CALENDAR OF ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS IN ADAB-I ALAMGIRI

Dissertation Submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in HISTORY

BY

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Under the supervision of

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ALIGARH (INDIA)

1991
Certified that Mr Zakir Husain has worked under our supervision to prepare the dissertation entitled, 'Calendar of Administrative Documents in Adab-i 'Alamgiri', We consider it suitable for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in History.

(Prof.) M. Athar Ali

(Dr K.K. Perti)
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PREFACE

For an understanding of the functioning of the Mughal empire a study of its provincial administration and the relationship between the centre and the provinces has been held to be of special importance. Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty of the Deccan as illuminated by the papers contained in the Adab-i Alamgiri comprises the letters Aurangzeb wrote to the Emperor Shahjahan, Princess Jahanara, his son, Muhammad Sultan, nobles and officers. Some of these letters are, in form, hasbu-l anrs or written on his behalf, at his instructions.

In this dissertation I have offered a calendar of such documents in Adab-i Alamgiri as relate to problems of administration of the Mughal Deccan during Aurangzeb's second term as Viceroy. Passages of particular importance are translated in extenso, but omitting unnecessary titles and compliments. An introduction to the calendar sums up the main points emerging from this study. A Glossary of terms has been added.

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Prof. M. Athar Ali and Dr R.K. Perti, Director General, National Archives, New Delhi, who have helped me in many ways especially by offering constructive criticism of my work. My special thanks are due to Prof. Irfan Habib, my revered teacher, who has rigorously scrutinised the draft. He has been generous enough
with his precious time as and when I approached him. Prof. Shireen Moosvi has been kind enough in giving me a personal copy of the printed text of *Adāb-i ʿAlamgīrī* for which I am thankful to her.

My friend Dr S.Z.H. Jafri (Reader, Department of History, University of Delhi) has been instrumental in pursuing my researches for which I am highly thankful to him. My thanks are due to Dr I.A. Zilli, my local guardian and my friend Dr Arshad Islam who have helped me in several ways. My thanks are also due to Ms. S.H. Khan. My colleagues at the National Archives, New Delhi, Ms. N.S. Alam and Mr Muhammad Irfan have extended their full cooperation in this work. Need I say that I am thankful to them. I am also thankful to Mr SMR Baqar, Assistant Director, NAI, for his interest in my work. I am indebted to the staff of the Research Library, Department of History who have been much helpful to me. My thanks are due to Mr M.A. Khan Afridi who has excellently typed the draft.

In the last but not the least I should thank my parents whose constant encouragement and good wishes have always been a source of inspiration to me. My wife Halima Begum has patiently waited for the results of my researches, and to her I owe much gratitude.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adāb:</td>
<td>Ādāb-ī ʿĀlamgīrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparatus:</td>
<td>The Apparatus of Empire &amp; C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlas:</td>
<td>An Atlas of the Mughal Empire &amp; C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEHI:</td>
<td>Cambridge Economic History of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IESHR:</td>
<td>The Indian Economic &amp; Social History Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHR:</td>
<td>The Indian Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isl.Cul.:</td>
<td>Islamic Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahori:</td>
<td>Padshahnama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.U.:</td>
<td>Maʿāṣiru-ʿl Umara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIHC:</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāliḥ:</td>
<td>ʿĀmal-ī Sāliḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shafiq:</td>
<td>Khulāṣatu-ʿl Hind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Lal:</td>
<td>Dastūru-ʿl ʿĀmal-ī Shahinshāḥi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakhira:</td>
<td>Zakhīratu-ʿl Khwānīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Ādāb-ī 'Ālamgīrī is the most important source of information about the Mughal administration in the Deccan during the second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb (1652-58). The letters contained in this well-known collection mainly relate to the period when he was Viceroy of the Deccan under Shahjahan, and were written on his behalf by Munshi Qābil Khān. This collection also contains letters written on behalf of Prince Akbar, during 1678-80, by Muhammad Sādiq who edited the entire text in 1703-4.¹

The letters addressed to Shahjahan were written by Aurangzeb himself in conformity of the strict Mughal protocol, whereas letters addressed to other officials were drafted by his munshi, which occasionally contained some endorsements in Aurangzeb's hand writing. It appears that not only the copies but original correspondence also survived with the Mughal archives and the private individuals² and later on became very popular because of its refined literary style.

1. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, OUP, Delhi, 1982, 74.

2. An original letter of Aurangzeb of 30th March 1689 (addressed to Prince Muhammad) acquired from a private party contains a note in Aurangzeb's handwriting, NAI, 1697.
These letters cover the period from 1649 to 59 A.D.¹ Since the present dissertation aims at providing a calendar of administrative documents contained in the Adab-i 'Alamgiri relating to Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty of the Deccan, a summary of the originals has been given besides full translations of the selected letters. With a view to make it more useful, comprehensive annotations have been also provided covering persons, place names as also references to other sources. The letters calendared have been arranged status-wise / rank-wise. For the sake of convenience, the letters addressed to particular individuals have been further arranged according to the chronological order on the basis of internal evidence and the evidence contained in other sources covering the period (1652-57 A.D.). Separate serial numbers along with sub-numbers have been assigned to each addressee for convenience of the readers. Repetitions have been avoided as far as possible.

The plethora of high sounding titles so common in medieval epistolary writings long-drawn passages in the praise and encomium and such other details which are not relevant to the subject have been conveniently omitted. While translating technical terms correct Persian nomenclature has been maintained in transliteration. Since in the Persian text the first few lines are normally devoted to compliments, the substance of the

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letters starts with the words, pîr-i dastgîr salāmat, pîr-o murshid-i haqiqi, hukm-i jahān mutâ'/hukm aqdas bañifäz pâwasta, murid ba maqif-i 'arz-i muqaddas mirasânad sâhibatuz zamâni, i'smat panah / qubâb / ihtijâb, hamshîra-i muhtaruma, jutbu'il Mulk, Dastûr wuzarâ'i daurân, Khân-i 'azîmush shân, amîru'il umarâ, 'umdatul mulk, Khân-i 'âli shân, Khân-i zîshân, natîjatu'il umarâ and so on and so forth.

The documents contained in this collection deal with miscellaneous issues in which a previous letter has no corelation at all with the following one. Sometime the issue is taken up at the very beginning of the letter and then is continued to the very end. As the manuscripts of Ādâb do not have paragraphing, the beginning of fresh issues and new points are indicated simply by using such words as pîr-o murshid-i haqiqi salâmat, chün în 'aqîdat kesh, mushfîqa-i man, qabl azîn, ânche, binâbaran, barân, ba'd, lekin chûnâche, ân, darîn wîla, agar, az ânja, nigârish yâfta, yaqîn, etc. etc. Fortunately the printed text contains paragraphing with necessary diacritical marks.¹

In the preparation of this work, the printed Persian text of Ādâb has been used. However, this has been collated

with the available manuscripts\(^1\) as well as the *Rugā'īt-i 'Alamgīr*\(^2\) with a view to ensure more accuracy.

Though *Ādāb* comprises 744 letters and some miscellaneous items out of which only 111 documents, which have a direct bearing upon the Mughal administration in the Deccan, have been selected for calendaring as the following table would show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.No.</th>
<th>Name of the Addressee</th>
<th>Total No. of Letters</th>
<th>Letters Calendared</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shāhjahān</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1652-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jahān Ārā</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1652-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sister of Qutb Shah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>'Qutb Shāh</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1653-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>'Ali 'Ādil Khān</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sa'dullāh Khān</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1653-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shai'sta Khān</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1652-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ja'far Khān</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mīr Jumla</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Shāh Nawāz Khān</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I'tiqād Khān</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1653-6</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the Addressee</th>
<th>Total No. of Letters</th>
<th>Letters Calendared</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Shāh Beg Khan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1656-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fāzīl Khan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1653-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Multafat Khan</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1652-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nasīrī Khan</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Muḥammad Beg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>430</strong></td>
<td><strong>111</strong></td>
<td></td>
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It is clear from this table that out of 430 letters to 16 addressees, only 111 or 26% have been calendared.

The documents selected for calendar clearly brings to light various measures adopted by Aurangzeb to streamline the Mughal administration in the Deccan, viz. mansab and its obligations, jāgīr administration, crisis in mansabdāri and jāgīr-dāri systems, revenue administration and the relations with zamīndārs. The letters also contain information about Imperial kārkānas, construction of forts and postal communication, etc. etc. These letters are indispensable for reconstructing the various aspects of the Mughal administration in the Deccan. An attempt is being made in the following pages to analyse the evidence contained in these letters under various heads:
MANSAB AND ITS OBLIGATIONS:

Mansab system represented the steel-framework of the Mughal empire within which the nobility was organised. Mansab was dual in nature (i.e. zat and sawar ranks) which determined a mansabdār's place in the official hierarchy as well as his payment and military and other obligations. The zat rank indicated the personal status of the mansabdār as well as his personal pay according to the sanctioned schedules while the sawar rank showed the military contingent the incumbent was expected to maintain and its corresponding payment. ¹

(i) Conditional Rank (Mashrūṭ)

Sawar rank was given along with the zat rank and the conditional sawar rank was sanctioned in consideration of the services required of a particular post for the satisfactory discharge of his duties. A jagir to meet the salary of such rank was also assigned to him. ²

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Asadullah s/o Mir Fazlullah has been credited to be the first known holder of mashrūt rank in 1653. Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan recommended to Shahjahan that Asadullah be given promotion of 500/800 (2-3h) conditional on his appointment as faujdār of Baglāna. However, there are numerous instances of the conditional rank being awarded in the same year. Pathullah s/o Zakanirya was appointed thanādār of Nandapur with a conditional rank of 200/200 (2x3h) following the transfer of Muḥammad Shāh Qadimī as qila'dār of Qandahar with a conditional rank of 200/200 (2x3h). Mir Khalilullah Khān was appointed qila'dār of Paṭhabad (Dhārur) with 600 (2x3h) conditional on service and 500/200 as additional rank. Hoshdar s/o Multafat Khan was appointed topchi with a conditional rank of 200/100. Sultanpur and Nandurbār were assigned in the faujdāri of 'Usmān Afgān with a conditional rank of 200 sawar. Abul Faţl Ma'amuri was recommended for appointment as

1. M. Athar Ali, Apparatus of the Empire, OUP, Delhi, 1985,
2. Document No. 1.12
3. Document No. 1.3
4. Document No. 1.12
5. Document No. 1.12
6. Document No. 1.5

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faujdār of Onkapur and was given conditional promotion of rank of 100/100. Khwāja Barkhurdār Khān's name was also recommended for conditional rank as he was appointed qila'dār of Ausa. Ināyat Khān s/o Islām Khān was recommended for appointment as faujdār of Sarkār Mehar. The qila'dāri and faujdāri of Tirambak was assigned to Shafqatullah with a conditional mansab of 100/10.

Many more such appointments with conditional rank may be cited. It is, therefore, clear from the evidence contained in the Adāb regarding the award of conditional rank, that Aurangzeb used it very frequently with a view to utilize the services of capable officials.

(ii) Month Scales

Shāhjahān's name is associated with the introduction of month scales or ratios for indicating difference between the official assessment of jama' and actual hasil. Since the

2. Document No. 1.45
3. Document No. 1.44
4. Document No. 1.22
5. Lahori, II, 567, clearly indicates the military obligations of mansabdār in accordance with their month ratios i.e. '12 monthly' or '11 monthly' jāgirs and so on. See also N.A. Siddiqui, 'Implications of the Month Scales in the Mansabdāri System', PIHC, 1961, 57-62.
Jāgīrs in the Deccan were not more than '4 monthly' or '3 monthly' and often even fell beyond this level as the revenue realization (hasil) of the Mughal Deccan progressively declined to 1/4th of the jama.¹ the implementation of the month ratio indicated the real state of affairs in the Deccan. Even the officials transferred from North India received '7 monthly' jāgīrs in lieu of their saīr hasil jāgīrs which naturally entailed a lower month scale.²

Since the month scales were also applied to cash salaries, the pay was higher per horse for the naqdī, placed in the higher month scales than those of lower categories, who were, however, comparatively better off before the promulgation of Shāhjahān's dastūrī 'amāl of 27th year.³ This order fixed Rs. 17½ per month per horse for 3 monthly jāgīrs and Rs. 15/- per mensum for two monthly jāgīrs.⁴ With a view to safeguard the interests of those who were thus adversely affected, Aurangzeb tried to impress upon Shāhjahān the necessity of its modification and succeeded in convincing him on this score. Consequently an exemption was made in the case of the Deccan for those placed in 2 and 3 month scales. They

1. Document Nos. 1.35, 1.36
2. Document No. 1.41
4. Document No. 1.35
were now to be treated at par with 4 monthly mansabdārs in matters of payment as they received Rs. 20/- per month per horse.

(iii) Deduction From Pay

There used to be a number of deductions against the sanctioned claim (mugarrara talaq). For example the deduction of one-fourth of dams was applicable in case of some jagirs. But most of the jagirs were subject to a deduction of 1/5th to 1/6th. However, Aurangzeb strongly urged upon the central government for its revocation in view of the fact that income from the jagirs in the Deccan was very low and the mansabdārs were finding it rather difficult to maintain their contingents.¹ Due to the inability of the mansabdārs sometime the situation became so acute that the imperial clerks resorted to the withholding of the regular payment of Aurangzeb's salary due on the pretext/mutaliba. Similarly at the time of muhāsiba (settlement of accounts)² the entire revenue of pargana Posad was resumed to the khālisha sharīfa in satisfaction of the mutāliba outstanding against Rao Karan.³

1. Document No. 1.36
2. Document No. 6.8
3. Document No. 1.42. He was assigned additional jagir of 18 lakh dams from the revenues of pargana Posad in 1650, SDSR, 175-6.
(iv) Recruitment and Promotion

In theory the *mansabdārs* were appointed by the Emperor, but in actual practice recruitment was made on the recommendations of the princes and the leading nobles including governors. The evidence contained in the *Adab* clearly shows that Aurangzeb made numerous recommendations for fresh appointments as well as promotions in rank during the second Vice-royalty of the Deccan. Aurangzeb asserted that he always recommended the cases of the deserving candidates for appointment as *mansabdārs*. He further stated that in recommending promotion the only criterion followed by him was merit so much so that those found worthy of the rank of 1000 were recommended only for 900.

Quite often Shāhjahan rejected Aurangzeb's recommendations for promotions and appointments. Aurangzeb recommended, for instance, Hoshdar s/o Multafat Khān for the post of *dārgha-i topkāna*. Shāhjahan rejected the proposal and ordered the appointment of ʿṢafī Khān or Mīr Aḥmad Rızwi. However,

1. For details of procedure, see Ibn-i Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1970.


3. Document No. 1.17

4. Document No. 1.11
ultimately Aurangzeb succeeded in getting Hoshdar appointed.\textsuperscript{1} Similarly, Aurangzeb was charged by the Emperor for being unfriendly to the Rajputs.\textsuperscript{2} When the Viceroy of the Deccan recommended Baglāna for an official with an increase in the rank he was strictly censured by the Emperor who contested his right of assignment of his inā'īm jāgīr as well as recommendations for an Imperial rank.\textsuperscript{3} These experiences had made Aurangzeb so much cautious that in one of the letters he wrote that he could neither assign jāgīr nor recommend any increase in anyone's rank (in this case Murshid Quli Khan).\textsuperscript{4}

Nevertheless Aurangzeb continued to make strenuous efforts in furthering the interests of his officials who came to believe that they would receive promotions only when they were favoured with the faujdārī and qila'dārī and consequently exerted themselves in this direction. For example, Muftakhir Khan accordingly requested for Fathabad.\textsuperscript{5} In this way Aurangzeb found himself in the most unenviable position; on the one hand he was constantly pestered by his officials for promotion

1. Document No. 1.12
2. Document Nos. 1.9, 1.10. It is curious that Aurangzeb was censured by Shāhjahan as being hostile to the Rajputs while he recommended the case of Rao Karan for promotion.
3. Document Nos. 1.5, 1.6
4. Document No. 1.20
5. Document No. 1.11

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while on the other hand the Emperor was not in an obliging mood. Piqued and annoyed he bitterly complained that in such a situation who would come to serve under him and could be entrusted with the official duties. Similarly recalling of the competent officials serving under him to the Court like Malik Husain evoked sharp criticism from him. But Aurangzeb was not to be deterred by such things and despite the adverse circumstances, immediately on assuming the Viceroyalty, he recommended and sent off his own officials to different subas to take the charge of those places. Muḥammad Shāh Qadimi was recommended for appointment as qila'dar of Qandahar (Deccan). Fathullah was appointed thanadar of Nandapur. Khalilullah entitled Muftakhir Khan received appointment as castellan of Fatḥābad Dhārur. Khaishgi was made faujdar of Sarkar Bijargarh following the transfer of 'Uṣmān Afgān. Shah Beg Khan was assigned the qila'dari of Ahmadnagar and Hādi Dād Khān was promoted as Subedar of Telangana. Ellichpur, the head-

1. Document No. 11.4
2. Document No. 2.4
3&4. Document No. 1.3
5. Document No. 1.12
6. Document No. 1.5
7. Document Nos. 1.8, 1.43, 9.2
8. Document No. 1.29

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quarters of Suba Berar was given in charge of Ziauddin Husain.1

Many other officers of proven ability were selected and recommended for appointments and received situations of trust and importance in the Mughal Deccan.

(v) Military Obligations of the Mansabdars

As there was much slackness and very widespread dishonesty in maintaining the requisite number of cavalrymen, the branding regulation (zābīta-i dāgh) was introduced to check this mal-practice. Aurangzeb had promised to implement the new branding regulation immediately after the receipt of the Imperial farmān, but he could not have been indifferent to the realities of the situations and adopted a more pragmatic attitude. He was convinced that in the prevailing conditions, the implementation of the new regulations would cause much hardship to the mansabdars because an officer who failed to maintain the requisite contingent would be obliged to refund the excess amount charged by him. Particularly in view of the unfavourable jagīr income, none excepting few could follow it. He, therefore, sought to mitigate this hardship by explaining the position to Shāhjahān. He was rather emphatic in explaining the dangers inherent in the enforcement of the Regulation.

1. Document No. 1.18
2. Document No. 1.24

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When the Emperor directed him to submit his proposals in this regard Aurangzeb, who always showed consideration to the officers who served in the Deccan with honesty and ability, immediately complied with the orders in view of the distressed conditions of the mansabdārs posted in the Deccan who were agitating against it.

In his proposals to the Emperor, Aurangzeb pointed out that this Regulation would actually lead to a sharp reduction of the troopers' pay from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 17½ or even Rs. 15/- per month whereas the strength of the cavalry was raised to 9000. Shāhjahān had taken this step with a view to reduce the expenditure on administration. But the Viceroy felt that the new rates were too low for a trooper to maintain a suitable horse or himself in proper fighting trim. He further argued that the expected increase in number of the troops would only be in theory. In practical terms it would adversely affect the morale and efficiency of the army posted in the Deccan. The Mughal administration could ill-afford such a situation in this far-flung province, which also happened to be the largest province of the Mughal empire and the two of its neighbouring rulers possessed large treasuries and commanded big forces. The situation becomes much more serious if it is kept in the view that during the previous years most of them were receiving as much as Rs. 32/- per mensum, and they had not got as many of their horses branded as they were expected today. The result...
was that large arrears were pending against them in the office records. If the Imperial orders were implemented these sums would have to be realized from the jāgīrs of these defaulters and this would lead to nothing less than an outright disaster.¹

As an example Multafat Khan's case was represented to the Emperor who despite his low-revenue paying jāgīrs in the Deccan and depending largely on the jāgīrs in Hindustan was obliged to maintain as many as 90 additional horses more due to the new Regulation.² As a result of this vigorous pleading of Aurangzeb, Shāhjehān ultimately realized the actual situation prevailing in the Deccan and exempted the mansabdārs posted in the Deccan from the perview of the new Regulation.

II JĀGĪR ADMINISTRATION IN THE MUGHAL DECCAN:

Since the Mughal mansabdārs were paid either in cash (in that case they were known as naqdi) or by the assignments of jāgīr in lieu of their pay and as such they were designated as jāgīrdārs. Because of this fact the jāgīrdāri system came to be integrated with the mansabdāri system and any weakness affecting the functioning of one was bound to adversely affect the functioning of the other. It was because of this that wherever in the letters of Aurangzeb there is a reference

¹. Document Nos. 1.35, 1.36, 1.37
². Document No. 1.41
to mansab it is always coupled with the functioning of the jāgīr.

Tuyūl was originally used for princes' assignments. However at least in the time of Shahjahan the term was indiscriminately employed for all assignments.\(^1\)

Aurangzeb had also served earlier as Viceroy of the Deccan from 1636-44 but his first Viceroyalty has not been properly documented except for stray references in Adāb which the Prince essentially cited for the purposes of comparison with his second term in the Deccan.\(^2\)

It would appear that Aurangzeb has considered opinion about many of the problems which were peculiar to Deccan and which tended to affect the functioning of the government there. He seems to have come to the conclusion that Khān-i Daurān, Rāja Jai Singh, Islām Khān, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Prince Murād Bakhsh and Shāista Khān were mainly responsible for the low income of the jāgīr and decline in agrarian conditions, etc.\(^3\)

The Šūba of the Deccan in fact comprised of four Šubās which were roughly divided into Painghat (low land) and Balaghat (up land), the former comprised the entire Khāndesh and

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1. Prof. Athar Ali has suggested the establishment of this usage from Aurangzeb's reign. Adāb is, however, replete with the interchangeable use of jāgīr and tuyūl, which I have most often silently converted to jāgīr.
2. Document No. 1.15
3. Document Nos. 1.2, 1.6
one half of Berar, while the latter constituted the other provinces. The Viceroy was empowered to appoint governors of the charge of Hādī Dād Khān, whereas Shāhjāhān promised the grant of '10 monthly' naqdi jāgīr to Aurangzeb for raising strong contingent for the administration of Suba Berar.

(i) Aurangzeb's Jāgīrs

Aurangzeb together with his sons was assigned 12 crore dāns in jāgīr and 3 crore dāns as inā'm which were largely paid from the treasury of the Deccan. This arrangement continued for two years. Aurangzeb still suffered a reduction of 17 lakh rupees as compared to his income when he was posted in Multan and Bhakkar. Aurangzeb did not receive the full payment as his salary was assigned 2/3rd in jāgīr and 1/3rd in naqdi. Baglāna was granted as inā'm to him. Ellīchpur was assigned to him in jāgīr which he subsequently exchanged for '10-monthly' jāgīr. Bir held by Aurangzeb in jāgīr was resummed into khālīsā sharīfa and a corresponding '10-monthly' naqdi.

1. Document No. 1.29
2. Document Nos. 1.6, 1.8
3. Document No. 1.23
4. Document No. 1.6
5. Document No. 2.2
6. Document No. 1.9
Aurangzeb was allowed to obtain sa'īr hāṣīl jāgīrs in lieu of his low-revenue yielding jāgīrs, which he politely declined to avoid any possible reaction. This arrangement was modified in 1654 when the Prince was granted ten crore dāms from the treasury of Mālwa and allowed to obtain 2 crore dāms by exchanging his unproductive jāgīrs with the high revenue yielding jāgīrs of other manṣābdārs. Aurangzeb accepted the proposal with certain reservations due to his political sagacity. He acquired jāgīrs worth one crore 27 lakh dāms (₹317,500/-). Aurangzeb's fears came to be true and it led to a grave crisis. Multafat Khān's misrepresentation to the court that under the cover of this proposal Aurangzeb had overlapped the limits by getting so-called '16 monthly' jāgīr in Asir and thereby appropriating for himself 40 lakh dāms instead of 30 lakh dāms. This report seems to have created a very grave crisis for Aurangzeb and as a result he suffered a reduction of 50%. The jāgīrdārs threatened with dispossession alleged that Aurangzeb had selected only the best villages in each mahāl and left for them jāgīrs which were hardly worth '1½ or 2 monthly'. On the other hand Aurangzeb rightly asserted that he had taken entire mahāl and had not selected the

1. Document No. 1.16
2. Document No. 1.23
3. Document No. 1.6
4. Document Nos. 1.15, 1.18
best yielding mahāls and this was necessary because a mahāl held in partnership could not be administered properly\(^1\) — a principle which was firmly held by him in regard to other jāgīrdārs as well.\(^2\)

Aurangzeb also received Sarkār Bijagarh with a reduction of 12 lakh dāms in jama'.\(^3\) Since the Viceroy used to receive '12 monthly' jāgīr in the North which was reduced to '6 months' in the Deccan due to which he often found it difficult to make both the ends meet.\(^4\) For the maintenance of the army he had to mainly fall back on the naqdi he solicited pargana Nandurbār with 60 lakh dāms as previously assigned to Prince Murad Bakhsh with a suitable reduction in jama'. Aurangzeb subsequently rejected it as it yielded only Rs. 92,000. Aurangzeb also requested for the adjustment of 1.9 lakh rupees realized from the mandawi of Jahānābād in Burhānpur against a corresponding amount to be sent from the treasury of Mālwa for two years.\(^6\) Notwithstanding such difficulties in receiving his salary, it was always his endeavour to properly administer the Deccan.

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1. Document No. 1.14
2. Document No. 6.9
3. Document No. 1.24
4. Document No. 1.20
5. Document No. 1.27
6. Document No. 8.4
(ii) **Jagirs of Other Officials**

Despite his suggestion of taking away from the jagîr-dârs lands yielding revenues equal to the deficit and resume it to the khâliṣa sharîfa, Aurangzeb saw to it that the mansabdârs not only retained their former jagîrs in Hindustan but also received extra-Deccan jagîrs.

Aurangzeb encouraged and appreciated the officers who were able to make improvement in their jagîr holdings. For example he sanctioned an abatement of 3 lakh dâms to Mir Khalîlullah who increased the income of his jagîr by 50%. Similarly his commendation for 'Abdul Wahhâb for administering well Baglāna showed his keen interest in improving the jagîr affairs. It was, therefore, but natural that he found it difficult to put up with inefficient officials summarily dismissed Uzbek Khân and Darwesh Beg Qâqshal, competent officials like Diyânat Khân, Shâh Beg Khân, Rustam Khân and others highly valued by him and it was always his endeavour to keep such officers around him. Aurangzeb considered it a bad

1. Document No. 1.23
2. Document No. 1.12
3. Document No. 1.5
4. Document No. 1.13
5. Document No. 1.22
6. Document No. 1.4
7. Document No. 1.6
8. Document No. 1.9
policy to combine two offices and seldom recommended such case. The deteriorating conditions of the Deccan required singleminded efforts of the officers of keep them up and could not brook any negligence. It was on this ground that he objected to the appointment of Šafi Ī Khān simultaneously as bakhshī and topchī.¹ However he recommended assignment of the Diwān of Painghat to Murshid Quli Khān in addition to Bālāghāt which could be approved only after Multafat Khān's transfer to Ahmadnagar in 1656.² He also recommended his name for the assignment of faujdārī of Māhur.³ Aurangzeb ably pleaded the case of numerous mansābdārs through his Wakīl at the Imperial Court⁴ and he excellently defended the mansābdārs. He was bitter when Muḥammad Naṣīr, the dārogha of the Imperial kārkhana at Burhanpur made un-called-for complaints against the mansābdārs.⁵ Similarly when his recommendation for Faḍlullāh s/o Zakariya and his brother whose conditional mansab did not get Imperial sanction notwith-

¹. Document No. 1.11
². Document No. 1.43
³. Document No. 120
⁴. Document No. 11.2
⁵. Document No. 6.3

...xxiii
standing their meritorious services in the Deccan waftares
Aurangzeb argued that increase in the zat rank of the Afghans
was in accordance with the prevalent regulations and in doing
so he has not violated any provision of law. He also extended
financial assistance to the jagirdars as well as the soldiers.² The officials serving under a commander in a military expedition were recommended for promotion. The commander was also authorised to recruit 500 soldiers as well.³

(iii) Transfer of Jagîrs

As a rule the jagîrs were subject to transfer and it
was the cardinal principle of Mughal administration that a
mansabdâr should not be permitted to retain the jagîr for
more than two to three years. The rationale behind the transfer was that the jagirdars should not consider any part of the
Empire as their own.⁴ The watan-jagîrs were an exception to

1. Document No. 11.4
2. Document Nos. 14.3, 15.4, 16
3. Document No. 15.3
4. If we calculate the period of a jagîrdar in the
account of Chinareri deshmukh an average of three
this rule and they were not subject to transfer and were hereditary. The Calendar does provide details of numerous transfers which, sometimes, also caused grave difficulties for the jagirdars particularly when the transfers were effected in the middle of the year. Since Aurangzeb was fully aware of the consequences of such untimely transfers and sought to minimise its effects. For example, he recommended assignment of pargana Patode to Shāh Beg Khān whose mahals were transferred at the time of harvest. Similar was the case of another jagirdar. But in both cases care was taken not to expose them to any loss. Aurangzeb was anxious to avoid the transfer of the jagira of those who were posted in Deccan and had their jagiras in Hindustan. At the same time he took personal interest to secure the transfer of old officials posted elsewhere to the Deccan as also those who faced dismissal. For example, Nasirī Khān, who had remained engaged in Qandahar expedition was recommended for transfer to the Deccan. Similarly, Mughal Khan whose jagir was resumed due to his failure in joining Qandahar campaign was requisitioned to the Deccan.

