



MALWA UNDER THE MUGHALS (1562-1707)

THESIS
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The Thesis entitled Malwa Under The Mughals(1562-1707), is an attempt to study the history of the Mughal Subah of Malwa in its manifold aspects covering political, administrative, social, economic and cultural fields. Malwa was an important province of the Mughal Empire and had been annexed very early by Akbar in his career of conquest and provided the sinews of war and expansion in the adjoining and distant regions. Akbar's ambition of the conquest of Gujarat and the Deccan and the suppression of the Portuguese could not have been realised if this central region of India was not firmly secured in the Mughal hands. Both from military and economic points of view Malwa was the first step towards the Mughal goal of unification of most of India under one banner and one administrative structure. Therefore Malwa was conquered and annexed by Akbar in 1562. It became the vantage point for further exploits and it provided the economic resources to further expand westwards and southwards.

Malwa was also significant because a flourishing kingdom existed there before the Mughal conquest. It was famous for its prosperity, cultural achievements and refinement and the Mughal Emperor could have hardly spared it in his onward rush to secure resources, lands and centres of cultural efflorescence.

Mughal Subah of Malwa is too big a topic to be covered by one thesis or to be taken up in one study. In fact, both micro and macro studies are needed to fill in the gap in our wide range of researches of the region as a whole and its dis-

tinctive character as a part of the overall study of Mughal India. I wish future researchers would undertake work on constituent units of the vast region of Malwa in order to cover various aspects of the micro studies. My purpose is to unfold the hidden aspects in the studies of Malwa in one systematic work and to leave future researchers to study different aspects minutely and extensively. No systematic work has as yet been undertaken on the Subah of Malwa as a single unit; hence the importance of this study as part of the overall study of Mughal India.

The thesis is divided into six chapters dealing with multifacet aspects of the history of Malwa in administrative social, economic, religious, cultural fields and related thematic ramifications.

Chapter I deals with pre-subah background beginning with geographical, topographical and strategic importance of the Subah in necessary details and highlights as to how it become a centre of attraction to the warring states intent on coveting Malwa. On 10 March, 1561 Akbar sent Mughal army towards Malwa. The command of the army was given to Adham Khan which included such generals as Pir Muhammad Khan, Abdullah Khan, Qiya Khan Khang, Shah Muhammad Khan Qandhari, Adil Khan and his son, Sadiq Khan, Habib Quli Khan, Haider Ali Khan and others. The army reached Sarangpur and Baz Bahadur the ruler of Malwa who resided there moved out three kos from the city, pitched his camp and

arranged his army. But he could not withstand the bravery of Adham Khan and was defeated. Baz Bahadur fled towards Khandesh. Once again Baz Bahadur reoccupied Malwa from Pir Muhammad Khan, the hakim of Malwa but finally Abdullah Khan Uzbek was given the task of recapturing Malwa. It was finally annexed to the Mughal Empire as a Mughal Subah in 1562.

The discussion on the Mughal administrative structure is split into two Chapters II and III. One deals with the position, powers and role of the Subahdar and the distinctive character of the governor's peculiar function in the distant region of Malwa in matters of war and peace in the midst of turbulent circumstances, insurgence and situation of aggression and attacks. In the Mughal system of administration the Subahdar occupied a very significant and unique position. He was the civil and military head of administration in the province and carried on imperial policies and measures. He was the prototype of the Emperor's powers and functions and was responsible for war and peace, tranquillity and prosperity, agricultural and industrial growth in the Subah and was in direct communication and command from the Central authority.

The Subahdar was supported by a network of officers in the province. The provincial diwan, bakhshi, sadr, qazi and in the sarkars and parganahs the officers known as the faujdar, Kotwal, qazi, amin, patwari, bitikchi etc. ensured the maintenance law and order, justice and tranquillity, revenue realization

and the strength of the enforcement of imperial edicts and authority. These form the discussion of a separate Chapter III which gives details in this important sphere of the study.

Chapter IV is entitled Economic structure. The discussion spreads out to various categories of economic activities like the state of agriculture, nature and output of foodgrains and other kinds of produce, the growth of trade and towns, forest products, textile manufactures, the production of exquisite fabrics, pottery and glaze-work, minerals, mints and standards of general economic prosperity- all dealt within necessary details.

The Chapter dealing with society and culture depicts the multifarious human activity and various aspects of growth in the economic, cultural, political and administrative fields which combined to set a pattern to social development, life-style and the value and importance attached to social norms and cultural enrichment, the prosperity of the people and the variegated social structure is glimpsed from the social pattern that has been emerged from contemporary literature and artefacts from Malwa. In Malwa as elsewhere in India the disparities in rank and position and strata of society presents a picture of a wide gap between the rich and the poor and the presence of a negligible middle-class in society. The caste-system was rigid and complex and was a great deterrent to social mobility and cohesion. The discussion covers all the various aspects of social life,

social customs, ceremonies, usages, fairs, festivals, education, literary output, medical sciences, growth of Sanskrit and Persian literature and sundry other by-products of social pattern and way of life.

The last Chapter analyses Sufi orders and their social impact. The Sufi movements had enriched the socio-religious life of the people of Malwa. It was a phenomenon which was introduced to India with the Muslim contact. Before the Muslim arms could reach various parts of India, Muslim commerce and religion had produced significant appearance and impact in the various parts of India. The Sufi orders which played a vital role to mould the life of the people of Malwa were the Chishti, Shattari and the Qadiri. Very soon Malwa was studded with Sufi shrines and Khanqahs where instructions in spiritual and moral teachings were imparted. Sufism infused new life and vigour in society and made a deep impact upon the life of non-Muslims as well. The Chishti and the Shattari silsilahs found sound base in Malwa and a large number of Sufis belonging to these orders made Malwa their centre of activities.

The foregoing description of the chapters of the thesis covering sundry aspects of the scope of the work would abundantly demonstrate the extensive coverage of the perspectives and aspects pertaining to the history of the Mughal Subah of Malwa. It is of vital importance because of the commercial, agrarian,

strategic, administrative, socio-cultural, socio-religious, educational and other significant themes of discussion which are given in this thesis in necessary details. The work is thus intended to be a study to arouse the interest of co-workers to take up researches in the different themes connected with Mughal Malwa.

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that MR. SYED BASHIR HASAN has completed his research under my supervision. This thesis prepared by him on "Malwa Under The Mughals (1562-1707)" is his original work and is fit for submission for the award of the Ph.D. Degree in History.

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Supervisor

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The present study focusses attention on the history of the Mughal Subah of Malwa in its political, administrative, social, economic and cultural perspectives. It fills in a wide lacuna of a systematic study of the Mughal Subah of Malwa in the series of historical studies of the region.

Chapter I deals with pre-Subah background beginning with geographical, topographical and strategic importance of the Subah in necessary details and highlights as to how it became a centre of attraction to the warring states intent on coveting Malwa. In the latter part of the Chapter the landmarks of the history of the Malwa Sultanate and the circumstances leading to its decline and the transformation of the region into a regular province of the Mughal Empire are narrated.

The discussion on the Mughal administrative structure is split into two Chapters II and III. One deals with the position, powers and role of the Subahdar and the distinctive character of the governor's peculiar function in the distant region of Malwa in matters of war and peace in the midst of turbulent circumstances, insurgence and situation of aggression and attacks. He was in direct communication with Central authority. His position in the hierarchy of Mughal bureaucracy was unique and his powers and functions were of great importance to sustain the Mughal edifice of administrative system and its efficient functioning.

The Subahdar was supported by a network of officers in the province. The provincial diwan, bakhshi, sadr, qazi and in the sarkars and parganahs the officers known as the faujdar, kotwal, qazi, amin, patwari etc. ensured the maintenance of law and order, justice and tranquillity, revenue realisation and the strength of the enforcement of imperial edicts and authority. These form the discussion of a separate Chapter III which gives details in this important sphere of the study.

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Malwa had a speciality in the manufacture of salt which was an essential and indispensable commodity of common use. Paper was another important industry located at Mandu. Textiles of different hues and colours, designs and style and embroidered with gold and silver and quality fabrics of semi-transparent fineness were the special and unique industrial products of the Subah. Chintz of colourful and excellent design

were sent out to different places in India and abroad. Muslims of Chanderi and Hasilpur and turbans of Sarangpur and long cloth from Dhar in Mandu were commodities in great demand. A special cloth known as Do-dami and Chintz from Sironj were famous for their delicacy and thinness and were specially in great demand in North India.

Malwa had also specialized in the manufacture of ornaments of gold and silver. The industrial arts of Malwa not only exhibited the artistic taste and expertise of the region but also brought wealth and dividends to the skilful manufacturers and artisans. The availability of marble in abundant quantities in the region added to the scope of the work of artistry of the people of Malwa. The mints and markets of Malwa speak of the opulence of the region. Malwa was on the crossroads from the North and the South and constituted a bridge connecting the North-South, political, commercial and cultural inter-relation and therefore its importance as a connecting link for the transport of culture and commerce was of immense value. The Mughal Empire with its ambitions of political expansion and administrative and cultural unification found it a convenient spring-board for its accelerated pace of progress. Certain towns of Malwa like Mandu, Sironj, Sarangpur, Ujjain, Chanderi bear evidence of cultural, commercial and industrial activities of the people of the province. These are widely scattered and stupendous signs of prosperity and fullness of life bursting with efflorescence in the region during the Mughal

times. Not only contemporary works of History, art and culture but also the remains of the architectural monuments and artefacts testify to it.

Chapter V deals with society and culture and depicts the multifarious human activity and various aspects of growth in the economic, cultural, political and administrative fields which combined to set a pattern to social development, life style and the value and importance attached to social norms and cultural enrichment, the prosperity of the people and the variegated social structure is glimpsed from the social pattern that has been emerged from contemporary literature and artefacts from Malwa. In Malwa as elsewhere in India the disparities in rank and position and strata of society presents a picture of a wide gap between the rich and the poor and the presence of a negligible middle class in society. A vast majority of the people of Malwa lived in villages and agriculture was their mainstay of sustenance. The provincial government was keen to promote the cause of agriculture in order to promote the lot of the people and augment resources revenue of the Subah. The economic and social pattern was such as to maintain the gulf between the rich and the poor. The caste-system was rigid and complex and was a great deterrent to social mobility and cohesion. Women were respected and given opportunity to learn arts of culture and education but they had many restriction and handicaps and which tended to inhibit them from shining forth and display

their talents. Sati and Jauhar were the great vices of the age. The discussion covers all the various aspects of social life, social customs, ceremonies, usages, fairs, festivals, education literary output, medical sciences growth of Sanskrit and Persian literature and sundry other by products of social pattern and way of life.

Chapter VI analyses the Sufi orders and their social impact. The Sufi movements had enriched the socio-religion life of the people of Malwa. It was a phenomenon which was introduced to India with the Muslim contact. Before the Muslim arms could reach various parts of India, Muslim commerce and religion had produced significant appearance and impact in the various parts of India. Malwa too, was influenced by the Islamic religious traditions and movements since long. The advent of the Sufis added new dimensions to the socio-religious pattern in the region. The Sufi silsilahs which played a vital role to mould the life of the people of Malwa were the Chishti, Shattari and the Qadiri. Very soon Malwa was studded with Sufi shrines and Khanqahs where instructions in spiritual and moral teachings were imparted. Sufism infused new life and vigour in society and made a deep impact upon the life of non-Muslims as well. There was tremendous interaction and people were effected by the simplicity and profundity of the Sufi ideology, concepts, mystic discipline, social equality and the efficacy of pious acts of doing good to others and coming to the rescue of the weak and the downtrodden in their social degradation. The impact of

Sufism gave rise to numerous. Pantheistic and religion sects with emphases upon egalitarian and philanthropic notions of social behaviour thereby stirring the entire social life in the region. Sufism also became a great propagator of the educational and ethical values and education through the medium of Khanqahs and shrines which were interspersed far and wide into the subah. Sufism thus became a harbinger of human peace.

