p. 284 ; maintains that Ghulam Qadir was mindful of warning the Emperor that he should outrightly cut-off himself from the Marahtas.

effect. If one of the princes was permitted to accompany them to the field",²⁴ the task would be easier. Shah Alam agreed on condition if one-third of the revenue and spoils be submitted to the Imperial Treasury. Consequently, he instructed Prince Sulaiman Shikoh to effect the treaty ratified—in fact a sham from either sides. Shah Alam offended with the forced entry of the culprit, in fact, wanted to get rid of him the sooner the better, and Ghulam Qadir, on the contrary, wanted an excuse to enable him to exact money from the Emperor. He proved, rather, impatient in his designs when he demanded, soon after, a large sum of money and Shah Alam refused as expected.²⁵ Concentration of the Marahatas troops around Shahjahanabad obliged Ghulam Qadir to retire instantly to his camps wherefrom he despatched his extra bags and baggages to Gokada, and after posting defence guards on the gates of Delhi, he hastened back to the Imperial Palace, oppressing the Emperor for payment.²⁶ Shah Alam's flat refusal, coupled with his emissaries to the Marahatas Chief and a 'Shiqā' seized by Ghulam Qadir addressed to Sindhia, inviting him to the capital to oust Ghulam Qadir infuriated the latter, who having won over Ismail to his side, readily consented to a proposal received at this juncture from Malika-i Zamania—the queen dowager—offering him Rs. 10 lacs if Shah Alam was deposed and Bedar Bukht s/o Jahan Shah be raised to the throne. Ghulam Qadir confirmed the plan, expressing his sincere devotions to the House of Baber.²⁷ The story of the atrocities of Ghulam Qadir and Shah Alam's tale of woe and sufferings which followed next, is narrated by historians, usually in the following words :

That, Ghulam Qadir stopped the egress and ingress to and from the fort on 26th Shawwal A.H. 1202, corresponding to 31st July A.D. 1788. All Imperial guards and servants were dismissed save a few personal attendants (eunuch) of the Emperor. Prince Akbar alarmed at the situation, suggested to his father : "One choice is yet left ; if you allow us, we brothers will all fell upon those traitors and will bravely encounter martyrdom". Shah Alam answered : "No one can escape the decrees of the Almighty : there is no contending against doom : the

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.* c.f. Khairuddin, *Ibrat Nama* (E & D) viii, p. 245.

26. Muzaffari, f. (162) (a).

27. S. N., page 245.

power is now in the hands of others". Prince Akbar disappointed with the pussilanimous reply of the Emperor drew out his sword and placed it upon his neck. Shah Alam snatched the sword from his son and himself attempted a suicide, when the hue and cry of the attendants that accrued dragged Ghulam Qadir to the Emperor's apartment. The faineant king instead of the proper use of the sword by killing his foe standing in front of him embraced the latter in an abortive effort to console him.

That, next day (27th Shawwal/1st August) Ghulam Qadir again entered the Emperor's private apartment and shouted "I have no reliance on you. He who speaks of sitting in private should give up the claim to sovereignty." He then stepped forward and drew out the Emperor's dagger from his girdles ; while his companions wrested the sword from the hands of the Princes. He then prolonged his torture upon the unfortunate Princes and the Emperor as a daily routine and finally deposed Shah Alam raising Prince Bedar Bakht on the throne, on 22nd June 1790 A.D. (corresponding to 27 Shawwal A.H. 1204).

The blindness of Shah Alam is narrated in a rather horrid description that Ghulam Qadir "sprang and threw himself upon the bosom of the Emperor. Qandhari Khan and Purdil Khan seized his hand, two of their companions held his feet ; Qaudhari Khan tore out one of his eyes, and that blood thirsty reckless ruffian tore out the other with his own hand amidst the wailing of the Emperor." The climax of the story goes to the extent that Ghulam Qadir wanted a painter to paint his likeness sitting knife in hand, on the breast of Shah Alam digging out his eyes. The blindness of Shah Alam is followed by a long description of inhuman sufferings and pains inflicted upon the Emperor, the princes and the 'harem'. It is said that the Princes were tortured and whipped to leak out information about the burried treasures; hot oil was pored on the palms of the female attendants ; and royal ladies misbehaved, and searched for a few pieces of pearls and coins even in the secret part of their bodies. The story is concluded on the most ferocious and reckless deed of Wai Khaili—an afghan appointed on the search of the Royal family and the ladies of the Salatin—who himself reported to his master : how his colleagues had ransacked the apartments of Malika Zamania, Sahiba-i-Mahal and other ladies ; how in search of some pieces of gold and silver coins or a few pearls they