1. Document No. 1.41
2. Document No. 12.1
3. Document No. 1.24
4. Document No. 6.1
5. Document No. 6.6
6. Document No. 6.3
Aurangzeb assigned Kara Nimone to Tatar Khan and recommended assignment of jāgīr in lieu of his resumed jāgīrs.¹

(iv) Crisis in Jāgīrdārī System

Since Deccan had remained a deficit area particularly during Shāhjahān's later years, the signs of crisis in jāgīrdārī system became clearly visible.² Shāhjahān reprimanded Aurangzeb for his so-called failure in administering the jāgīrs and was asked to explain his conduct.³ The non-availability of jāgīrs technically termed as be-jāgīrī was the main hurdle in the smooth functioning of the jāgīr administration which was brought to its culmination owing to scarcity of pāibāqī lands.⁴ Any large scale transfer of the mansabdārīs could not be effected due to the crisis in jāgīr as the income had dwindled to less than a quarter - a phenomenon Richards failed to discern even during the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign.⁵ Numerous references to the low income of

¹ Document No. 15.3
² Cf. Satish Chandra, 'Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-1740)', Delhi, 1979, xlv-li.
³ Document Nos. 1.24, 1.26
⁴ Document No. 1.23
Jāgīrs are found in our Calendar which gives us an insight into the real magnitude of the problems encountered by Aurangzeb during his Viceroyalty in the Deccan. He had to go through a virtual ordeal as he was not only misunderstood but his activities were viewed with suspicion and as a result he was very often subjected to unjust treatment throughout the term of office as is evident from the relevant passages from Shāhjahan's censuring epistles frequently cited by Aurangzeb.

III REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Within a decade after Aurangzeb's recall from his first Viceroyalty of the Deccan, agriculture, the mainstay of the economy of the region, was in shambles due to mismanagement and the peasantry, the backbone of the agrarian system, was thoroughly oppressed. As a result large numbers of the peasantry took to flight leading to steep fall in the revenue and consequent pressure on the imperial exchequer. This situation alarmed Shāhjahan. Aurangzeb was recalled from Qandahar expedition and was appointed as Viceroy of the Deccan for the second time on 17th July 1652. The Viceroy reached Burhanpur on 3 February 1653. From there he informed the Emperor that after settling the affairs of Pāinghāt he would leave for Daulatābād. Shāhjahan had urged him to ameliorate the conditions of the peasantry, to improve the cultivation and relieve
the royal treasury from the annual drain.¹

(1) **Aurangzeb's Observations on the State of Agriculture**

When Aurangzeb reached Painghat he found the administration in extremely bad shape. He reported to the Emperor that Baglāna had not been properly administered ever since Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhab's departure² leading to virtual collapse of the administrative machinery there.³ Deccan affairs as a whole were in total disarray⁴ and the peasants were groaning under the oppression of Uzbek Khān⁵ and Darwesh Beg Qāqshāl.⁶

The Mughal administration of the Deccan had deteriorated to such an extent that Aurangzeb had to spend 9 months at Burhanpur for streamlining its affairs notwithstanding Shāhjahān's frequent instructions to him to proceed to Daulatabad. He did not think it advisable to move to Daulatabad without accomplishing the task in hand at Painghat. Moreover, no

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2. Document No. 1.5

3. Document No. 1.4

4. Document No. 1.6

5. Document No. 1.13

6. Document No. 1.22
immediate business was awaiting him at Daulatabad. He promised to leave for Bālahāt after sometime and resolve the issue on the spot.¹

In a statement of revenue and expenditure of the Deccan, he laid bare the difference in official estimates of jama' and hasil and the actual income and expenditure as set out in the following table. Such an over-estimation in the jama' of the Deccan was well recognised by the Mughal administration despite Aurangzeb's frequent complaints against it.²

1. Documents Nos. 1.4, 1.6. Sarkar has erroneously inferred that due to Aurangzeb's love affair he prolonged his stay at Burhanpur for which he has cited Ahkām-i 'Alamgiri and Ma'āsuru'l Umara. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, 35-7, 94, 113. But Aurangzeb's so-called love affair with Zainābādī at the cost of paralysing the Deccan administration seems to be quite improbable as in truth his stay at Burhanpur was necessitated by compulsion of circumstances.

2. For reasons of this over-estimation of jama' in Deccan, see Shireen Moosvi, 'The Mughal Empire and the Deccan Factor — Economic Factors and Consequences', PHIC, 1982. Akbar was himself responsible for this inflation in jama'dāmī because he had raised (50%) the value of tanka from 16 to 24 dāms by a single stroke of pen following his expansionist policy in the Deccan, cf. Atlas, i.
### Table - 2

**A. Official Estimation**

1. *Jama'dāmi* = 1,44,90,00,000 dams  
   = (Rs. 3, 62, 26, 000)

2. *Hāsil* including a deduction of Rs. 12,00,000 on account of *afat* = Rs. 1,00,00,000

3. *Jāgīra* of Aurangzeb and his sons = 12,00,00,000 dams  
   = (Rs. 30,00,000)

4. *Inā'm* of Aurangzeb and his sons = 3,00,00,000 dams  
   = (Rs. 7,50,000)

**B. Actual Position**

1. **Income from the Deccan**
   
   (i) *Peshkash* of Golconda = Rs. 8,00,000
   
   (ii) *Peshkash* of Deogarh = Rs. 1,00,000
   
   (iii) Income from Bir = Rs. 2,40,000
   
   **Total** = Rs. 11,40,000

2. **Expenditure in the Deccan**
   
   (i) Expenditure on Artillery = Rs. 6,30,000
   
   (ii) On the salaries of Viceroy, Princes and other heads = Rs. 25,43,000
   
   **Total** = Rs. 31,76,000

3. **Deficit** = Rs. 20,36,000
The above table indicates that the actual realization had declined to 88 lakh rupees only, which did not amount to even one-forth of the jama (24.3%). The civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, excluding the salaries of the officials from the jāgīra stood at Rs. 31,76,000, of which Rs. 25,43,000 were spent on the cash allowances of Aurangzeb and his sons whereas the expenses on Artillery and other related expenditure required Rs. 6,30,000. The only means of providing this sum was the Khāliṣa Sharīfa and the tribute from Golconda and Deogarh which were Rs. 11,43,000. Therefore the annual deficit of Rs. 20,36,000 was made good by drawing on the reserve accumulated over the years in the Deccan treasuries through various resources. As a result, the cash balance fell from 80 lakh rupees to 40,50,000 within two years.

(ii) Aurangzeb’s Revenue Reforms

Aurangzeb attributed the failure of revenue administration in the Deccan to the mishandling of the former provincials diwāns and the connivance of the Viceroys. He, therefore, took keen personal interest as soon as he was appointed the Viceroy of Deccan in 1652. He sent his official Muḥammad Ṭāhir well in advance to take over the charge at Pāinghāṭ and instructed the diwāns of Bālāghāṭ and Pāinghāṭ to appoint knowledgeable and trustworthy persons to look after his jāgīrs. Muḥammad Ṭāhir was selected for the ...
task due to his knowledge of the Deccan affairs. When Aurangzeb reached Burhanpur he wrote to the Emperor to provide certain facilities to him, e.g. a rather long tenure, qualified personnel for his staff and some money. Although the disorder which had continued and extended about a decade could not be undone in a short time yet he promised to exert his utmost for the extension of cultivation. Aurangzeb now embarked upon a policy of complete re-organization of the revenue administration. His very criterion for the selection of an official to a post of responsibility was the incumbent's ability to improvement (ābâdânkârī). When he was at Burhanpur he appointed Murshid Quli Khân as the diwân of Bâlâghât by transferring Diyânat Khân, but allowed Multafat Khân, the diwân of Painghat, to continue in office.

Multafat Khân had a plan for increasing the revenues. He decided to advance taqāvi for raising the embankments of the dams in Khândesh and Berâr. For this purpose he requisitioned 40-50,000 rupees.\(^1\) Shâhjahân's instructions regarding the improvement of cultivation and encouraging the resettlement of villages but somehow Aurangzeb did not sanction this amount and forwarded it to the Emperor. The Emperor censured the Viceroy for not sanctioning such a meagre amount on his own as taqāvi.\(^2\)

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1. Document No. 14.1
The prevalence of different forms and methods of assessment (zawābit-i qūnāgon) was another cause of the agrarian crisis. With a view to removing this defect, it was sought to introduce a uniform system in the revenue administration. The task of the implementation of the new uniform system was entrusted to Murshid Quli Khan, who abrogated all earlier miscellaneous regulations. He introduced a peculiar form of crop-sharing with a differential scale depending upon the nature of crop and irrigation. The implementation of crop sharing ('amal-i batal) was considered extremely helpful in improving the revenue affairs of the Deccan. But quite obviously it was expensive as it involved the protection of the food-grain. It would seem to have been introduced as a temporary measure for evolving a reliable crop-rate (raî). Both the diwâns of the Deccan were invested with the enforcement of crop-sharing in Pāinghât and Bālāghât and even Multafat Khan's transfer to Àlichpur was cancelled due to his engagement in enforcing crop-sharing in Bālāghat.

1. Document No. 1.15
2. Document No. 1.18
4. Document Nos. 1.9, 1.16, 1.17, 1.43
Murshid Quli successfully brought the entire Deccan under crop-sharing. He was praised for his excellent revenue administration both by the Emperor and the Viceroy. Aurangzeb frequently recommended for increase in his mansab\(^1\) and assigned him miscellaneous duties.\(^2\) He not only commended his efforts in properly administering Bir\(^3\) but also appreciated him for doubling the revenues in certain mahālas. As a result of these measures, 25\% increase in jama' as compared to Diyānat Khān's time was effected by 1654.\(^4\) Partnership in crop-sharing parganas was discouraged.\(^5\) Murshid Quli Khān's appointment as the diwān of Pāinghāt in 1656 in addition to his charge of Bālāghāt was a tribute to his potentialities in bringing prosperity to the Deccan.\(^6\)

But the desired results could not be achieved in the short period. Murshid Quli Khan's reform could not produce an immediate change. Similarly, Shāhjahān's salary schedules for cavalry could not be expected to overcome the chronic

\(^1\) Document Nos. 1.3, 1.10, 1.17, 1.20, 11.1
\(^2\) Document Nos. 1.5, 1.16, 1.20, 1.38, 1.42, 9.1, 9.2, 12.2, 14.3, 15.1
\(^3\) Document Nos. 1.16, 12.1
\(^4\) Document No. 6.9
\(^5\) Document No. 1.24
problem of difference between the *jama* and *hāsil*. All the same, Murshid Quli Khān's revenue reforms had far-reaching consequences and their importance in the history of Mughal administration in the Deccan cannot be minimized.

(iii) **Tribute from Golconda**

The settlement of 1636 contained a clause regarding the payment of 2 lakh *huns* as annual tribute, which Qutb Shāh used to pay to the Nizamshahis, instead of 4 lakhs as Shahjahan excused 2 lakh *huns* as a favour. Qutbul Mulk used to pay 8 lakh rupees as equivalent to 2 lakh *huns*. This amount was spent on the administration of the Deccan. In return it was stipulated that the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan would help the latter.

Subsequent to Aurangzeb's appointment as Viceroy, Shahjahan ordered for procuring elephants to the tune of half of the *peshkash* on the pretext of inadequate supply.

2. See *Tuzuk-i Jahāngirī* (ed.) Syud Ahmad, Ghazipur, 1862, for the annual tribute paid by Qutb Shah to Nizāmshāhi Kingdom, p.
4. Cf. Document No. 1.16
from Orissa and Bengal. This meant loss of four lakh rupees to the Deccan treasury yet Aurangzeb complied with the order. Shahjahan seems to have not been fully satisfied with the quality of the elephants supplied from the Deccan and consequently Aurangzeb was directed to return elephants of low-breed to Qutbul Mulk. This further led to a dispute over their price. Since elephants and other gifts were normally adjusted against the annual peshkash from Qutbul Mulk, Shahjahan reprimanded the Viceroy for offering an elephant as peshkash on his behalf which Aurangzeb had received as personal peshkash to him and counted it among the tribute from Golconda.

Aurangzeb's correspondence with the Golconda ruler concentrated chiefly on the payment of arrears of peshkash and regular annual tribute — a recurring theme in letters to some other addressees as well. The appointment of four hajibs in succession (i.e. Abdul Latif, Qabad Beg, Ahmad Beg Najmi
Sāni and 'Abdu'l Ma'bud) was not only politically motivated as Aurangzeb wanted the ḥājibs of Golconda and Bijapur subservient and responsible to the Viceroy, but also aimed at realizing the tribute. 'Abdul Laṭif, who remained ḥājib till the conclusion of treaty with Golconda, used to inform Aurangzeb of the true circumstances of the peshkash and other related matters. When 'Abdul Laṭif informed Aurangzeb of the inordinate delay in payment of the arrears of peshkash by Qutbul Mulk, the Viceroy asked Golconda ruler to clear the peshkash as early as possible. He was allowed to remit the amount in question in regular instalments within a year. However, when Qutbul Mulk failed to make the payment, he was asked to attach some of his parganas to the Mughal Deccan so that the requisite amount of arrears could be realized by the Imperial administration. This option remained open till Mughal offensive against Golconda and even the basic aim of the invasion was said to have been realization of the arrears of tribute.

The Mughals and the rulers of Golconda seem to have difference of opinions about the exchange rate between the

1. Document No. 1.7
2. For a detailed discussion about the peshkash see Seema Singh's 'The Golconda Tribute', PIHC, 1986.
3. Document No. 4.2
4. Document No. 1.39
hun and rupee and this appears to have led to frequent disputes. For example, in 1636 the exchange rate for a Golconda hun was Rs. 4 which rose to Rs. 4½ and finally to Rs. 5 per hun in 1654. Qutbul Mulk was asked to remit the additional arrears of tribute to the tune of 20 lakh rupees accumulated due to the Mughal demand for remitting the difference in exchange rate. This could be paid in elephants if he was unable to pay the same in cash.¹

Qutbul Mulk's unwarranted delay in payment of arrears could not have perhaps created so much bad blood in normal times as they actually did. The financial crisis in the Deccan was deepening as is evident from the correspondence between Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb during this period. Moreover, Emperor's refusal to allow any further drain of resources from other Mughal provinces to the Deccan. These were the circumstances which led to Mughal attack on Golconda. Since the Viceroy had all along sought its annexation to the Mughal dominion he had used all kinds of arguments to persuade the Emperor to sanction its invasion.² Aurangzeb was now crying for the blood of Golconda and was in no mood to be halted in his tracks. He had

1. Document No. 4.4
therefore, requested the Emperor not to heed appeals by Qutbul Mulk aimed at reapproachment. But the latter succeeded in saving his kingdom from extinction through his manipulations at the Mughal Court on the condition of negotiating a settlement. He renewed the agreement by swearing on the Holy Quran and his nazranas (offerings) were to be adjusted against his annual peakhzah. The main clauses of the agreement relating to the tribute are:

(i) Payment of 25 lakh huns in cash and kind including elephants.
(ii) Cessation of the fort of Rāmghir in sūba Berār and other adjoining territories yielding 6 lakh rupees annually.
(iii) Payment of 6 lakh rupees as dowry of his daughter married to Prince Muhammad Sultan (according to the terms of this treaty).

Qutbul Mulk's mother had solicited a concession of 5 lakh huns in tribute. Aurangzeb, however, remitted one lakh huns each on her and that of his son's wife. But Qutbul

1. Document No. 1.40
2. Document No. 4.7
4. Document No. 4.8

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Mulk was still pleading for concession because he had initially offered 40 lakh rupees only to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, whereas he had to pay at least one crore rupees. Apparently the annexation of Rāmgīr was an added bonus as its income was estimated to be 6 lakh rupees. But Aurangzeb did not think that it yielded more than 80,000 hunās (Rs.4,00,000). Quṭbul Mulk claimed that Aurangzeb's officials had, however, accepted it for 1,20,000 hunās (Rs.6,00,000). Aurangzeb therefore had to ask Mīr Jumla to apprise the Emperor of the real position of income from Rāmgīr. In another context Aurangzeb, reported that its income did not exceed one lakh hunās (Rs.5,00,000). But due to the war of succession these matters came to a standstill and the full amount of peshkash could not be realized.

(iv) **Tribute From Zamīndārs**

The Viceroy received the largest amount of tribute from Golconda which was in fact a subordinate ally whereas the Mughals attacked Bijāpur and imposed war indemnity on it. The Zamīndār of Chānda also paid tribute but a large amount of

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1. Document No. 8.6
2. Document No. 9.3
3. Document No. 4.9
4. Document No. 5
peshkash was outstanding against him.\footnote{1} The Mughals did not have any alternative but to attack Deogarh to realize the arrears of peshkash which he could not remit due to his bankruptcy.\footnote{2} Previously the Chief of Deogarh paid Rs.1,00,000 per annum.\footnote{3} The Mughal Viceroy also used to receive peshkash from the deshmukh of Chinārerī.\footnote{4} Aurangzeb also secured appointment of Rāo Karan to the territory of Jawār as his\footnote{5} watan-jāgīr on the condition of payment of Rs.50,000 and conquering that principality by his own contingent. But the deficit faced by the Viceroy of the Deccan was so large that it could not be offset by the uncertain income received from this source.

IV ZAMÍNDĀRS AND THE MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan made strenuous efforts to win over the support of the zamīndārs to the Mughal cause and succeeded in making some of them active allies of the Mughal administration in the Deccan.

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Document Nos. 1.6, 1.26, 8.1
\item[2.] Document Nos. 1.31-1.33
\item[3.] Document Nos. 1.23, 1.26
\item[4.] Document No. 13.1
\item[5.] Document Nos. 1.29, 1.30
\end{itemize}
The Chief of Deogarh was loyal to the Mughals; he used to pay an annual peshkash of one lakh rupees. But due to his own pecuniary problems the zamīndār of Deogarh (also known as zamīndār of Jatba) became unable to clear the arrears of tribute. In view of his loyalty, Aurangzeb recommended remission of the amount of peshkash outstanding against him so that he could remit the annual peshkash regularly. But the zamīndār of Chanda had, on purpose, sent to Shāhjahan entirely incorrect information about the matter and as a result the Emperor flatly turned down Aurangzeb's pleas soliciting his exemption of the zamīndār from the payment of arrears of tribute owing to his impoverishment. The Emperor further argued that the same zamīndār was forced by Khān-i Daurān to present 170 elephants and cash and that he still possessed 200 elephants and therefore there was no tangible reason to excuse him from payment. Aurangzeb tried his best to defend the zamīndār as he was fully aware of his wretched conditions, but to no avail. ¹

Despite all the exhibitions of Jatba's loyalty, Shāhjahan sanctioned military action against the Zamīndar of Deogarh who was unnecessarily compelled to offer to submission. ²

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¹ Document No. 1.28. See also Sālih, III, pp. 164-5.
² Document No. 1.31
He promised to deposit one lakh rupees in cash and kind as arrears within a year as well as attach certain parganas to the Imperial dominions the revenue of which would be adjusted against payment of arrears of tribute. He rendered meritorious services in the Mughal operation against Golconda for securing some remission in his enormous arrears of tribute.¹

(ii) Zamīndār of Jawār

Since the Imperial peshkash was not imposed upon the Zamīndār of Jawār he began to defy the Imperial authority. Rao Karan was, therefore, assigned the task of annexing the principality of Jawār to the Imperial dominions. Sripat, the Chief of Jawar, offered submission in January 1656 and later secured the independence of his territory by paying an indemnity and promising to transfer some portion of his territory towards the payment of tribute.²

(iii) Zamīndār of Chānda

The Zamīndār of Chānda enjoyed a tributary status and paid an annual peshkash. Shaista Khān informed his successor, Prince Aurangzeb to realize Rs.30,000³ of peshkash outstanding.

1. Document Nos. 1.33, 1.34
3. Document No. 8.1
against the Chief of Chanda till 1652, which however increased to 50,000 in 1653. The zamīndar was instrumental in persuading the Mughals to attack Deogarh.

(iv) Zamīndār of Dhandhera

The chief of Dhandhera had remained interned for the last 20 years of Shāhjāhān's reign. Aurangzeb recommended his case to the Emperor who made his release contingent upon his embracing Islam, payment of peshkash and surrender of his watan-jāgīr. Since Narsing Das, qilādār of Asīr, stood surety, Aurangzeb found it almost impossible because the zamīndar was relying upon the financial support of the Brahmans and the mahājana. Aurangzeb's recommendations of his case to Sa'dullah Khān did not bear fruit. He was released by Aurangzeb following the outbreak of the war of succession.

(v) Deshmukh of Chināreri and Other Zamīndārs

The Chināreri deshmukh loyally served the Mughals in the Deccan and paid annual tribute. But due to some unavoidable circumstances he failed to remit the peshkash. As

1. Document No. 1.6
2. Document No. 1.45
3. Document No. 6.10
Aurangzeb was familiar with the real situation, he explained the position of the _deshmukh_. The minute details about the annual tribute and other additional impositions upon Chinarreri showed Aurangzeb's knowledge of the affairs of the _zamīndārs_ in the Deccan.

Pratap grassiya indulged in bandatory and organised a night attack on Dadal Saidana in _Sarkār Asīr_ which was immediately foiled and his relatives and accomplices were arrested. Over-awed by the Mughal might, he apologised and his life was spared.

The _zamīndārs_ in the vicinity of Burhanpur indulged in highway robbery which were, however, repulsed across Narbada. Similarly the _Zamīndārs_ of Karnatak created problems for Mīr Jumla. An attitude of strict benevolent neutrality was maintained towards the _Zamīndar_ (Chief) of Karnatak whose territories were usurped by Bijapur and Golconda rulers.

(vi) **The Peasantry**

Exploitation of the peasants at the hands of the _jāgīr-dārs_ and the _zamīndārs_ was rife and the Mughal administration in the Deccan tried to suppress such tendencies. For example,

1. Document No. 13.1
2. Document No. 6.5

...xxxxvi
Aurangzeb issued clear instructions to Shaista Khan that the 
targāvi pending payment by the peasants should be realized by 
the deshmukhs and pātels and be distributed among the small 
peasantry (reza rīā'ya). For ensuring repayments bonds were 
to be executed. In this way the amount outstanding against 
these peasants who had died or run away would be realized 
from the executants. But the peasants who were alive and in 
actual possession of land but unable to pay it at once would 
be asked to pay it in instalments. However, those who were 
indigent and unable to pay were exempted from its payment 
after a thorough enquiry into their circumstances.¹

The zamīndārs were not allowed to transfer their burden 
to the shoulders of the peasantry because such oppression had 
resulted in the past in the flight of the peasantry from the 
villages and the ruination of agriculture. Aurangzeb left be­
hind Muḥammad Ṭāhir at Burhānpur only because the peasantry 
was happy with his considerate behaviour.² He even took 
stern measures against such jāgīrdārs who had oppressed the 
peasantry like Uzbek Khān³ and Darwesh Beg Qāqshāl.⁴

1. Document No. 8.1
2. Document No. 1.18
3. Document No. 1.13
4. Document No. 1.22

...xxxxvii
Nasiri Khan was specially directed to ensure that the peasants and inhabitants were saved from the attacks of the enemy and remain engaged in cultivation. The Mughal officials were asked to protect the peasantry from Shivaji's attacks and the Bijapuri havaldars.

When the peasantry of Shahganj complained against the unjust realization of tax by the jagirdars on the pretext of building a fort, Aurangzeb ordered that the additional amount should be returned to the peasants and in case the money was needed for building the fort the requisite amount could be drawn from the treasury.¹

V MISCELLANEOUS

(1) Fort Administration and Construction of new Forts

Aurangzeb as Vicercy did not only strive for appointment of competent commandents of the forts particularly those situated on the border but showed keen interest in constructing new ones as well.² Shânjahân wanted to assign ten forts to Aurangzeb like the fort of Âmâdnagar, which he politely declined due to enormous expenses involved in their maintenance.³ The grant of Asīrgah fort also created bad blood

¹. Document No. 16.
². Ibid.
³. Document No. 8.5
between the Emperor and the Viceroy as he was deprived of this favour with a sense of humiliation. Aurangzeb recommended the appointment of Khālilullāh Khaṇ, an excellent topchi, to the frontier fort of Pāthābād as well as the continuance of Uzbek, notwithstanding his resignation till the appointment of the new castellan to the frontier fort for which Barkhurdār Khaṇ's name was recommended. Aurangzeb's recommendations for the grant to Shāh Beg Khaṇ of Aḥmadnagar and the transfer of Mīrzā from there which was acceded to should be seen in the light of Aurangzeb's policy of safeguarding the frontiers against any possible invasion of the enemy as well as his fondness for efficiency and integrity. Aurangzeb also sanctioned the demolition of an unauthorised fort constructed by Mulla Ahmād, former Governor of Konkan, and deputed officials for the accomplishment of the task.

(ii) Imperial Kārkhanās

Shahjahan and Jahan Ara were keenly interested in the smooth functioning of the Imperial Karkhanās producing cloth for royal consumption. Émulating this example, Aurangzeb also

1. Document No. 2.4
2. Document No. 1.12
4. Document No. 1.9
5. Document No. 12.2. Aurangzeb also got repaired the fort of Burhanpur.

...xxxxix
established his own Karkhana but it could not gain Shahjahan's favour. 1 The treacherous behaviour of Nasira, the Superintendent of the Imperial Workshops at Burhanpur much annoyed the Viceroy, 2 on the pretext of non-availability of yarn from qasba Dharangaon, in his jagir.

In the light of the above discussion, it is abundantly clear that the letters of Aurangzeb contained in the Adab-i Alamgiri, specially those relating to the period between 1652-58, are extremely valuable for the study of Mughal history in the Deccan. These are particularly helpful in understanding the functioning and complexities of the Mughal administration in the Deccan and bring into light many aspects of the administration hitherto not fully known. Similarly, the fact that there were severe strains in the relationship of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb is common knowledge but these letters make it possible to identify the sources of tension between the two which ultimately pitted them against each other leading to the better end in the war of succession. Moreover, these letters are extremely valuable for proper understanding of the evolution of the Deccan policy of the Mughals during the

1. Document No. 16
2. Document No. 63. Aurangzeb also obtained chintz from Machhlipattan.
reigns of Shahjahan\textsuperscript{1} and Aurangzeb. These letters provide a wealth of information about these and many other aspects of politics, diplomacy and administration relating to Mughal Deccan as well as character and personality of Aurangzeb.

1. **AURANGZEB'S REPRESENTATIONS TO THE EMPEROR**

1.1 Reduction in Aurangzeb's *Jāgīrs* in the Deccan (August-September 1652, p. 96):

Submits that owing to the difference in the current income and the *dual-ī jāgīr* of the Deccan — the real position of which is known to His Majesty and, God willing it would be also submitted personally to the Wazīr (Sa'dullah Khan)\(^1\) after he presents himself (at the Court). Is perplexed about the cause of reduction by 17 lakh rupees (in his income) and the transfer of the high revenue paying *jāgīrs* of Multān\(^2\) and Bhakkar.\(^3\) If His Majesty wishes that he (Aurangzeb) should be put in charge of such an important province (i.e. Deccan) then he should have the wherewithal to fulfill the duties of his charge of the large and disturbed provinces in a proper manner and not to be embarrassed before the nobles and rulers (*amīrān o duniyādārān*) of the Deccan.

\(\text{\(1\). Sa'dullah Khān, (Indian M. 7000/7000 (5000 x 2-3 h) remained Diwān-i Kul or Wazīr from 1646 to 1656 till his death. Wārīṣ, 93(b) as cited in Apparatus S.,6564; English Factories (EF), X, 66.}\)

\(\text{\(2\). Sarkār Multān in sūba Multān, Atlas, 5A.}\)

\(\text{\(3\). Sarkār Bhakkar in sūba Multān, Atlas, 5A.}\)
1.2 Aurangzeb's Endeavours in Streamlining the Administration of the Deccan (August-September 1652, p. 100):

Imperial orders were issued that it would reflect a great credit upon him if Aurangzeb could bring about prosperity in the Deccan. Submits that although he (Aurangzeb) does not compare in his competence and efficiency with all the faithful servants of the Emperor yet from the time of the assignment of jagir, he has never shown any negligence in the affairs of administration. Thus this very suba of the Deccan that was extremely ruined and desolate was brought to prosperity by him (during his first Vice-royalty) as the whole world knows. Perhaps after his transfer, the real state of affairs was reported to His Majesty. Hopes that if he remained in charge of the affairs (of the suba) for some time and the administration is properly carried out, then despite the fact that the peasants have fled due to the oppression and negligence of the Governors (subadārān), and the entire territory has been mal-administered and ruined, the results of his (Aurangzeb's) endeavours will be manifest, God willing, in a short period of time.

1. Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan began from 1636 A.D. and continued till 1644 A.D.

2. There remained the following six governors following Aurangzeb's dismissal from the first Viceroyalty of the Deccan: Khān-i Daurān (May 1644-June, 1645), Jai Singh (officiated till 17 July, 1645), Islām Khan (July 1645-November 1647), Shāh Nawāz Khān (officiated till July 1648), Murād Bakhsh (July 1648-September, 1649, Shāista Khān (September, 1649-September, 1652).
1.3 Affairs of the Zamīndār of Chānda and Recommendations for Some Officials (January-February 1653, pp. 116-7):

The Imperial orders were promulgated that whenever the Zamīndār of Chānda visits Aurangzeb on his way to present himself before His Majesty he should not be detained for more than one day and be despatched immediately to the Imperial Court. Submits that as soon as the Zamīndār arrives he (Aurangzeb) would send him to the Imperial Court without any delay and that he would also act according to the Imperial orders in regard to his peshkash.

Since now it has been learnt from the 'arzdāsh of Murshid Quli and the daily reports (roznāmcha-i waqā') that Aman Beg qila'dār of Qandahar sūba Telingāna is

1. The principality of Chānda was situated in sarkār Kalam which constituted 31 mahāls of which 8 were under the Zamīndār of Chānda, cf. Atlas, 36, 59.

2. Murshid Quli (1000/500) was made the Diwān of Bālgāh in 1653. He was given title of Khān and an increase of 500 zāt in the same year. Wāris 168(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 5747.

3. Mirzā Aman Beg, Alaf Khān (1500/1500) qila'dār of Jandahar (Deccan) died in 1653. Wāris 148(b), 268 (b) as quoted in Apparatus 3., 5645; see also Zakhira, III, 90.

4. Fargana Qandahar (Kandahar), in sarkār Nānder, sūba Bidar, Atlas, 14A, 15A.

5. Shāhjahān created a separate sūba of Telingana by adding in it a portion of the 'earstwhile Nīgānshāhi Kingdom and some parts of sarkār Pāthri, Lahori, I, ii, 62, II, 711. Cf. Gujarat Documents Bibliothèque Nationale (Microfilm No, 470 in the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh), f.67(b).
dead, Muhammad Shah Qadimi holding the rank of 800/800 and who had come to receive Aurangzeb, was despatched to that post, to reach there immediately. An increase of 200/200 of which 100 sawars du aspa sih aspa is to conditional (mashrut), is recommended, enhancing his rank to 1000/1000 (2 x 3 h). Fathullah, son of Zakariya who previously held the rank of 600/600 sawar, was assigned conditional rank of 200/200, and is appointed as the thanedar of Nandapur, consequent upon the transfer of Muhammad Shah. Since he is an efficient official having a contingent, the (previous) increase in his mansab conditional upon office has been retained and some one has been deputed to escort (sazawali) him from Burhanpur to the said thana.

1. Fathullah s/o Zakariya (Afghan) (800/800) was appointed Thanedar of Taundapur in 1653, SDSR, 159; see also Zakhira, III, 116-7.


3. Burhanpur was the headquarters not only of suba Khandsesh, but of the entire Deccan, until replaced in the later role by Aurangabad in 1636, (Atlas, 36). However, it remained the headquarters of Paininghat, as well as an important trade route during the Mughal period. Cf. Gordon, Burhanpur: Entrepot and Hinterland, 1650-1750, IESHR, XXV, No. 4, 425-42; Zakir Husain, 'Agrarian Survey of Pargana 'Adilabad, 1696 — ASecond Reconnaissance', IESHR, XXVIII, No. 2 (Porthcoming).
1.4 Revenue Administration (February-March 1653, pp. 118-9):

Refers to the Imperial orders that Aurangzeb should stay at Burhanpur for some time, looking after the administration of Payan Ghat to properly. Afterwards he should leave for Daulatabad to strive for the prosperity of the four subas of the Deccan particularly his (Aurangzeb's) jagirs. Submits that since the management of the affairs of Payan Ghat has been disrupted it is necessary for him to stay in that city (balda) for some days. After satisfying himself about its proper administration (band-o bast) he would leave for Daulatabad. Assures that by the grace of Almighty and the training and instructions of His Majesty he would strive to his utmost for the prosperity (ma'muri) and the administration of the affairs of the subas of the Deccan the ruin and desolation of which is not hidden (from the Emperor).

Submits that Diyanat Khan, owing to the low revenue (az rehzur-i kam hâsili) of pargana Phulambari, which the

1. Shahjahan created two new provinces, Payanghat and Bala-ghat (in his 8th regnal year) which between them comprised the whole of the Mughal Deccan, Atlas, 36.
2. Daulatabad was the headquarters of Bala-ghat. See Atlas, 55.
3. Diyanat Khan had remained the Diwan of Bala-ghat till the appointment of Murshid Quli Khan in 1653. Cf. Lahori, II, 728.
4. Pargana Phulambari, sarkar Daulatabad, suba Aurangabād, Atlas, 14A.
great diwāns (diwāniyān-i 'uzzām) have assigned him in jāgīr, wanted to visit the Imperial Court and met Aurangzeb (on his way) near Narbada river. Since he has served in the Deccan for a long period he is aware of some of the peculiarities of this region (wilāyat). Aurangzeb has kept him with him, and desires to assign him in lieu of the said pargana, which is extremely desolated and low revenue paying a jāgīr elsewhere, so that he does not stay idle.

1.5 Conditions of Baglāna (March-April 1653, pp. 120-22):
Submits that previously it had been heard that the administration of Baglāna had been established properly but when the writer reached the place he found just reverse of what was heard. The transferred intelligence reporter of Sūrat port who has proceeded to the Imperial Court, would, perhaps, after having audience with the Emperor through the dignitaries, convey the fact to His Majesty. Since the management of Baglāna could not be done smoothly

1. The principality of Baglāna was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1638 (Lāhori, II, 105-7) and treated as a separate charge (wilāyat) for some time. It has been mentioned as a separate unit in Dastūr-i 'Ālamgiri, whose statistics pertain to c.1656. But it was later joined to sūba Khāndesh as one of its sar-kārs. Cf. Atlas, 23.

2. Sūrat Port was a celebrated port in Gujarat. See Atlas, 7A.
after Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhab, he would send the entire amount which has to be spent in addition to the income from that territory which due to poor cultivation (zabūnī-i 'āmol) was less revenue paying than in the past. The administration of the provinces of the Deccan has lost its vigour (az nasq uftāda) and the desolation which is known to His Majesty requires competent staff. Accordingly Asadullah, son of Mir Fażlullah who is an efficient Khānazād and properly managed the affairs of Sultānpur and Nandurbār with 500/100 has been appointed as faujdār of Baglana and a conditional increase of 500/800 du āspā sīh āspā was recommended for him making his original and additional rank to be 1000/900 du āspā sīh āspā and the restoration of two of the mahāls from his old mahāl. He has been sanctioned the arrears of pay against both original and

1. Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhab s/o Saiyid Abdur Rahman (Ind. M.) (1500/1500) (800 x 2 - 3h) was appointed qilādār of Baglana in 1644, SBDR 141, Lāhori II, 379. He died in 1646-7, Lāhori II, 729.

2. Mir Asadullah s/o Mīr Fażlullah (Turānī) (1000/1000) (2x3h) was appointed faujdār of Baglana in 1653.

3. Sultānpur and Nandurbār (Nazarbar in the Persian sources) are two parganas of sarkār Nandurbār which was transferred from sūba Mālwa to sūba Khāndesh by Shāhjāhān in 1634, Lāhori, I, ii, 62.
additional ranks from Baghāna. Recalled Kamāl Lodī and other officials to him and granted him additional income from some forts in accordance with His Majesty’s orders.

‘Usmān Afghān’ holding the rank of 1000/800 (previously) was the faujdār of sarkār Bījāgarh and consequent upon the transfer of Shāista Khān that sarkār has been assigned to him (Aurangzeb). Since a faujdār is to be appointed to Sultanpur and Nandubar, reserved for the Khalīsa (whose revenues were reserved for the Emperor) Muhammad Beg Khaishgi, (his official) was appointed the faujdār of Bījāgarh with cavalry and infantry. Usman was made faujdār of Sultanpur and Nandubar with 200 conditional sawārs to his rank, so that he now held 1000/1000.

2. ‘Usmān Afghān (1000/800) ceased to be the faujdār of sarkār Bījāgarh in 1653.
3. sarkār Bījāgarh was transferred to suža Khāndesh in 1634 Lāhorī, I, ii, 62-3.
4. Abu Tālib Shāista Khān (Irānī) (5000/5000, 2-3 h) was transferred to suža Gujārāt as its Governor following the appointment of Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan in 1652. Wāris, 142(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 5586.
5. Muhammad Beg Khaishgi was appointed faujdār of sarkār Bījāgarh in 1653 following the transfer of ‘Usmān Afghān.

...9
Murshid Quli appointed Diwan of Bālāghāt by His Majesty, held some jagirs in the north. After his arrival there he was assigned pargana Sāvda,1 which had the jama' (estimated income) of 10,85,000 dāms whereas the realisation (hasil) of the previous year was a little over Rs. 71,000 out of which Rs. 50,000 were remitted because of calamity leaving a balance of only something over Rs. 20,000. In view of this His Majesty sanctioned a reduction (takhfīf) in jama' of the pargana of 57,00,000 dāms (reducing the jama' of the pargana to 51,50,000 dāms), 50,00,000 dāms of Murshid Quli's salary are now met by assignment of this pargana.2 But the pargana is still desolate and (even after the above jama'-reduction) is low-hasil. Proposes that only 30,00,000 dāms (about 3/5ths of the pargana), be assigned to Murshid Quli, as were assigned to Diyānat Khan, the remainder of the pargana to be retained by old jagirdārs of the said pargana who were transferred upon its assignment to Murshid Juli. For the balance (20,00,000 dāms) Murshid Quli may be assigned 5 or 6 monthly jagirs.

1. pargana Sāvda, sarkār Asīr, sūba Khāndesh, Atlas, 9A, 14A.

2. There had been a tremendous decline in the actual income of the parganas in Khāndesh as compared to the jama'. Cf. J.F. Richards, 'Official Revenues and Money Flows in a Mughal Province', Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India, OUP, 1987, 193-231.
Deteriorating Agrarian Conditions of the Deccan (April-May 1653, pp. 131-4):

Refers to the royal orders that he (Aurangzeb) should have been free from the task of settling the affairs of Pāyān Ghāt. He should leave for Daulatābād immediately upon the receipt of this order. He should, however, consider both Bālāghat¹ and Pāyān Ghāt as placed under him and administer it properly.

Submits that the desolation of the country of the Deccan which has been left unattended in the last ten years is not of such type that its settlement can be accomplished in a shortwhile, and the way the settlement can be made by personally attending to him would not be possible if one is at a distance. There is important business awaiting him in Daulatābād that leaving the management of Pāyān Ghāt unaccomplished he should proceed there immediately.

Submits that in response to his ḍarzdāsht recommending an increase in Asadullah son of Fazlullah's rank and further recommending the faujdāri of Baglāna for him, royal orders were issued that "if he wants to induct him into Imperial service by granting the faujdāri of Baglāna the

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¹ For Bālāghat, see document no. 1.4, p. 1.
recommendation is not proper because Baglāna is held as inā'm by him (Aurangzeb). He could give him whatever he liked for the maintenance of its affairs other than a Imperial mansab (mansāb-i dargāhī)." Submits that in that petition he had referred to inadequate revenues and considerable expenses (ziyādatī-kharch) of Baglāna, and so proposed its assignment to one of the officials. In view of the fact that the rank of 'Umar Afghān was increased from 600/100 to 1000/1000 du aspa sīh aspa (for holding the faujdārī of Baglāna, he had made a recommendation for an increase in the mansāb of Asadullah who is a Saiyid and Khānazād and a competent man, and holds the rank of 500/100 du aspa sīh aspa. Since most of his jagīrs were assigned from there the writer did not make any request for assignment in lieu of that inā'm. Seeing this in the interest of economy in government expenditure, he had made the above request. If it is approved, it would be best; otherwise the additional salary would be granted to him from Baglāna, which is an Imperial gift to the writer. The royal orders were issued that since it was known from the representation that

1. 'Umar Tarīn (Afghān) (500/100) (Lāhori, II, 751) was appointed faujdār of Baglāna in 1648, Wāris, 45(b) as cited in Apparatus S., 4438; see also Zakhīra, III, 76.
neither 'Umar Tarīn could administer Baglāna properly nor
the contingents sent by Aurangzeb, he ('Umar Tarīn) should
be sent to the Court.

As for orders of exemption from payment of arrears of tri-
bute of Rs. 50,000 from the Zamīndār of Chānda from the
beginning of Farwardin 26th R.Y. and the collections of
the arrears of tribute of the 25th R.Y. as outstanding
against him till the end of Isfandarmuz these would cer-
tainly be followed.

It had been ordered that "he should send Shāh Beg Khān,¹
who does not maintain proper contingents to the royal
Court and if he likes he could hold these parganas of
(Shāh Beg Khān) in lieu of his naqdi (jāgīr) or assign
them to anyone who is competent and maintains (proper)
contingents and appoint him in his (Shāh Beg Khān's)
place."

Submits that His Majesty is well aware of the circumstan-
ces of the officials posted in the Deccan and the writer
did not know of commanding larger contingent than Shāh
Beg Khān and administer that province (Berār) properly.

¹. Shāh Beg Khān (4000/4000) was appointed the qilēdār
So out of favour it has been ordered that if he wanted he could have his (Shāh Beg Khān's) tuyūl in lieu of his own naqdi. He would, therefore, shortly depute one of his efficient officials with a strong contingent and send Shāh Beg Khān to the royal threshold.

Since a strong contingent is required for the maintenance of Berār he (Aurangzeb) hopes that as soon as the (details of the) income of the parganas of Shāh Beg Khān's jagār are presented to His Majesty he would grant in his salary 10-monthly cash (naqd) without any deduction (āfat) from the parganas of Ellichpur¹ and Ankot² fixing the jama' as much as His Majesty likes.

1.7 Peshkash of the Deccan Rulers, etc. (May 1653, pp. 123-5):

The hājibs of the two Deccan Rulers with their petitions came and saw lum and presented gifts from their masters. 'Ādil Khān³ had not previously sent such inferior gifts (turban, ornamented 'fingure-guard and elephant). Anyhow in

1. Ellichpur (mod. .Chlapur) the headquarters of (haveli-mahāl) sarkār Gāvil sūba Berār then also served head-


3. Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh was the ruler of Bījāpur from 1627 to 1657.
compliance with the Imperial orders whatever was presented has been accepted. Qūṭbūl Mulk sent a fine ring with a fine diamond, ornamented weapons and six elephants of which four for Aurangzeb and two for his sons (Khānāzāds). Some days, God willing they would be seen by His Majesty.

In accordance with Imperial orders, he will, shortly depute Ja’far to Bījāpur and ‘Abdul Latīf (previously diwān of Qandahar and now the writer’s officer) to Golconda. Some jewelled arms and Gujarat cloth will be sent with them as presents. It would be better if they consider themselves serving under the Governor of the Deccan, otherwise whatever the emperor decides.

Informs that Mīr Ṣāliḥ, son of Mīr Qiwāmuddin Māzandrānī, a relative of Shāh 'Abbās who had gone to Aurangabad via Surat port and determined to proceed to Golconda was called to Burhānpur and sent to the Imperial court. Hopes that

1. ‘Abdullah Quto Shāh was the ruler of Golconda from 1626 to 1672.
2. Ja’far was appointed as hājīb at the Court of Bījāpur in 1653.
3. ‘Abdul Latīf was appointed as hājīb at the Court of Golconda in 1653.
4. Mīr Ṣāliḥ's rank not identified. However Aurangzeb not only enticed the officials of the Deccan rulers but also checked the foreign adventurers from joining their Courts by inducing them to join the Imperial service. See Riazul Islam, Indo-Persian Relations, Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations Between the Mughal Empire and Iran, 1970, 97-123.
after being permitted to kiss the royal threshold he would be rewarded according to his talents.

Refers to his previous letter regarding the despatch of one of his officials to sūba Berār in compliance with Imperial orders. Accordingly Žiāuddin Ḥusain, ¹ his former bakhshi and a competent person was sent to Ellīchpur with a contingent of 400 cavalry and 200 gunners (infantry) and directed Šāh Beg to proceed to the writer after the former's arrival there.

1.8 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk and Jāgīr-Assignment to Aurangzeb (1653, pp. 144-5):

Emperor has ordered that since fewer male and female elephants than before are being brought from Bengal and Orissa, Qutbul Mulk be asked to send elephants in lieu of half the annual tribute (peshkash) of 8 lakhs of rupees. Submits that, though this would reduce the income of the Deccan treasury by 4 lakhs annually he would still press Qutbul Mulk to fulfill the Imperial demand.

It has appeared from the report of Aurangzeb's wakīl at the Court that the Emperor had remarked that since Aurang-

zeb had taken pargana Ellichpur on his own, without any reduction in jama', why should there be any talk now (of reduction in the jama').

Submits that His Majesty had himself ordered that "if he (Aurangzeb) wanted to have jāgīrs of some of the tuyūl-dārs (jāgīrdārs) in exchange of his cash salary) (talab-i naqdi), a suitable jama' would be fixed thereof. Therefore, Aurangzeb had solicited pargana Ellichpur out of the parganas held in jāgīr by Shāh Beg Khān and sent the details of current income (naqīqat-i hāl-i hasil) to the royal court under the seal of Multafat Khān, the Diwān, so that the reduction could be sanctioned accordingly, so that he might not suffer any loss by exchanging his 10-monthly cash salary for the jāgīr. If the reduction is not granted he would suffer a loss of two lakhs; but he was prepared to sacrifice everything for the Emperor's approbation.

The Aḥmadnagar fort was situated near the border. Shah Beg Khan who previously held the charge of that fort wanted its qilā'dāri. Seeks Imperial orders for his appoint-

1. Multafat Khān s/o Irādat Khan (Irāni) (2000/2000) was the Diwān of Khāndesh and Pāinghāt, Wāris, 116(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5456. See also Zakhīra, III,93.

2. Aḥmadnagar fort is situated in sarkār Aḥmadnagar sūba Aurangabad, Atlas, 14A.

...17
1.9 Aurangzeb's Unproductive Jācir and Appointment/Transfer of his Officials (1653, pp. 141-3):

Refers to the royal orders issued to him that from the beginning of rabi' crop of Yūnt ʿĪl he would be sanctioned cash payment (naqdi) in lieu of pargana Ellīchpur, the reality of his efforts to improve prosperity of the Deccan has been made known by his relinquishing (on the ground of its becoming ruined). He protests that the said pargana has had a shortfall in relation to its jama' for the last twenty years. How could it become prosperous within a harvest or two.

Refers to the royal orders that 'according to his (Aurangzeb's) representation (iltīmās), Mīrzā Khān was removed from the charge of Aḥmadnagar fort. However, reasons for his transfer should have been explained and he should be replaced by Shāh Beg Khān. The presence of an intelligent and improver (ābadānḵār) was necessary in Ellīchpur, it

should be assigned either to Jalāl Kākar\textsuperscript{1} or to Multafat Khan. If he wishes he may recommend the name of either for increase (in mansāb).

Submits that he believed the circumstances of Mirzā Khan's case were already known at the Court and so refrained from putting it in writing as he was a Khānazād and considered it best that he should remain with him (Aurangzeb).

Shāh Beg Khān has been posted to Aḥmadnagar fort and royal orders regarding the assignment of the tuyūl of Shāh Beg Khān and Mirza Khān would be followed. Since Jalāl Kākar is a soldier he has no competence in the sphere of agricultural improvement. Notwithstanding this he was posted as faujdār of Rūnār\textsuperscript{2} on the borders of Deogarh\textsuperscript{3} two three months previously. His Majesty would have been informed by the wāqiā (news-report) of this province. Multafat Khān was engaged in the work of crop sharing of Pāyān Ghāṭ. He did not agree with this proposal. Accordingly the assignment of pargana Ellīchpur to either of the two was withheld.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Jalāl Khān Kākar s/o Dilāwar Khān Kākar (Afghān) (2000/1500) was appointed faujdār of Pūnār, Lāhori, II, 727.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Pargana Pūnār (Paunar) was the seat of headquarters of sarkār Pūnār in sūba Berār, Atlas, 36.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Deogarh was a principality which offered submission and paid tribute to the Mughal empire. See Atlas, 35.
\end{itemize}
Proposes that it be assigned to Rao Karan\(^1\) who on suffering a deduction of 500/500 (barāwurdī) in his rank had lost pargana Kandākūr,\(^2\) where he had shown his capacity to improve cultivation. He may be restored the rank of 500/500 and be deputed to serve at Ellīchpur, and his barāwurdī be made du aspa sih aspa for service at Ellīchpur. That pargana could be assigned to him for the payment of his salary against his present and additional rank, and in lieu of pargana Pūsad\(^3\) he holds in sūba Berār. The balance (of jama') from pargana Ellīchpur could be sanctioned to others.

Rustam Khān\(^4\) brother of Iraj Khān\(^5\) wants to solicit permission to proceed to royal court as he says that he has been called to be with his brother. He begs to receive

\(^1\) Rao Karan (3000/2000) s/o Rao Sūr Bhūrtiya (Rajput) suffered a demotion in rank in 1652-3, which was restored to him only in 1655, Wāris, 22$*(b)*, as cited in Apparatus.

\(^2\) Pargana Kandākūr, sarkār Gurramkonda, sūba Hyderabad, Atlas, 16A.

\(^3\) Pargana Pūsad, sarkār Māhur, sūba Berār, Atlas, 14A, 15A.

\(^4\) Rustam Khān s/o Qizilbāsh (Irānī) held the faujdarī of Sangamner in 1650-51, (Zakhīra, III, 71,) whence he was transferred probably in 1653.

\(^5\) Iraj Khān s/o Qizilbāsh Khān (Irānī) served as thānedār of Pāthri in 1650-51, (Wāris, 108(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 540,) wherefrom he was transferred to North India as faujdar of Jamnun and Kanpur, Wāris 173(6), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5902; see also Zakhīra, III, 69-70.
an appointment for himself in imperial service. Presence of people like him in this province is necessary. It may be ordered that he be permitted to stay here otherwise he would be sent to the Court.

1.10 Recommendation for Rāo Karan, Rajput and Supply of Cloth to the Royal Kārkhanās, (1653, pp. 146-7):

Refers to the royal orders that since the assignment of Ellīchpur to a Rājput like Rāo Karan was not proper the said office has been entrusted to Asadullah¹ son of Rashid Khān.² One should entrust work to a person who can do it. Submits that the charge of Ellīchpur does not involve anything except holding the jagīr and improving cultivation and Aurangzeb had been suspected at the Court of ill-treating the Rājputs, he had made a recommendation of Rāo Karan, looking at his mansab-reduction and his ability to increase cultivation, according to what had been heard about him. Asadullah too, with his present mansab and contingent, cannot look after the duties of Governor of Berār. However, according to royal orders, he was sent

1. Asadullah s/o Rashīd Khān Anṣārī (1500/1000) was appointed faujdār of Ellīchpur in 1653, Wāris 184 (b), as cited in Apparatus s., 5990.

2. Rashīd Khān Anṣārī (Afghan) (4000/4000) Nāzīm of Telingana died in 1648, Wāris, 49(b), 260(a) as cited in Apparatus s., 4485.
to Ellichpur and Ilhāmullāh to Chāndaur. Their jagirs would be assigned in accordance with the reverse endorsements (zimm) of the farmān.

Refers to His Majesty's direction that the pieces of cloth manufactured by Aurangzeb at Burhānpur be sent to the Court expeditiously. While expressing gratitude for this attention, explains that the delay in despatch has been due to the lack of artisans (kariqaran) because most of the expert weavers in Burhānpur are working in the Imperial and Begam Sahib's kārkhanās and the work of those in Aurangzeb's kārkhanās was not of a quality to win His Majesty's approbation. A few piece-goods, which had been prepared by the time of Naşīra's arrival, have been sent to the Court.

Cites His Majesty's observations that Aurangzeb had left his diwān for watching over Burhānpur and has not appointed

1. Ilhāmullāh s/o Rashīd Khān Ansāri (1000/1000) was appointed thanedar of Thander (rect. Chandur), Waris 184(b) is cited in Apparatus, S., 5991.
2. Chandur was claimed for sarkār Kalam but the same material was also considered under sarkar Manikdrug, Atlas, 52,60.
3. Begum Sahib was the title of Princess Jahan Ara Begum.
4. Naşīra not identified.
5. He was probably Muḥammad Tahir who was left there.

...22
ed anyone else as the diwan till now. Submits that His Majesty would know the detailed reasons for delay in the matter from a nishan sent by Aurangzeb to him at the Court in response to the same query in a hasbul hukm. Reports appointment of Ziauddin Husain\(^1\) (previously Aurangzeb's Bakhshī) as his Diwan.

1.11 Recommendation for the Appointment of Hoshdar as Topchi and Bakhshī (July 1653, pp. 136-7):

Imperial orders (manshūr) have come that since the supervision of the artillery (topkhāna) is an important office/assignment and Hoshdar\(^2\) is not worthy for that post. If Şafi Khan\(^3\) was ready to accept that office he could be assigned the same to combine with the office of the Bakhshī. Otherwise Mīr Aḥmad Rizvi\(^4\) would not be a bad (choice) because he knew the assigned duties and could get them executed.

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1. See p.15, n.1. The Mughal Princes were authorised to maintain their diwāns and bakhshīs.

2. Hoshdar s/o Nawab Multafat Khan (Irani) (800/400) was appointed Darogha-i Topkhana of the Deccan. Waris, 169 (a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5755; see also Zakhira, III, 97.

3. Şafi Khan (500/100) remained Bakhshī and Naqīa Nawīs of the Deccan till 1654-5; Waris, 229(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6405.

4. Mīr Aḥmad Rizvi s/o Șa'adat Khan Bizvi (Irani) (1000/600) was appointed Faujdār of Naṣīrābād in 1652-3, Waris, 157(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5737.

...23
Submits that His Majesty was aware that he had been in the office of Governorship since the age of eighteen he has never made improper recommendations for imperial duties, otherwise, how these could have been approved?

Since it was presumed that the Superintendent of the Artillery in addition to his ability for supervision and integrity should be aware of the art of (commanding) tufang and essentials of the said office, he (Hoshdar) has the adequate knowledge of the same and is a commander of high repute his name was intentionally recommended by him. He has not, however, committed any acts of dishonesty and infidelity. Since His Majesty does not agree, Safi Khan, would be communicated the good news and be made aware of the royal favour towards him. Further submits that since combining this office with the office of bakhshi would be a burden as the condition of the jagir in the Deccan was not unknown and without resources (masālih), such high office could not be performed. Hopes that Safi be honoured by additional rank, and perform the duties of the twin offices whole-heartedly. Submits that Mir Ahmad Rizvi as observed by His Majesty was not undeserving.

1. Although Hoshdar's appointment was not to the liking of Shāhjahān, yet Aurangzeb secured his appointment as Darqūḥa-i Top Khāna of the Deccan. Document No. 12.1; Wāris, 169(a) as cited in Apparatus, 3., 5755.
1.12 Recommendations for the Appointment of Mîr Khalîlulluh (July 1653, pp. 152-3):

Since Fatḥābād (Dhārūr)¹ is a frontier fort, the presence of one of the trusted officials there was necessary. Accordingly Mîr Khalîlulluh,² an efficient Khānāzād, who had undertaken well the charge of the artillery (topkhâna) had been posted there to urgently assume the duties of castellan. An increase of 500/200 barāwurlī (ordinary) and 600 saqârs du aspa sih aspa was recommended to his original rank of 1500/800 thereby raising it to 2000/1000 conditional upon performing the duties of qila’dârī of Fatḥābād. ³Fargana Daryāpur is assigned for 70 lakhs in his jagîr; he has improved cultivation within two years by 50 per cent compared to the year he obtained it. The havelî of Fatḥābād which had 88 lakhs dams as jama’, was assigned to him following the death of 'Arab Khân ⁴for 85 lakhs with a reduction of 3 lakhs dams. Recommends conferment of a title on him.

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1. Dhārūr, situated in sūba Aurangābâd, was renamed Fatḥābâd under Shâh Jahân Ñâhori, I, ii, 278.

2. Mîrzâ Khalîlulluh s/o 'Azam Khân (Irâni) (1500/800) was appointed qilâdâr of Fatḥābâd (Dhārūr) in 1653 with the title of Muftakhar Khân, Wâris 169(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5754; see also Zakhîrā, III, 93-5.