In this way the study unfolds various uncovered aspects of the history of the Subah of Malwa under the Mughal rule, 1562-1707. It is an attempt to depict the picture of the Mughal Subah of Malwa in its true colours, based upon a variety of contemporary and later sources and to highlight the region as a segment of its entirety in the overall picture of Mughal India. It would help to supplement the various aspects of study of this region with a view to linking them with the Mughal policies and administrative and socio-economic pattern obtaining in other regions of the country so that in totality Malwa may be reflected as a vital organ of the entire body-politic of Mughal India.

CHAPTER-I

MALWA UNDER THE SULTANATE AND ITS
TRANSFORMATION INTO A MUGHAL PROVINCE

When the centre becomes weak centrifugal tendencies develop. The Delhi Sultanate, the foundation of which was laid with the accession of Qutbuddin Aibek in 1206, had to face many ups and downs during the process of its expansion and development. The Sultanate was presided over by great rulers like Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. But the weak successors of Firuz Shah Tughlaq were not able to keep control over the vast regions of the Sultanate. The fourteenth century saw both the zenith of expansion as well as the beginning of disintegration of the Sultanate. When the Sultanate was tottering to its fall a later Tughlaq Sultan, Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah in 1390-91¹ sent Dilawar Khan², whose real name was Husain³, to Malwa as governor of the province. Dilawar Khan threw off his allegiance to the last Tughlaq Sultan and became independent ruler in 1401-2⁴ and thus laid the foundation of an independent kingdom of Malwa on the ruins of the Sultanate of Delhi.

At that time Dhar was the headquarters of the province of Malwa. Dilawar Khan made it his centre of activity and took of his abode there. He strengthened his position with

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1. A Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p.898.
 2. Firishta, II, p.461. Firishta mentions that Dilawar Khan's grandfather was an inhabitant of Ghur. Therefore U.N.Day writes him as Dilawar Khan Ghuri(Medieval Malwa, p.8).
 3. Firishta, II, p.460.
 4. Firishta, II, p.461, Briggs, IV, p.170; Wright, Vol.II, p.241. Wright too agrees that in A.H.804 Dilwar Khan assumed royal state.

the support of nobles¹ and restored law and order in Malwa. His son Alp Khan put of the fortifications of Mandu². He assumed the title of Amid Shah Daud and caused the Khutba to be recited in his name in the year 1401-02.

Dilawar Khan acquired the territory of the whole of Malwa³ under his control. He then extended his authority over Nimar⁴ and the districts of Saugar and Damoh⁵. Chanderi too accepted his overlordship and finally came under direct control during the reign of Hoshang Shah. Dilawar Khan breathed his last in 1406-7.

Hoshang Shah — Dilawar Khan's son, Alp Khan succeeded him and ascended the throne of Malwa in 1406 and assumed the title of Hoshang Shah⁶. Soon after his accession he had to face the aggression of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat. Muzaffar Shah got him arrested. Hoshang Shah was, however, subsequently restored to the throne of Malwa.

Hoshang Shah reoccupied Mandu and Dhar. He was remained engaged in a war with Gujarat for one full decade. With the capture of border principalities, imposing his overlordship and matrimonial alliances, he strengthened and saved the Malwa borders on all sides. He died on 5th July, 1435⁷, while

1. Firishta II, p.461.
2. Firishta II, p.461.
3. Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, MS.fol.428b.
4. Hira Lal, Madhya Pradesh Ka Itihas, p.73.
5. Corelal Tiwari, p.81.
6. Wright, II, pp.246-7; The Gazetteer of India, History and Culture, Vol.II, p.277.
7. Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi, fol.52b.

marching towards Shadiabad.

Muhammad Shah — The eldest son and heir-apparent of Hoshang Shah¹, Ghazni Khan ascended the throne of Malwa with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah². He could do nothing and Mahmud Khan Khalji, son of Malik Mughith³, killed Sultan Muhammad by administering poison to him in wine⁴. Thus came to an end the Ghuri dynasty founded by Dilawar Khan.

Mahmud Khalji I — Mahmud Khan ascended the throne on the advice of Malik Mughith on 14th May, 1436⁵. His reign started with the invasion of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Mahmud defeated and drove back Ahmad Shah to Gujarat. This enhanced Mahmud's prestige. He fought bravely with the Rana Kumbha of Chittor and ravaged the Bahmani kingdom. Adil Shah of Khandesh submitted before Mahmud. He occupied Chanderi⁶, Gagraun⁷, Ajmer⁸, Mandalgarh⁹ and subjugated Dungarpur. The Sultan of Delhi concluded peace with him. With all these achievements Mahmud led Malwa to the peak of glory. He died on May 1469.

1. T.A.(Tr.), III, p.491.

2. T.A.(Tr.), III, p.491.

3. Malik Mughith was Hoshang Shah's cousin(U.N.Day, Medieval Malwa, p.33). He was wazir of Hoshang Shah and Ghazni Khan confirmed him to the same office(Firishta,II,p.476).

4. T.A., III, p.309; Firishta, II, p.477.

5. T.A., III, p.312 and T.A.(Tr.) III, p.497; Briggs, IV,p.196. He gives the corresponding date as May 16, 1435.

6. Maasir-i-Mahmudshahi, f.92a; Briggs IV,p.205.

7. Zafar-ul-Walih, p.199 and (Tr.) Vol.I, p.172; Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p.915.

8. Firishta II 496; Briggs IV, p.222.

9. Zafar-ul-Walih, p.202; Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p.917.

Ghiyas Shah — Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Sultan Mahmud ascended the throne of Malwa. He made his policy to protect the vast territories, inherited from his father. He secured his border on Mewar side by helping Rana Udai Singh. He made efforts to give peace and prosperity to Malwa. He died of dysentery on March 29, 1501¹.

Nasir Shah — Abdul Qadir, the eldest son of Ghiyas Shah ascended the throne of Malwa during the life-time of his father. Towards the end of his reign his son, Shihabuddin revolted against him. Therefore he nominated his third son, Azam Humayun and nominated him as his successor with the title of Mahmud Shah. Nasir died on December 1510².

Mahmud Khalji II — Mahmud Khalji's accession was immediately challenged by his elder brother Shihabuddin. On the advance of Mahmud from Behishtpur³, Shihabuddin fled to Khandesh⁴. Mahmud Shah made over the office of wizarat⁵ to Basant Rai⁶ as hitherto. The appointment of Basant Rai was not welcomed by the nobles and was murdered⁷. They raised

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1. T.A., III, p.357 and T.A.(Tr.) p.553. Both Briggs(IV,p.239) and Zafar-ul-Walih(p.210) mentions that Ghiyas Shah was administered poison.
 2. U.N.Day, Medieval Malwa, p.265.
 3. T.A.,III, p.375 and T.A.(Tr.), III, p.574.
 4. Firishta, II, p.518; Zafar-ul-Walih, p.212; T A.(Tr.),III, p.575.
 5. T.A.(Tr.), III, p.576.
 6. Briggs, IV, 246 has Buswunt Row and the Cambridge History of India(Vol.III,p.365) has Basant Rai.
 7. Briggs, IV, p.246.

Sahib Khan, the eldest brother of Mahmud to the throne. Sultan Mahmud appointed Muhafiz Khan, a leader of the opposite group, as wazir. Muhafiz Khan became too powerful that he raised Sahib Khan to the throne. Showing his personal bravery Mahmud fled to Ujjain¹ and sought help from Rajput Chief Medini Rai. He appointed Medini Rai as wazir. Medini Rai became too powerful and posed a grave danger to Malwa. So Sultan Mahmud sought help from Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat which impelled Medini Rai supplicated to Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar for a common cause. The Rana of Mewar took him captive in the action that ensued. Although he was released but became too weak. A few years later Mahmud lost hold even over Mandu, which was invaded and conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1531. Mahmud was defeated and taken prisoner and on the way to Gujarat he was killed as he attempted to flee. Thus came to an end both the Khalji dynasty of Malwa and the independent kingdom of Malwa.

Bahadur Shah ascended the throne of Gujarat:- The ailing Sultan Muzaffar Shah nominated his son Sikandar Khan who on his death² ascended the throne of Gujarat. The nomination had enraged Bahadur Khan, who had left Gujarat and joined Ibrahim Lodi. A few weeks later Sultan Sikandar was assassinated on 26th May, 1526³. Bahadur Khan, during these disturbances in

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1. T.A., III, p. 382; Zafar-ul-Walih, p. 212, mentions Mahmud went to Sarangpur.
 2. Mirat-i-Sikandari, p. 239. Zafar-ul-Walih, p. 130, gives 2nd Jumada II, 932 A.H.; Commissariat, Vol. I, p. 281, 5th April, 1526. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa also gives the same date.
 3. Mirat-i-Sikandari, p. 243; T.A., III, p. 198 gives the date 19th Shaban.

Gujarat, received the information of his father's death. He started for Gujarat and on his way got the news of Sikandar Khan's assassination. He then entered Gujarat after encountering some opposition ascended the throne of Gujarat on 6th July, 1526.

Mahmud gives shelter to Chand Khan:- Sultan Mahmud Khalji II, owing to his gratitude towards Muzaffar Shah II gave asylum to Prince Chand Khan, the brother of Bahadur Shah. Razi-ul-Mulk¹ was also making contacts with Prince Chand Khan in Mandu. Under these circumstances Bahadur Shah decided to punish Mahmud Khalji².

Bahadur Shah occupies Malwa — Bahadur Shah reached upto the border of Malwa³. Mahmud Khalji called Silahdi and Muin Khan, the two powerful chiefs of Malwa for help. But they did not trust Mahmud and joined the camp of Bahadur Shah.

Bahadur Shah besieged the fort of Mandu and on March 28, 1531 he could enter the fort⁴. Mahmud and his seven sons were chained and sent to Champaner. In an attempt to flee, he and his sons were killed. Thus on March 31, 1531, he caused the Khutba to be recited in his own name. This was virtually a

1. Razi-ul-Mulk was an old noble of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat.

2. T.A., III, p.405; Firishta, II, p.529.

3. Mirat-i-Sikandari, p.274. Bahadur Shah came to Mehrasa in Bagad.

4. T.A., III, p.217; Firishta, II, p.530; Zafar-ul-Walid, p.196; Mirat-i-Sikandari, p.277, Only Nizamuddin makes the information that Mahmud tried to kill his wife and children.

declaration that Bahadur Shah was the Sultan of Malwa or that Malwa became part of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah allowed Muin Khan and Silahdi to remain in the occupation of their territories. But virtually Bahadur Shah wanted to crush the strength of Silahdi¹. On return from Khandesh, he moved against Silahdi. He tactfully got him arrested in the fort of Dhar. After his arrest, Bahadur Shah occupied Ujjain, Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen.