had searched their persons and wanted to strip away [from them their gowns and bodices; how he had forced his way in the house of Khair-un-Nisa Begum sister of Shah Alam—to strip her daughters and women necked and searched for jewels. And finally how he had narrated to Ghulam Qadir the beauty of the daughters of Mirza Haika and Mirza Jaika whom the Ruhila Chief sent for in the Moti Mahal and ordered them to be placed before him without veil or curtains, and how Ghulam Qadir misbehaved with everyone of them.

The first chronicle to record this story as it is narrated above, is Maulwi Khair-ud-Din Allahabadi—sometime Persian Secretary to James Anderson, and later an active mediator between his first master and Sindhia.²⁸ His renowned work *Ibrat Nama* was composed by the end of the 18th century about fifteen²⁹ years after the Ruhila 'coup'. He was not an eyewitness to the scene even of the partial occurrence. In his own words: "I have recorded these events after listening them from various princes, Salatin and other person in touch with the incident."³⁰ The story was thus heard from many persons and was poisoned with rumours and unauthentic gossips. Muhammad Ali Panipati who composed his work: "*Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*" late in 1821³¹ A.D. took various extract of the reign of Shah Alam from *Ibrat Nama*. Sarkar depended upon it as a basic source for his third volume of the "*Fall of the Mughul Empire*, and branded it as "the fullest and best history we possess of Shah Alam's reign."³²

After Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar the work was used by many later historian like Banerji, etc.,³³ and the story became popular as it is.

Most of the events recorded by *Ibrat Nama* (detailed above) are exaggerated; particularly the dates noted, are incorrect. The *Delhi Chronicle*—an eye witness, day-to-day, account of the Ruhila atrocities in the palace—which was translated by Sir Jonathan Scott as late as in

28. P. R. Record vi. PV.

29. Khairud-Din *Ibrat Nama* (MS) f. 2 (b) (year 1231 A.H). The date seems to be incorrect.

30. *Ibrat Nama* (MS) f. 2 (a).

31. *Muzaffari* (MSS) f. 173 (year 1236 A. H).

32. Franklin has used a MSS of Syed Razi which is not traceable but it support the D. C. in events and dates.

33. Storey, *A Bio-Bibliographical Survey of Pakistan literature* vii/iii p. 640.

1794 A.D.³⁴—gives a story which compared with the intelligence received by the English Resident at Agra,³⁵ seems to be more accurate and authentic.³⁶

The chronicle begins its account from 26th July 1788,³⁷ when Ghulam Qadir sitting in the Private Audience of the palace, early in the morning, was pressing hard the Emperor through the Nawab Nazir for payment of money. Mutlab Khan who had just reached the palace along with Ismail Beg Khan expressed the inability of the Emperor saying: "had His Majesty such a considerable money, his affairs would not have fallen to such an extrimity." Ghulam Qadir having silenced Mutlab Khan ordered two of his attendants to bring Bedar Bakht from the Qila-i-Mubarak, who was instantly conducted into the oratory and customary salutation of royalty made by the chiefs.³⁸ Shah Alam was deposed insolently and sent to the apartment called Nur Mahal along with 19 princes, and imprisoned. Next day (27th) Prince Sulaiman Shikoh and other attendants of Shah Alam were put to confinement. Malika Zamania and Sahiba-i-Mahal were given charge of the Imperial Harem. The atrocities began on 28th; whatever was found in shape of money, gold, silver pearls, jewels, house hold, and even the precious clothing was plundered.