3. Fargana Daryāpur, sarkâr Gâvîl sūba Berâr, Atlas, 9A, 14A.

Hoshdar, son of Multafat Khan, a deserving Khanzad and musketeer (bandughchi), has been appointed Superintendent of Artillery. Since he has had no increase, an addition of 200/100, conditional upon this office, is recommended to raise his mansab to 900/400.

1.13 *Aurangzeb’s Representation Regarding the Exchange/Assignment of Jagirs to his Subordinates (1653, pp. 125-6):*

Issued

Refers to the Imperial orders after the writer’s daul-i jagir had been submitted. It had been decreed, if after his arrival in the Deccan he found that better revenue paying (sa’ir-hasiltar) jagirs are held by other tuyuldars (jagirdars) there he could, if he so desired, exchange them with those assigned to him; he is fully authorised. However, the writer did not make use of this privilege in order to keep up the morale of the officers, and left all their jagirs in their possession. He himself held what jagirs had been assigned to him from the Imperial Court. But since there were men not suitable for jagirs, he has now obtained in exchange jagirs with a little over 1,27,00,000 dams in entire mahals, which are desolated (zabun) and low in revenue-yield, from various dates. He had sent the papers (afrad) to the Court, so that Imperial officials placing them before His Majesty may send the tankhwah (jagir-salary) assignments. But when the sanad
arrived, it had been learnt that the exchange of mahāls has not been approved. Instead some from those low revenue-paying parganas have been retained with the writer, while in some mahāls previously held by the writer reductions (in jama') have been granted.

If the disapproval was due to the miscalculation about an increase in realization it is submitted that the revenues of his entire jāgīr in this province including the mahāls received in exchange does not exceed eight months on average. The exchanged jāgīrs of 1,27,00,000 dams are slightly over 9-monthly and or a little over. The details are being submitted by the writer's wakil at the Imperial Court. If being higher than 9-monthly and a little over, let these be resumed to the Khāilsa from the beginning of Kharif Yūnt İl and in lieu of that cash salary equal to 8-months be granted to him so that such trifling issues may not become subject of representation again.

States that previously the unsound physical condition of Uzbek Khan¹ was reported to His Majesty and it was ordered that he (Aurangzeb) would summon him and verify his

1. Uzbek Khan Turānī (2000/2000) was dismissed from the qilādari of Ausa, Wāris 193(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6035.
condition. Accordingly he was called and the wāqia'-nawīs (news-reporter) was ordered to record in the wāqia' whatever was observed. Since there were no other orders regarding him and it was not proper to keep the frontier fort vacant he was sent back to the fort till the receipt of the Imperial orders. Meanwhile, it was known from the report of the news-writer, that he has committed some uncalled-for-acts (not worthy of a castellan). Accordingly Ṣafī was asked to write a letter containing strict admonitions and injunctions so that he should be more careful in future. He tendered his resignation from the post and the jāgīr as would be known in detail to His Majesty from the wāqia'. Moreover many of the peasants living in his jāgīr have sought relief from his oppression.

If approved Khwāja Barkhurdār1 a trusted and competent official/servant holding the rank of 1000/500 be granted conditional increase on account of the qilādārī and the mahāl of Uzbek Khan be assigned in his jāgīr so that he may take custody of the said fort.

1.14 Aurangzeb Solicits High-Revenue Paying Jagirs (1653, pp. 183-5):

Refers to the Imperial orders issued in response to the writer's 'arzdāsht regarding the abatement granted in the mahāls of the writer and authorising him to exchange his low-revenue paying mahāls with the high-revenue yielding parganas of jāgīrdārs of the Deccan. It appeared from the farman that His Majesty believes that the writer has not changed the entire mahāls, but only selected villages in each pargana, leaving the ruined (zabūn) villages to the jāgīrdārs. Submits that the writer has always followed the Imperial orders without any deviation. Since he has been administering subas he is aware of the fact that sharing of a mahāl (among jāgīrdārs) leads to its ruin. Whatever he abandoned in sarkar Bijagarh, etc., on account of low-income was in the form of the entire mahāls. The saīr of pargana Junair,¹ is not a separate mahāl or village but part of the entire pargana of Junair and is part of the jama' of that pargana.² When that par-

1. Pargana Junnar, the headquarters of sarkar of the same name, suba Aurangabad, which Persian sources usually write 'Junair', Lāhori, I, ii, 160-1, 225, etc;

2. Shāhjahan used to censure Aurangzeb at the instigation of the mischief-mongers. His letter to Shuja' clearly indicates that since Aurangzeb did not administer the Deccan to the Emperor's approbation Shuja' was offered the charge of the four subas of the Deccan, Mugaddamah, 230.
gar.a in the jāgīr of Sazāwar Khān, 1 Khān-i Daurān 2 out of hostility to him, separated the sā'īr from some par-ganas, and jama' being fixed separately on it, it was designated a chaukī. Promises to exchange only entire mahāls in future in compliance with the Imperial orders. Appreciates the appointment of Khwāja Barkhurdār as in charge of Ausa 3 fort with conditional increase upon his proposal. Accordingly he would be posted to the fort and the daul of his jāgīr would be sent to the Court. Uzbek Khān will be asked to proceed to the Court. Mirzā Khān notwithstanding Imperial orders had not entrusted Ahmadnagar fort to Shāh Beg Khān and it was thought that Uzbek Khān would do the same. So Aurangzeb did not send a nishān to Uzbek Khān, but told Ṣafī Khān to tell him of the Imperial orders and ask him to deliver the fort (of Ausa) to Barkhurdār upon receipt of the nishān and extract from the farmān; otherwise a farmān addressed to him will be obtained. This would prevent Barkhurdār loitering outside the fort like Shāh Beg Khān.

1. Sazāwar Khān s/o Lashkar Khān Mashhadi (Irāni) (3000/2000 (500x2-3h)) who previously held the qilādārī of Junnar was also transferred from the qilādārī of Ausa. Hyd. 3677, as cited in Apparatus S., 5630; Zakhīrā, III, 97-8.

2. Khwāja Sābir ʿAlī Nasīrī Khān, Khān-i Daurān Bahādur Nusrat Jang (Turānī) (7000/7000 (5000/2-3h)) had remained subedar of the Deccan from 1644-5, Lahori, II, 376, 426; see Zakhīrā, III, 18-25.

3. Ausa in sarkār Nander, sūba Bidar, Atlas, 14A.
1.15 Condition of Aurangzeb's Jagirs and Multafat Khan's Request for Loan (1653, pp. 206-7):

The Emperor had observed after seeing the āwarja of parqana Asir, sent by Multafat Khan that jāgir worth 40 lakh dāms assigned to Aurangzeb (in that parqana) was 16-monthly, the selection of high-income (saīr hāsīl) villages in a parqana and assignment of low-revenue yielding villages, that were 1½ or 2-monthly only, was contrary to Islam and justice. Therefore now a further 20 lakh dāms have been assigned to the low-revenue yielding (kam-hāsīl) villages of the parqana in lieu of cash salary (so far paid) so that the 60 lakh dāms worth of jāma' now assigned to Aurangzeb in that parqana could be equivalent to 12-monthly.

Submits that during the period he has held the Governorship (of the Deccan) he has never committed such injustice as would be far away from Islam and from His Majesty's approbation. Out of the 40 lakh dāms which have caused such a severe censure form part of (the remaining) 33 lakh dāms are accounted for by Bahādurpura which comp-

1. Parqana Asir in sarkar Asir of sūba Khāndesh, Atlas, 9A, 14A.

2. Bahādurpura in parqana and sarkar Asir of sūba Khāndesh.
risks market and transit (sāiʿr). The balance is assigned to the territories adjoining the city where revenue does not reach 6-monthly. These territories were not selected by Aurangzeb but were assigned to him by the diwāns of the Empire before his arrival, and as consequence of transfer of Shāista Khān. Is surprised that the officers of the Central Ministry, especially the Diwān (Dastūr-i 'Aʿzam) himself have notwithstanding their strong memories have not represented this fact at the time of the submission of the said papers and the copy of the assignment (daul-i jāgīr) of Aurangzeb that they had themselves drawn up. Protests that such misrepresentation has caused displeasure of His Majesty who, owing to the annoyance caused, has even brought the matter of Islam into the matter. The fact is that Aurangzeb's jāgīrs in the Deccan including 40 lakh dāms assigned in Asīr, and the high-yielding assignments given in lieu of 10-monthly cash salary do not in aggregate exceed 8-monthly. If His Majesty thinks that Aurangzeb's assignments are still too high-yielding and so has decided to resume a further cash salary of 20 lakh dāms (assigning low-yielding jāgīrs in lieu thereof), Aurangzeb out of sincere loyalty would still accept it. The Emperor has remarked that Multāfat Khān has reported that 40-or 50,000 rupees were sanctioned to be advanced as taqāvi for constructing dams in suba...
Khandesh and Berar of Pâyân Ghâṭ, the amount would be re-
turned to the Imperial treasury within two years and
would at the same time increase cultivation. He (Mul­ta-
fat Khân) had submitted the matter to Aurangzeb who had
ordered that in respect of the parganas of jāgîrdârs,
the matter should be submitted to His Majesty, so that
whatever he orders may be done. His Majesty has observed
that it was expected that Aurangzeb would have himself
immediately sanctioned the stipulated amount from the
Imperial treasury with the assurance (ta'ahud) that if
the amount requisitioned was not accorded Imperial sanc-
tion then Aurangzeb would refund it to the Imperial
Khâlisa from his own establishment (sarkâr). Submits
that if he (Aurangzeb) does not take personal initiative
in such a matter because of the way in which he was being
brought to account without any fault of his. Previously
when he had been granted authority and status in this
sūha he never let such (petty) matters go to His Majesty
directly or through the diwâns. But now he must cut his
clothing according to his cloth, otherwise there would be no
way of escaping censure. Otherwise in spite of his ami-
cable conduct, he becomes subject to such censures. (This
ambitious proposal of advancing taqâvi by the royal ex-
chequer for financing the raising of embankment in the
provinces of Khândesh and Berar, perhaps, did not mate-
rialise.)
1.16 Assistance to Qutbul Mulk, Potentialities of Murshid Juli and his Jāgīr Assignment, etc. (August 1653, pp. 138-9):

Whatever has been ordered in dealings with the Rulers of the Deccan would be followed. It has been learnt that now-a-days 'Ādil Khān is contemplating hostilities with Qutbul Mulk in order to seize that part of the latter’s territory in which the zamindārs of Karnatak have created disturbance. Under the circumstances he (Qutbul Mulk) would be helped according to the way His Majesty orders. The Emperor has ordered that "he (Aurangzeb) should abstain from according favour to Qutbul Mulk and keep him satisfied with him", it would be possible for Aurangzeb to placate Qutbul Mulk if he was informed of the contents of all Imperial orders issued to Qutbul Mulk so that he might ask him for answers thereto.

The Imperial orders were issued that "he (Aurangzeb) should strive for the prosperity of the Deccan Provinces. Murshid Quli who is a knowledgeable and competent officer should remain attached permanently with the duties of the diwānī. Whatever is suggested by Murshid Quli in the public interest should be listened to. Efforts should be made to enforce crop sharing and abrogate the miscellaneous regulations (zawābit-i gūnāgon) which are the cause of ruin of that territory."
Submits that the writer has exerted all possible efforts and he is still engaged in the administration of the four provinces of the Deccan and the increase in their prosperity. Hopes that by the introduction of crop-sharing the country would be properly settled. Endorses His Majesty's observations about the efficiency and knowledge of Murshid Quli for that reason precisely Aurangzeb had recommended the grant of the Diwāni of Dālāghāt to him. He has been helped and would receive all help in future. Murshid Quli hopes for a title so that his status may be further raised. If Multafat Khan is also granted a flag (ʿalam) it will enhance his prestige.

It was ordered about pargana Bīr that "from the beginning of Kharīf crop of ʿIlān-i ʿIl in lieu of the said pargana be included in entirety in Khālisa. He (Aurangzeb) should receive 10-monthly cash salary (naqdi)."

Submits that since qasba Shāhgarh and Machhligaon from pargana Bīr have always remained in his jagīr and

2. Qasba Shāhgarh in sarkār Bīr was probably included in sarkār Jālnapur during Aurangzeb's reign. Cf. Atlas, 14A.
in the entire territory of the Deccan no sela (muslin) of the fine quality suitable for offering to the Emperor's produced comparable to that of Shāhgarh. Requests for the restoration of the two mahāls. Murshid Quli administered that pargana as has been reported to His Majesty and imposed a uniform mode of revenue collection ('amal) throughout the pargana so Aurangzeb would also leave those (two) mahāls to his management.¹

Submits that he has informed Sazāwār Khān of the royal orders issued for his salary. Pargana Ankot etc., were previously assigned to Shāh Beg Khān, who has now agreed for its exchange with the parganas of Nandurbar and Sultānpur. However the revenues of both the parganas have declined so he requests that the jama' of these be fixed at 1,60,00,000 dāms (instead of 2 crore dāms), as had been conceded to Shāista Khān, and for the balance of 40,00,000 dāms he might be given jagīr elsewhere.

1. Murshid Quli Khan's reforms have also been described in other contemporary or near contemporary chronicles like Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Shahjahan-nama, Or. 174; Or 1671 Madhafi Khān, Muntakhab-al Lubab, Calcutta, 18, Vol. II, 735. Cf. A.J. Syed, Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-al Lubab, Bombay, 1977, 58-60.

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1.17 Recommendations for Promotion of Various Officials (1653, pp. 154-6):

Notes conferment of title of Khan on Murshid Quli Khan. He has been informed of the Imperial instructions for introducing crop-sharing (batāi) in Bālāghat. Multafat Khān has also been granted a banner by the Emperor; he too has been conveyed Imperial orders to enforce batāi. What (measure) he would think for this would become known to the Imperial Court through his 'arzdāsht.

Thanks the Emperor for the acceptance of his request about Muftakhar Khan. The Emperor has ordered that he (Aurangzeb) should train him under his guidance. Shāh Beg Khān who remains idle in Aurangābād be sent to Fathābd. Submits that the officials posted in the sūbas (of the Deccan) have concluded that unless they are assigned an office in the sūba like faujdārī, qila'dārī, etc., they would not receive promotions. Muftakhar Khān whose younger brother was awarded a title, office of bakhshī and promotion in rank, has submitted that if he was appointed to Fathābad he would perform the duties diligently. Since Aurangzeb in his previous charge of this sūba had high officials under him, but now has none such other than the Deccanis, looks forward to having with him an official like Shāh Beg Khān. Since Muḥammad Šafī holding the office of the Bakhshī of the Deccan is a competent Khānazād, recommends award of the title
to him. Unless Aurangzeb had found him worthy of 1000
he would not have recommended him for 900 zat. He is
a deserving Imperial official (Khānazād).

1.18 Aurangzeb's Arrival at Daulatabad and Introduction of
Crop-sharing (December 1653 - January 1654, pp. 134-5):

Submits that he (Aurangzeb) left Burhānpur, leaving be-
hind Muḥammad Ţāhir there who spent long time there
and is well-acquainted with the peculiarities of that
territory. The writer and the residents and peasants
thereof were satisfied with his considerate behaviour,
he (Aurangzeb) proceeded to Daulatabād and travelling
through Fardāpur pass which is on the right side of
Nandapur at a distance of two and a half kurohs and is
much easier than the pass of Rohankheda, reached Dau­
latabād on 14 Muharram.

Hopes that the affairs of that territory (Bālāghat)
would be settled as those of Pāyān Ghāṭ and that the in-

1. Muḥammad Ţāhir Mashhadi was granted the title of
Wazir Khān by Aurangzeb, Ma' mum 96(b); Hātim Khān,
Ālamgīrīnāma, 150; Nuskha-i Dilkusha, 14(b); M.U.
III, 93640.
2. Fardāpur pass situated in sarkār Baithalvādi, sūba
Berār, Atlas, 36.
3. Rohankheda pass in sarkār Narnāla, sūba Berar, Atlas,
36.
roduction of crop-sharing ('amal-i bātaī) at the order of His Majesty would increase the prosperity.

Since he (Aurangzeb) required an intelligent and knowledgeable person to discharge the duties attached to the office of the diwān and Murshid Quli Khān, despite his assigned duties could supervise this office (diwānī) the royal orders were issued that he would be entrusted with the office of the diwān; or he should assign it to any of his other officials.

1.19 Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash, etc., (1653-4, p. 196):

Recommends conferment of title and standard ('alam) to Khwāja Barkhurdār, qilā'dār of Ausa, a competent official who holds 2000/2000 and is posted to the frontier.

Submits that Muhammad Momin Šafdar Khāni, ¹ an Imperial official who was sent by Aurangzeb to Qutbul Mulk was asked that on his return, he should collect elephants equal in worth half of peshkash from Qutbul Mulk. He brought 30 elephants including one-female elephant from Qutbul Mulk. Seven of these are defective not worthy

1. Muhammad Momin Šafdar Khāni not identified. However, Šafdar Khān Khwāja Alāī (5000/5000) died as qilā'dār of Qandahar, Lāhori, II, 720.
for His Majesty. The writer retained all the elephants and asked for the prices fixed by Quṭbul Mulk. If it was ascertained that there was no difference in his prices and these assessed by Aurangzeb's officials, he would have despatched elephants with an Imperial official and an agent of Quṭbul Mulk to the Imperial Court, otherwise Aurangzeb would communicate the difference in prices to the Court and act according to royal orders.

1.20 Peshkash from Quṭbul Mulk etc. (1653-4, pp. 216-8):

The Imperial farmān was issued regarding the despatch of Quṭbul Mulk's elephants and verification of the reports of Diyānat Khān and his clerk (peshdast).¹ On Ist Mihr, the elephants were sent off to the Imperial Court. After the arrival of the peshdast of Diyānat Khān and Brahmans,² Aurangzeb has thoroughly examined the matters which had come to the notice of His Majesty and the factual position of all the matters would be submitted to the Emperor, as these appear after investigation.

In most of the mahāls of Bāḷāghāt there have been heavy rains continuously for 15-16 days. It is hoped that

1. Khwaja Kesu Dās Kayasth Saxena was the peshdast of Diyānat Khān, Diwan of the Deccan, see Zakhīra, III, 37.
2. Meghu Ram ani Jivji Hemant were the two Brahmans, who alleged Diyānat Khān for unwarranted embezzlement had already died so their relatives were summoned, cf. Zakhīra, III, 36-7.
there would be heavy rains twice or thrice more so that
the kharif harvest (mazru'at-i 'kharifi') could ripe
and the rabi' crop (nasq-i fasl-i rabī') might also be
satisfactory.

Murshid Quli Khān who is an efficient servant and has
discharged his assigned duties honestly has made utmost
endeavours for the good administration and prosperity
of the territory of Bālāghāt. Had the former diwāns
exerted in a similar way the affairs of this territory
could not have deteriorated to this extent. Since his
income does not meet his expenses, and while from Impe-
rial generosity he used to hold 12-monthly jagīr in
Hindustan the hasil of his jagīrs in the Deccan is 6-
monthly, he is in considerable distress. He (Aurangzeb)
can neither assign the jagīr without His Majesty's
orders nor recommend enhancement in rank. If he is
favoured with an increase (in mansab) or if Imperial
orders are issued that Aurangzeb assign him 8-monthly
jagīrs in lieu of his former jagīr this would lead him
to still further exertions out of gratitude to His
Majesty. Murshid Quli Khān was competent enough to com-
bine other duties like faujdāri of Māhūr\(^1\) along with
his office of diwāni and discharge duties diligently, he
should, therefore, be favoured thus.

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1. Māhūr was the pargana and sarkār-headquarters, sūba
Serar, Atlas, 9A, 14A-15A.
Hao Karan is an Imperial official who mostly depends on the income from his \textit{watan-jāgīr}. Recently Sabal Singh Shahī, who has been granted the \textit{zamīndārī} of Jaisalmer, has raised a conflict over the boundary (\textit{hadd o-gīm}) which due to its proximity to Bikaner and Jaisalmer, has always been a bone of contention. As a result disturbances have arisen in Rao Karan's \textit{watan} (jāgīr). Solicits Imperial orders restraining the \textit{zamīndārīs} of Jaisalmer from pursuing the quarrel.

1.21 Appointment of Shamsuddin as Incharge of Artillery (July-August 1654, pp. 198):

Refers to the Imperial orders that in lieu of \textit{pargana} Śkil, sūba Bihār, Shamsuddin, in-charge of the Artillery of the Deccan, has been assigned another \textit{mahāl} in the Deccan not yielding less than 7-monthly income. Sub-

1. Rao Sabal Singh Jaisalmeri (Rajput) was initially granted the rank of (1000/700) in 1651-2, Waris, 147(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5619, which he retained till 1657-8, Waris, 264(b), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6867; Salih, III, 466.

2&3. Bikaner and Jaisalmer were the two principalities situated in \textit{sarkar} Bikaner in the middle of the 17th century. Cf. Atlas, 16.

4. \textit{Pargana} Śkil \textit{sarkar} and sūba Bihār, Atlas, 10A.

5. Shamsuddin s/o Mukhtār Khān (Irānī) (1000/400) was appointed the Dōrogha-i Topkhāna of the Deccan in 1654, Waris, 185(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 5994.
mits that he has been granted *pargana* Nalgunda, previously held by Uzbek Khan, which is yielding, after abatement, a 7-monthly income. As he is an efficient Khanazad, he is properly discharging his assigned duties. At the time of his appointment his *jāgīr* had been retained in the North. But now all his *jāgīrs* have been assigned in this *śūba*.

1.22 Recommendation for Promotion of Shafqatullah (1654, p. 151):

The peasantry of Trimbak has represented against the oppression and harsh conduct of Darwesh Beg Qaqshāl. Although he was admonished yet he did not improve. Accordingly it has been recommended that *faujdāri* and *qila’dāri* held by him be transferred to Shafqatullah son of Jazāwār Khan, an efficient Khanazād with the conditional increase of 100/100 raising thereby his rank to


3. Darwesh Beg Qaqshāl (Tūrāni) (1000/450) was dismissed from the *qilāḍāri* of Trimbak in 1654, Hyd. 4155, as cited in *Apparatus S.*, 6283.

4. Shafqatullah s/o Jazāwār Khan (Irāni) (700/400) was appointed *qilāḍār* of Trimbak in 1654, *Wāris*, 194(b), as cited in *Apparatus S.*, 6043.
700/400. If that is approved then he would be assigned that post, otherwise someone else could be appointed.

1.23 Income and Expenditure of the Deccan (1654, pp. 156-8):

The position of the income and expenditure of the sūbas of the Deccan is as follows: On the expenditure side about Rs. 6,30,000 are fixed for the expenses of the Artillery (ahshām-i topkhāna), the stipend holders and other necessary expenses of the four sūbas and Rs. 25,43,000 have been assigned (tankhwāh shud) to the writer, and for the daily allowance of his sons (Khānazādān) and others amounting to Rs. 31,76,000. As for income, this consists of the revenues of pargana Bīr and other khālisā sharīfā mahālās plus Rs. 8,00,000 being Qutbul Mulk's peshkash and Rs. 1,00,000, the peshkash of the zamīndār of Deogarh, does not exceed Rs. 11,40,000. In such circumstances there is a deficit of Rs. 20,36,000 per annum. This deficiency has so far been met for some times only by drawing upon Rs. 80,00,000 which had been accumulated in the Deccan treasury.

When the writer came to this sūba he did not represent the matter to the Court despite his awareness of the facts. Now that during the recent years, a large sum from the treasury has been expended on the above heads,
leaving only Rs. 20,50,000 besides the 20 lakhs deposited in Daulatabad and Asir treasuries. This amount of treasure is the minimum required for reserve in such a frontier province as this. Accordingly he has submitted the true facts to His Majesty. If the Imperial orders are issued he could resume of the mahāls of tuyūldārs (jāgīr-dārs) of an income (wusūlī) of Rs. 20,36,000 to the kha-lisa sharifa from the beginning of Kharīf crop of the current year so that in future the income would be equal to expenditure. However, the jama'dāni of these sūbas after deduction, comes to 1,44,90,00,000 dāms and its revenues (mahsūl) at one crore rupees, after the allowance of 12 lakh made for calamities by the Divāns, does not on average exceed three months. Of these 12 crore dāms are in jāgīra and 3 crore dāms are held in in'am by the writer and his sons. If jāgīra worth Rs. 20,36,000 are resumed in the khālisa then the majority of the officials posted in the Deccan would, surely, become jāgīr-less and they would necessarily have to be sent back to the Court. This would result in a reduction of nearly one-third in the size of the army, whose present situation is known to His Majesty, whereas what is required is a large army all the time in this sūba, owing to various factors, which set this sūba apart from provinces like Bengal and Guja-rat.

Submits that His Majesty has approved the above during his first Viceroyalty of the Deccan. Out of the entire jagîrs of the writer some parganas were assigned in other subas and cash salary (talab-i naqdi) assigned from Sūba Malwa and the Port of Sūrat and these high officers serving with jagîrs in other sūbas. Solicits favourable orders.

1.24 Position of Jagîrs in the Deccan (1654-5, pp. 165-8):

His Majesty has observed that although he (Aurangzeb) has not administered the affairs of the sūbas of the Deccan as well as he should have during the last three years and his entire jagîr would be assigned in that sūba so that he might strive for the improvement of cultivation there, yet since owing to the low income of the jagîrs in the Deccan, he suffers loss, he has been sanctioned 10 crore dāms at 10-monthly in cash (salary) for the next two years from the treasury of Sūba Malwa. For the balance of two crore dāms hitherto paid in cash, he may take (his jagîrs) in the sūbas of the Deccan from the mahâls of the jagîrdârs, as he chooses, together with pargana Nandurbâr from the second half of Qūl Iî. Submits that although the administration is in the charge of the diwâns who have not committed any negligence in the work of increasing the cultivation and prosperity,
yet the efforts and pain taken by Aurangzeb himself has not been reported to the Emperor because of Aurangzeb's disinclination for self-praise. Submits that if the desired prosperity of a country which has remained desolated and ruined since long in numerous ways was not achieved as much as one would have wished within two or three years, that was not due to any negligence and shortcoming on his part. This year in most of the mahāls of Bālāghāt and Fāyān Ghāt about 4th increase in the jama' has come about over the jama' of the regime ('amal) of Diyānāt Khān which would be known to the Emperor from the reports ('arā'īz) of the diwāns. Records his appreciation for the grant of 10 crore dāms as the cash salary from the Imperial treasury and Suba of Mālwa. Submits that Aurangzeb does not indulge in unnecessary expenses. Whatever was sanctioned by the Emperor was spent on the salaries ('ulūfa) of his army. During the period the writer was maintaining his army from his cash salary and in case there is reduction in it, there would be a corresponding disruption of his army. Aurangzeb has been assigned the charge of this major frontier province (ṣūba-i 'umda-i sarḥād) and its administration would be done according to His Majesty's will. If he takes away the selected ḥāqīras of jāgīrdārs and assign them to himself in lieu of the cash pay, the officers concerned would return to the
Court owing to losing *jāgīrs* in the Deccan. The presence of a large army in this *ṣūba* is essential for the welfare of the country. If, anyhow they are to be assigned *jāgīrs* elsewhere in lieu of their *jagirs*, there is not enough *pāibāqī* in this country (*wilāyat*) to meet their claims. They would have to be assigned low-revenue paying *mahāls* in exchange of high revenue yielding (*jāiyās*) *parganas* which would greatly demoralise the officers. Leaves the matter for His Majesty's decision.

In compliance with the Imperial orders Aurangzeb has selected some portions from the *mahāls* of *khālisa sharīfa* and the *jāgīrdārs* as per separate papers sent to the Court. Hopes that the Imperial officials taking into consideration the 10-monthly cash (*naqd*) assigned to him previously and the expenses and the calamities that one has to incur in *jāgīrdāri* would sanction two crore *dāms* from those *parganas* yielding an average of 6-monthly income, after the abatement in *jama‘* approved by His Majesty, from the beginning of the *Kharīf* harvest of *Qui ʿIl*. The revenues (*mahsūl*) of *pargana* Nandurbar that Aurangzeb has reported is the total one without any loss (*wuṣūl-i be ʿaf’at*), the Imperial *dīwāns* have made the calculations. The statement of the income (*hāsil*) of previous years of the said *pargana* together with the revenues of 1063 A.H., which is realised by share-cropping (*‘amal-i bāta‘ī*) is
being sent in separate sheets.

Since the pargana was previously assigned for 60 lakh dams to (Prince) Murād Bakhsh assignment to Aurangzeb with the same jama' in lieu of the naqdi would be a favour. In case this request is conceded, since the revenues of rabi' crop of the pargana, which crop in this country generates larger revenues and has now been fully harvested, Sazāwār Khān (the previous assignee) has realised it (mutasarrīf gashta) and the return of the share of half of the rabi' crop would be difficult for him, requests for its assignment (tankhwāh) from the beginning of kharif crop. After the matter of the tankhwāh of Nandurbar is settled (mushakkhhas) the Imperial orders would be followed regarding Sazāwār Khān. If jagīr in lieu of his cash salary is available here that would be better, otherwise he would be sent to the Imperial Court.