Bahadur Shah was now free from Raisen and turned his attention towards Chittor. He besieged Chittor in February 1533², but on receiving news of coming of Humayun upto Gwalior accepted the offer of peace from Chittor and returned back. He wanted to establish amicable relations with Humayun and sent an emissary with a letter and presents and Humayun made a same return³.

Bahadur Shah incurred the displeasure of Humayun when he gave shelter to Muhammad Zaman Mirza⁴, the Mughal rebel.

1. Commisariat, Vol.I, p.327. Commissariat opines, "Bahadur Shah must need consider his conquest of Malwa incomplete so long Silahdi, the powerful Rajput fief, holder of Raisen, Ujjain and Bhilsa, continued his semi-independent sway in eastern districts of Malwa".

2. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p.319.

3. Zafar-ul-Walih, p.227.

4. Akbarnama, I, p.289; U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p.321.

He sent Tatar Khan to launch an invasion against Agra. Tatar Khan attacked and occupied Bayana. Humayun sent Askari and Hindal against Tatar Khan. Tatar Khan was killed with three hundred of his soldiers. However, correspondence was going on between Humayun and Bahadur Shah asking the latter to expel Muhammad Zaman Mirza. But Bahadur Shah replied in a rude manner. This disgrace was a challenge to the Mughal Emperor.

While Bahadur Shah was engaged in his second attack on Chittor in Nov. 1534, Humayun entered into Malwa¹ and reached Sarangpur by Jan. 1535. Humayun deliberately reached Ujjain where Purbiya Rajputs supported him.

Bahadur Shah received information that Humayun had come to Mandsor. Bahadur Shah arrived at the place and the two armies pitched their tents. Humayun soon encircled Bahadur Shah's camp and cut off his supplies. Moreover he was betrayed by Rumi Khan². Bahadur Shah, therefore, fled to Mandu³. Humayun occupied the camp of Bahadur Shah.

Sadr Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, the two generals of Gujarat, collected forces after the departure of Bahadur Shah and rushed to Mandu⁴ followed by Humayun who stayed at Nalcha. Humayun was

1. Akbarnama, I, p.400; Humayun Nama, Gulbadan Begum, pp.129,131.

2. Mirat-i-Sikandari, pp.307-8; Zafar-ul-Walih, p.239.

3. Akbarnama(Tr.), Vol.I, p.304.

4. Akbarnama(Tr.), Vol.I, p.303. Abul Fazl writes, 'Sadr Khan and Imadul Mulk Khasakhail took, with 20,000 horses, the direct route to Mandu while Humayun halted at Nalcha; Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i-Gujarat, p.15, does not give the number of soldiers.

further strengthened by the joining of Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Hindu Beg and Qasim Husain Sultan who arrived at Nalcha. Humayun laid the siege of the fort. As the fort was well protected by nature, Humayun soon hinted for some understanding. He sent Saiyid Amir and Bairam Khan¹ to Bahadur Shah with a proposal that Gujarat should remain with Bahadur Shah and he should leave the rest of his territories for Humayun. The hostilities were to come to an end at day-break but the Mughals made an unexpected night-attack and forced their way into the fort. Bahadur Shah retreated to Songarh, the citadel of the fort of Mandu and finally fled towards Gujarat. Thus Mandu was fully occupied by Humayun by the middle of 1535².

Bahadur Shah was now in Champaner. Humayun pursued him but as he reached the city Bahadur Shah fled to Cambay. Humayun also followed him to Cambay via Ahmedabad³ and finally Bahadur had to take shelter in Diu and signed an agreement with the Portuguese. Humayun was successful in occupying Central Gujarat and placed his officers under the viceroyalty of Mirza Askari⁴. He returned to Malwa but Mallu Khan of Mandu, Muin Sikandar Khan of Satwas and Mihtar Zambur of Handia were joined and occupied Ujjain.

1. Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p.16.

2. U.N.Day, *Medieval Malwa*, pp.325-26.

3. Humayun Nama, Gulbadan Begum, p.132.

4. U.N.Day, *Medieval Malwa*, p.327.

Mirza Askari could not manage the affairs of Gujarat which encouraged Bahadur Shah to start from Diu. Unsuccessful to overcome the situation he left Gujarat and proceeded to Agra. This return of Askari compelled Humayun to leave Malwa¹ and joined Askari at Chittor and together proceeded to Agra.

The kingdom of Malwa was virtually evacuated after an occupation of one year, leaving no garrison and governor to possess the territory for him. Thus Malwa was left to its own fate.

Malwa Regains Independence Under Qadir Shah — After reoccupying Gujarat Bahadur Shah enjoyed nominal hold over Malwa by appointing Mallu Khan in Mandu² and Muhammad Shah Asiri incharge of Malwa. But after the death of Bahadur Shah Imad-ul-Mulk the wazir of Mahmud Shah II of Gujarat, sent a canopy with the title of Qadir Shah and the right of minting coins to Mallu Khan³.

Thus Khutba was recited and Mallu Khan as Qadir Shah became the ruler of Malwa. He sought the allegiance of the

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1. Humayun Nama, p.133, "Mirza Askari's people left Ahmadabad and came to the Emperor. They represented to him that Mirza Askari and Yadgar Nasir Mirza had conspired and wished to go to Agra. On hearing this, he himself was forced to go; he left the important affairs of Gujarat and turned away and went to Agra. Here he spent as much as a year"; Abu Turab Wali, p.32 writes, Tardi Beg informed Humayun that Askari Mirza and Hindu Beg and other Mirzas had left for Agra to create trouble.
 2. Mirat-i-Sikandari, p.323.
 3. Mirat-i-Sikandari, pp.329, 337.

local Rajputs. He was successful in tackling with the internal affairs of Malwa.

Sher Shah And Malwa Affairs — While Qadir Shah was making efforts to consolidate the kingdom of Malwa, he received a farman¹ of Sher Shah to march against Humayun who had already been defeated by Sher Shah at Chausa. Sher Shah had already enthroned himself in 1539-40². Qadir Shah was not prepared to act upon. He even asserted his position in his reply. While his letter was still on its way Sher Shah sent his son Qutb Khan to join Qadir Shah. Qutb Khan near Chanderi came to know about the unfriendly attitude of Qadir Shah and turned towards Kalpi. But he was opposed by the Mughals as he returned. He offered battle and was killed³.

In April 1542, Sher Shah started for Malwa. Qadir Shah met Sher Shah at Sarangpur⁴. Sher Shah welcomed him and bestowed upon him a red pavilion and other royal articles. But when Sher Shah tried to transfer him to Bengal, he fled to Gujarat⁵. Shujaat Khan was sent to pursue him but he had to return without success⁶. Sher Shah made fresh administrative

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1. Tabaqat-i-Akbari(Tr.), III, p.618; Tarikh-i-Shershahi (Elliot IV, S.G., p.94).
 2. Tarikh-i-Daudi, p.216; Qanungo, Sher Shah, p.208, gives the date as beginning of December, 1539.
 3. Elliot, IV, p.379; Qanungo, Sher Shah And His Times, pp.223, 225.
 4. T.A., III, p.413.
 5. T.A., III, p.413; Elliot, IV, pp.394-95; Qanungo, Sher Shah And His Times, p.335.
 6. Elliot, IV, pp.394-95.

arrangements and after appointing his officers marched against Raisen in March, 1543 and conquered Raisen. After the occupation of Raisen, Sher Shah appointed Shujaat Khan the governor of Malwa¹. Islam Shah Sur removed Shujaat Khan and appointed Isa Khan the governor of Malwa. After the death of Islam Shah, Shujaat Khan was again appointed governor of Malwa by Muhammad Adil Shah. Shujaat Khan managed the administration of Malwa well and died in 1554-55.

Baz Bahadur Succeeds Shujaat Khan — Miyan Bayazid, the son of Shujaat Khan was able to set aside his rival Daulat Khan Ajiyala² and assumed royalty with the title of Baz Bahadur Shah. He was devoted to music and cultural activities. His love for Rupmati has taken a legendry shape quite popular in Malwa³. This negligence of administration invoked the jagirdars and officers to oppress the people and also attracted Mughal Emperor towards Malwa⁴.

Incorporation of Malwa As a Mughal Subah — On 10th March, 1561 Akbar sent Mughal army towards Malwa⁵. The command of army was given to Adham Khan⁶ which included such generals as

1. T.A.(Tr.), III, pt.2, p.621.
2. Daulat Khan Ajiyala was an adopted son of Shujaat Khan. Vide T.A.(Tr.), III, pt.2., p.627.
3. Vide L.M.Crump, Lady of the Lotus(London 1926); Rupmati "The Melody Queen of Malwa" (Chandra Kant Tiwari), PIHC, 1977, pp.244-249.
4. Rupmati "The Melody Queen of Malwa" (Chandra Kant Tiwari), PIHC, 1977, p.246.
5. Akbarnama, II, p.134.
6. Akbarnama, II, p.135.

Pir Muhammad Khan, Abdullah Khan, Qiya Khan Kang, Shah Muhammad Khan Qandhari, Adil Khan and his son, Sadiq Khan, Habib Guli Khan, Haider Ali Khan and others¹. The Mughal army reached Sarangpur and Baz Bahadur who resided at Sarangpur moved out three kos from the city, pitched his camp and arranged his army². But he could not withstand the bravery of Adham Khan and was defeated. Baz Bahadur fled towards Khandesh. Adham Khan occupied the female inmates of his harem and all his royal belongings³. However Rupmati could save her by taking a cup of poison⁴.

Adham Khan offended Akbar — The acquisition of so much wealth and seraglio of Baz Bahadur disbalanced the mind of Adham Khan. He hosted a great feast and gave presents to the officers which was a sign of royalty. For administrative convenience he divided Malwa into four divisions i.e. Mandu, Sarangpur, Mandsor and Handia. He took Sarangpur for himself and Mandu with Ujjain was given to Pir Muhammad. Sadiq Khan was given Mandsor and its dependencies while Handia was put under the charge of Qiya Khan⁵.

1. Akbarnama, II, pp.134-135; T.A., III, p.596.

2. Akbarnama, II, p.136; T.A., III, p.596.

3. Akbarnama, II, p.137.

4. Akbarnama, II, p.137.

5. Akbarnama, II, p.138.

After learning all the facts of the victory and acquisitions by Sadiq Khan who had returned to Agra from Malwa¹, Akbar was greatly enraged because Adham Khan sent to him only a few elephants. Akbar started for Malwa on 27th April 1561 and on the way the fort of Gagraum was surrendered by the officer of Baz Bahadur without offering resistance². Akbar put his own officer there and marched towards Sarangpur. However Adham Khan was on the way to Gagraun for the purpose of conquest. He came across the royal camp by surprise but joined the royal camp³.

Maham Anga reached here on the next day and warned Adham Khan who surrendered all that he acquired from Baz Bahadur's palace to Akbar. Akbar reconfirmed him and other officers to their former places⁴. However Adham Khan was soon removed from Malwa and Pir Muhammad was put in charge of Malwa⁵.