The same day apartments of fourteen women of Shah Alam were searched and the plunder was made over to Ghulam Qadir. Later in the day the palace of Prince Akbar was raided and all his effects confiscated. Malika Zamania, who played a chief role in the 'Coup', now sent words to Shah Alam that he could be reinstated upon the throne if he would tell about his burried treasures. Shah Alam manifest an inaptitude and weariness for the kingship.³⁹ He and his family were

34. Storey; vii/iii p. 640. c. f. D. C. tr. Scott, v, p. 283.

35. Palmers. (These intelligences are included in the P. R. Records translated by Sarkar.

36. This has also been used by Keene in his all of the Mughal Empire, but the author is dishonest as not to have mentioned the name of this work in his source material.

37. Ibrat Nama gives 31st July 1788 the date of Ghulam Qadir's entry into Palaco (E & D).

38. According to Ibrat Nama Bedar Bakht ascended the throne on 22 June 1790 A. D. corresponding to 27th Shawwal A. H. 1204 (E & D) p.

39. Keene, p. 189.

deprived of food and water that day. Mirza Mindoo secretly carried to Shah Alam 14 cakes of bread, but the spies reported to Ghulam Qadir and he was beaten with clubs. Agha Sandal lodged a complaint with the Emperor explaining him the absurd condition of Shah Alam's family who had been without food ever since the latter's dethronement. To the utter surprise of the complainant the monarch had nothing to pay except five rupees in his pocket.

On 29th Ghulam Qadir prepared five whips and gave one to Sulaiman Shikoh, to beat his father and to question him about the hoarded wealth. Next day the residence of Shahabadi Begum was searched to the discovery of some considerable wealth found buried under the floor of a room. The Afghans returning to the palace whipped the female attendants to force the discovery of their effects. All was seized with them except the garments on their persons. Ghulam Qadir repeated his demands from Shah Alam for his hoarded treasure on 1st of August. The wretched Prince replied desperately, "whatever I had, you have taken; but if you think I conceal some treasure within me, rip up my bowels and be convinced".⁴⁰ The same day rupees one lac were demanded from Mirza Baddhu and on denial he was flogged by the peons. Next day his house was ransacked and all members of the family were confined in a close apartment and were kept without food for the whole day. Ghulam Qadir ordered his Afghan Guards to keep an eye upon the Emperor Bedar Bakht, who misbehaved with him and threatened his deposition. The Nawab Nazir had to pay for his mischievous conspiracy against the Emperor. Ghulam Qadir demanded from him rupees seven lacs and rejected his offer of jewels to be valued (4th August, P. 290). On 5th, he broke the Royal-bath and instantly despatched a silver chair to be melted and coined.⁴¹ The next day, the throne of the Emperor was broken to pieces and sent to the mint.⁴² The savage Ruhila scorned the Mughul court, by sitting on the royal masnad with his legs stretched forward and smoking 'Huqaq' before the standing Emperor⁴³ whom he severely censured for delaying the payment of the promised amount. The greed of the Ruhila increased every

40. *Ibid.*

41. Keene, p. 189.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

day. On 9th he sent several of his men in Qila-i-Mubarak where over one hundred women were searched and maltreated. (292) Next day Ghulam Qadir went to Shah Alam and demanded a discovery of his hidden treasure. Shah Alam replied "I have none; take what you can find in the fort". The villain, then, ordered his attendants to lift up Prince Sulaiman Shikoh, Akbar Shah and others and dash them on the ground. Shah Alam in the agony of his grief exclaimed: "traitors forbear such cruelty on my children in my sight". Upon this Ghulam Qadir ordered the Ruhilas to cast him on the ground; after which they sat upon his breast and stabbed out his eyes with dagger. He then gave orders for similar action to be inflicted upon the princes but for the timely intervention of an officer named Seatal Dass. The Palace was resounded with the lamentations among the ladies of the harem.

The same day⁴⁴ two surgeons were appointed to dress up Shah Alam's wounds but the latter refused medical treatment, especially when his family was, at the point of death for want of food. Two infant sons of Prince Sulaiman Shikoh died of hunger on 13th, but Ghulam Qadir remained unmoved. He continued his plunder in the palace, as well as looted the citizens. His troops revolted on 15th for their arrears of pay; one of them threatened his life while the rest threatened to quit his services. They were consoled with a promise of two months salary and again sent to their posts.