The new branding regulations (zābita-i dāgh) which have further improved control over the officers would be enforced from the date of the receipt of the farman.

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1. Prince Murād Bakhsh was transferred from the subedari of the Deccan in 1649 (Wāris, 87(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 4646). He was subedar of Gujarat in 1654, E.P., IX, 251.
1.25 Revenues of Mandawi Jahānābād (1654-5, pp. 147-8):

Refers to the Imperial orders that he (Aurangzeb) should send the amount of revenues of Mandawi Jahānābād Burhānpur in the sarkār (establishment) of Nawwab Begum to Shāista Khān (then Governor of Mālwa) by his servants. Submits that in compliance with the Imperial orders he can send Rs. 1,90,000 the current hasil of the Mandawi to (Shāista) Khān, which has accumulated. Submits that since the despatch would involve cost of transportation (wajh-i kirāya), this amount may be granted to Aurangzeb in lieu of two years cash salary (tankhwāh-i talab-i naqdi) which has been sanctioned to him from the Imperial treasury of Sūba Mālwa. He would then take the revenues of the Mandawi, while Umdatul Mulk (Shāista Khān) should collect Aurangzeb's entire cash salary from the Mālwa treasury and send it to Jahān Ārā. This would result in economy.

1.26 Revenue Resources of the Deccan (1654-5, pp. 163-4):

Refers to the Imperial censure. Aurangzeb had offered the excuse for the lack of improvement in the provinces of the Deccan that the responsibility of dealing with

1. Shahjahan's censure emanated from his observations that since the income from the Deccan was one crore rupees it was equal to the revenues of Tranbxiuna (hasil-i kul Māwarāun Nahr). M,F. No. 470 (Department of History Library, AMU, Aligarh) f.68(a).
matters of the pargana vests with the diwāns. Submits that the management and maintenance of this country has certainly been entrusted to him by the Emperor. However, since detailed work was the business of the diwāns, and he cannot do all of it by himself, he had represented accordingly. Submits that he has been making considerable effort for the extension of cultivation and prosperity of this territory (wilāyat). Whether cash salary (talab-i naqdi) is sanctioned as heretofore or jagār is assigned in lieu of the same, he would not be backward in fulfilling his duty. Whatever he had thought proper, he had submitted to the Emperor; whatever the Emperor thinks of it would be in conformity with wisdom. Sazāwār Khān would also be sent to the Imperial Court.

The details of the arrears of tribute (peshkash) of previous years outstanding against the zamīndār of Deogarh and mode of its realization would be submitted to His Majesty separately. The zamīndār is loyal. He has to remit Rs. 1,00,000 per annum on account of his peshkash; however due to decline in income (wuqū'-i' āsīl) of his zamīndāri he has failed to clear arrears. The Emperor had remitted the entire peshkash of the zamīndār of Chanda. Solicits similar remission of the arrears of the zamīndār of Deogarh so that with this relief he may regularly deposit the stipulated peshkash per annum in the royal treasury.
1.27 Condition of Aurangzeb's Jagirs (1654-5, pp. 190-92):

Thanks His Majesty for the assignment of pargana Sultanpur as in'am to Prince Muhammad Sultan. An imperial order has been issued granting pargana Nandurbar to him (Aurangzeb) from the second half of Rabī' Qūd, in lieu of cash (naqdi) and requiring that Aurangzeb should depute one of his trusted officials there and despatch Sazāwar Khān to the Imperial Court.

Submits that parganas of Nandurbar and Sultanpur had been assigned to the writer (dākhil-i daul-i tankhwāh-i jāgīr) when he had been appointed to the Deccan. When the Emperor learnt of their ruined conditions these were excluded from the daul-i jāgīr of the writer. Imperial orders were issued to Multafat Khān that since these parganas have ruined to such an extent due to the carelessness ('adam pardākht) of the tuyuldārs (jāgirdārs), he should submit the details of the desolation of the affairs of that mahāl, transfer the parganas to the khālisa and make endeavours for their improvement. Multafat Khān had sent the papers of ten years' income (afrād-i hasil-i deh sāla) of those two mahāls, both under khālisa and jāgirdārs, to the Imperial Court. Probably the diwāns have ignored these sheets.

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1. Prince Muhammad Sultan was granted the rank of 7000/2000 in 1655, Wāris 235(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6429.
(aurāq) and not represented the factual position to His Majesty, otherwise the Imperial orders would not have described Nandurbar as excellent and prosperous (jāiyid-o ābād) when its income does not exceed ₹92,000. Remarks that if His Majesty wants to assign a 5-monthly jāgīr in lieu of the writer's 10-monthly cash (naqā) than one would have no option but obey. If permitted, Aurangzeb would assign pargana Nandurbar to Sazāwār Khān an old efficient Imperial official and in lieu of Sultānpur assigned to writer's son as inām he would assign salary (tankhwāh) to him elsewhere equivalent to its hāsil. However, if he (Sazāwār Khān) was sent to the Imperial Court then pargana Nandurbar would be handed over to Multafat Khān in compliance with the previous royal orders so that he might administer it.

Records increase of 500 du aspā sīh aspā to Ilhāmullah, son of Rashīd Khān.

28 Čehkash of the Zamīndār of Deogarh (1655, pp. 211-3):

His Majesty has observed that there is no force in the proposed remission of the arrears of the zamīndār of Deogarh on account of his poverty. He was the very zamīndār against whom the late Khān-i Daurān had led an expedition, and from whom he had collected 170 elephants as well as a large amount in cash. It has been reported that he possess-
es over 200 elephants including Jayā Shankar. He does not have troops like those posted in the Deccan. After the rainy season, Aurangzeb should depute Prince Muḥammad Sultān or any other competent official with a strong army comprising Imperial troops as well as his own men to bring Jaya Shankar and other elephants and recover arrears of peshkash outstanding against him. Submits that having obtained latest information about the conditions of the adjoining principalities of the Deccan he will, if such expedition is decided upon, not let his troops idle but post them to the expedition. How was it possible that a zamīndār, despite his capacity and resources to pay the peshkash, should act in defiance and rebellion. Since the zamīndār visited Burhānpur without army being despatched against him, met Aurangzeb and promised to pay the fixed peshkash. Subsequently Aurangzeb deputed one of his officials to make enquiries about his elephants. After spending three or four months in that territory and getting information, he has reported that the zamīndār did not possess more than 14 elephants. When the late Khan-i Daurān had marched against his father, there had been no decline in the revenues and his father had collected the elephants over a long period of years. The present zamīndār has ruined himself due to his extravagances as well as failed to administer that territory properly due to incom-
petence. Under such circumstances if the arrears of pesh-kash are demanded through a military expedition, the result would be nothing besides tumult in his territory. In view of this Aurangzeb had recommended concessions so as to obtain (at least) the fixed annual peshkash. However, now that His Majesty wants to take military action against him Aurangzeb would act accordingly.

If His Majesty would prefer the annexation of his principality, orders to this effect may be issued so that Aurangzeb may assign his son (Muḥammad Sulṭān), who has reached his youth, to the task so that he may liberate the mahāls of his zamindāri and expel the chief in a shortwhile. If, however, what is wanted is recovery of the arrears of tribute and collection of elephants than any of the Imperial officials posted in the Deccan could be deputed to his territory so that he may seize all the elephants he has and make him pay the peshkash. Although Aurangzeb had tried to collect information through his men sent there it appears there is no elephant of the name Jayā Shankar. They say this is the name of a fort on top of a hill. Nor is it probable he possesses so many elephants. If he had possessed them then Shāhnawāz Khān1 who in compliance with

1. Shāh Nawāz Khān Şafavi (Irānī) (5000/5000 (3000x2-3h) was appointed sūbedar of Mālwa and the Deccan in 1647, Wāris 17(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 4312.
the Imperial orders had marched against him with the entire army of this sūba would have definitely collected the elephants in lieu of the peshkash, and a part of the annual stipulated (peshkash) would not have been remitted by His Majesty owing to the chief's lack of resources, nor would he have remained in Burhānpur for the sake of realising the peshkash.

1.29 Recalcitrance of the Zamindār of Jawār (September—October 1655, pp. 161-2):

Solicits flag and kettle drum to Hadi Dād Khān (2500/2500), sūbadār of Telingana, who maintains an excellent contingent. As of now the Zamindār (Chief) of Jawār¹ is defiant and guilty of unbecoming acts. Since the Imperial peshkash has not been imposed upon him he displays carelessness and negligence in discharging the Imperial obligations. Rao Karan promises that if the principality of Jawār was assigned to him as inlām or added to his salary (tankhwāh) by the Court, he would deposit Rs.50,000 as peshkash in the Imperial treasury and by administering his territory with his own contingent he would bring the territory within Imperial dominions. His Majesty's orders are solicited.

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1.30 Grant of Jawār to Rao Karan (1655, pp. 199-200):

Thanks His Majesty for increase of 500 sawārs of Rao Karan and the orders for assignment of the territory of Jawār for 40 lakh dāms on account of additional salary. Promises that the writer would assign the principality (of Jawār) to him and deposit the stipulated peshkash in the Imperial treasury after collecting it from him. Recommends issue of manshūr (Imperial order) granting the principality of Jawār as his watan. Solicits restoration of reduction of 500 zāt previously made in Rao Karan's rank and assignment of its salary from the territory of Jawār. Appreciates the conferment of standard and kettle-drum on Hadi Dād Khān. ¹

1.31 Conquest of Deogarh etc. (1655, pp. 214-15):

Imperial orders were issued that Aurangzeb could conquer the principality of Deogarh then he should depute Prince Muhammad Sulṭān for the task or Hadi Dād Khān should be sent there with a strong army. Submits that although the conquest of that principality was easy, but to keep it and administer it was difficult, since besides the revenues thereof a large amount would have to be spent annually on

¹. Hādi Dād Khān s/o Rashīd Khān Ansārī (Afghan) (1000/300) was the Nāẓīm of Ḫūba Teelingana in 1655, Wāris 222(b) as cited in Appāratus 3., 6373.
the administration of that territory. This is why till now Imperial officers have not attempted to conquer and annex it. The writer also in view of the same did not propose this and had accordingly petitioned His Majesty. If orders are issued to this effect then he will assign his son to the task. As of now, he will despatch Imperial armies against him for realising the peshkash both arrears and the current amount, and collecting the elephants owned by him as pointed out by Zamindār of Chanda, including the elephant Jayā Shankar.

Submits that although Hādi Dād Khān is an efficient official having strong contingent yet he has not in recent times undertaken such a task, and that is perhaps why some of the Imperial officials do not at heart wish to cooperate with him and it is possible that the disagreements and his inability to lead the others may disrupt arrangements. Despite this, since it has been determined that Imperial troops enter that territory, Aurangzeb has decided that half of the army should be sent under the command of Hādi Dād Khān whereas the remaining half be under the charge of Mirza Khān owing to whose status as a high noble no one would be disinclined to accompany him. Aurangzeb's own contingents (tābinān) under command of Muḥammad Tāhir or any other trusted officials, would be sent with Mirzā Khān.
1.32 Peshkash from Deogarh and Golconda (1655, pp. 218-9):

In connection with the collection of the whole arrears of peshkash and seizure of all elephants including Jayā Shankar from the Zamīndār of Deogarh, submits that instructions have already been issued to Mirzā Khān and Ḍādi Dād Khan regarding the realization of the entire peshkash from the Zamīndār of Deogarh. Hopes for the successful completion of the task and seizure of all the elephants from him.

In regard to the elephant which he (Aurangzeb) had obtained from Qutbul Mulk and then presented as peshkash to the Emperor, the Imperial orders have come that it would not be counted as peshkash from Aurangzeb, and its price would be allowed to Qutbul Mulk, since what Aurangzeb has done is not in conformity with proper management. Submits that if he knew that Qutbul Mulk would show hesitation, he would have made an allowance for the price of the elephants (in his peshkash, as may be seen from Qutbul Mulk's communication to his āẖīb which would be shortly presented to His Majesty through Aurangzeb's wākil. It was only on that basis that Aurangzeb accepted that elephant, and looking to the financial benefit of the Government, made a peshkash of it to His Majesty.¹

¹ Since Shahjahan had remained suspicious throughout the period of the second Viceroyalty of Aurangzeb he always took issue with the Prince on ē non-issues as we come across numerous instances in Ādāb in addition to the calendared documents which have, however, been excluded as these are mere repetitions, viz, 147, 405-6, 502, 509, 544-5, 633-5, 808-9 & passim.

...59
1.33 Peshkash from the Zamīndār of Jātba (1655, pp. 225-6):

The Imperial orders have been issued that Aurangzeb should despatch an army against the Zamīndār of Jātba. Since Aurangzeb had deployed the Imperial armies from two directions against the principality of Jātba, the zamīndār sensing the danger has submitted and promised to hand over all the elephants possessed by him, remit the arrears of peshkash due to the Court and present himself before Aurangzeb in company with Mirzā Khān.

1.34 Peshkash of the Zamīndār of Jatba (1655, pp. 234-6):

Submits that the Zamīndār of Jātba came with Mirzā Khān to see Aurangzeb. He has brought 20 elephants, male and female, which he possessed and insists that he had no other elephants except these. The Zamīndār of Chānda and Annaik, his wakil who had gone to the Imperial Court said that they had no information about Jayā Shankar and other elephants of Jātba and they had been misrepresented at the Court. The true facts of the realization of the arrears and current amount of peshkash from the Zamīndār of Jātba is this that the zamīndār would deposit five lakh rupees in cash and kind in the royal treasury. He also promises that he would remit the arrears of the period ('amal) of the former sūbadārs along with the annual stipulated peshkash in future. Afterwards he would remit the amount of peshkash year to year...
without fail. He has detached some *parganas* in his territories and handed them over to Kārtalab Khān, \(^1\) thānedār of Kherla, \(^2\) so that if the collection of revenues in lieu of the amount of tribute is not made, he (Kārtalab Khān) should be answerable for it. The *Zamīndār* who commands a strong contingent wants to accompany Aurangzeb in this expedition (against Golconda). Submits that Aurangzeb would take him along with his contingent and give reasonable concession to him in matter of five lakh rupees which he has to pay this year.

Rāo Karan who had led an expedition to Jawār, displayed much activity and exertion. The *Zamīndār* (of Jawār) has seen him and he (Rāo Karan) wants to join Aurangzeb within a few days after settling that territory (*wilāyat*).

1.35 Impact of Branding Regulations on Schedules of Pay (1655, pp. 178-9):

Imperial orders have been received in response to the writer's petition regarding the branding regulations to this effect that since the *hāsil* of the *jāgīrs* of the majority of

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1. Kārtalab Khān Deccani (Indian M.) (300/2000 (1000x2-3h)) was the thānedār of Kherla in 1656, Wāris 260(b) as cited in *Apparatus 3.*, 6721.

the officials posted in the Deccan is 4-monthly or, mostly, less than that. Therefore, whereas previously for 3-monthly (jāgīra) the rate of Rs. 17½ per month was fixed per horse, for 2-monthly Rs. 15/-, now, with effect from 1st Mihr, the beginning of Kharīf Yūnt 1, the rate of Rs 20/- has been fixed in these two cases (3-monthly and 2-monthly) as well, at par with 4-monthly. Gratified at this concession, since a horseman (sawār) whose salary ('ulūfa) is less than Rs. 20/- would not be of any use. Since due to this regulation, some may benefit while others may suffer loss, and there is need for recovery of Imperial claims from mansabdārs, the Emperor has also ordered that has he any other measure in mind, let him submit it for consideration, so that if this conforms to financial constraints and is approved, it may be put into effect. Therefore, whatever has come to the writer's mind in this regard has been submitted through a separate statement; should it prove to be feasible, it may graciously be approved.

Recommends award of title for Muḥammad Shāh, qiladar of Qandahār who is an old official.

1.36 Problems of Enforcement of Branding Regulations (1655, pp. 148-50):

The difficulties in the execution of the fresh branding regulations (zabita-i dāgh), the detailed schedules (dastūr-
ul'amal) whereof had been sent to the Deccan by Sa'adullah Khan, had been recorded in the Waqai' and must have been brought to the notice of His Majesty. But no orders have been received from the Court regarding the matter. Notwithstanding the writer's injunctions for the implementation of the new regulations (zabita-i jadid), except the officials who have put into effect the papers from Kharif (crop) of Ilan-Il, none has actually implemented it (in practice). This would create further disturbance among troops and excessive increase of unrealizable claims on the mansabdars.

The real situation of the army stationed in these provinces and the numerical strength of the armies of the Deccan rulers is known to His Majesty.

Under the new regulations the number of the army is put at a higher figure, but in reality what is required will not be there. For according to these Regulations the salary ('ulufa) of the horsemen (tabinan) has been fixed from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 17/- and 15/-, and the number of horsemen (sawars) required raised by 9000 whereas the jagira of the majority of mansabdars are less than three monthly, and it is clear that with this low income, what kind of horses they would maintain and what work would be done by them. This despite the fact that when earlier, the zat salary was at three-monthly excluding one-tenth allowed for expense of administration (kharch-i parganat) and the sawars received...
In salary most of them have failed to bring their troops and the default of each recorded (tashiha) in the offices. If they now receive only two-monthly or one-monthly for the zat what income would they have to keep? especially these days, when under (the newly introduced) crop-sharing the expenses have doubled on account of the needs of guarding the grain (muhāfizat-i ghalla).

Imperial orders have been issued regarding the realization of state demands "one-fourth should be resumed from the income (hāsil) of some jāgīrs and one-fifth to one-sixth from the rest of the jāgīrs." What would be left after deduction of mutāliba on this scale and how anyone would be able to maintain the contingents. Though the army (jāmi'at) is not always needed, yet, it may be required. Submits that His Majesty may graciously himself consider the matter, whatever decision he takes would be correct one.

1.37 Branding Regulations (Zābita-i Dāgh) (1655, p. 194):
Submits that he has already represented in detail on the matter of the branding regulations along with detailed sheets of information attached thereto. But this has not been referred to in the Imperial farman. Probably the dignitaries of the Empire have not conveyed his objections to the Emperor, otherwise the Emperor's reply would surely have come and have calmed the anxieties of the officials posted in this suba.
1.38 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1655, pp. 158-9):

Submits that in accordance with the Imperial orders out of the elephants sent by Qutbul Mulk seven elephants with defects were returned to his wakīl while 22 elephants were retained. A mansābdār was appointed as dārogha of the elephants. Murshid Quli Khān was also directed to keep the elephants in good health to be despatched to the Imperial Court.

1.39 Imperial Sanction for attack on Golconda (1656, p. 248):

In case owing to the great ingratitude and gross lapses of Qutbul Mulk, in order to prevent his example being followed by others, the Emperor orders an invasion of his country, promises that the diamonds, elephants, the treasure and goods that he has seized following the imprisonment of the son of Mīr Jumla,¹ which all belong to His Majesty and 22 lakh rupees being the arrears of the fixed annual tribute along with additional adequate peshkash, would be duly taken from him.

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¹ Mīr Muhammad Sa'id Muazzam Khan Mīr Jumla (Irāni) (6000/6000) was appointed the Diwān-i Kul in 1656, (Tīs 216(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6329, M.U. TII, 53.). He was promoted to 6000/6000, Wāris 240 (b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6449.
1.40 Measures for Realising Tribute from Qutbul Mulk (1656, pp. 230-32):

Submits that Aurangzeb has postponed his march to Hyderabad as the Zamindar of Jatba has not arrived owing to delay occasioned by his having to bring the elephants as peshkash. Aurangzeb has deputed his son (Sultan Muhammad) to the frontiers so that if Qutbul Mulk does not release the son and relatives of Mir Jumla, he might get them released by speedily marching to Hyderabad. He (Aurangzeb) himself would march closely behind him. Now that the Zamindar is expected to see the writer on 23rd of the month with Mirza Khan, and the Imperial farman for which Aurangzeb had been yearning has arrived; he is satisfied that the rulers of the Deccan cannot frustrate his efforts to realise the enormous peshkash.

The Emperor doubtless knows of the large area and the prosperity of the Kingdom of Qutbul Mulk containing mines of diamonds, crystal etc. Since he has not shown loyalty and disregarding past Imperial favours has adopted a refractory attitude, while Mir Jumla was coming up against him with a large army, suitable artillery and many elephants such a golden opportunity should not be missed.

Submits that if the efforts of the Rulers of the Deccan who are making representations and offering large peshkash were foiled, and no one else from any quarter interferes, then Aurangzeb would annex that kingdom with the principa-
lity of Karnataka, in Mir Jumla's hands, which is not inferior to Golconda, containing as it does many (sources of) rarities such as gems, uncountable treasures and numerous ports. On hearing from the communication of the hāţīh at Bijapur that notwithstanding the Imperial orders 'Ādil Khān was contemplating to help Qutbul Mulk with his army, he has also sent a nishān to him warning him of the evil consequences of infidelity. If he did not follow this counsel, then if His Majesty's favours continue, he would be awarded suitable punishment with the cooperation of the illustrious Khān (Mir Jumla).

1.41 Recommendations for the Jāgīr of Multafat Khān (1656, p. 229):

Submit that he (Aurangzeb) in compliance with the Imperial orders has assigned 23 lakh dāms as pay against 500 zāt of Multafat Khān according to 8-monthly. But since 94-lakh dāms of his previous jāgīr in this sūba are low revenue paying he was depending on his income from his jāgīrs in Hindustān throughout this period. Now the income from his entire jāgīr does not exceed 6-monthly, yet according to the rule (zābita) of this province he has to get branded 90

1. Karnataka or Karnatak of Hyderabad was conquered by Mīr Jumla which was annexed to the Mughal empire when the latter joined the Mughals in 1655.
Earlier some of the officials who have been assigned (jāgīr) in this sūba in lieu of their high revenue paying jāgīrs in the North have received 7-monthly jāgīrs. They solicit favourable orders for the grant of such assignments to him as to make his entire jāgīrs in this sūba 7-monthly. Since pargana Pātode was assigned to him with effect from kharīf crop the revenue of which is quite low as compared to the rabi' crop, which has now been transferred with effect from beginning of rabi', he has to incur much loss. He (Multafat Khān) is hopeful that the said pargana be transferred to Khālisa from the beginning of kharīf crop so that he may be assigned in lieu of the kharīf harvest equivalent assignments in this sūba.

1.42 Branding Regulations and Realization of Mutāliba from Rāo Karan (1656, p. 219):

In compliance with the Imperial orders Aurangzeb would submit his proposals regarding the new branding regulations; and the realization of the arrears (mutālibāt) would be made according to His Majesty's orders. Therefore, the entire revenues of pargana Posad assigned in jāgīr (māhāl-i tāyūl) of Rāo Karan would be included in Khālisa Sharifa from the beginning of Kharīf Yūnt Īl to effect the realization of mutāliba outstanding against him.

1. Pargana Pātode sarkār, Sangamner sūba Aurangabad, Atlas 14A.
With regard to realization of arrears of peshkash from Qutbul Mulk on account of the difference in the rate of im, Imperial orders have been sent to Murshid Quli Khan. Aurangzeb has also sent a nishān to him. Now his reply to the nishān has been received, and is being sent to the Court for the Emperor's orders thereon.

1.43 Recommendations for Shah Beg Khan and Murshid Quli Khan, 1656, pp. 236-8):

Submits that Shah Beg Khan is the holder of a high mansab with a large contingent, but was left idle in the fort of Ahmadnagar. Since now-a-days troops are needed, Aurangzeb has summoned him. He is counted among the trusted Imperial officials who could be entrusted important charges. Aurangzeb has no other high official except for Multafat Khan and so wanted to retain him (Shah Beg Khan) with him. He has persuaded him to agree to join Aurangzeb in the expedition and has assigned him the charge of Ahmadnagar. An increase of 500 (200 x 2-3 h) has been recommended so that he would hold the rank of 1500/500 (200 x 2-3 h) and discharge his assigned duties.

Since Murshid Quli Khan has diligently performed the duties of the Diwān of Bālāghāt and he can in addition discharge

1. Murshid Quli Khan was appointed Diwān of Fāṅghāt in addition to Bālāghāt in 1656, Wāris 224(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6379.
the duties of the Dīwān of Pāyān Ghāṭ, he has been assigned the latter duties as well upon transfer of Multafat Khān. Recommends an increase of 500/200 enhancing his rank to 2000/1000 so that he may perform his duties properly. Solicits approval of his recommendations.

1.4: Aurangzeb's jagirs and recommendation for the release of Inderman Zamīndār (1656, pp. 186-7):

Thanks His Majesty for abatement of 12 lakh dams in the parçenas of sarkār Hījāgarh, the prince's own assignments. Inderman, Zamīndār of Dhandhera, who has been interned in the Asir fort since long in accordance with the Imperial orders has sent a representative to the writer. If he was released he would deposit Rs. 50,000 as peshkash in the Imperial treasury and also serve for one year, without mansab and jagir, with 50 sawāras and 100 piyādas in the suba of the Deccan. Subsequently, he would maintain his contingent according to the mansab granted to him by His Majesty.

1. Inderman was the Zamīndār of Dhandhera who had remained interned for 20 years under Shāhjahān. He was imprisoned in 1637 and released by Aurangzeb, M.U., II, pp. 265-6, JOSR, 48.

2. Dhandhera (probably Dhindori) is in sarkār Sangamner, suba Aurangābād: Atlas, 55.
He would always remain there without having any designs of returning to his native place (watan-i khaish). Narsingh Dās, 1 qilddār of āsīr (fort) 2 has tendered surety for payment of the amount of peshkash. Recommends acceptance of offer.

Submits that Muḥammad 'Ināyat Khan 3 son of Islām Khān, 4 had 5-monthly jāgīr in Hindustān whereas the hāsil of his jāgīr in the Deccan does not exceed 5-monthly. He is a deserving hereditary servant and it has been known from the waqāil of sarkār Mehkar 5 that a faujdar is needed there, he has been appointed the faujdar of the sarkār and a conditional enhancement of 100/100 recommended, making his rank 600/200. He was also assigned the pay for the additional rank (talab-i izāfa), on a 3-monthly basis in pargana Mehkar. Solicits favourable orders.

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1. Narsingh Dās s/o Rāja Dwārka Dās (Rājput) was the Qilddār of Junnar in 1652. Wāris, 168(a) as cited in Apparatus 3, 5745.
2. Āsīr (Asīrgarh), the celebrated fortress was in sarkār Asīr, sūba Khāndesh, Atlas 9A, 14A.
3. Muḥammad 'Ināyat Khān s/o Islām Khān was Bakhshī and jāgīr Nawī of Burhānpur in 1654, Wāris 212(a) as cited in Apparatus 3, 6202.
4. Abdus Jalām Nashhadi, Ikhtisās Khan, Islām Khān (6000/6000 (5000X2=3h) was appointed Subedar of the Deccan in 1645 which he enjoyed till 1647 with the rank of (7000/7000 (5000X2=3h)), Lāhori II, 430, 679-80.
1.45 Recommendations for the Appointment of Officials (1657, p. 136):

Refers to the assignment of the charge as well as recommendations for enhancement of the sons of Mir Musa Khan who are competent Imperial officials. Since a faujdar was required in sarkar Kalam the writer has recommended 200/100 in addition to the original mansab of Hoshdar Khan son of Multafat Khan who is a competent khanazad conditional on the faujdari thereof his rank now to be 900/400.

2. Letters to Princess Jahan Ara.

2.1 Aurangzeb's Jâçîrs (1652, pp. 807-8):

Refers to the hasbul hukm that Aurangzeb will be deputed to the Deccan after waiting upon His Majesty .... However, when, in accordance with the hasbul hukm, the daul-i jâçîr of the Deccan which was sent by the Court to the Dastûrul Azarâ (Sa'dullah Khan), was scrutinised, it was found with much surprise that there was a great difference between the realization and the assessment (?), and it was not apparent what the reason for all this shortfall

1. Mir Musa Khan not identified.
3. Aurangzeb has used Sahibatuz Zamani, Sahib-i Man, throughout his correspondence with Princess Jahan Ara Begum. For biographical details, see G. Yazdani, Jahanara, Hyderabad, 1937.
is. If His Majesty wants that Aurangzeb should remain in a corner then Baglāna alone which was previously assigned as altamghā is sufficient. If, however, His Majesty appoints him to such an important āqība then he should be treated in such a manner that he does not feel himself humiliated before the age and the rulers of the Deccan and that he should also not be held to censure by His Majesty (for failing in fulfilling his duties owing to limited resources).

2.2 Grant of Baglāna to Aurangzeb (1652, p. 809):

Acknowledges the receipt of her letter (in response to the 'arzdāsht), which was received on Wednesday, 2nd of Ramāzan, informing Aurangzeb that Baglāna had been assigned to him as in'am in addition to this daul. It was communicated that 2/3rd of the pay granted as jāgīr and 1/3rd as naqd (cash) and that some of the jāgīrs assigned are being changed. Hopes that this matter will be represented to His Majesty after Aurangzeb arrives at the Court.