Baz Bahadur Regains Malwa — Pir Muhammad became unpopular for his insolent activities of torture and bloodshed. He attacked and captured Bijagarh and Sultanpur⁶. He moved upto Burhanpur against Khandesh and acquired large booty after plundering the city⁷. Baz Bahadur who had collected forces

1. Akbarnama, II, p. 140.

2. Akbarnama, II, p. 140.

3. Akbarnama, II, p. 141.

4. Akbarnama, II, pp. 142-143.

5. Akbarnama, II, p. 152

6. Akbarnama, II, p. 166

7. Akbarnama, II, p. 167.

gave battle to Pir Muhammad who was returning from Burhanpur. Pir Muhammad was defeated and crossing Narbada he was drowned¹. Thus Baz Bahadur once again reoccupied Malwa and Mughal officers returned to Agra.

Final Annexation of Malwa into A Mughal Subah — Akbar realised that in Malwa competent officers should be appointed who possessed great courage and understanding together with judicious acumen and composure. He, therefore, sent Abdullah Khan Uzbek who was well-acquainted with the geography and vantage points. He also appointed Khwaja Muinuddin Ahmad Farkhundi to work for revenue administration². As Abdullah was to administer the country, Khwaja Muinuddin was to please the peasantry and the poor masses.

On receiving the news of the advance of Mughal army Baz Bahadur lost hope and Mughal forces gave him battle. His army was routed and he fled to Rana Udai Singh of Chittor³. Abdullah Khan took possession of Malwa and Mandu was made the headquarters⁴. Abdullah Khan sent Mughal officers to occupy important and strategic places. Khwaja Muinuddin Farkhundi's efforts established peace in Malwa.

Thus Malwa was annexed to the Mughal empire as a Mughal Subah in 1562. As a subah of Mughal Empire Malwa once again blossomed forth into prosperity and peace.

1. Akbarnama, II, p.167-68.

2. Akbarnama, II, p.168.

3. Akbarnama, II, p.169.

4. Akbarnama, II, p.169.

CHAPTER-II

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION I: THE
SUBAH DAR — HIS POSITION AND POWERS

In the Mughal system of administration the Subahdar occupied a very significant and unique position. He was the civil and military head of administration in the province and carried on imperial policies and measures. He was the prototype of the Emperor's powers and functions and was responsible for war and peace, tranquillity and prosperity, agricultural and industrial growth in the Subah and was in direct communication and command from the Central authority.

During the sultanate of Delhi there were provinces called iqtas and military areas under governors. But the system was not uniform. The Mughals divided their Empire into Subahs and the administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government. It was Mughal Emperor Akbar who devised new methods and evolved a well-defined administrative organisation. It was his innovation that he established a regular system of provincial administration.¹

There was a network of officers in the province. But the most important among them was the provincial governor who actually governed and controlled the province.² Under the Lodis and the Surs the provincial governor was called Hakim.³ Akbar after reorganisation, gave the title as Sipah Salar⁴, although

1. S.R.Sharma, Mughal Government And Administration, p.237.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.37.

3. P.Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, p.170.

4. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.37. Literally Sipah Salar means Commander of the Forces.

popular connotation was that of Subahdar¹. Later on, they were termed as Nazim². The Sipah Salar or Subahdar was the viceregent of the Emperor .

Method of Appointment

When a Subahdar was appointed the Emperor invested him with the insignia of office and bestowed on him a high rank with befitting honours and other gifts. When Prince Murad was given the government of Malwa in 1591, he was adorned with befitting honours and a kettledrum together with an umbrella and a togh(banner) was presented to him³. He was given an instrument of instructions at the time of his departure to take over the charge⁴. For instance, farmans containing these instructions were sent to Shahbaz Khan⁵, the governor of Malwa in 1594 and to Prince Murad⁶ while he was governor of Malwa in 1591.

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1. P.Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, p.170.
 2. Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.170, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.93 refers Islam Khan as Nazim of Malwa, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, p.271.
 3. Akbarnama, Vol.III, p.598
 4. P.Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, p.184.
 5. Oriental Miscellany(Cal.1798), Vol.I, pp.15-23.
 6. Akbarnama, Vol.III, pp.598-600. These instructions defined the responsibilities and the scope of governors work, contained advice for his private and public conduct and instructions regarding method of work.

The Subahdar was appointed by an Imperial order, in official terminology known as the 'farman-i-sabati'¹. On his appointment the governor had to go to the Imperial Diwan to take his leave before proceeding for his province and was delivered charge of his post².

We find that on certain occasions a person appointed Subahdar of a particular province was sent out to his new charge with increased mansab. In 1576 Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan was appointed Subahdar of Malwa with his rank elevated to a mansab of 5000³. It seems to be a case of promotion. But on the contrary there is evidence of an appointment of a person, to the post of governor, holding superior post. On the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne in 1658, Jafar Khan was divested of the post of Wazir of the Empire and appointed governor of Malwa where he remained from 1658 to 1663.⁴ Jafar Khan was one of the most successful governors of Malwa. Here it has to be stressed that this was not at all a case of demotion but change of assignment though not as exalted as that of a Wazir but of great initiative and power as that of a Governor. It was also a re-assertion of the Emperor's will to

1. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.I, p.194.

2. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp.38-39.

3. Akbarnama Vol.III, p.170.

4. Alamgirnama, p.162; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp.47-48, Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, p.733; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol.II, p.41.

have a new incumbent of trust and confidence to the position of Wizarat. After the removal of Jafar Khan from the post of wazir, his loyalty, integrity and efficiency was checked in the course of his services in Malwa and when Aurangzeb reposed confidence in Jafar Khan, he was again appointed wazir of the Empire in Aug., 1663¹. Obviously loyalty and integrity were the main qualifications pertaining to the office of wizarat as well as of the Subehdari of a province.

Deputy Governor as Ataliq -

Generally responsible persons of befitting qualifications and experience were appointed as governors of provinces. But in the case of royal princes and sons of nobles of high rank, an experienced and capable person was invariably deputed and sent as Ataliq (guide and preceptor) to the young Subahdar, who was consistently impressed upon with unceasing instructions to follow the advice of the Ataliq. The Ataliq was held fully answerable for any sort of inefficiency or maladministration². Shahbaz Khan Kambu was sent as Ataliq to Mirza Shahrukh when he was appointed governor of Malwa in 1593-94³. Similarly the appointment of Ismail Quli Khan as Wakil to prince Murad, on his appointment to the post of Subahdar of Malwa, served the same purpose.⁴

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1. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 47-48.
 2. Wazir Khan, the Ataliq of Mirza Abdurrahim was held responsible for the chaos and maladministration in Gujarat and was recalled and was demoted to the faiydarship of Idar. Mirat-i-Ahmadi (Baroda Text), pt. I, p. 137; Akbarnama III, pp. 217-218.
 3. Akbarnama III, p. 644, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 388. Badauni says wakil while Abul Fazl gives the term Ataliq.
 4. Akbarnama, III, p. 600; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 378.

Officiating Governor or The Agent of Absentee Governor -

We notice in some cases, the duly appointed governor is absent and an agent of his own choice, subject to the approval of the Emperor, was to administer the Subah in his name while the regularly appointed governor was away from his Subah either at the Imperial Court or on some assignment at the Emperor's behest or due to personal reasons he has to stay away from his seat of power. Sometimes he was absent for his being on public duty or on a campaign, and a deputy was appointed to officiate in his place during his absence.¹ We find Khan-i-Dauran, Nasiri Khan of Malwa officiating in the same manner as he went to suppress a rebellion in Balaghat during the absence of Khan-i-Zaman, the governor in 1635².

Institution of appointing Joint-Governors -

After giving a lot of thought to the problem Akbar in his thirty-first regnal year, found it necessary to appoint two persons to each province as joint governors with the intention that if one came to the Court, or should fall ill, the other might look after his work.³ He also sent with them a Diwan and a Bakhshi. But this practice seems not to have been strictly followed subsequently. Under this system of joint-governors

1. P. Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, p. 174.

2. Ishwari Prasad, The Mughal Empire, p. 479; P. Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, p. 174.

3. Akbarnama, III, 511.

which the Emperor made at this time, Abul Fazal informs that in 1585-86 Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka and Naurang Khan were sent out as joint-governors to Malwa¹.

Tenure of Appointment -

Indeed there is a lack of evidence to indicate a fixed term of office of a governor in a province. A reference made by Tavernier suggests that a governor was expected to retire from a province in three years² and normally a governor was not allowed to remain in the same province for more than three years, though there are many cases in which more longer term was given to a governor. In the case of Malwa the governorship of Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Mirza Shahrukh during the reign of Akbar, of Nasiri Khan, Khan-i-Dauran during the reign of Shahjahan and of Jafar Khan and Mukhtar Khan Qamruddin during the reign of Aurangzeb extended upto five years or more³. But normally we see, that in Malwa the tenure of governors did not exceed three years as a general rule. However, it may be said, in general, that where conditions were more stable or had a competent governor was allowed to serve for a longer term. Usually transfers in normal times took effect with the intention of not allowing a governor to strengthen his roots in a particular province.

1. Akbarnama, III, 511.

2. Tavernier, p.63. "Shaista Khan, having completed three years of his government, according to the custom in the empire of the Great Mughal----- he withdrew to Agra, where the court then was".

3. See Appendix I (Table of Provincial Governors of Malwa from 1562 to 1707).

Importance of Subah Malwa -

The Mughal Subah of Malwa was in territorial dimensions one of the largest of Akbar's provinces. In 1594 it comprised 12 sarkar but in 1667 it had only eleven¹. Malwa was attached special importance by virtue of its position on the great Mughal route along which armies and caravans marched from Delhi to Deccan, so also the routes to Gujarat and to the sea-ports on the western coast passed through it². For striking at Rajputana, Khandesh, Gondwana or Berar, Malwa provided an excellent military base³. Most of all, industrially Malwa occupied the first rank among the Mughal Subahs after Gujarat⁴.

Occupying such an importance Malwa was given special attention by the Mughal Emperors and more competent, efficient and confidential men were entrusted with the post of Subahdar of Malwa. Its importance further enhanced when Aurangzeb was busy in the Deccan wars Aurangzeb had, therefore, made it a point to appoint to its governorship either some prince of royal blood or some more trusted officer⁵. When Bidar Bakht was the governor

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1. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh(p.34a) mentions Bijagarh as one of the sarkars of Malwa; India of Aurangzeb, p.XXVI, Manucci,II,pp.413-4. The change seems to have continued even afterwards Chahar Gulshan does not mention it also(1720),pp.80a,80b; India of Aurangzeb,pp 1x,141-2; S.K.Bhatt,'Five Persian Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign From Malwa', PIHC,Hyderabad,1978.
 2. Raghbir Singh, Malwa In Transition, p.10; Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol.V, p.293.
 3. Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb,Vol.V, pp.293-4.
 4. Ibid., p.293.

of Malwa he had to escort the treasures passing through Malwa and provide safety from the Maratha depredations¹. Due to his illness (Dec. 1703-Jan. 1705) the prince appointed Jai Singh of Amber, his confidential officer, to escort the treasures and also officiate as his deputy in Malwa. Aurangzeb objected to this appointment and sent instructions to Bidar Bakht to remove Jai Singh from the post and then replaced him by Khan Alam. For future guidance, Aurangzeb ordered that no Rajput was to be appointed Subahdar or Faujdar².

Thus it becomes clear that Malwa remained, more or less through out the period under review, i.e. 1562-1707, extremely important due to its strategic and territorial importance as it became a vantage point to further Deccan campaigns of Aurangzeb.

Reception of the Subahdar -

The farmans of appointment or transference were sent through a *sazawal* who had the duty to announce the news to the provincial governor and escort him to his new charge asking the outgoing incumbent to make over charge to the incoming man³.