The Marahtas were, meanwhile, concentrating their forces, near Shahdara under Sindhia. On 17th, they intercepted a reinforcement to the Ruhilas and most of the afghans were drowned in an effort to escape. Their pressure on the capital became severer day by day. Ghulam Qadir alarmed at the situation, resolved to squeeze money as much as possible from the palace. On the 19th he repeated his demand from Shah Alam and claimed five lacs from Malikah Zamaniah and Sahiba-i-Mahal. On their refusal he seized their effects. Next day the property and valuable of the Nawab Nazir was confiscated and in vain a thorough search was again carried out in every room of the palace.

Shah Alam's family had by now reduced to extremity after continuous starvation. Four ladies died of grief and hunger on 21st; their

44. Ibrat Nama says after two days. (E & D) vol. viii, p. 249.

corpse were thrown in the open court by the orders of Ghulam Qadir. On 24th a daughter of Mirza Tughral died for want of food and on 26th six more ladies finding life hard gave up their ghosts. Their bodies were thrown from over the wall of the citadel. Next day another four ladies dropped themselves from a window and committed suicide.

Many lives had lost before Ghulam Qadir sent some vidual to the distressed family of Shah Alam (27th). Next day he entertained Prince Akbar Shah and other princes to a feast and dance. After a little while he placed his head on the knees of Akbar Shah and went asleep for two hours. When he woke up he wept and said, "he had been guilty of great crimes and repented on his behaviour ; that he would restore all the property he had taken but could not replace the eyes of Shah Alam".⁴⁵

The Prince replied "the Providence which had given eyes to his father had also taken them away, and the instrument was not to be blamed." Thus tamed the Mughul Princes their ancestor's courage and valour ; the names of their forefather, and the blood they had inherited from Tamerlane and Babar.

Ghulam Qadir had long since developed differences with Ismail Beg on the division of plunder from the Palace. He had promised him one half of the spoil after occupation of the Palace but later denied his share. The gulf of differences thus widened between them with the passage of time. On 3rd September Ghulam Qadir received intelligence of an outburst at Sarungpur and he resolved to march to Goskada.⁴⁶ The same day it was reported to him that Ismail Beg Khan had sent Gul Muhammad Khan and Mirza Matlab Khan to Raja Himmat

45. Khair-ud-Din makes an interesting story of this event. He records that Prince Akbar Shah, Prince Suleman Shikoh and other Princes were ordered by Ghulam Qadir to sing and perform a dance, failing compliance of which their noses would be cut off. The Princes sang and danced. Ghulam Qadir appreciated and rewarded them by sending some food to their father. He then sent out all his attendahts; drew out his sword and dagger, placing them on the floor, he placed his head on the knees of prince Akbar and closed his eyes for an hour, when woke up he slapped every Prince shouting "can such (craven) spirits entertain the idea of reigning? I wanted to try your courage. If you had any spirit, you would have made an end of me with my sword and dagger". (E & D) Vol. viii, pp. 250-1.

46. D. C.

Bahadur and Sindhia for negotiations. He was perturbed at the news and sent two of his chiefs to Ismail Beg Khan to reconcile him, saying that he considered him his elder brother and entertained very different hopes from him. He reminded him to abide by the agreement between them and agreed to surrender him one half share of the plunder, requesting further to let him cross the rivers.⁴⁷ Ismail Beg in reply expressed his inability as the command of the troops lay with Sindhia.⁴⁸

The news of Ismail-Sindhia alliance was confirmed on 14th and apprehending danger, Ghulam Qadir resolved to leave the capital and to join his troops across the river, despatched earlier on 8th.⁴⁹ A few days later he again visited the palace and forcibly carried away along with him all the princes. Akbar Shah was threatened for life and carried at the point of dagger. Next day he again arrived in the palace and chastised Shah Alam with his own hand and while returning, he compelled Malika-i-Zamania and Sahiba-i-Mahal to accompany him. He also set a portion of the palace on fire and left with his companion to his camp, accross the river.⁵⁰