2.3 Recommendations for Shāhnawāz Khān to Jahan Ara Begum (1652, p. 811)

Although Shāhnawāz Khān is sincerely loyal to Her Highness (Jahān Ārā), yet because of bhāi (brother) Murād Bakhsh's ill-treatment, he is not willing to go to the Deccan. Since the presence of such an official is necessary in that...
border region, and since it is not possible without Her Highness' intervention, and he has incurred great expenses in the Jandahār expedition, Aurangzeb hopes that his affairs be set right by Her Highness' attention better than they were before.

2.4 Difficulties of Aurangzeb in Administering Deccan (1657, pp. 828-31):

Refers to his appointment to different posts and proper discharge of various assignments without any dereliction of duty. Expresses his anxiety over His Majesty's present lack of confidence in Aurangzeb. The Asirgarh fort was previously held by him, then assigned to Murād Bakhsh and subsequently to Aurangzeb. But now in supersession of the previous orders Aurangzeb's qila'dār has been forbidden from going there. The reason is not known. If this is because of his entering into a marriage engagement (nisbat) (for his son) what can one say since when that matter was brought up at the Court His Majesty had said Aurangzeb was free to do as he liked.1 Is astonished that despite Aurangzeb's twenty years of service he does not enjoy Impe-

1. Aurangzeb and Shujā' had arranged two matrimonial alliances of their children. Mūhammad Sultān was to be married to Shujā's daughter, while his son Sultān Zainuddin was engaged to a daughter of Aurangzeb which was not to Shāhjehān's liking who asked Aurangzeb to marry Mūhammad Sultān elsewhere. Aurangzeb, however, told Shāhjehān that he would willingly carry out the Imperial orders in regard to the engagement of his other sons, Najib Ashraf, Muqaddama-i Muqā't-i 'Alamgir, 218-21.
rial confidence like his brother's son (probably Sulaiman Shikoh)\textsuperscript{1} and if there is any other cause then Aurangzeb should be informed accordingly to avoid it in future.

Similarly despatch of Mulla Shauqi, an official of Bhāijī (prince Dāra Shikoh) by him to the ruler of Bijāpur for communicating some good news and acceptance of his representations has further increased his spirit of defiance.

Although Aurangzeb does not count himself among the close disciples (of the Emperor) yet he has enjoyed a respectable career due to His Majesty and has spent a considerable period in the Deccan (during his first Viceroyalty) and is still its Viceroy for the second time by His Majesty's graciousness. Observes that such incidents cause him humiliation, for which he fails to comprehend the real reason. If the Emperor wants that he should, unlike other servants, spend his life in disgrace, there is no escape there. Better that His Majesty relieves him of such a position. He (Aurangzeb) had realized this fact a decade earlier and tendered his resignation, but then submitted to continue just to please His Majesty. His solicitation should better have been accepted at that time. Let her (Jahān Ara) inform His Majesty and whatever His Majesty decides for him he will follow.

\textsuperscript{1} Sulaimān Shikoh (20,000/15,000/5000x2-3h) was the elder son of Dāra Shikoh, Salih, III, 279.
Protests at the summoning of Malik Husain to the royal Court after being granted a mansab along with another set of officials despite his having been a servant of Aurangzeb, though a Khanazād of His Majesty and trained by Aurangzeb for His Majesty's service. If the tābīnān of Aurangzeb are offered Imperial services with higher ranks then none (retainers) would remain with him, and the contingent which Aurangzeb has gathered in twenty years would be scattered. How could he then discharge his obligations. After further protestations of his loyalty and unjustness of these actions Aurangzeb requests Jahān Ārā to report his protest privately to Shāhjahān, and inform of his response so that he may then seek forgiveness of his faults.

3. Letter to Wutbul Mulk's Sister.

3.1 Seeks her Help for Remittance of Peshkash (1657, pp. 257-8):

'Āli 'Ādil Khān had promised that of the entire Imperial peshkash he would despatch one crore rupees in cash, diamonds and elephants and send the remaining 50 lakh rupees within two years. The Imperial orders were issued for the appointment of Qāzi Nizāma, a trusted Imperial official.

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1. Malik Husain b/o Muzaffar Husain (Turani) (900/400), Malik, III, 470.

2. Qāzi Nizāma Karhardoi (Indian Muslim) was the Bakhshi and Waqīa' Nawis of the Deccan and Amin-i Dāgh in 1656, Wāris, 249(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6631.

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holding the rank of Bakhshī and Wāqīa' Nawīs of the subas of the Deccan, who has the confidence of that dignitary for collecting the amount in question both in cash and kind. Advises her to make utmost endeavours in delivering the amount in the form of cash, excellent and precious diamonds and high-bred elephants worthy of His Majesty. Since the elephants have not been sent from Bijapur to the Imperial Court these should be sent through him (Qāzī Nizāmā) who should also be permitted to leave for the Court immediately.

4. Letters to Qutbul Mulk

4.1 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk, etc. (1653, pp. 263-4):
The Emperor has entrusted the affairs of the Deccan to the writer (Aurangzeb) who has reached Burhanpur. Acknowledges the receipt of his 'arzdāsh regarding the payment of peshkash through Mulla Ruhullah.\(^1\) Informs him of the appointment of Mir 'Abdul Latif as hājib (at Golconda) and the despatch of some costly clothes to the addressee.

4.2 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1653, pp. 267-69):
Informs him that Mir 'Abdul Latif has reported that so far Qutbul Mulk has not paid the arrears of the tribute due to

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1. Mulla Ruhūllah not identified.
the Khālīsā Jharīfā for which strict Imperial injunctions had been issued to the Mīr; he has delayed payment. It is strange that despite his expressions of loyalty Qutbūl Mulk should have allowed matters to take such a course. Qutbūl Mulk is advised, now that Aurangzeb himself is in the Deccan to make especial effort that the arrears of peshkash should reach the Imperial Court through Muhammad Ibrāhīm.¹ Aurangzeb's official who has been deputed there for the realization of the amount and the annual peshkash should also be paid without any delay. Now Imperial orders have come that henceforward of 8 lakh rupees which Qutbul Mulk pays per annum should be in male and female elephants to the value of one-half.² If the cash payment was not possible in one transaction, he should remit it in regular instalments within each year; and if he finds even this difficult he should separate some parganas, yielding the amount, from his territory adjacent to the frontiers of the Imperial dominions, attach it to the Khālīsā Jharīfā so that the Imperial 'āmila could realise it year to year. No further delay in the matter is to be permitted.

1. Muhammad Ibrāhīm Asad Khān s/o Asālat Khān (Irāni) (1000/600) was the darogha-i-Peshkash in 1653, Wāris 180(b) as cited in Apparatus S., 5966.
2. This order of Shahjahan had far reaching financial implications because Aurangzeb was deprived from a considerable source of income required for administering Deccan.
4.3 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk and Supply of Chhaint (1653, p. 275):

Informs him that now-a-days Muhammad Nasir, an important official of Aurangzeb and one of the Imperial officers has been despatched to remain at the Port of Machhlipattan for purchasing elephants and procuring pieces of painted chintz. Of the entire Imperial peshkash one lakh rupees have been assigned to him for acquiring the items requisitioned by His Majesty. Orders him to release the amount immediately to him after his arrival at Hyderabad as it would be debited according to the receipt of the said official. Directs him to instruct the mutasaddis of the said Port to help him in the best possible manner and treat him courteously. The possessors of the elephants and the manufacturers of chintz, who could supply the items wanted, should contact him and not show any negligence in the matter. In accordance with Aurangzeb's direction, Qutbul Mulk should let him leave (Hyderabad) so that he could proceed to his destination (Masulipatam) in order to fulfil the assigned duties. In return Qutbul Mulk could win Aurangzeb's favour.

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1. Port Machhlipatan or Machhli Bandar, (mod. Masulipatam) in sarkar Machhlipatan suba Hyderabad, Atlas, 15A,B.

2. Muhammad Nasir s/o Baqir Khan (Irani) held the rank of 500/100 in 1656, Waris, 271(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 7150.
4.4 Difference in the Exchange Rate of hun of Qutbul Mulk's peshkash (1654, pp. 276-8):

It was reported to His Majesty that previously the rate of hun in Golconda was Rs 4½ while it is Rs 5/- now-a-days. Imperial orders were issued to Murshid Quli Khan directing him that in place of two lakh hunas of the annual stipulated peshkash from Qutbul Mulk he should realise nine lakh rupees for the year during which the rate of Rs 4½ and ten lakh rupees be collected now as the current rate is Rs 5/- and the realization be made accordingly.

Accordingly, Aurangzeb also issues orders that when the hunas were fixed upon Qutbul Mulk, His Majesty had remitted two lakh hunas out of four lakh hunas which Qutbul Mulk used to remit the Niẓāmshāhis (be-Niẓām) every year and the balance was imposed upon him. Directs him that out of sincere loyalty he should remit the arrears of amount of rupees according to the rate of hun, to the Imperial treasury so that his sincerity could be established beyond doubt. Warns him that he has been indifferent, and yet His Majesty has ignored this lapse. But he should instruct his mutasaddis that the difference of previous years as would be known to him from the communication of Murshid Quli Khan, be deposited in rupees in the Imperial treasury. If, however, cash payment proves difficult, he should remit the difference in the form of elephants according to changing prices; from the current year the hunas of peshkash be re-
mitted according to the hun rate current in Golconda. In accordance with the settlement previously made he should remit half of it in rupees and in lieu of the remaining half he was to send the elephants.

Informs him that Mir 'Askari, 1 a trusted Imperial official is being sent to the Prince (Shujā') 2 in Bengal. He has been asked to take this nishān. Qutbul Mulk should immediately allow him to proceed and instruct his faujdar and the qumāshtāw on the way to make him happy with their considerate behaviour and give him all help.

4.5 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1655, pp. 305-7):

The Prince says that in regard to the payment of arrears of peshkash, in which regard unfulfilled promises have exceeded all limits, if the matter was in Prince's own hands and laxity in it would not have brought Imperial censure on him, he would not press the demand so hard on Qutbul Mulk and would have allowed him further time.

1. Mir 'Askari s/o Jāfar  Bég Asaf Khān (Irānī) (500/60) was the Bakhshi and Jāria' Nawīs of Bengal in 1654, Wāris 202(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6157.

2. Prince Shujā' (20,000 / 15,000 (2 x 3 h)) was the Jūbedar of Bengal from 1647 to 1657, Wāris 25(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 4332, Salih III, 447.
However, Imperial orders have been repeatedly issued that
the said amount should be deposited immediately in the
Imperial treasury. If Qutbul Mulk shows any inclination
towards delay or evasion, the whole should immediately be
realised by force. Accordingly Mîr Ahmad has been app­
pointed to realise the arrears of peshkash, so that once
again Qutbul Mulk’s breach of promise be not reported to
the Court, bringing on his head the Imperial wrath.
If despite his ability to pay he does not deem it suitable
to make payment and the capacity (pukhtqim) of his muta-
saddis is not up to paying the amount and obtaining receipt
thereof, then he should assign till the realization of the
arrears a portion of his kingdom to the Imperial officials
to obtain the arrears out of revenues of this territory.
Otherwise out of 25 lakh rupees that are due to be paid by
him according to his own account, less the amount sent
through Muhammad Ahmad Beg, 20 lakh rupees should be deli­
vered whatever happens to Mîr (Ahmad) within one or two
months and send him to Aurangzeb’s headquarters. The re­
main ing five lakh rupees should be paid along with next
year’s peshkash. He should not create unnecessary diffi-

1. Mîr Ahmad Khwâfi (Irâni) (700/250) was the Qiládâr of
Zafar Nagar in 1656-7, dâris 248(a), 266(a) as cited in
Apparatus 3., 6609, 3., 7025.
culties in this matter necessitating the despatch of the Imperial armies whereafter there will be no room for relief or pardon.

4.6 **Peshkash From Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 308):**

Acknowledges receipt of his letter. Informs him that as the stipulated period for the payment of the arrears of peshkash to His Majesty which had been reported to His Majesty has passed, and there is no room for delay. The recommendation for extension in the period of payment of 20 lakh rupees previously was just an act of favour. No further attempt for securing extension should be made. Directs him to remit the stipulated peshkash within two months from the receipt of this letter to Mir Ahmad Khwāfi.

4.7 **Manshūr** issued (by Aurangzeb) Following the Conquest of Hyderabad (1656, pp. 281-3):

Notes that in accordance with the decrees of the Imperial fannān, he (Qutbul Mulk) having repented of his misdeeds solicited forgiveness by sending his mother, renewed agreements and sworn by the Holy Qurān in the presence of Muḥammad Ṭāhir and Shaikh Nizāmā, the royal officials and after verifying the agreements under his seal and signatures delivered them to the wakīls of the Prince.

1. For details see, Šāliḥ, III, 227-9, Wāris (Aligarh transcript), 343.
Accordingly his shortcomings have been pardoned and his kingdom has been left intact. If he remains firm in his loyalty he would receive Imperial help and if any one oppresses him the royal armies would punish the guilty and make good his loss. The presents and valuables sent by him to the Court would be adjusted against the peshkash annually due from him.

Assures him that the 'ahdnāma, bearing the royal signatures and palm impression at his request, is unalterable; and he should act according to it.

Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 284):

Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk's mother has represented to Aurangzeb seeking abatement in the peshkash. Thereupon out of five lakh huns which she promised to pay within three years, one lakh huns have been remitted at her request and another one lakh have been remitted in response to the entreaty of his bride (daughter-in-law). Assures him that if the position of the peshkash was not referred to His Majesty, this would cause no harm in these days of their realising peace and contentment. Impresses upon him the significance of keeping to the agreement and if not acting in any way without the support and guidance of Aurangzeb himself. (Qutb Shāh married her daughter to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān for establishing matrimonial alliance in order to protect his kingdom which was approved by Shahjahan as well due to his disliking for Prince Sultan's marriage with the daughter of Prince Shuja).

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Payment of Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash (1656, pp. 288-9):

Informs him of the perusal of his representation regarding the abatement of the newly levied annual peshkash. Though the current revenues (hāl-i hāsil) of the territory of Rām-garh (Rāngir) does not exceed one lakh huns his request has been acceded to. It is, however, strange that before a response to his representation could be sent to him, Qutbul Mulk has sent a similar plea to the Imperial Court as well.

Following his petition he has written to Allah Tardi Beg, holding charge of (Rāngir) on Aurangzeb's behalf that the peasantry (ri'āyā) and revenue farmers (ijāradārān) of (Qutbul Mulk's) territory adjoining Rāngir should not be enticed over to Rāngir, and that he should desist from establishing a new path (mart) which may ruin the older path, and avoid taking any action which should disturb the affairs of the adjoining parganas, considering that territory too at par with that attached to Aurangzeb's and not permit any deviation from the old norms. The reply to the representation in the matter of four lakh huns and village Marchala would be found in the contents of the orders which will be issued to Qabad Beg.

1. Rāngir was ceded in 1656 by the Qutb Shāh, to be made into a sarkār of the qūba of Berār, Shāfiq, 153, Thākur Lāl, f.89.

2. Allah Tardi Beg not identified.

3. Qabad Beg Uzbeg Turanī (2500/1500) was raised to (4000/4000) in 1657, Jalīh III, 456.
4.10 Realization of one Crore Rupees of Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 331):

States that his representation has been received at the Imperial Court. This relates to the accounts that Imperial officials have sent to Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwān of the Quba of the Deccan, a copy whereof has also been sent to Qutbul Mulk through Aurangzeb's official Qabad Beg, a royal official and a petition for suspending the realization of fifteen lakh rupees already remitted by His Majesty.

Since the Imperial injunctions have been issued for realizing one crore rupees there is no other motive behind the appointment of Mīr Ahmad but this. The amount in question is the balance of twentyfive lakh rupees which was to be paid within three years and without Imperial orders this can not be excluded from the demand of one crore of rupees.

4.11 Hajib at Golconda (1656, p. 290):

Informs him that whereas Qabad Beg did not perform the duties of hijābat properly and failed to carry out the orders issued to him punctileously, owing to which the implementation of many orders was delayed, so that many matters did not proceed as smoothly as they ought, accordingly he has been dismissed and recalled and he has appointed Ahmad Beg Najm Ḥānī, an old official of his so that he would

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1. Ahmad Beg Najm Ḥānī s/l Bāqir Khān Najm Ḥānī (Irānī) (800/350) was promoted to 800/400 in 1657, Jālih III, 473.
act according to what is ordered and keep Qutbul Mulk pleased with his conduct and report to Aurangzeb all circumstances relating to Qutbul Mulk and to financial matters. Sends a weapon as gift to Qutbul Mulk through the new appointee.

4.12 Appointment of a new Imperial Hajib at Golconda (1656, pp. 317-8):

Since the former hajibs used to exert unpleasant pressure for realizing the Imperial financial demands, such was contrary to the royal wish. Accordingly 'Abdul M'abūd Khan who during his previous term as hajib was on good terms with him (Qutbul Mulk) has been appointed to the post. The manner in which a crore of rupees have been remitted out of the peshkash will be explained by the new hajib. The remainder with the arrears of the regular peshkash should be paid, according to the old rules, to the Imperial treasury at Daulatabād, and all efforts should be made to meet all requirements of the Imperial Government.

4.13 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk (1656, p. 334):

Aurangzeb has made the observations that had the matter of the realization of peshkash been in Aurangzeb's own hands, he would not have delayed remissions in it upon his (Qutbul

1. Mîr 'Abdul M'ubūd gr/s of Mîr Kamāluddin. He also served as Bakhshi and Wāqīa-Wigār. He held the rank of 1000 zāt, J.N. Sarkar, Life of Mir Jumla, 154; Zakhira, III, 79; Y.H. Khan, Selected Waqai' of the Deccan, 68.
Mulk's) pleas. Thus Aurangzeb had remitted out of 25 lakh rupees to Qutbul Mulk's mother and similarly remitted four and two lakh rupees worth of household goods, worth ten lakh rupees, though this was not properly within the scope of his authority. His Majesty has remitted 15 lakh rupees to him, leaving a balance of 25 lakh rupees, which is to be paid within a period of three years. His Majesty has not remitted 3 lakh rupees on account of the value of offerings sent through Mullā 'Abdus Samad and accounted it as in lieu of dowry (for Qutbul Mulk's daughter). This has been recorded in the Imperial order (manshūr); what can be done in the matter? The only way it can be remedied is if Qutbul Mulk writes what he has written to Aurangzeb in a petition submitted in response to the farmān also writes to Jahān Ārā Begum and the elder Prince (Dārā Shikoh) so that his petition could be submitted (through) them to His Majesty.


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1. Mulla 'Abdul Šamad, Dabiru'l Mulk, envoy of Qutb Shāh at the Mughal Court, H.K. Sherwani, History of the Qutbshahi Dynasty, 453.
2. Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikoh (60,000/40,000) (3-2h) was the Subedar of Lahore and Multān till 1658, Šālih III, 270, 446.
3. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II was the ruler of Bījāpur (1657-72).
5.1 Terms of the Treaty with Bījāpur (1657, pp. 765-6):

It has been decided by Aurangzeb that the fort of Parenda along with the territory of Karnāṭak which had been previously granted to 'Ādil Khān, excluding the forts and mahāls, which with Mīr Jumla's transfer of allegiance came into Aurangzeb's Khāliṣā, should be left to in control of 'Ali 'Ādil Khān's qumāštās, and of the total one crore rupees, seventy lakhs cash and kind is accepted while the remaining thirty are remitted to him ('Ali 'Ādil Khān) ... He should now administer that territory and improve the affairs of the area and forcibly push out the accursed Shiva who has captured some of the forts of Konkan. If, however, he wants to take that accursed person in his service, he should assign his jāgīr in Karnāṭak so that he should remain away from the Imperial dominions and not raise any disturbance there. He should also send the re-

1. Pargana and Jārkār Parenda Sūba Aurangābād. Parenda had originally belonged to the Nizāmshāḥi Kingdom, but was seized by the 'Ādil Shāh, who was allowed to keep it together with the parganas attached to it, by terms of the 1636 settlement (Lāhori, I, 11, 33, 169). Although the 'Ādil Shāh was compelled to cede Parenda to the Mughals in 1657 (Jāliḥ, III, 262), yet it was actually occupied by the Mughals in 1660, Alamgīrīnāma, 596-8.

2. Karnāṭak of Bījāpur was known as Jārkār Sīra. For details see Atlas, 64.


4. The Jārkār of Talkokan forming the so-called Talkokan-i Nizāmul Mulki was left in the possession of the 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur by the treaty of 1636, Lāhori, III, 169.
duced amount of peshkash in cash and kind. He should protect the territory of Kamātak belonging to Aurangzeb from deprivations by the zamindārs of that region. Tells him that if the pleas of Jāhū Bhonsla¹ and the sons of Bahlol² and other servants and officials of 'Ādil Khān for entering Aurangzeb's service are not accepted (on such conditions as put forward by them), 'Ādil Khān should also not grant them the favour of aid and assistance.


6.1 Recommendations for the Jāgīr of Narsing Dās, Qila'dār of Asīr (1653, p. 459):

Informs him that Narsingh Dās, castellan (qila'dār) of Asīr is an efficient Imperial servant who maintains the required contingent while fulfilling Imperial duties (khidmat-i bād-shāhī). Since the jāgīrs he had been holding in his home territory (watan) have been transferred and the state of income from the jāgīrs of the Deccan is not unknown, his (Narsingh Dās') wakīl at the Court is making endeavours that pargana of Rawat³ which is his hereditary watan be

1. Jāhū Bhonsla or Shahuji Bhonsla was the father of Shivaji.
2. Bahlol was an official of the 'Ādil Shāh.
3. Pargana Rawat or Rohat, Sarkār Jodhpur, Suba Ajmer, cf. Atlas, 6A.
assigned to him in entirety in lieu of the mahāl transferred from Hindustan and the mahāl assigned in the Deccan in his jagir in order to relieve him from distress. Is sure that the addressee shall help in the matter, to the extent possible.

6.2 Recommendations for Mughal Khān (1653, p. 462):

Informs him that now it has been learnt from the 'arzdāsht of Mughal Khān¹ that his jagir was transferred due to his failure in joining the Qandahar² expedition. He is in greatly distressed circumstances. Keeping in view his sincerity and loyalty, Aurangzeb has asked his wakīl at the Court that, should he (Mughal Khān) be willing the Imperial Court be approached to have him posted in the Deccan, so that he may be relieved of the shame (of his present position). Recommends that Sa'dullah Khān may give Mughal Khan the necessary help in the matter.

6.3 Supply of Thread to the Imperial Kārkhāna (1653, pp.463-64):

Acknowledges Sa'dullah Khān's letter sent in compliance with the Imperial orders stating that Mīr Naṣīr, darogha of Kār-

1. Mughal Khan s/o Zain Khān held the rank of 3000/2000 in 1653.

2. Jarkār Qandahar in Juba Kābul. See Atlas, 2A-B.
Khāna of Burhānpur had represented to the Court that Aurangzeb's officials had obstructed the supply (saranjām) of yarn, etc., to the said kārkhana. The Emperor had observed that should this statement be true, it was most improper, and should be immediately rectified in such a manner that there was no repetition.

The addressee is aware that the dārogha's complaint could not be true. If it had been decided at the Imperial Court that whosoever writes or says anything about Aurangzeb's officials should be given credit and an explanation be required of Aurangzeb, then there is no point in Aurangzeb's saying or writing anything. Anyhow since the first class of yarn (sūt) is found in the qasba of Dhārangāon,1 so long as that qasba remains in Aurangzeb's jāgīr such complaints are not going to end. The dārogha of the kārkhana who has found that his allegations have been entertained at the Imperial Court will not desist from this course and will always go on raising the matter of yarn to turn His Majesty's mind against Aurangzeb. Asks Sa'dullah Khān to represent to His Majesty that the said qasba be taken in the Khāliṣa Sharīfa, so that Aurangzeb may surrender it to the Diwān of Payān Ghāṭ and obtain jāgīr elsewhere in lieu of the same so that the supplies for the kārkhana could be obtained according to

1. Pargana Dhārangāon, Jarkār Asīr, Sūba Khāndesh, Atlas, 9A, 14A.
the dārogha's wishes and his lies and allegations cease. If His Majesty so wishes Aurangzeb is even willing that his own kārkhana which has been established only for purpose of supplying per chance an article that His Majesty may approve will be closed.

6.4 Recommendations for Murshid Quli Khān (1653, pp. 466-7):
Refers to the excellent services rendered by Murshid Quli Khān. When he was posted at the Court he held the mansāb of 1000/400 and his jāgīr in Hindustān was not less than 10-monthly. Now that he holds the Diwānī of Bālāghāt and his rank is 1500/500 his jāgīr in the Deccan after deducting expenses on account of sih bandi does not exceed 5-monthly. Every year he thus requires more than he can realise, so as to balance income and expenditure. And yet according to new schedule he has to maintain contingent larger by 70% than previously. Moreover some amount is spent on discharging duties of such a high post (as that of Diwān of Bālāghāt). Recommends that his case be represented to His Majesty by Sa'dullah Khān, for he deserves consideration and favour.

6.5 Disturbance of Pratāp Girāssiya (1653, pp. 473-4):
Acknowledges the receipt of his 'arzdāsht on 18 Zilq'āda in response to Aurangzeb's nishān. Reports of the deprivations
of Iratap Girassiya of Tappa Sindkhera have been conveyed to His Majesty from the waqā'i of this sūba. The addressee is informed that this happened during the term of assignment of Sazāwār Khān, the jāgīrdār of Sulțānpur and Nandurbār. Explanation was asked of Sazāwār Khān. He reported that one night two or three carts reached village Dādal Saidāna, several of the robbers came to plunder them. The watchmen (chaukidārs) were alerted, and grappled with them, injuring some of them. Two of them also received wounds; however, they did not allow them to plunder anything. Since the night was dark, the robbers were able to run away into the jungle. He (Sazāwār Khān) was transferred. As a further precaution Raushan Beg Khwāfi, an official of Aurangzeb, who was the faujdār of those parganas was ordered to punish Iratap and capture the culprits who had committed this act. After much search he killed Surjan, brother of Pratāp's wife and five other Rājputs and captured his mother, with her slaves — she being his main adviser. Since Pratāp had run away into distant hills and forests his chastisement was deferred to some other time.

3. Raushan Beg Khwāfi not identified

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Now it has been reported by Muḥammad Tāhīr that he (Pratap) is repentent of his misdeeds and wants to surrender. If he comes his life will be spared, otherwise he will be destroyed. Hopes that he will report the matter in detail to His Majesty.

6.6 Recommendations for Naṣīrī Khān (1653, pp. 474-5):

Refers to the efficiency of Saiyid Nasiri Khān and his sincerity towards Sa'dullah Khān. Due to his continuous employment in campaigns in Qandahār, his circumstance are adversely affected, and, furthermore, he has no confidence in the Commander of the Army (Dārā Shikoh). He therefore wants a transfer to this ṣūba against any post. This will also be crystal clear from Naṣīrī Khān's own letter to the addressee. Suggests his posting as commandant of a fort. Hopes that Sa'dullah Khān would pursue the matter in favour of Naṣīrī Khān in such a way that it does not displeas His Majesty or is treated by him as indicative of intrigue.

6.7 Aurangzeb's Jaqīra (1654, p. 461):

Refers to his (Aurangzeb's) representation to the Court in response to the manshūr granting ten crore dāms against his entire cash salary from the treasury of Ṣūba Malwa.

1. Saiyid Naṣīrī Khān (Indian M.) (3000/2000, Ṣālih, III, 454, Māmūrī, 98a.)
6.8 Problems of Aurangzeb's Jāgīra (1654, p. 471):

Informs Șa' dullah Khān that since the clerks of the Imperial offices have shown a large amount as mutāliba (Government claims) outstanding against Aurangzeb, they keep speaking of it all the time and have suspended the payment of his salary claim (talab). In order to resolve this matter Aurangzeb has deputed Madsūdan an Imperial official so that he should call on the addressee and along with the Imperial clerks, examine and fix amount of Imperial claims against Aurangzeb and his pay-claims. Is sure that the addressee will attend to this and instruct the clerks to immediately examine and settle the matter and after deducting the Imperial claims from the amount of Aurangzeb's pay-claim, send the draft of pay of the balance to the diwāns of the sūba of the Deccan so that the amount could be realized accordingly. Hopes that effort will be made in the matter.

6.9 Recommendations for Ilhāmullah Khān (1656, pp. 469-70):

Informs him that since Asadullah son of Rashid Khān has died and his brother Ilhāmullah holding the command of

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1. Madsūdan Dās was the jāmīri of the qasba of Phultana, Wari and Kehnta in 1644, *ibid.*, 121.

forts of Chandur, etc., and the stores and work of repairs of those forts also entrusted to him. He is an efficient Imperial official. He has been reassuring the contingent of Asadullah who had been the old retainers of his father and is anxious that they should not get dispersed. Accordingly, if his case is properly placed before His Majesty so that he receives an additional (mansab), he could keep his brother's contingents and save it from being disbanded.