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1. Many of the letters in Inayatullah's Ahkam-i-Alamgiri (Rampur MS) contain the instructions to this effect.
 2. Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, ff. 68a, 72b.
 3. There are numerous references of this information in the chronicles. See Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (R & B), I, p. 373 and II, p. 200.

Equiped with men of his choice to assist him in the government of the province¹, the governor arrives in the province to take over the charge. On his arrival he was greeted by the fief holders and zamindars of the province. In the year 1591 when prince Murad was appointed Subahdar of Malwa², all the local zamindars came to pay homage to him on his arrival³.

Etiquette of the Subahdar's Court -

The Subahdar had to imitate the Emperor's etiquette in the province. For instance, in 1591 Prince Murad, the Subahdar of Malwa sought advice from Akbar as to how he should accept the salutation of the nobles. Akbar ordered that he should follow the Emperor's practice. In the assemblies nobles should be allotted seats according to their mansabs. But the nobles who have excelled in their sincerity, integrity, service and favours, should be allotted their proper place or they be assigned special distinction in their seats⁴. The governors, however, were not permitted to assume royal airs,

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1. Obviously subject to the approval of the Emperor. When on his appointment Murad asked two persons of his choice and named them to accompany him for Malwa, Akbar only allowed one See Akbarnama, III(Trans.), p.914. Ismail Quli Khan as Vakil and Mukhtar Beg as Bakhshi and several others accompanied Murad for Malwa. See Akbarnama, III, pp.599-600.
 2. Akbarnama, II, p.598.
 3. Ibid., p.604.
 4. Microfilm in the Department of History, no.29, ff.401b-404b of Akbarnama Ms.Br.Mus.Add.27247(This will be referred ahead with the abbreviation of Mic.)

or to copy the imperial court in the execution of those powers which were the peculiar symbols of royalty. Jahangir, in the sixth regnal year got the information that some governors were imitating the imperial regalia. He, therefore, ordered the Bakhsis to circulate orders that they should not do so in future. The governors were ordered not to observe jharokha darshan, not to ask their officers to keep guard on or salute them, avoid from engaging elephant-fights, not to inflict punishment of blinding, or mutilation of any limb. He also forbade the governors that not to compel anyone to accept Islam, not to confer titles on servants, nor order royal servants to do kornish or prostration, nor force singers to be present in attendance as in the imperial court, nor beat drums when they went out --- nor to seal anything they wrote¹.

Secret Council of the Subahdar -

The Subahdar had to adorn his Secret Council for the discussion of crucial matters and seeking advice, with men of sincerity, integrity and trust². When Prince Murad was governor of Malwa, Akbar directed him to consult Ismail Quli Khan in the first instance on vital matters of statecraft since Ismail Quli Khan and Jagannath, had distinguished themselves by loyalty to the Prince. However at the same time, to

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri(R & B), I, p.205

2. Mic., ff.401b-404b; Jagannath was one of the several important officers who accompanied Murad for the government of Malwa. See Refaat A.Khan, The Kachchwahas Under Akbar And Jahangir, p.146.

give uninvited advice to the governor was regarded punishable¹. Such an advice was tendered by Badauni to Pir Muhammad in 1562 while he was governor of Malwa. Of course the governor was also advised to exercise economy of words as well as of sentiment and to behave very carefully in society to shun frivolous company² and avoid men of no consequence.

As the Mughal government was highly centralised obviously the Mughal emperors did not favour much delegation of authority to the provincial governors. The governor's powers and functions were carefully defined. These were three-fold in nature- Civil, Military and Judicial. Abul Fazl states that the Subahdar was to regard his office of command as that of a guardian and the troops and the people were under his orders and their welfare depended upon his judicious administration³. He should keep all classes of the people in his province pleased by his good behaviour and prevent oppression of the weak by the strong⁴.

Civil - Being the executive head of the entire province the governor was responsible for the general administration, welfare, security and prosperity of the people. His recommendations about the mansabdars under him were accorded

1. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, pp. 100-01.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 38.

3. Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 37-38.

4. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 39.

due weightage and given effect to by the Emperor and therefore it was the Subahdar's duty to recommend only deserving officials for promotion¹. The governor had to keep up law and order, carry out royal orders and regulations, help regular collection of revenue and protect civil rights of the people. A bilingual hasbul hukum of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, the governor of Malwa dated 978H suggests that the orders of the Emperor were sent to the governor of the province and it was governor who circulated the royal farman with his hasbul hukum. It contains eleven lines on the obverse in shikasta Persian and fourteen lines in Hindi (mixture of Persian and Nimadi) and there is a seal impression of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, in the centre of the tenth line from the top. The farman contains on the reverse the endorsement in four lines with seal. On the top of this hasbul hukum is written " Farman Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi" and below it " Hukum-i-Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Hasani" ².

It was the bounden duty of the governor to take lively interest in promoting agriculture and enhance revenue realisation of the state as well as to suppress/refractory elements and work for the prosperity of the peasantry. In 1576, Akbar sent Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan to Malwa as governor of the province as he was distinguished for ability and cherishing of the peasantry³. We have information

1. Ibid., p. 39

2. S.K.Bhatt, 'A Bilingual Hasbul Hukam of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Hasani, 978H', PIHC, 1969, pp. 271-72, S.K.Bhatt, 'Seals of Akbars Reign', Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad No. VI; S.A.I. Tirmizi, Mughal Documents, p. 51.

3. Akbarnama, III, p. 170.

of Jafar Khan the governor of Malwa from 1658 to 1663 working hard for the increase of revenue of the province and establishing law and order. He also devoted his attention to the prosperity of the peasantry who were in distress from the exploitations of the local zamindars ever since the later years of Shahjahans reign. This information clearly points out that the provincial governor's most important duty was to save the peasants from the unnecessary exploitation of the zamindars and revenue collectors, improve agriculture¹.

He was also required to collect the tribute due from the neighbouring or constituent vassal chiefs or zamindars and to arrange for its safe convoy to imperial treasury. But he could not exercise authority over those having direct relations with the Centre, unless he was especially authorised or favoured². For instance, Nasiri Khan, the governor of Malwa during Shahjahan's reign took action against the zamindar of Kunar and even asked additional from the Emperor to punish the zamindar who had stopped sending annual tribute and disowned allegiance to the Mughals³.

A parwana of the governor of Malwa dated 1691 significantly throws light on the lenient religious outlook of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in giving exemption to the Brahmins

1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 39.

2. P. Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, p. 187.

3. Lahori, II, pp. 370-72.

from Jazia in the sarkar of Sarangpur, subah Malwa and simultaneously carefulness and strictness of the Mughal governor in the enforcement of the Imperial order. The text of the parwana of the subahdar of Malwa to the Jazia collector of pargana Shajapur in the sarkar of Sarangpur which is dated 1691, reads as follows:-

" Be it known to the Jazia tax-collector of pargana Shajapur in the sarkar Sarangpur of Subah Malwa that Chakrapani, Brahmdatta, Morarji, Mohan, Pitambar, Narottam, Rameshwar, Jajan, Awanti, Laleji, Indraji and Narwesar, Brahmins of the said pargana represented that they are poor and feed themselves on alms. They were exempted from the Jazia tax by a sanad issued by the darogha Jazia, but inspite of it, you are imposing the said tax on them. It is hereby ordered, therefore, that according to the sanad issued by the Royal Order- whose dignity is very high- they are exempted from the Jazia as from old. Present and future daroghas ought not to be strict and should not disobey this order. (For the kind act) the Brahmins should pray for the Emperor's health and prosperity. You should never act against this order. Dated 6th Rajab in the year 33rd jalus." ¹

This document clearly indicates the broad and benevolent outlook of the Emperor Aurangzeb towards his non-Muslim subjects in realising Jazia and also points out that those who

1. B.R. Bhalerao, Exemption From the Jazia Tax secured By The Brahmins of Ujjain, PIHC, Gwalior, 1952.

were poor and incapable to pay Jazia were leniently given exemption from this tax. However historians like Jadunath Sarkar in his book *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* indicts him levying Jazia relentlessly¹. The above quoted document also shows the vigilance and strictness of the governor in checking the oppression and his activeness in getting the compliance of the Royal order.

Under his civil duties the governor was responsible for general law and order. For this purpose he had Faujdars in the districts, Thanaders in the sub-division of the district and the Kotwals in the towns. He was held responsible in cases of roads robbery as has been indicated by the following instance. During the reign of Jahangir the governor of Malwa Mir Jamaluddin Husain, did not allow an English caravan to depart unless they gave in writing absolving him of all the blame if it were robbed². In another case Aurangzeb was reported from Ujjain in Malwa that the rebel Umr Khan had attacked a village in pargana Rampur and looted the property of Gopal Singh Zamindar at night. The governor was ordered by the Emperor to chastise the robbers and demolish their fort³.

The governor was required to construct and repair works of public utility - reservoirs, wells, water-courses, gardens and sarais, and also to lay orchards and gardens⁴. Above all

1. Jadunath Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, p.127.

2. *English Factories*, 1618-21, p.230, Roc, pp.210,215.

3. *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, 16th May, 1695.

4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, pp.39-40.

for the smooth running of the administration he had to arrange secret intelligence service and in this employment he should select honest, prudent, truthful and uncovetous men¹ because it was this agency that served as the backbone of administrative organisation. It could detect and curb the misdeeds, refractoriness of the zamindars and conspirators. On it depended the security and tranquillity of the province.

Military -

The governor was responsible for the organisation, maintenance and leadership of the provincial army as the term Sipah Salar in the Ain-i-Akbari itself denotes. He had to ensure despatch of feudatory contingents. But he was not allowed to declare war on any chief or independent ruler without Imperial sanction.

A very important instance of the chief of Orcha (Undchah)² substantiates this point very clearly³. In the year 1591 Prince Murad was appointed Subahdar of Malwa. On the arrival of the new Subahdar into the province, the zamindars of the Subah had to pay homage to the provincial governor. Therefore all the local zamindars came to pay him homage on his arrival. But the chief of Orcha Madhukar did not come. The prince informed the

1. Ibid., p. 39.

2. Spelt in our maps Orcha; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 378 writes zamindar of Undehah, Akbarnama, III, p. 604 also.

3. Akbarnama, III, pp. 604-606

Central Government and Madhukar was severely reprimanded and ordered to do submission and obeisance to the new governor.

Meanwhile, Madhukar had not submitted, and Murad in his anger attacked Orcha but was obliged to withdraw on account of Akbar's intervention. For this act Murad and his officers were much reproved and ordered to readjust the losses of Madhukar and to immediately go back to Malwa. This incident clearly suggests that the Subahdars were not empowered to attack the territory of the zamindars without getting sanction from the Central Government, except in cases of exigency¹.

Suppression of refractory elements and rebellions -

Under his military functions the Subahdar was to be more vigilant in keeping eye over the activities of the zamindars, local people and his own officers. This way his military functions included suppression of local rebellions, carrying out military operation for punishment of all refractory elements and to go on military expeditions whenever ordered by the Emperor. During the reign of Akbar Malwa was troubled by the princes known as the Mirzas who were distant relations of Akbar. They were six brothers namely Ulugh Mirza, Shah Mirza, Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Mohammad Husain Mirza, Masud Husain Mirza and Aquil Husain Mirza. Of whom the last four rebelled together

1. Akbarnama, III, pp. 604-606.

with two sons of the eldest Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza. They had been provided with assignments in the Sambhal and Azampur districts¹. They rose and occupied some of the government parganas and when Munim Khan marched against them they fled into Malwa and disturbed the province twice in 1567-68. The rebellion was crushed by Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan as he was sent to help the governor and peace and order was restored in Malwa².