Rana Khan and Ismail Beg raided Delhi on 9th October, 1788, (corresponding to 8th Muharram A.H. 1203), a free fighting ensued between Maniar Singh Kumedon—the Commander of Ruhila and the Marahatas who ultimately succeeded in capturing the fort. Shah Alam was released from his confinement by Rana Khan provided refreshments, and re-seated upon the throne. But the king surrendered himself, in favour of his son Akbar Shah who was still a prisoner in the hands of the Ruhila. Meanwhile an intelligence was received that Ghulam Qadir had deposed Bedar Bakht and ascended Akbar Shah on the throne to appease the Marahatas and the Emperor Shah Alam. The latter was greatly rejoiced at the news and instantly sent pardon to Ghulam Qadir through the Nawab Nazir thanking him for crowning his son. He also urged upon Rana Khan to acknowledge Akbar Shah but he prudently denied saying that the Prince was yet a prisoner in the hands of the Ruhila.⁵¹

47. P. R. Records, v, i, p. 323.

48. *Ibid.*

49. D. C.

50. *Ibid.*

51. D. C. Scott, p.
c.f. P. R. Records, p. 333.

On 16th December various raids were made on the Ruhilas camp and Ghulam Qadir was reduced to extreme want and distress for provisions. He was deserted by his principal officers and chiefs, obliging him to take refuge in Meerut, wherefrom he onward fled to Goskada with only 300 horsemen. They were doggedly chased by the Marahtas and were soon overtaken by a contingent under Jivaji Bakhshi. The Ruhilas were completely routed in the ensuing battle; two out of three hundred men were slain and Ghulam Qadir escaped alone on the horse-back (19th December).⁵² The night being dark his horse fell into a pit, which hurt his legs. He was discovered by the noise he made in pains. A zamindar of the village Bamnauli,⁵³ having responded by his arrival on the spot, carried him with fair promises⁵⁴ but called on Nawab Ali Bahadur about midnight and narrated to him the matter. The Nawab ordered a detachment to accompany the zamindar and to conduct Ghulam Qadir to him. When the latter arrived in the camp of Ali Bahadur a salute was fired, in his honour. He then sent for Bilas Rai, Maniar Singh, the Nazir and Qanunngoes of Meerut and ordered them into confinement.⁵⁵ Akbar Shah and the rest of the Royal family were found in Meerut and were escorted to Shahjahanabad. Shah Alam ordered Bedar Bukht to be put in chains and imprisoned.⁵⁶

Ghulam Qadir, in confinement with Nawab Ali Bahadur, now sent for Bilas Rai and Hakeem Boo Ali Khan and said: "I sometime ago told you that I had committed so bad an act, that I should not be suffered to live". Today I shall be put to death, and have sent for you to take my farewell." They replied: "we shall be put to death in two or three days; we told you not to commit yourself by such an act but you did not listen; today you now meet with your deserts". Ghulam Qadir was sent to Sindhia in any iron-cage.⁵⁷ who summoned Hakeem

52. *Ibid*, p. 333; at p. 331 in a letter to Cornwallis dated 22/12/1788 he observed the name of the Marahata commander as Rayji Patel.

53. 3 miles south west from Shaunti near Muthra, P. R. R., p. 333.

54. *Ibid*, p. 333.

55. *op. cit.*, p. 330.

56. *Ibid*. p. 333, 334.

57. *Ibrat Nama* (E. D.) p. 254, *c.f.* Franklin, p. 18.

Akmal, Mir Ghalib Ali and desired them to accompany his wakil Baba Jay Ram, to take out the eyes and cut off the ears of Ghulam Qadir. They were, then, to drag the rebel six or seven 'cos' from Muthra and put him to death. His eyes and ears were to be despatched to the king in a wooden box.

58. *Ibid*, p. 335. *c.f.* Muzaffari, p. 162 (b). Azfari, Franklin, p. 185. Khairuddin skillfully makes the story instructive; he maintains that under the orders of Sindhia the ears of Ghulam Qadir were cut off and hung round his neck, his face was blackened and he was carried round the camp and city. Next day his nose and upper lips were cut off, and he was again paraded. On the third day he was thrown upon the ground, his eyes were torn out and he was once more carried round. After that his hands were cut off, then his feet and last of all his head. The corpse was then hung neck down from a tree. A trustworthy person relates that a black dog, white round the eyes, came and sat under the tree and licked up the blood as it dripped. The spectators threw stone and clods at it, but still it kept there. On the third day the corpse disappeared and the dog also vanished."

Ibrat Nama (E & D) viii, p. 254.