Since pargana Mihrābād was in the assignment of the late Rashid Khan for a long period, and after his death remained in the charge of Asadullah and Ilhāmullah now it is possible that the share of Asadullah in that pargana may be assigned to some one else. But the pargana, which is under crop-sharing (jinsi), is not suitable for being held in partnership. If he considers it proper, 3'adullah Khan may endeavour to keep the pargana in entirety in the jagir of Ilhāmullah and the sons of Asadullah. Hopes that the matters would be settled favourably due to addressee's efforts.

5.10 Recommendations for the release of the Zamīndār of Dhandhera (1656, pp. 467-8):

Acknowledges the receipt of Sa'dullah Khan's letter (hasbul hukm) regarding Inderman, Zamīndār of Dhandhera. Acknowledges the truth of His Majesty's observations. However...

1. Pargana Mihrābād not identified.
owing to 20 year long internment he has become extremely poor. He has agreed to offer Rs.50,000 as peshkash trusting to Brahmans and the mahājans. If he embraces Islam, he would have to renounce his religion, and then how would he arrange to pay the amount of peshkash. On the other hand once he attests, on the security of one of the trusted that since his native country has been lost by him for a long time, and passing into the hands of the Imperial officials has been assigned to them in watan he will never go back there and, if posted to the Deccan as an officer, he would always be present here. How then would he return to his country? If his release is not made contingent on his embracing Islam then he will easily arrange for the zamīn and the payment of the amount of peshkash otherwise he will remain in prison throughout his life. Asks him to represent his case appropriately to the Emperor. Whatever is ordered will be carried out.

6.11 Peshkash from Qutbul Mulk, etc., (1656, pp. 477-8):

Informs him of the arrival at Hyderabad of Khwajgi Muḥammad Saʿīd and Shaikh Maḥmūd, with two farmāns one addressed

1. Khwājgi Muḥammad Saʿīd not identified.
2. Shaikh Mahmud not identified.
to Mîr Muḥammad Sa'id Mîr Jumla and the other to Qāżî 'Ārif. ¹
Inform him that after the arrival of Mîr Jumla, who is on his
way, Aurangzeb would act according to the Imperial orders and
by sparing the life of Qutbul Mulk and restoring the conquered
territory of Golconda to him afresh, Aurangzeb would ex­
tract enormous peshkash in treasure, diamonds and elephants.
The affairs of the Kingdom of Karnataka containing several
diamond mines and ports which is still controlled by the
agents of Mîr Jumla which has been annexed to the Imperial
dominions would be settled according to the possibilities of
the actual situation.

7. Letter to Ja'far Khan²

7.1 Appointments of two Officials (1655, p. 572):

Acknowledges the receipt of two letters from him, the first
about the tankhwān-jāgîr of Malik Ḥusain, ³ assigned from
Khārīf Īchî Īl, in the Sūba of the Deccan and the second com-

1. Jâzi 'Ārif Kashmiri (Ind. M.) held the rank of (4000/2000)
in 1656, Wâris 217(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6331.

2. Ja'far Khan (Iranī) (5000/5000 (2000x2-3h) was the Sūbedār
of Bihar, Wâris, 239(a) as cited in Apparatus, 3., 6433.

3. Malik Ḥusain (700/100) was appointed the faujdār of
Hoshingâbâd in 1655, Wâris, 178(b), 247(a) as cited in
Apparatus 3., 5955, 3., 6495.
mending Mir Ja'far, appointed by His Majesty as the Bakhshi and Waqia Nawis of this suba. The jagir of Malik Husain will be assigned from the date prescribed by Imperial orders within the territory of this country (wilayat). Mir Ja'far being a kinsman of Ja'far Khan's kinsman, will receive due favour.

8. Letters to Shaista Khan

8.1 Realization of mutalaba and Taqavi, (July-August, 1652, pp. 480-81):

Acknowledges the receipt of Shaista Khan's 'arzdasht (in reply to Aurangzeb's nishan) received by Aurangzeb during the time Aurangzeb was engaged in besieging Qandahar, (Shaista Khan was then Viceroy of the Deccan, to which Aurangzeb had now been appointed). As requested, a nishan was sent to Aurangzeb's wakil at the Imperial Court requiring him to procure a farman for officials of that suba (Deccan), regarding Rs. 30,000 mutalaba outstanding against the Zamindar of Chanda. Is sure that after the receipt of the Imperial farman, he will remit the amount in question without any excuse.

1. Mir Ja'far Astrabadi (Irani) (1000/200) was appointed Bakhshi and Waqia Nawis of the Deccan in 1655, Waris, 229(b) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6406.
The statement of Imperial claims (mutālabat) against the nobles posted in the Deccan was received at the camp, and he (the Zamindār of Chānda) reports that the mutasaddīs of that place (Deccan), have settled the claims against him in lumpsum. It is better Shāista Khān should summon the paper prepared by the said mutasaddi, verify its correctness and decide accordingly. If he (the Zamindār of Chānda) does not produce a reliable sanad, the requisite amount should be recovered according to the papers of mutālabā received under the seal of the diwāns.

In regard to the taqāvi outstanding against the peasantry it is hereby ordered that since the deshmukhs and patels who after obtaining the taqāvi on their own surety from the Government have distributed it among the smaller peasantry (reza ri'āyā) and executed bond (ta'ahud) for its repayment; the amount due from the peasants who have either died or run away should be realized from them. As for those (peasants) who are alive and in occupation (of land), but are unable to pay at once, it should be realized in instalments from them. If some who are unable to make the payment due to extreme indigence and troubled circumstances, information of their actual circumstances should be obtained. They should not be troubled for repayment, for we have remitted the portion (of taqāvi) due from them.

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8.2 Aurangzeb's Jagirs (October-November 1652, p. 482):

Acknowledges the receipt of his 'arzdâsht perused here on 29 Shawwâl. This conveyed account of his efforts in realizing the Imperial claims (mutâlabât). Shâista Khan had stated that now that the jûbas of the Deccan have been given over to Aurangzeb's charge, the entire claims will be more easily realised. Informs him that Aurangzeb considered Shâista Khan's being there the same as his own charge. However, since His Majesty, after Aurangzeb's return from Qandahâr and arrival at the Court assigned those jûbas to him out of simple kindness and without any indication of desire or request from Aurangzeb, he had considered it obligatory to accept the assignment. Muḥammad Tâhir, (Aurangzeb's official) who left the Court on 19 Ramazân would reach Burhânpur towards the middle of Zilqâda. Is confident that till that period Shâista Khân would look after the administration with ever greater attention.

8.3 Realization of Mutâlabâ of Aurangzeb (1653, p. 485):

Informs him that out of over Rs. 37,000 the mutâlabâ (claims) of Aurangzeb upon 'Umar Tarîn, over Rs. 25,000 are still due. He promises to remit the same within two years and has delivered an acknowledgement into the office (of the diwân) a copy of which is enclosed with...102
this nizām. Accordingly an official (of Aurangzeb) has been sent to realise the amount of the mutālāba from him. Hopes that Shāista Khān will try to his best that there should be no delay in realisation and Aurangzeb's official should be able to return after expeditiously accomplishing the task.

8.4 Aurangzeb's Request for Cash Salary (1654, p. 494):
The frequent offerings of presents (peshkash), which are mere ceremonial acts, are not necessary. Asks him to be active in arranging remittance of Aurangzeb's cash salary (naqdi), as previously written to him.

8.5 Aurangzeb's Refusal to Accept the Charge of Forts (1655, p. 506):
In the Imperial mansūr written by His Majesty himself and sent through Mir J'afar ordering him the increase of 5000 (2x3h),\(^1\) it has also been stated of the forts of the Deccan, ten forts such as Ahmadnagar, etc., be assigned to Aurangzeb's charge, and his officials should take them over. Shāista Khān cannot be unaware of the far-reaching

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\(^1\) Aurangzeb received this promotion in rank in 1655, Nāris, 239(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 6430.
Implications of this proposal, for in case of acceptance the benefits of increase of rank will not only be nullified but beyond those further large amounts would have to be spent. He, therefore, could not agree to take up the charge of these forts and petitioned to His Majesty to be excused.

8.6 Qutbul Mulk's Offer of Peshkash and Matrimonial Alliance etc., (1656, p. 499):

From the report of Muhammad Tahir it is learnt that Prince Muhammad Sultan had marched from Talab Husain Sagar and entered the city and took precautionary measures to save the inhabitants of the city from the ravages of the Imperial armies. He has well brought under control such a large and prosperous city. Qutbul Mulk sent his peshwâ (chief minister) with a peshkash to the Prince. It has been reported that Qutbul Mulk promises to pay a peshkash of 40 lakh rupees, marry his daughter to the Prince and pay annually the stipulated Imperial tribute (peshkash) to the royal officials. He also promises to return the entire property of Mir Jumla which he had confiscated, after the imprisonment of his son, and to summon Mir and hand him over to the Prince. Having seen the decline of his kingdom by his own eyes, Qutbul Mulk is greatly distressed and distraught.
Assignments of the Forts of Asir and Junnar to Aurangzeb (1656, pp. 504-5):

Since Aurangzeb is greatly concerned about an investigation into the jewels obtained by Aurangzeb from Qutbul Mulk and expresses his anger on account of this, Aurangzeb deeming any delay to be improper, has sent all those jewels to the Imperial Court, whether belonging to him or his son. The fort of Asir was assigned to Aurangzeb. Since it involved no expenses he thought it imprudent not to refuse it. As for the fort of Junair, an Imperial farmān was issued to Hari Deo Singh, qilā'dār thereof in regard to the assignment of the fort to Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb's Jāgīra in Mālwa, etc. (1656, pp. 506-7):

Acknowledges the receipt of his letter ('arīza) with the letter of the Dīwān regarding Aurangzeb's cash salary together with the account papers. All the items of Qutbul Mulk's peshkash to Aurangzeb and his son have been despatched to the Imperial Court.

1. The Fort commanding Junnar, (usually spelt Junair in Persian sources) was known as Shīvner, spelt 'Sunnair' in Persian sources. Cf. Atlas, 55.

9.1 Dāk Chauki (1656, pp. 393-4):

Aurangzeb has again written to Qutbul Mulk to maintain the 
*dāk chauki* (postal communication) from Hyderabad to 
Siddhāvat. It has not been interrupted, and there is no 
opportunity of this. The news about interference by 
jāgīrdārs between Indūr and Burhānpur with (the functioning 
of) officials of dāk chauki is untrue. Nevertheless Murshid Quli 
Khān and his own officer Ṭāhir have been instructed 
to issue strict injunctions to the agents of the jāgīr-
dārs that none should interfere with Mir Jumla’s dāk chauki.

9.2 Jāgīrs of Murshid Quli Khān (1656, pp. 408-10):

Acknowledges the receipt of his letter (*ārīza*) written to 
convey Imperial orders. It has been stated that from the 
statements (*nuskha*) sent by Murshid Quli Khān, placed be-
fore His Majesty, it has transpired that the income (*hāsil*) 
of *parqana* Bīr was 8-monthly in the 28th regnal year (of 
Shāhjehān) and would be more in the 29th regnal year. The 
wakils of the Prince did not accept the said *parqana* for 
Aurangzeb’s jāgīr which was assigned for one crore dāms by 
His Majesty. While not accepting this Aurangzeb has taken 
possession of the jāgīr of Mālūji which does not yield

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1. The *haveli* (headquarters) Siddhavat (mod. Siddhavattam) in 
sarkār of the same name in Bālāghāt, Sūba Hyderabad. Atlas, 
64.

2. Mālūji Bhonsla (Maratha) held the rank of (5000/5000) in 
1656, Wāris 260(a) as cited in Apparatus S., 6696.

...106
more than 6-monthly. Accordingly the Imperial orders were issued that if the conditions of *pargana* of Bir are as reported by Murshid Quli Khān then its assignment to Shāh Beg Khān and the choice of a low revenue paying area for oneself by Aurangzeb was not warranted. Otherwise Murshid Quli Khān would seem to have mis-stated the facts. The reasons for declining *pargana* Bir should be submitted in detail.

Mīr Jumla is informed that the position of the previous and current revenue of the said *pargana* will be known in detail from separate sheets. The reason for its non-acceptance is not the desolate or ruined conditions of the *pargana*. During the course of Golconda expedition Shāh Beg Khān who maintained a large contingent was called from the fort of Aḥmadnagar and Multafat Khān was sent there. Shāh Beg Khān represented that since the office of castellan had been taken from him he should be assigned *pargana* Bir in lieu of all his scattered and distant jāgīrs so that bringing all his family and servants there, he might join the expedition with full peace of mind. Accordingly Aurangzeb promised to assign that *pargana* in lieu of 3 crore and 50 lakh dāms to him as will be evident in detail from his salary sheets (*afrād-i taujih*). Even after return from the expedition the *daul* regarding the additional *manṣāb*, which also included *pargana* Bir had not been re-
ceived from the Court. Its transfer from Shah Beg Khan so soon after its assignment to him was not deemed suitable by Aurangzeb, and the pargana remained with Shah Beg Khan. This matter has also been communicated to the Imperial Court as will be known by consulting the sheets sent along with Aurangzeb's 'arzdāsh' (to the Court).

Since Murshid Quli Khan is an officer of integrity he cannot write contrary to the facts. His commendable efforts and endeavours in administering this country (wilāyat) are beyond appreciation. One would have wished the officers of the diwānī affairs (mubāshrān-i 'amāl-i diwānī) who have previously been in this sūba had done even one percent of what has been done and is being done by Murshid Quli Khan. He is really an efficient official, if he is not unnecessarily censured and he is still more active in his duties, it would be better. Keeping in view the better pursuit of Imperial interest, this much has been written on his behalf. If, however, there were suspicions about the truth, let an Imperial official come from the Court and see his work as compared to that of others. Hopes Mir Jumla would convey this to His Majesty.

9.3 Position of the Revenues of Rāngīr: Detached from Golconda (1656, p. 391):

The position of the revenue of Rāngīr is this that its current realised revenue (hāl-i hāsil) does not exceed...
80,000 huns, but Qutbul Mulk told Qabad Beg that Muhammad Nasir has accepted the said sarkar for 1,20,000 huns. Requests him to explain the true facts to His Majesty.

9.4 Recommendations for 3afi Khan to Mir Jumla (1656, p. 398):
Previously the addressee had been informed by Aurangzeb that 3afi Khan had been punished at the Court though he was innocent and blameless; and Mir Jumla should therefore be attentive to him, so that such an efficient officer should not suffer needlessly. To date Imperial favours have remained barred to him. He should be appointed to offices other than Bakhshigar and Wajia Nawisi in this province. Mir Jumla is called upon to take his case with the Emperor so that he may be posted to this province and his mansab restored.

5 Imperial Censure due to Qutbul Mulk's Peshkash to Aurangzeb (1656, pp. 402-4):
Mir Jumla is aware of the position with regard to the diamonds, horses and elephants sent by Qutbul Mulk to Aurangzeb and given to his son, which have not been deemed a part of the peshkash of 15 lakh rupees due to the Emperor. The gifts consisted of some elephants, horses and some ornamented weapons which have been seen by Mir Jumla and Khan-i Jahān (Shaista Khan) as well. Since these were not
worthy of presentation to the Emperor, and a diamond offered by the mother of Quṭbūl Mulk had a dark spot, as also observed by the addressee, and the price of a ruby sent by him does not exceed ₹.4,000, Aurangzeb had again and again returned these presents. Since the price of these items has not been adjusted in the Imperial peshkash, Aurangzeb accepted them on the recommendations of Khān-i Jahan. As these items were not worthy of being reported to the Emperor Aurangzeb did not mention them in his reports to the Emperor. If he had wanted to keep the gifts secret why should he have shown them to the nobles. However, if His Majesty wants that the diamond with the dark spot, which is being cut away by the artisans (kārīgarān), along with the ruby these would be sent.

Informs him that on the occasion of this expedition, the Imperial farmāns were issued that of the entire peshkash from Quṭbūl Mulk diamonds and elephants would belong to His Majesty while cash and whatever was seized in booty belong to Aurangzeb. He (Aurangzeb) needed money for supplies and pay of men in this expedition. He relied on the promise in His Majesty's orders and avoided making request for financial assistance (musā'īda) and obtained a large amount from the Princes (Khānazādgān-i 'Alā Haz-rat) by way of loan for the expenses of the expedition and maintenance (saranjām) of his soldiers with a view that

1. Title of Shaista Khan.
out of whatever would be gained by Aurangzeb according to the Emperor's promise (after the successful completion of the expedition) the loan would be returned.

Now the entire peshkash belongs to His Majesty and whatever was received from various sources has been deposited in the treasury at Daulatabad. Aurangzeb finds it difficult to repay the loan and the salaries of the army, which is about 20 lakh rupees. The pay claims of men are six months in arrears and this has led to such distress that they are leaving his service. Since by the Imperial orders they are required in this border province together with Imperial troops posted here, as Mir Jumla must be aware of, from his observations in Hyderabad. He is also aware of the treasure and troops of 'Ādil Khan, who, seeing what has happened to Qutbul Mulk, has become alarmed and is collecting his dispersed troops, being discontented with this side.

Observes that if these 3-4,000 sawārs who have been gathered and trained in a long period of years are now dispersed and scattered, then Aurangzeb would be unable to discharge his duties (‘uhda-i khidmat-i ‘umda-i pādshāhī) as well as properly control the provinces. Aurangzeb does not know the worldly ways of his contemporaries like some others, so he had not represented the distress of his troops to His Majesty. But when conditions have
worsened to such an extent and experiences has taught that matters are not heard without one's making a representation he wrote to Mir Jumla that he might represent it to His Majesty at a suitable time so that matters may be arranged properly.

9.6 Qutbul Mulk's *Peshkash* (1656, pp. 406-8):

Before Aurangzeb's departure from Golconda Imperial orders were issued one after another requiring that the gems, studded arms and elephants received in *peshkash* from Qutbul Mulk together with all gold and silver items be sent by Aurangzeb to the Court before the commencement of the rains and the remainder in cash be deposited in the Imperial treasury. In this matter such insistence was shown as if to suggest that Aurangzeb would not have sent the entire *peshkash* to the Court or something would disappear from it.

The news of His Majesty's disfavour and censures, dismissal of the intelligencer (*Waqia* Nawīs) and the wrath to which he was subjected has been conveyed to 'Ādil Khān and Qutbul Mulk through missives of *harkāras* at the Imperial Court becoming a cause of confidence of the enemy and a great distress to Aurangzeb. Out of desperation, implementing the orders Aurangzeb has despatched whatever he had realized for the Emperor as well as what has been brought for him
(from Qutbul Mulk). Nothing better than a diamond and ruby ring, which he and Khān-i Jahān have more than once seen remain.

Since His Majesty is now investigating Aurangzeb's secret acquisitions, if God forbidding, Aurangzeb really such hidden things why should he have shown these rings to high Imperial nobles and why should Khān Jahan's gems have been valued ——- those few small stones whose real value is known and others that I have returned, on which so much stress is laid, their value was not deducted from the settled tribute (peshkash) of 15 lakhs of rupees, nor had Aurangzeb reported them in his 'arzdāsht. What else was there to write!

9.7 Rebellion of the Zamīndārs of Burhānpur (1656, pp. 445-6):

Informs him of the rebelliousness of the zamīndārs in the vicinity of Burhānpur who, defying authority, are robbing travellers. Aurangzeb has, therefore, decided to depute Prince Muḥammad Sultān, with an strong contingent with Imperial officials and his own officers to chastise them and pacify territory up to River Narbāda. Accordingly that prince has been summoned by Aurangzeb to his presence and Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam has been deputed there till a

1. Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam was the second son of Aurangzeb.
a decision is made in the campaign that the Emperor has sanctioned. The latter would be clear to Mīr Jumla from the copies of representations carried by his Agent at the Imperial Court who has just arrived. He should remain in the vicinity of Bīr, where Aurangzeb would soon join him, so that no delay befall the projected campaign against the short-sighted Bījapurīs.

10. Letters to Shah Nawaz Khan Sa'favi.

10.1 Terms of Treaty with Golconda (April 1656, pp. 539-40):

Since Qutbul Mulk humbly solicited pardon by sending his mother, gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Muhammād Sultān, agreed to offer 25 lakh ḥuns in cash and kind and all his elephants in peshkash, surrendered the fort of Ramgir, originally belonging to sūba Berār, along with territories attached thereto yielding in revenue not less than six lakh rupees to the officials of Aurangzeb, in addition to six lakh rupees per annum to be paid as dowry for his daughter. Mīr Jumla for whom Aurangzeb was waiting joined on 4th of the current with 6000 sawars, 15000 infantry, 150 elephants and excellent artillery (topkhāna). Since the seizure of Qutbul Mulk's kingdom and the conquest of the fort of Golconda was not to His Majesty's liking the siege of the fort and the conquest of his kingdom has been given
up and Qutbul Mulk's faults overlooked. Although the enterprise has been successful to an unexpected degree and contributed to the raising of Imperial prestige, and had certain obstructions not been raised, such a large and prosperous kingdom, containing so many mines and ports would have been easily conquered earlier.

10.7 Treaty of Golconda (April 1656, pp. 541-2):

Refers to his (Aurangzeb's) earlier letter about the conclusion of peace and the amount of peshkash imposed on Qutbul Mulk, the engagement of Qutbul Mulk's daughter with Aurangzeb's son, the taking of the fort of Ramgir and its dependent territories, and the dowry for the betrothed daughter. Expects that the entire amount of peshkash so far received, in cash, diamonds and elephants, has been sent to His Majesty by Safi Khan, son of late Islam Khan; the remainder would be sent shortly.

11. Letters to I'tiqad Khan.

11.1 Recommendations for Murshid Quli Khan's jägirs (1653, A.D. 600-01):

I'tiqād Khan¹ was not unaware of the good behaviour and excellent services of Murshid Quli Khan. He held the rank

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¹ I'tiqad Khan, Khanazad Khan, Bahman Yar Khan s/o Asaf Khan (Irani) (4000/800) was the Mir Bakhshi in 1653 A.D., Māriś 172(a) as cited in Apparatus 3., 5899
of 1000/4000 (rect. 1000/400) and his jagirs in the north was not less than 10-monthly. Now he holds the Diwâni of Bâlâghât territory and his original plus additional rank is 1500/500. His jagîr in the Deccan after deducting expenses on local levies (sihbandî) does not exceed 5-monthly and he has now to spend much more than he gets in income every year. Moreover, under the new Regulation, he has to maintain a contingent 70% larger than before. In addition, he has to incur full expenses in discharging such an important office (as that of Diwân). In view of his being an efficient Imperial official it will be appreciated if his circumstances are brought to His Majesty's notice on his behalf.

11.2 Regulations Regarding the Assignment of Jâgîrs (1655, pp. 597-8):

Previously a hasbul hukm issued by Sa'adullah Khân, issued to the officials (mutasâddîs) of the Deccan laid down that whoever of the mansabdârs of that sûba receives an additional mansab or appointed to a mansab for the first time, a jagîr equivalent to only half of his pay-claim (based on such addition or fresh mansab) should be assigned, and only when he produces a sanad from the Imperial Court should the entire claim be met (by assignment of corresponding jagîr). The diwâns have been acting accordingly since then. But because the mansabdârs of that sûba (Deccan)
owing to shortfalls in revenue of *jagir*; distressed circumstances unable to send their *wakils* to the Court, and they have repeatedly represented their case before Aurangzeb, and so upon his direction, the matter was recorded in the *waqīʿa* and so reported to His Majesty. Thereupon His Majesty ordered that the procurement of Imperial *sanad* is not essential in the matter. The moment the proposal (for addition or fresh grant of *mansab*) is approved by the Emperor and the *diwani* officials of the *sūba* are informed of it, they should release half of the pay-claim still withheld; and the *sanads* should be issued locally. However, since Aurangzeb's very appointment to this *sūba* till date, though the position about additional and fresh grants of *mansabs* has been recorded in the *waqāʿiʿ* and ʿSāfī Khān, Bakhshī of the *sūba*, has prepared and sent a complete list to the Imperial Court, no replies have arrived, and the persons concerned are in acute distress. ʿSāfī Khān has, therefore, been directed by Aurangzeb to record anew complete details on separate sheets, of officials who have received additional or initial *mansabs* and send these to Aurangzeb's *wakil* (at the Court), so that the latter may pass on them to Iʿtiqād Khān. Iʿtiqād is requested to scrutinise the record, and put the tenor of the Imperial orders passed upon the sheets of those whose additional and new *mansabs* have already been placed before His Majesty...
through the *waqi'ā* and so do not need to be placed before His Majesty again, put his seal upon them and deliver them to Aurangzeb's *wakil*, so that he may send them to Aurangzeb immediately. In regard to others, their cases should be put by I'tiqad Khān before His Majesty, and he should similarly record His Majesty's orders on their sheets and affix his seal thereon, handling them over to Aurangzeb's *wakil* so that these should serve as authentic certification for the officials of this *sūba*. Aurangzeb has ordered that henceforth the proposals shall be sent similarly month by month to that Ṣakhshiul Mamālik, so that he may place them before His Majesty, and affixing his confirmation (*tasdīq*) of Imperial orders thereon, he may hand them over to Aurangzeb's *wakil*. Hopes for effort in this direction so that the army may obtain relief.

11.3 Recommendations for Naṣrullah (1655, p. 604):

Since Naṣrullah, ¹ son of Ḥasan, who was recommended an enhancement of 150/10 has due to his affinity with him, always remained with Ṣazawar Khān, and has been recorded in the official papers as the designated son of Ṣazawār Khān his father not being mentioned.

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¹ Naṣrullah s/o Hasan (300/50) was the designated son of Ṣazawār Khān, Hyderabad 131, 4208; as cited in *Apparatus 3.*, 2504, 3., 6499.
Due to this reason, when the yāddāsht (memorandum) for enhancement was presented to His Majesty, the Emperor observed that a slave designated as a son did not mean a mansab. Aurangzeb therefore writes that Naṣrullah is a capable youth who had well performed the duties of amin of pargana Pāthri and then been assigned the charge of Barsar (Basar) fort attached to Sunnair. His father is an Imperial official and so also his elder brother. Asks him, therefore, to submit the facts as recorded here to the Emperor for favour of restoration of his original and additional rank.

11.4 Recommendations for Fath and Other Officials (1656, pp. 604–5):

Acknowledges the receipt of his arzdāsht sent in response to Aurangzeb's nishān. Notes the contents of Imperial orders issued in respect of the enhancement of the rank of Fath son of Zakariyā and his brother Ḥayāt. It is sur-


2. Barsar (Bhasar) fort sarkār Nānder, süba Bīdar, cf. *Atlas* 14A.

3. Ḥayāt ibn Zakariya (Afghan) held the rank of 500/500 in 1656, *Waris*, 260(a), as cited in *Apparatus*, 3., 7079.
prising why the increase of ranks recommended for them in recognition of their meritorious services rendered during Hyderabad campaign, and upon condition of the faujdāri of mahāls which have always been discharged by officers of higher rank, has been rejected. It is evident from high ranks held by some of the Afghāns that the promotion in zār (rank) is not violative of the norm (az zabita-berun). God be praised, Aurangzēb has never indulged in making improper recommendations all this time. What then are the reasons for the non-acceptance of the increase in their ranks? Since both of them are efficient Khānāzād officials, and have received salary for some time (on enhanced ranks), they have also taken to brand the (larger) contingents required under the Regulations and have discharged their assigned duties. As of now too they are serving under Aurangzēb with a suitable contingent. If their enhancement is not approved as per the recommendations they will be unable to meet the (resultant) Imperial claims (mutālab), and the expenses which they have incurred will greatly affect their condition. When people know that Aurangzēb's recommendations to the Imperial Court carry no weight, how will they again risk their lives and how would Aurangzēb be able to assign any charge to anyone. Solicits I'tiqād Khān's intervention in pleading for increase of rank of Fath and his brother to His Majesty and immediately despatch the sanād of acceptance of their man-
sab from the date recommended so that both of them could exert themselves loyally in Imperial service.

11.5 Appointment of Abu'l Fażl Ma'mūrī (1656, p. 599):

Informs him that the thanadārī of qasba Lādsangwi, a pass on the route to Khāndesh and Berār was previously held by Ja'īd Khāndeshī and nine other mansabdārs. Since they failed to discharge their duties properly, Abul Fażl Ma'mūrī, an efficient Imperial official, was appointed to the post and the rāhdārī of the road to Jālna which passes through the Lādsangwi tract. Fifty sawār, conditional, have been reduced from the rank of Ja'īd and others Abul Fażl's rank has been raised from 300/70 to 400/100 by adding 100/30. Asks I'tiqād Khān to represent Abul Fażl Ma'mūrī's good service and promotion to His Majesty, in case the same has not been reported from the daily news (roznāmcha-i waqā'ī) from here, recommend his case and communicate the Imperial orders and approval of increase (in his mansab) to the mutasaddis of the ṣūba, so that they may not delay in issuing the sanad for the additional jagīr against the enhanced pay-claim.