There were Bhils and Gonds in Malwa who troubled the officers at times. In Dec. 1632, one Bhagirath Bhil, the zamindar of the Khata Kheri, who had not submitted till then to any governor of Malwa, relying upon his stronghold unconquerable, committed certain excesses. Therefore Nasiri Khan, Khan-i-Dauran, the governor of Malwa went to punish him. On receiving information of the governor's march against him, Bhagirath was alarmed and sought the mediation of his neighbour Sangram, the zamindar of Kunar, to intercede for him. He promised to be loyal and compliant and pay a regular subsidy for the occupation of the fort which for a long time had been his home. Moreover he sought excuse for personal attendance at court. The evasive terms tendered by Bhagirath did not satisfy the governor and he resumed his march. Bhagirath lost

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1. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, pp. 85-91, Akbarnama, II, pp. 279-281, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, pp. 204-216; The Jagirdars of the vicinity treated them as mere marauders and expelled them from Sambhal, where from they proceeded to Malwa. See Briggs, II, p. 226.
 2. Akbarnama, II, pp. 313, 329-331, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, pp. 102, 106-107.

courage and surrendered the fort to the governor on a promise of forgiveness and safe conduct. Khan-i-Dauran occupied it on Dec. 24, 1632 and caused the prayers to be done in the name of the Emperor (Shahjahan) and sanctified it with Muslim rites¹.

A decade later while once again Khan-i-Dauran was the governor of Malwa, he had to go to suppress one more refractory chief. On the death of Sangram, the zamindar of Kunar who was loyal to the Mughal government, his chief officer Marvi Gond deprived his son Bhupat of the state, which he occupied himself. Marvi Gond also thrown off allegiance to the Mughals and stopped rendering payment of the annual tribute. Following him many other zamindars withheld their dues and showed defiance.

Thus the situation demanded stern action of the provincial governor and Nasiri Khan marched to punish the rebel. On April 26, 1643, he encountered a hostile army consisting of 5000 Gonds supported by seven or eight hundred musketeers who blocked his way. The brave Khan dispersed the rebel force after giving them a brief fight. Marvi Gond was horrified seeing the determination of Khan-i-Dauran. He asked Mirza Wali and Govind Das two trusted followers of the governor for negotiations but the efforts failed. Certainly the fort was too strong to be captured easily and therefore

1. Lahori, I, pp. 449-50.

Nasiri Khan asked Shahjahan to send two big guns and reinforcements. On reaching this reinforcement the governor opened the siege of the fort, bombarded it and Marvi Gond surrendered and came to see Khan-i-Dauran. The governor occupied the fort and put it in charge of his brother and garrisoned it with a contingent of 500 horse and 700 match-lock men¹.

Thus we see that Khan-i-Dauran acted very promptly and suppressed the refractory elements securing law and order in the province. Khan-i-Dauran was one of the most successful governors of Malwa and that is why he served for the longest span during the reign of Shahjahan.

During the later years of Aurangzeb's reign while he was engaged in the Deccan Malwa witnessed a rebellion in 1685 by Pahar Singh Gaur, a Rajput zamindar of Indrakhi in western Bundelkhand and was serving as Faujdar of Shahabad Dhamdhera in Malwa. Pahar Singh rose to rebellion and started plundering in the villages of Malwa. Rai Muluk Chand was officiating as governor in the absence of Prince Muhammad Azam. He went to suppress the rebellion by the order of Aurangzeb and inflicted a severe defeat on Pahar Singh in which the rebel was slain.

But the refractoriness was continued by Pahar Singh's son Bhagwant. Rai Muluk Chand once again advanced against him

1. Lahori, II, pp. 370-72.

and after a tough battle Bhagwant was killed. Muluk Chand returned back to Gwalior cutting off Bhagwant's head. But in the very night of his return he died of cholera.

Thus we see that it was the most important duty of the governor to keep vigil on the refractory and rebellious elements and he had to be always prepared to crush any head raised against imperial authority.

The following duties were entrusted to the provincial governors by the High Diwan in the military framework of his functions: (a) to keep all classes of the people pleased and satisfied; to prevent oppression of the weak; (c) to recommend worthy zamindars for promotion as his recommendation was given weight by the Emperor; to send two despatches to the Emperor by dak chowki informing him matters of the province, not to release robbers(by taking anything from them). He was further directed to obtain information from the well-informed men of the province as to how many recalcitrant zamindars were required to be subdued by force. The estimation of the Sehbandi troops, that is, irregular troops employed to assist in revenue collection etc. somewhat like the armed police, was also required for running the work of control and administration and in case his retainers(Tabinan) and Sehbandai were inadequate he had to send petition for additional force¹.

1. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp.38-40.

Though the governor was not allowed to make war on a feudatory state as already mentioned but in case he made peace, the terms agreed upon were subject to ratification by the Emperor who would tone them down or disallow them as inadequate if he thought it necessary. So both actions were bound to the approval of the Emperor¹.

The military role of the governors of Malwa increased during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign when a number of rebellions occurred in Malwa and further Maratha incursions created a lot of trouble to the Subahdars of Malwa in keeping control over the province² and that disintegrated peace, prosperity and unity of Malwa.

Governor and Faujdar simultaneously -

A governor could be given the charge of the Faujdar as well. On 5 Jan., 1704, Abu Nasr Khan (Shaista Khan II), the governor of Malwa was also appointed the Faujdar of Mandu on the transfer of Nawazish Khan. But he was proved weak and incompetent during the Maratha raids of 1703-4 and was dismissed by the Emperor from the governorship of Malwa³.

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1. S.R.Sharma, Mughal Government And Administration, p.239.
 2. History of Aurangzeb, Vol.V, pp.292-301, Raghubir Singh, Malwa In Transition, pp.24-70.
 3. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 3 Feb., 1704, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.483.

Additional charge -

It seems that sometimes the Emperor could not decide the name of the governor for a particular province in time and that province was held by the governor of another province. It was done in cases of exigency also. Here are a few instances when military function of the governor of Malwa increased with additional charges. In 1611-12, Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka was having charge of the Subahdar of Malwa with additional charge of the Deccan¹ and the same charge was held by Shahnawaz Khan Safavi in 1647-48². During the last years of Aurangzeb on 3 Aug., 1704³, Bidar Bakht was appointed governor of Malwa in addition to Aurangabad (Khandesh)⁴. His governorship of the province was full of activity as he had to move from Malwa to Khandesh or vice versa according to the situation.

Judicial functions -

Besides his civil and military obligations, the administration of justice also came under the purview of the Subahdar. In fact there was no separation of powers between executive and the judiciary. The governor held the court for the dispensation of justice.

1. M. Athar Ali, The Apparatus of Empire, p. 52.
2. Ibid., p. 228.
3. Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, ff. 19a, 75b, 131a, 132b, 134b, Akbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 3 Aug., 1704; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 483.
4. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, pp. 298-99; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 471, 470, 483. Khandesh was to be governed by a deputy of prince Bidar Bakht.

Subahdar's Court -

The governor, like the Emperor, set apart a day for administering justice in person¹. In connection with the administration of justice he was directed to observe the utmost expedition and not to trouble the people by undue delay. In trying cases he was not to be satisfied with witnesses and oaths but to investigate the facts of the case personally and to deal the parties with courtesy². The Quazi and other law officers attended the court and helped the governor in deciding cases. The court of the governor was both an original and Appellate court, and being the viceregent of the Emperor he heard appeals from all the courts located within the Subah including even those from the court of Qazi-i-Subah³. In original cases, the Subahdar usually sat as a single judge and appeals against his judgement went to the Appellate Courts at the Centre. In the proceeding of cases of appeal he sat on a Bench of which Qazi-i-Subah was a constant member, unless the appeal was from the court of Qazi-i-Subah. The governor took the law from law officers and pronounced judgement. In case, however, there was not sufficient legal evidence, but the Subahdar and the

1. Early Travels, p. 326.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 38-39

3. P. Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, pp. 362-363.

officials of the court were convinced of the offence, the accused was sentenced¹. Akbar in the 30th regnal year, among other instructions to some newly appointed judicial officers, enjoined on them to report to the Emperor if the governor was faced with a dilemma on questions of importance.²

Above all the governor was 'an absolute lord, in the strictest sense of the term. He was in his own person the intendant of justice, the parliament, the presidal court....'³.

Crimes and Punishments -

In Mughal India provincial governors and other executive officers were not allowed to award capital punishment in an arbitrary manner. By his farman in 1502, Akbar forbade the provincial governors to award death punishment without his permission⁴, although Manucci observes that the governor was empowered to confirm death sentence⁵.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi contains a copy of Aurangzeb's farman directing the governors of the Subah with important instructions regarding the administration of justice. The farman reads thus:

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p.275.
 2. Akbarnama, III, p.477.
 3. Bernier, I, p.268.
 4. Akbarnama, III, p.559, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p.163.
 5. Manucci, III, p.264.

" It was written on the 25th of the month of Safar, may God end it with goodness and victory of the 16th year of Royal Ascension to the throne. Administrators of the Subah should know that it is reported to His Majesty that delay is caused in investigating the affairs of persons who are imprisoned in the Subah on occasions for certain offences. Their cases are not decided and settled so that innocent persons may be free from their captivity and an offender may get punishment. All energies of His Majesty are directed that none should suffer bias and regret. None should remain in captivity on no account. A royal order is issued that action should be taken in respect of these persons in accordance with sections mentioned in body of his farman so that none may suffer captivity without a reason" ¹.

The above farman has thirty three clauses guiding punishments for different crimes. A few of them are stated here². If a man commits theft repeatedly he should be kept in jail after flogging till he repents, If a person is proved to be a robber the Quazi should punish him according to law. Punishment should commensurate with the crime. Confirmed mischief-mongers who commit dacoity and cause injury to wealth

1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, p.248.

2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, pp.248-252.

and life, should be punished after the guilt is proved. Girasias¹ and zamindars who are mischievous, rebellious and confirmed offenders should be killed for public benefit. If someone sells wine² in a city or village of Islam, he should be severely flogged on legal proof. Murderers, whose murder of a person is proved by religion and which is commonly certain should be imprisoned. Their cases should be reported to His Majesty³.

Thus the subahdar had a lot of work in the exercise of his civil, military and judicial duties and obviously a competent man equipped with all the three abilities was appointed the governor of the province.

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1. They were 'theevish' who lived in the hills of Malwa and often looted caravans. Some hundred of them could have looted had William Finch(1608-11) not reached these alongwith their caravan. Early Travels, pp.143-44, 167.
 2. For a drunkard Akbar has ordered that he should be imprisoned, beaten and should be refused admittance to your presence(Akbar was giving instruction to prince Murad Subahdar of Malwa in 1591 on his query) and awarded whatever punishment that may be found suitable.
 3. Perhaps for ascertaining Capital Punishment.

CHAPTER-III

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION II: THE
PROVINCIAL BUREAUCRACY

For administrative convenience, viability and efficient execution of work the Mughals had divided the Empire into Subahs. During the Sultanate period there were administrative divisions known as iqtas and military areas under governors given different designations like iqtadars, walis, muqtas, hakims, amirs, maliks etc.) and tributary or feudatory chiefs. But this system was not uniformly enforced. Babar and Humayun depended upon the existing system with some variations.¹ Sher Shah established a fairly centralised system of administration by infusing a new spirit into the older institutions. The theory of Canungo that Sher Shah had no provinces but only sarkars and parganas has been contested and disproved by Parmatma Saran. In fact Sher Shah had several provinces, for example, Malwa, Punjab and Ajmer under powerful governors.

Under the Mughals Akbar started with administrative innovations and a significant change effected by him was the establishment of a regular system of provincial administration. The small administrative units numbering accounting for nearly fifty under Sher Shah² were altered by Akbar as he instituted a division of the empire to twelve provinces in January 1580.³

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1. S.R. Sharma, Mughal Govt. And Administration, p. 236.
 2. S.R. Sharma, Mughal Govt. And Administration, p. 237.
 3. Akbarnama, III, p. 282. Not in 1795 as P. Saran says (See P. Saran Provincial Government of The Mughals, p. 77.

Thus a uniform system of administration with officers bearing the same titles and having the same official language, i.e., Persian uniformity of rules and regulations and administrative procedure and routine work was introduced and enforced by Akbar in all the provinces of the empire. The view held by Parmatma Saran¹ that under Akbar and his successors there were two types of provinces, viz., regular provinces under direct imperial rule and the subordinate states seems to be oversimplified. In fact the subordinate states, ruled over by Indian Chiefs who acknowledged overlordship of Akbar, officially formed part of the provinces in whose jurisdiction they fell and were called as districts (sarkars) and sometimes even as parganahs. They were not called states although their rulers enjoyed full autonomy, and were not 'provinces' of any category.

Division and sub-division of a Province - A Mughal Subah was divided into a number of sarkars and each sarkar consisted of several parganahs. Moreland², however, gives an impression that the administrative and fiscal divisions were quite different from each other as they existed in the Mughal empire. His assertion is that the jurisdiction of a Faujdar extended over an administrative charge quite different and independent of the fiscal units of the sarkar and the parganah. P.Saran³

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1. P.Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, pp.70-71. Saran makes another arbitrary division of the provinces into major provinces and minor provinces. There is no evidence to show that there was any such division under Akbar.
 2. Moreland, Journal of Indian History, Vol.II, 1927.
 3. P.Saran, Provincial Govt.of The Mughals, pp. 88-109.

disproves the theory propounded by Moreland and asserts that such a distinction did not exist. He, however, says that the administrative charge and fiscal jurisdiction of a district coincided with each other. Further to deal with this controversy an attempt has been made to establish "that the Faujdari constituted an independent administrative unit and its territorial limits varied in place and time".¹ This tends to effectively establish what Moreland had propounded earlier and the proposition amounts to suggest that there existed besides the sub-division of sarkars and parganahs, the sub-division of Faujdaris.

However, on a perusal of the evidence available, we find that the regular divisions and sub-divisions in the Subah were the sarkars and the parganahs, and the examples of Faujdaris only refer to some exceptional cases arising out of special administrative considerations. It is also significant that in the Mughal administration the term Faujdar and Faujdari denote the meaning of an administrator and his charge.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND ITS WORKING:

As regards administrative structure of the provincial government the Mughals established the same net work of official as in the Centre. The head of the province was Sipah Salar or Subahdar who came to be termed as Nazim under the successors of

1. Noman A. Siddiqui, 'The Faujdar and Faujdari Under the Mughals, Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. IV, pp. 22-35.

Akbar. As the role and functions of the Subahdar has been discussed at length in a separate chapter, here only a discussion of the provincial officers and functionaries other than the Subahdar follows.

Next to Subahdar in official hierarchy, though not in any way subordinate to him was the Diwan. Virtually these two principal officers between them shared the responsibility of efficient working of the administrative machinery. The Diwan was basically responsible for revenue, civil justice and a general supervision over the department of Sadr.¹ The other important officers who served at the level of provincial administration were the Pakhashi, the Sadr the Mir Adl, the Qazi, the Kotwal, the Mir was and the Waqia Nawis.²

APPOINTMENT OF PROVINCIAL OFFICERS:

The provincial Diwan was appointed under a hasb-ul-hukum of the Emperor (written by the Wazir) and a sanad bearing the seal of Wazir or the imperial Diwan.³ The provincial Sadr was appointed by an imperial sanad on the recommendation of the Sadr-us-Sudur and the sanad bore his seal also. The Qazi of the Subah as well as those of the towns and parganahs were appointed

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1. P.Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughal, p. 170.
 2. Akbarnama, III, p. 282. Abul Fazl says, ... and in every province he appointed a Viceroy (Sipah Salar), a Diwan, a Pakhashi, a Mir Adl, a Sadr, a Kotwal, a Mir Bahr (admiral) and a Waqia Nawis (Recorder)".
 3. Mirat. sup. 173, Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42.

on the nomination and under the seal of the Sadr-us-Sudur by an imperial sanad which was obtained through the office of the Sadr of the province and not directly.¹ The provincial Bakhshi who often worked as the Waqia Nawis was similarly appointed through the office of the Mir Bakhshi under his seal. Another officer appointed by the imperial sanad issued direct from the office of the Sadr-us-Sudur was the Muhtasib of the province as well as of the towns.²

Besides these officers there were a number of officers at the sarkar and parganah level. The powers and functions of the officials at the provincial and local administration has been discussed here.

The Provincial Diwan - In the province the office of the Diwan was the most important next to the Subahdar and functioned independently of him. He was appointed under a hasb-ul-hukum of the Emperor (written by the Wazir) and a sanad bearing the seal of the Wazir or the imperial Diwan.³ He acted directly under the orders of the imperial Diwan and was in every way answerable to him. His main responsibility was to keep intact the financial structure of the Subah and to arrange for the realization of the government dues fully in time. The Subahdar and the Diwan both had to keep a strict and jealous

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1. P.Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p. 176.
 2. P.Saran, Provincial Government of The Mughals, pp. 176-77.
 3. Mirat. sup. 173, Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42.

watch on each other. It was advantageous in the sense that the Centre had a real picture of the activities of both of them by getting report from them at the headquarters.¹

The provincial Diwan was subordinate to the imperial Diwan and entered into constant correspondence with him.² After appointment when the provincial Diwan started for his province he had to take leave not only of the Emperor but also of the High Diwan.

The functions of the provincial Diwan can be obtained in detail from Hidayat-ul-Qawaid and the Aurangzeb's farman included in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi I. We are, adding below a summary from the translation of Hidayat-ul-Qawaid as given by Jadunath Sarkar.³

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1. Jadunath Sarkar has quoted instances of clashes between the Governor and the Diwan. It seemed that the former wielded greater authority as the executive had of the provinces. Wazir Khanfi, the Diwan of Bengal was recalled by Jahangir because Islam Khan, the governor did not want him. Similarly Khan-i-Dauran, the governor of Orissa, protested against the arrogant ways of Muhammad Hashim, and the imperial chancellor removed him. (P. Sarn, Provincial Govt. Of The Mughals, p. 195 also quoting Sarkar - Studies in Mughal India, pp. 221-222).
 2. Akbar issued an order in 1596 that all provincial Diwan should report their proceedings to His Majesty in accordance with the suggestions of the Imperial Diwan Khwaja Samsuddin. (Akbarnama, III, p. 670). The real aim of this order is not clear (P. Sarn Provincial Govt. Of The Mughals, p. 189). A succinct and comprehensive account of the Diwan's duties is given in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Sup., 173; Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42).
 3. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42; Mirat-i-Ahmadi (Tr.) (Baroca), pp. 248-51).

"Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the imperial treasury, that no body may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the fotehdars and other sources, give receipts (Qabz-ul-Wasul) to their agents. See that no amil exacts forbidden cess (abwab)".

"At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original rough paper (Khasrah) the exortions and speculations of the amils, and recover for the imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. Report bad or dishonest amils to the High Diwan so that better men may be appointed in place of them".

"If any amil has let arrears of revenue accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by easy instalments at the rate of 5 per cent every season".

"The taqavi loan given last year by the government should be realised in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay or delay payment the government will compel the Diwan and the amil to make the amount good".

"Send the papers of your department to the imperial record office according to the regulations¹."

From the above instructions we find that it was the duty of the provincial Diwan to make efforts to promote cultivation and keep strict watch over the treasury so that no money can be taken without a proper warrant. He was to see that official do not exact forbidden cess. He was empowered to change

1. Some of these regulations are stated in Aurangzeb's farmans to Rasikdas. See Sarkar's Mughal Administration, pp. 144-151.

payment of revenue from one form into another for convenience of the cultivators. Occasionally he acted as auditor also¹. He undertook full control over the allocation of expenditure to different departments²

The Diwan was required to assist the governor in establishing peace and order through proper revenue settlement and easing the problems of the peasantry and the general public as well. When Abdullah Khan Uzbek was made Hakim of Malwa, Khwaja Muinuddin Farankhudi was sent as Diwan of the province together with the former Khwaja Muinuddin Farankhudi had worked as one of the Diwans in the Diwan-i-Buyutat and had established his reputation for integrity and ability. Akbar's instructions to Khwaja Muinuddin Farankhudi were to enquire into the position of the jagirs and to define the Khalsa land. While the governor Abdullah Khan Uzbek was to rule over Malwa, the Diwan was to boost the spirits of the peasantry to larger efforts at cultivation. He was also to remedy the absenteeism which might have occurred due to the marching and counter marching of forces, and with the assistance of other officers who were also appointed "he was to allot fiefs according to the rules of eternal dominion".³

In the system of appointing joint-governors the Diwan was also sent with the joint-governors. Mukhtar Beg was sent

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1. Wazir Khan was entrusted with the Diwani and auditorship of this Subah (Bengal). See Riyaz-us-Salatīn, p. 170.
 2. P.Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughal, p. 191.
 3. Akbarnama, II, p. 260,

as Diwan under this system in 1585-86 in Malwa.¹ This system was, however, subsequently stopped.

Faizi, while on the visit to Malwa, has praised the provincial Diwan Khwaja Muhib Ali, who was Diwan of the province in the year 1590-91. Faizi remarks that Muhib Ali was administering Malwa efficiently.² Further, we find, the same Diwan is engaged in crushing the disturbing activities of the sons of Nazr Be. The sons of Nazar Be were having jagir in Handia. Khwaja Muhib Ali, the Diwan, gathered together Jamaluddin Husain and other fief holders of Malwa, and set forth to remedy matters. The wicked men dispersed thereupon on the advance of Muhib Ali and near Bijagarh fought with the landholders and were defeated. Qambar Be was wounded and died.³ Thus, it can be inferred from this instance that in times of exigency the Diwan did military duty too. Besides his own contingent the Diwan was also given a fixed number of additional troops and also an emergency force.⁴

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1. Akbarnama, III, p. 511, Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh, II, p.51.
 2. S.A.A. Rizvi, Religious And Intellectual History of The Muslims In Akbar's Reign, p. 328.
 3. Akbarnama, III, p. 600.
 4. Mirat, III, p. 173; P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p. 189; Jadunath Sarkar, Studies In Mughal India, pp. 196-97.