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2. Ja'īd Khāndeshī not identified.
11.6 Recommendations for Abu'l Fazl Ma'muri (1656, p. 606):

Since Abu'l Fazl Ma'muri¹ is a Khānazād deserving favours and he has discharged the duties assigned to him in an appropriate manner, and since he has also exhibited his efficiency in this last campaign, he has, now, been assigned the faujdāri of Onkapur² consequent upon the transfer of Ḥayāt son of Zakariya, who held the rank of 500/600. An increase of 100/100 has been recommended upon condition of holding that post enhancing his original and additional rank to 600/700. Solicits I'tiqād Khān's intercession in representing his case to His Majesty and getting the sanad for increase in his rank.

Letters to Shāh Beg Khān

Assignments of Parganas to Shāh Beg Khān (1656, p.746):

In view of the transfer of his entire mahāl at the time of realization of revenue Aurangzeb had thought of assigning pargana Varvāl³ in lieu of his two mahāls, for his salary. Now that he has made a request for the assignment of pargana Ḥīr, this has been accepted and the pargana has been

¹. Ḥīr Abūl Fazl Ma'mūrī (Irānī) held the rank of (500/200) in 1656-7, Jāris 270(a) as cited in Appratus 3., 7116; Jālih, III, 484.
². Onkapur not traced.
assigned to him in jāgīr. Directs him to make his endea-
vour for the increase in cultivation and prosperity of
that excellent and large pargana which Murshid Quli Khān
has made extremely prosperous within a short period due to
his commendable efforts. Instructs him to send his son
Muḥammad Amīn there along with 100 sawār and himself come
to Aurangzeb's camp with the remaining contingent.

12.2 Administration of Konkan (1657, p. 744):

Informs him that it has been reported to Aurangzeb that
the agents (gumāshtas) of Mulla Ahmad, former Governor
of Konkan, who are still in control of Konkan, have erect-
et a new fort on the border of Junair. Accordingly Mam-
roze, faqūdār of Junair, an official of Aurangzeb and
other Imperial officials having jāgīr in that area, have
been ordered to proceed to that place and completely demo-
lish the fort. Directs him, as already communicated by
Murshid Quli Khān, to despatch his son along with 200 men
to reinforce Mamroze.

Mulla Ahmad, former Governor of Konkan, was the leading
noble of Bijapur who was subsequently given the rank
of 6000/6000 on the recommendation of Mirzā Rājā Jai
Singh, Alamgirnāma, 919–920.

Mamroze not identified.
Letters to Fazil Khan. ¹

13.1 Tribute from Chinärerī Deshmukh of Pargana Indūr (1653, pp. 636-9):

Acknowledges the 'arzdāsht issued according to the Imperial orders in regard to the case of the peshkash of Chinärerī,² deshmukh of pargana Indūr³ based on the report of Mir Jālih,⁴ son-in-law of the late Islām Khān. Aurangzeb observes that the said pargana belongs to suba Telingana, and came into Imperial possession in (Shāhjahān's) 2nd R.Y., along with that territory. Since the said deshmukh rendered meritorious services the late Khān-i Daurān represented to His Majesty that during the regime of Nizāmshāhīs (dar zāzn-i ivālat-i be-nizām) the jama' of this pargana had been increased to 2,2000 huns and 37,000 rupees and payment of such a sum is difficult for the peasantry. Accordingly on Khān-i Daurān's recommendations, the jama' of Indūr in the first year was fixed at 20,500 and odd huns, and subse-

¹ Alā'ullāh Mulk Fāzil Khān (Irānī) (2500/600) was the qilādār of Delhi and Mir-i Jāman in 1653, Wāris, 192(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6027.

² Chinärerī was the surname of the deshmukhs of pargana Indūr.

³ Pargana Indūr (Nizāmābād) sarkār Telingāna sūba Berār, Atlas, 18A.

⁴ Mir Jālih (1500/504), was the S/L of Shāh Nawāz Khān, 13(b), Ālamgīrīnāma, 45.
quently year after year to 30,270 huns, as is seen from the Imperial farmañ issued to Chināreri on the recommendations of Khān-i Daurān. Till 9th R.Y. that pargana remained attached to the Khāliṣa Sharīfa, and accordingly the above 30,270 and odd huns were deposited in the Imperial treasury. During these five years the late Khān-i Zamān, ḍ owing to changes in the (rupee) rate of the hun, once obtained an additional sum of Rs. 55,000, and once the late Khan-i Daurān during the seige of Udgīr fort collected a small amount of Rs. 4,000 as peshkash, in addition to the stipulated jama' from Chināreri. From Kharīf-ī Sichqān I, 10th R.Y. when this pargana was assigned to Aurangzeb in jāgīr till 11th R.Y. Chināreri deshmukh went on giving the same amount as was realized under the Khāliṣa Sharīfa and had brought Rs. 50,000 as nisār (offering) during his attendance (at Aurangzeb's headquarters). At the beginning of 12th R.Y., he died a natural death, leaving no son and was succeeded by his son-in-law who possessed himself the entire property his predecessor had accumulated from the time of the Deccani rulers. In lieu of this favour and assignment of the office of deshmukh of Indūr to him and his designation as Chināreri an amount of Rs. 2,50,000 as peshkash to Aurangzeb was fixed on

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2. Udgīr fort in Sarkār Nānder, Šuba Bīdar, Lāhorī, I, i, 413 & I, ii, 136, 140, etc.
him. Aurangzeb reported this fact to His Majesty at that very time. During his deshmukhi till 12th the jama' of the pargana remained the same.

Afterwards Aurangzeb's officials due to their endeavour increased the jama' of Indūr by 1500 huns. Since the deshmukh considered the increase in jama' as detrimental to the peasants and the cultivators, he promised to pay the additional amount as peshkash. For four years till 17th (regnal) year he paid Rs.40,000 huns per annum to Aurangzeb. In 18th (regnal) year when Khān-i Daurān became the Governor of the Deccan he recommended a reduction in the jama' of Indūr and handed over the tasdiq (certificate) to the revenue contractors (mustājirān) of the pargana to the effect that in the first year they were to pay 33,000 huns, in the second year 35,000 huns, and afterwards every year 37,000 huns. This arrangement was followed for one and a half years in the Khāliṣa sharīfa and for one harvest (fasl) in the jāgīrdārī of the late Islām Khān. In the third year Islām Khān modified the settlement made by Khān-i Daurān and decided to take 40,000 huns which was the jama' fixed by Aurangzeb. In that time Chinārērī also died and the present Chinārērī became the deshmukh. Owing to mischief some wicked persons obtained his written consent to pay Rs. 1,00,000 over and above the jama', out of which he could pay Rs.40,000 with utmost difficulty with the remainder left
uncollected. As a result of this imposition which the peasantry is unable to bear the affairs of the *pargana* were completely disrupted. Subsequently, upon Islam Khan's death the *pargana* was assigned to Prince Murād Bakhsh. His *'ummal* (revenue collectors) did not collect more than 40,000 *huna*. After his transfer Diyānat Khān and Rāi Rāyān, keeping in view the need of prosperity of the inhabitants maintained that *jama‘* for three years. A large amount of arrears is due from the revenue farmer thereof from the date of the reassignment of the *pargana* to Aurangzeb.

If Mīr Mālih in his report has termed 9,700 *huna* which were increased during the previous regime (first Viceroyalty) of Aurangzeb as *peshkash* there has been no difficulty in its collection. It has been taken that the *mutasaddīs* of Aurangzeb obtained from him, as well as by the other *jāgīrdārs* and the *diwāns* of the *Khālisa Sharīfa*. If he has reported anything else about this sum, it will be incorrect. Hopes that Fāzīl Khān will represent the matter in detail as written out here to His Majesty.

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1. Diyānat Rāi, Rāi Rāyān (1000/150) was appointed *Dīwān* of the Deccan in 1648 which he held till 1649, *Waris*, 45(b), 53(a), as cited in *Apparatus*, 3., 4436, 3., 5398.
13.2 Recommendations for Rūhullāh (1656, pp. 642-3):

Informs him that Rūhullāh son of Muḥammad Yusuf Khān posted in the Deccan has reported to Aurangzeb that he was appointed faujdār of Māndū with the conditional increase of 500/400. Subsequently, he received an increase of 200 sawārs in recognition of his good service there. His original and additional rank was 1500/1000 which has been now retained at 1000/400; however, his additional conditional rank together with the subsequent increase was resumed (upon his transfer to the Deccan). Since he is an efficient soldier and the conditions of the jagirs of the Deccan are known, it is suggested that Fāzīl Khān should represent his case to His Majesty on an appropriate occasion and make such endeavours that suitable favour should be shown to him so that he can confidently carry out his duties without losing his contingent.

14. Letters to Multafat Khān

14.1 Administration of Aurangzeb's jagirs (1652, pp. 675-6):

Informs him of the assignment of the sūbas of the Deccan to Aurangzeb from the beginning of Kharij Yunt I. One

1. Rūhullāh s/o Muḥammad Yusuf Khān Tāshqandī (Turānī) (1500/1000) was demoted to 1000/400 in 1656, Wāris, 265(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 6903.

2. Pargāna and sarkār Māndū in sūba Mālwā, Atlas, 9A.
of Aurangzeb's officers Muḥammad Tāhir has been ordered to
go there in advance of the prince's retinue. A nishān has
been sent to Dīyānat Khān that till his (Tāhir's) arrival
he should post knowledgeable karoris in the mahāls of the
jāgīr of Aurangzeb under his Diwan. 'Expects that Multafat
Khān would also send honest karoris to jāgīrs assigned to
Aurangzeb for salary through Imperial fārmān. He should
instruct them to be warned of doing anything attracting the
prince's censure and to bear in mind the financial require-
ments of (Aurangzeb's) establishment, welfare of peasantry
and increase in prosperity and cultivation. He should keep
himself well-informed.

11.3 Instructions for the Management of Aurangzeb's jāgīrs
(1862, p. 677):

Informs him of his impending arrival to the Deccan. With
God's aid Aurangzeb will justly treat and protect the in-
habitants of that province who have been put in distress
by the oppression of the governors. Assures him that
whatever he proposes for properly administering that pro-
vince will be accepted.

Muḥammad Tāhir who has left along with a group of offi-
cials on 19 Ramazān will perhaps reach Burhānpur towards
the middle of Zilhijja. Till that time the addressee
should look after Aurangzeb's jāgīrs which are situated
within his ḫivānī and appoint the intelligent and honest Ṣāmilī so that there is no shortfall in collecting revenue (māl-i vājībī) and the peasantry are not oppressed. Safeguarding the weak against the oppression of the strong, he should manage the affairs in such a way that the jāgīrdārs and the kāhārūn would not oppress the peasantry and the weak. He should display a sense of justice and equity in every matter and do his utmost for the prosperity of the territory and the extension of cultivation.


Previously orders were issued to Murshid Quli Khān to pay Rs. 10,000 from the treasury of Ahmadnagar as loan (musā' adat) to 'Abdul Muni'm. Trusts the money has been remitted. The addressee should deduct one thousand huns which he has paid to 'Abdul Muni'm for the expenses for the treasury (kharch-i tahwilārī), according to Murshid Quli Khān's authorisation (sanad) and pay the balance also to him so that his contingent does not leave him (for lack of pay). The sanad of money claim on Tirambak has been taken by his agent, who will dispatch it. Since Hoshdār was

1. 'Abdul Muni'm not identified.
granted the faujdari of Chamārgonda, Kāḍā and Bist Aurangzeb has continued the previous conditional rank upon condition of holding the new posting. Let him see to it that Noshīār performs his administrative functions properly and is vigilant.

15. Letters to Nasiri Khan.

15.1 Protection of the irēasantry and Favours to Officials (1657, pp. 727-8):

The addressee's action in leaving Ahmādnagar and proceeding to the frontiers of Parenda has been approved, since this was done keeping in view circumstances of the time and advancing the Imperial interests. He should so apply himself to the possession and administration of the Imperial territories that the peasants and inhabitants may feel safe from the depredations of the enemy and whole-heartedly engage themselves in cultivation and that peace is established and the refractory elements do not dare to enter in that territory. Murshid Quli Khān's departure with a view to taking over administration of that terri-

1. Pargana Chirmārgonda (Mod. Shrigonda) sarkar Ahmādnagar, sūna Aurangabad, Atlas, 14A.
3. Bist not identified.
trjry has been postponed, and he has been directed by Aurangzeb to depute the knowledgeable officials for assuming and settling the peasantry and making proper arrangements for the carrying on of cultivation.

It was correct to leave behind Rao Karan and Kartalab Khan in Chira\(^1\) and Na'īm Qāmūnī and to give the charge of thāna Kher\(^2\) to Kartalab Khan. Since the administration of that territory has been left to him (Naṣīrī Khan), he should do whatever he judges to be proper on the spot.

'Abdul Muni'm Khan has been properly remunerated for his service; Kurshid Quli Khan has been sent a nishān to give him a loan (mussādat) of ṭ.10,000 from the treasury of Ahmadnagar fort and send the sanad accordingly. The amount that he has already received, on the basis of the addressee's letter, shall be deducted from this. He should help him and keep him with himself. As recommended by him, Kartalab Khan's affairs are being looked into. The faujdarī of Chamārgonda, Kāda and Bist was entrusted to Hosdār. He has been instructed that contrary to past he should properly administer that territory without any neg-

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1. Chira: not identified.

2. thāna Kher (Mod. Ganga Kher), sarkār Nānder, sūba Bīhar, Atlas, 14A.
ligence. Wali Beg and Amān Beg would be granted tan-
khwān jāgīr in a suitable place. The physical verifica-
tion of the soldiers of Iraj Khān will be made by Rustam,
the Bakhshī of that army in consultation with Naṣīrī Khān.
Similarly the branding of the horses of Sawayat Trimbak
Bhonsla is part of the duties of the bakhshī.

15.2 Salaries of the Officials (1657, p. 732):
The Naẓīr (Sir Jumla) has sanctioned cash pay for Iraj
Khān and his brothers with effect from Khurdād (Ilāhi
month), and henceforth they will be paid on this basis.
Trimbak Bhonsla has received the entire pay for his man-
gīzar and, in response to the addressee's recommendations
Aurangzeb has granted Rs.4,000 as loan to him from the
treasury of Ahmadnagar fort.

15.3 Promotion of Tātār Beg and Recommendation for Shīvājī
(1657, pp. 735-6):
Whatever has been represented about the abilities of
Tatar Beg by the addressee has already been reported to

1. Wali Beg s/o Sulṭān Beg (150-15) Hyderabad, 4190, as
cited in [Apparatus i.], 5516.
2. Amān Beg s/o Wāḥadūr Khān (Irānī) (1000-400), Sālih,
III, 466.
3. Trimbak Bhonsla Maratha (1600/1000), Alamgīrnama, 48.
4. Tātār Beg s/o Uzbek Khan, Alamgīrnama, 52.
Aurangzeb who has granted him *jāgīr* in *pargana* Kada Nimune in lieu of his resumed *jāgīr*; and he has ordered *diwān* that he be given the certificate of assignment (*sanad-i tankhwāni*). The additional pay-claim will also be allowed after receipt of the approval by His Majesty. Let him encourage Tātār Beg and keep engaged in his duties so that he may be duly rewarded. The addressee had been ordered by His Majesty to report about all those who had fought with him so that they could be promoted accordingly. Let him make representations to the Court about his brother and Rustam Khān. Appreciates his reply in response to the accursed Shīva's letter. Although his extermination is necessary, (and) he cannot be pardoned after such contumacy, yet if he agrees to act in conformity with the addressee's letter, and sends a trusty representative, and should his requests be worthy of consideration, these may be reported to Aurangzeb.

15.4 Administration of Parenda (1657, p. 737):

Since Parenda with its environs along with the entire territory of Konkan-i Wizāmul Mulki has been annexed to the Imperial dominions, and all the forts and the mahāls would be shortly occupied by the Imperial armies, it is necessary to console the peasantry and protect that territory from plunder and rapine, the addressee should proceed...
there forthwith with the object of occupying and protecting the villages and mahāls of that area and see to it that neither the Imperial armies nor the revenue officials and governors (havāldārs) of Bījāpur should cause any harm to the inhabitants of that territory.

1. Letter to Muhammad Beg.1

16.1 Mir Jumla's Retainers and Recruitment of Soldiers (1656, pp. 787–9):

The retainers of Mīr Jumla, who have lost their horses and who have one horse (yak-aspa), represented that they should be given musā'adat. The Prince has ordered that musā'adat cannot be granted. To such of those as have lost their horses and are judged competent by him, and to those who have one-horse, and wish to be two-horsed (do-aspa), he may pay one month salary in advance in addition to one month salary which was sanctioned as due to the new retainers so that whosoever does not possess any horse should purchase one and whoever requires a second horse should arrange to have it. He should recruit and maintain as many Bundela infantry and Daksariya rocketeers (bāndār) etc. as he can, after proper selection. Those residents of Karanpura, who do not devote themselves to the work of erecting the fort,

1. Muhammad Beg(Turānī)(1000/600), Ṣāliḥ, III, 466.
will not be lagging after Rāo Karan has passed through Burhānpur.

He should conciliate the people of Shāh Ganj and others who have complained and enquire into the reason of the complaint. If the realization has been made according to the assessment (taujih) and no irregular exaction has been made, their complaint is baseless. If, however, more than the stipulated amount has been exacted by muhalladarān (heads of mohallas), officials of kotwāl khāna, leading men and chaudhurīs, the true facts should be ascertained by him and he should secure what is due to the sufferer and punish the oppressors, so that it should serve as deterrent to others. The construction of the fort is designed for the welfare of the lot of the inhabitants and the people. They cannot be allowed to avoid payment of the amount assessed on basis of the old rules, at the same time. Directs him (Muḥammad Beg) to make utmost effort for expeditious completion of the fort. In assessing the tax equality should be followed, none should be oppressed and the people should not be compelled to pay more than what was rule in the past. If additional amount is required after spending the amount collected in tax it should be

1. Shāh Ganj in Burhānpur sūba Khāndesh.
spent from the Imperial treasury. Karan Kachhi¹ who hoping for royal favours, has arrived at Burhānpur should be sent to this Court. He has been sanctioned Rs. 2,000 from the treasury of Hāndia. If he has not received the said amount it should be paid from the treasury at Burhānpur, and he should be given leave to come to this Court.

Aurangzeb further directs Sultan Beg to recruit competent men numbering about 500 horsemen and 500 infantry in concurrence with Lutfullah² in addition to his regular contingent. Muḥammad Beg should write to Lutfullah Beg to act accordingly. He should grant one month salary out of the revenues of sarkār Bījāgarh that have reached him to all the horsemen and infantry recruited by Sultan Beg³ on suitable salaries (ṣulūfahai-munāṣib).

Karan Kunjī or Karan Kachhi (1500/1500) was the Zamīndar of Mālwa, Ḍānaqirnāma, 52, 92; Ḥatim Khān, 15a, 20a, 28b.

Lutfullah s/o Šaydullah Khān (Ind.K.) (700/100), Wāris, 368(a), as cited in Apparatus 3., 7043; Ṣāliḥ, III, 478.

Sultan Beg s/o Shāh Muḥammad Beg (100 zāt) SDSR, 202.
GLOSSARY

APRĀD-I DEHSALA: Comparative revenue statements of past ten years giving the jama (assessed revenue) and area or estimation of net revenue yielding capacity of different territories on the basis of which these were assigned in jagir. Irfan Habib, 'A System of Trimetallism & C', in J.F. Richards (ed.) The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India, 144.

'AHDNĀMA: Treaty, for detail see Momin, 53.

'AMAL: Revenue collection or the period when a person has been a revenue collector so that an event may be described as happening during the 'amal of a particular official. Irfan Habib, 'Evidence for Sixteenth Century Agrarian Conditions in Guru Granth Sahib', IEHSR, Vol. I, No. 3, 1964, 72n.

'AMIL: Official incharge of both the assessment and collection of the revenue. Goswami & Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, 63.

'ARZDĀSHT: Supplication, a petition or an official communication addressed by a subordinate to his superiors. N.A. Siddiqi, Land Revenue, 5n.

ĀWĀRJA: Balance, document listing individual jagir holdings within each pargana for a particular point in time. These documents were usually drawn up in order to ascertain the available revenues open for reassignment to mansabdars. J.F. Richards 'Official Revenues and Money Flows in a Mughal Province', The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India, 209.

BAKHSHIUL MAMĀLIK/MIR BAKHSHĪ: In charge of awarding mansab and checking mansabdars' contingents through the dāgh system; and controller of intelligence, Apparatus, XXV.


BILMUQTÂ: Lumpsum, at the same figure permanently. *Agrarian System*, 175.

CHAUDHURI: The hereditary zamindâr held responsible for the collection of revenue in each pargana, *CEHI*, I, 58.

CHHINT: Chhint (Hindi) Chit (Pers). Any cotton cloth (usually calico) with floral or other patterns printed (by block-stamping of resists or mordants and subsequent dyeing) or painted (by brush or pencil call-ed qalam) *Atlas*, 69.

DÂGH: Branding of the horses for checking the contingents of mansabdar at musters.

DÂK CHAUKÎ: The official postal organisation, dák being the word for post and chauki signifying relay-stations for runners and horses. I. Habib, 'Postal Communication in Mughal India', cyclostyled volume of Aligarh Papers on Indian History, 1985, 54.


DAROGHA-I PESHKASH: Officer in charge of receiving peshkash (gift) made to the Emperor. The term peshkash included ceremonial offerings as well as the levy or annual tribute paid by the chiefs and subordinate rulers. Cf. *Apparatus*, XXV.

DAROGHA-I TOPKÂNA: Corresponding to Mir-i Ālish Chief of the Artillery, *Apparatus*, XXV.


DÄSHMUÎKH: A hereditary revenue village officer. He was to maintain an armed body of retainers and assist in the collection of land-tax. Richards' *Mughal Administration*, 27.
Di::3HMUKHl: It was a kind of in'ām which was hereditary in character and peculiar to Maharashtra and Deccan only and it was made in terms of the dāms of the income of certain parganas in consideration of a stipulated peshkash presented to the Emperor. The right implied a share in the revenue amounting to 9 or 10 percent. Mughal Chancellery, 99; Agrarian System, 349n.

DIWĀN or WAZĪR: Wazir-i Kul or Diwān-i Kul. Minister in charge of imperial finance, jagir assignment and revenue collection. Apparatus, XXV.

DU-ASPA SIH-ASPA: A trooper with two horses receiving higher pay than the ordinary (barāwardi). This additional do-aspa sih-aspa came into use under Jahangir for the first time and theoretically it was a part of the sawār rank. Apparatus, XIII.

DUNIYADĀR: 'Men of the World'. The Mughals always insisted on calling "Adil Shāh" "Adil Khān" and Qutb Shāh "Qutbul Mulk" and from Akbar's time onwards both of them were styled duniya-dars, being worldly men. Agrarian System, 183.

FARMĀN: This term is applied to every royal missive that issued from the sovereign on the chancellory bearing the Imperial tughra and seal. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Medieval Indian Diplomatics, IHC, 1982, 3-4.

FAUJDĀR: Commandant of a territory. In charge of law and order. Apparatus, XXI, XXV.


GIRĀSYA: Originally he had been servant of the state, holding a revenue assignment similar to the jagirs of the Mughal period, but later indistinguishable from that of the bhumia (allodial proprietor). Agrarian System, 143.

HARKARA: Spy; an attendant upon men of rank, also employed to go on errands; a messenger, Steingass, 1496.

HAJIBUL AMR: Orders issued on behalf of the princes, Agrarian System, 282n; cf. Momin, Chancellery and Epistology Under the Mughals, 98.

HAJIBUL HUKMA: Imperial orders issued through court officials or Minister's order on oral instructions of the Emperor, Agrarian System, 282n.


INAM: when a jagir is assigned not against a rank, but as inam, free bestowal, without placing the assignee under any obligation. I. Habib, 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Medieval India', 124.

JAGIR: Transferrable territorial revenue assignment to the mansabdar. A tract of land which the King grants to mansabdars and persons of that kind, they might take its revenue (mahsul) from cultivation, whatever it be, Bahar-i 'Ajam, Nawal Kishore, 283, as cited in Agrarian System, 257; cf. Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal Empire & c., 196.

JANAH: (Literally meaning 'gathered together, aggregate, total The estimation of tax income or the expected net revenue, i.e. the gross realisation less charges of collection and other allowances for subordinate right holders. Shireen Moosvi, 'Share of the Nobility in the Revenue of Akbar's Empire' 1595-6, IE3HR, No. 3, 331.

KALANTARAN: Literally "big ones"; members belonging to dominant elements, CEHI, 248.

KARKhana: Workshop and store establishment. S.M. Jaffar, Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, 88; Economy of the Mughal Empire, 262.

KAROKH: Revenue-collector of the khālisa, the Imperial revenue establishment, Agrarian System, 275-83.

KHĀNAZĀD: Lit: those born of persons already slaves of the Emperor, a primary claim on a mansab was thought to vest in the sons and close kinsman (khānāzād) of those already in service, *Apparatus*, xxi.

KUROH: The Persian form of Sanskrit Krosa. The standard imperial kuroh often called Kuroh-i Padshahi represented a length of a little over $\frac{2}{3}$ miles, *Atlas*, xiii.


MAHAL / PARGANA: The two terms being practically synonymous ordinarily stand for the smallest territorial division within the Mughal empire, *Atlas*, IX. Pargana is essentially territorial division; mahal a revenue unit. All parganas were mahals, but the word mahal was also applied to certain specified sources of revenue such as port or market taxes, *Economy of the Mughal Empire & c.*, 10.

MAHĀL-I TAN: Territories from which salary is to be paid by jagir.


MANDAVI: Trade centre market. Richards' *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, 186.


MANSHUR: A royal receipt and a mandate, Momin, 54.
MIR BAKHSHI / BAKHSHI-I MAMALIK: In charge of the awarding of mansabs and checking mansabdar's contingents through the dāgh system and controller of intelligence. Apparatus, xxv.

MUJADDAT: Advance made to a mansabdar, loan. Agrarian System, 269; Mughal Nobility, 52; Usury in Medieval India', 410.

MUTALIBA: Claim of the Imperial exchequer for amounts owed to it by the jagirdars. Agrarian System, 267, 269.

MUTAJADDI: General designation for official. But specially applied to the customer of the Ports of Cambay and Surat. Apparatus, xxv.

NIJAR: Gifts offered by the nobles to the Emperor. Mughal Nobility, 144.


PUSHKASH: Fixed annual tribute; large present or a cash offering, additional to any revenues which the chief might have to pay to the court. Agrarian System, 181, 184-5, 289.

RAHDARI: Tolls and cesses exacted by the various authorities controlling the routes. Agrarian System, 67.

SARKAR: Administration of a prince or a noble; sub-division of a province. Agrarian System, 282.


SIH BANDI: Troops employed by the nobles for a temporary period for collection of land revenue and police duties, Nigar Nama-i Munshi, 93.
SUBZDAR: This and other designations such as nāzim, hākim, sipahsalar and sahib-i suba were used for the Governor of a suba, Apparatus, XXVI.

TA AHHUD: A pledge given by a prospective official about the amount he would assess or collect, Agrarian System.

TAKHFIIF: Abatement in revenue, Mughal Nobility, 77.


TANKHWAH-I JAGIR: A jagir assigned in lieu of the salary due to a mansabdar, Mughal Nobility, 75.


TAJAVI: (Literally, strength giving), loans made by the government to cultivators, a term used in the Mughal administration for advance for the cattle and for sinking wells, I. Habib in CEHI, 65; The Mughals and the Joqis of Jakhbar, 97n.

TAHIHA: The minister's certificate verifying the horses, arms and armours maintained by a mansabdar bore the signatures of the Diwān and the Bakhshi, Momin, 93-9.

THANA: A military or a police post. A.J. Qaisar, Medieval India-A Miscellany, II, 72.

THANADAR: Officer-in-charge of a military or police post, CEHI, 244.

TOKHANA: The artillery department which included all fire arms not only but also muskets and rockets whether handled by horsemen or infantry, Mālasir-i Alam-girī, tr. J.N. Sarkar, 329.

WAJAI: The news reports of the waqā'ī nigār, I. Habib, Postal Communication in Mughal India, 65.
WAQIA NAWIS: News-writer or official entrusted with sending reports of all public business and other news. Usually the office was combined with that of the bakhshi of the suba and the official was a subordinate of the Mir Bakhshi. He appointed his own agents (qumashgas). Apparatus, xxvi.

WATAN JAGIR: The chiefs who obtained mansab, their old dominions were known as their watan, Mughal Nobility, 79.

YADDASHT: A note, memorandum, memorial (Wilson, Glossary, 800).

ZAMINDAR: Persian compound meaning holder of land used for any person with any hereditary claim to a direct share in the peasants' produce, CEHI, 244.

*
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