The Records maintained in the Diwan's Office - The office of the provincial Diwan kept the following records:¹

- (a) Records dealing with the Executive Department and their answers together with separate files of the revenue of the mahals of the Khalsa, under the seals and signatures of the Qanungos and Zamin-dars. The estimates, realisations and expenditure together with the Roznamcha and awarija under the seal of the Karori.
- (b) Records dealing with the department of the mahals of jagir lands in the order of the amount of salaries granted by the Emperor. The papers of the mahals showing the balance in the same way as the records of Khalsa, and the dastur-ul-amals of parganahs concerning the land revenue and the sair jihat (imposts), under the signatures of the Qanungos.
- (c) Record of the department of counting the wells in each pargana signed by the concerned Qanungo.
- (d) Records dealing with the Department of inams and commissions to headmen, Qanungos and Muqaddams.
- (e) Return of rates of commodities signed by the rates-clerk.
- (f) The account of the deposits in the treasury under the seals of Karoris and Fotahdars.

1. P.Saran, Provincial Govt. Of The Mughals, p.192. Saran has prepared the list on the basis of British Museum Manuscript Add. 6588, fols. 72 b-73b.

(g) The Roznamcha of the income and expenditure.

The provincial Diwan's office had a big record-room (Daftarkhana) where papers pertaining to all items in which some finance was involved were preserved. The copies of these records were prepared and sent to the imperial Diwan or at times the copies were preserved and the originals were despatched. However, the item that received his special attention was the revenue accounts of the mahals, and whenever there was any transfer of some mahals, a due note and return was prepared and despatched to the headquarters under his seal.

Office Staff Of Provincial Diwan - The provincial Diwan served vital interests of the Empire in the province and in consideration of the burden of work upon his shoulders and in order to maintain his efficiency he was allowed quite a substantial secretariat which included officers appointed by the Centre as well as those appointed locally, by the provincial Diwan.¹

The officers appointed by the centre were as follows:

1. Peshkar - Secretary or personal assistant - under the seal of Chief Diwan.
2. Darogha - Office superintendent who was also a mansabdar - under the seal of the Chief Diwan.
3. Mushrif - Head-clerk appointed by imperial sanad and received a salary of Rs.40 per mensem. His office also included the inspection of the pan-amrket.

1. P. Saran, Islamic Polity, p. 129.

4. Tahvildar-i-daftarkhana - Treasurer, appointed by imperial sanad and received a salary of Rs.40 per mensem.

The officers appointed by Diwan of the province were as follows:

1. Munshi of the Kachahri.
2. Huzur nawis - clerk dealing with the correspondence with the Central government.
3. Subah nawis - clerk dealing with the correspondence with the governor's office.
4. Muharrir-i-Khalsa - clerk of the 'Crown-lands'.
5. Muharrir-i-daftar-i-tan - clerk incharge of disbursement of the salary.
6. Muharrir-i-daftar paibaqi - clerk in charge of receipts and arrears.
7. Muharrir-i-Wazifa - the clerk in charge of stipends of all kinds.
8. Muharrir for weighing and measuring.

Thus, the provincial Diwan occupied pivotal position in the hierarchy of provincial administration and Mughal administration as a whole. Appointed, promoted and transferred or dismissed by headquarters, he was responsible to the imperial Diwan. In financial matters he enjoyed the same status as the governor enjoyed in executive matters. "The Diwan was the head of a graded series of services on the revenue side, from the amalguzar down to the patwari and patel, just as the governor

was the head of a similar range of services from the Faujdar down to the shiqdar and village chowkidar". However, in comparison to the governor the rank and status of the Diwan was lower than that of the governor.¹

The Bakhshi - Abul Fazl does not describe the functions of the Bakhshi in the province. But from references in the contemporary and subsequent authorities we know that the provincial Bakhshi performed the same duties as the Mir Bakhshi in the Centre. He owed his appointment to the Central Bakhshi who signed his sanad. He was subordinate to the governor and formed part of the governor's contingent. The maintenance and control of troops within the province and the enforcement of imperial regulations was his responsibility. He was responsible for the recruitment, proper maintenance and equipment, discipline, periodical musters of men (chehra), enforcing the branding regulations and holding periodical tests according to the instruction of Mir Bakhshi. His officers took the inspection of horses and the review of soldiers on his instruction.² It was on the basis of the certificates regarding the fulfilment of the conditions of mansab issued by the Bakhshi that the salaries were paid to the mansabdars and soldiers by the Diwan of the province. This way he was the paymaster of the mansabdars and the army posted there in the province. In case of jagir-occupants

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1. P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, pp. 194-196.
 2. Ray, Some Aspects of Mughal Administration, p. 112.

the Diwan kept record of deductions if the conditions were not fulfilled. If a mansabdar dies, the Bakhshi takes over his jagir. The mansabdar had to seek permission of the Bakhshi when taking leave from the station.¹

The Bakhshi also helped the provincial governor in military campaigns against disobedient or refractory chiefs and rebels but also conducted punitive expeditions himself. When an expedition had to be sent, it was Bakhshi's duty to call various officers to participate with the required strength of men and horses.²

The office of the Bakhshi was usually combined with that of Waqia-nigar or Waqia-nawis (writer of the official diary).³ We find Sanai Beg Shamlu in 1652 and Muhammad Qasim in 1655-56 working as Bakhshi and Waqia nawis both in Malwa.⁴ They are many other references too. Occasionally a separate remembrancer was also appointed. As the news-writer he reported to the Centre all important events of the province, the amount of revenue collected, important cases decided, the fortunes of the military campaigns, law and order situation, measures adopted for safety of traders and travellers, the progress of

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1. I.H. Qureshi, The Administration of The Mughal Empire, p. 230.
 2. S.R. Sharma, Mughal Government And Administration, p.242.
 3. Irvine, The Army Of The Indian Mughals, p. 40.
 4. M. Athar Ali, The Apparatus Of Empire, pp. 272.

work in all the departments and any unusual happenings. In doing all this the Bakhshi kept his reporters (waqia-nawises) in the offices of the Nazim, Diwan, Faujdar, Qazi and Kotwal for getting daily news. Besides the agents of the provincial Bakhshi, the Central government appointed official reporters directly from the headquarters and they reported directly to the Central government.¹

The Bakhshi was in direct contact with the Central govt. and worked independently of the governor and as a check on the latter without any fear. This system was brought into practice by Akbar and was considered valuable by Jahangir, who dismissed the governor of Gujarat for manhandling the local 'Bakhshi and newswriter'.

The Sadr And the Qazi - The Sadr was another important officer in the provincial government directly appointed by the Centre. He was appointed on the recommendation of the imperial Sadr by a royal sanad bearing the latter's seal, and worked under his direction. The imperial Sadr sending the provincial sadrs gave them lists of recipients of rent free lands and daily allowances in their respective provinces, and copies of Emperor's regulations concerning the death or flight of servitors (of the mosques), ainadars, rozinadars, students and other persons receiving stipends hereditary and new. They were directed to

1. Ray, Some Aspects of Mughal Administration, pp. 112-114.

act according to the imperial orders.¹

The Sadr was a theologian who was mainly responsible for looking after the interests of the Muslim in the Subah, development of religion, learning and charitable grants of suyurghal aima and madad-i-maash lands, stipends to ulama and deserving scholars. But he made such grants to deserving Hindu scholars too. He had also the task to settle disputes arising (out of succession or otherwise) in these grants. In 1581, Akbar issued orders abolishing the post of chief sadr and appointing a number of Sadrs to look after the work of the grant of subsistence allowances (Suyurghals) and Hakim Abdul Fath Gilani was appointed Sadr of Subah Malwa and Gujrat.²

The judicial department of the province was under the Qazi of the Subah. However, at the Subah level a person who was appointed as the Sadr was also assigned the work of judiciary, or in other words he also worked as the provincial Qazi. In this capacity he recommended candidates for the appointment of the Qazis at the district level. He was helped by a mufti,

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1. Every province had a sadr-i-juz or provincial sadr who was under the orders of the imperial sadr (Sadr-i-jahan or sadr-i-kul or sar-us-sadr). Akbar completely broke the power of the Sadr whose dignity before the Mughal dynasty had been very great. During his reign also the imperial Sadr ranked as the fourth officer of the Empire, (Ain. 30). The powers of the Sadrs were extensive. They were the highest law officers, and were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the Emperor. (Ain, I, p.281). The Emperor, however, found the sadrs guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. The qazis too were in the habit of taking bribes from the grantholders wearing a turban as a sign.
 2. Akbarnama, III, p. 372.

versed in jurisprudence, who used to point out the law in a case before the qazi. There was qazi in every city, town or large village. This would be described under the local administration in the province.

Local Administration - For efficient and keen supervision and administrative control, the provinces were divided into Sarkars which were further sub-divided into parganahs. The sarkars and parganahs were administrative divisions which also served as revenue divisions. Both sarkars and parganahs were neither exclusively military divisions nor exclusively revenue divisions. Virtually these aspects were blended in the administrative duties and responsibilities of the officers posted in these division. There was a network of officers at the district and parganah level.

Faujdar - The maintenance of law and order in the district or sarkar was the duty of the Faujdar. He was esteemed among the important officials in the administrative apparatus. The *Ain* says that as a subordinate and assistant he occupied the first place.¹ Being subordinate to the provincial governor, he could have direct correspondence with the Central government.² The Faujdar got his appointment by the Emperor through the farman-i-sabati.³ Abul Fazl states that he was responsible for revenue, police and military. In case of revenue he was only indirectly

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 42.
 2. Insha-i-Roshan Kalam, ff.2b-3ab; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp.257-58.
 3. Siyaqnama, p.67; Maasir-ul-Umara, I, p.594; P. Saran, Provincial Govt. Of The Mughals, p. 229.

involved, that is, he was to assist the revenue-collector (amalguzar) in the realisation of revenue from refractory revenue-payers. His police duty included the guarding of the area under his jurisdiction and to make inspection of the local militia in order to keep it well-equipped.¹

The Faujdar was "the hakim outside the city, like the kotwal inside the city" remarks the author of Bahar-i-Ajam.² For the occurrences of dacoities and thefts committed in the area of his jurisdiction, the Faujdar was held responsible.³ If the Faujdar was found unable to stop the incidents of dacoities and thefts, there are several references that he was either transferred or dismissed or post down-graded or reduced in his mansab. In fact the Faujdar was required to take proper preventive action to check these occurrences.

The Faujdar had the duty of protecting the town when it was attacked by the rebellious elements. He was to control the rebellious zamindars by a conciliatory policy or terrify them by a show of military force. He was required to destroy their forts.⁴

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.283.
 2. Bahar-i-Ajam, II, p. 233.
 3. Waqai-i-Ajmer, p.233. He was required to recover the plundered or stolen property otherwise he was held answerable.
 4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 168-70.

The court of the Faujdar was called Kacheri-i-Faujdarī. Here the complaints of the city people were heard by the Faujdar.¹ In towns where Subahdars did not hold their courts, the court of the Faujdar used to be held.² He heard both kinds of cases, i.e. revenue (diwani) and criminal (faujdarī).⁴ He took decisions according to the rules of the shariat and had to be in regular consultation with the qazi, mufti and mir adl. We find references of the Faujdar and qazi holding court jointly. In this way when the judgement took place, it was the responsibility of the Faujdar to cause implementation of the decision of the court. In fact our sources are silent in making clear the actual jurisdiction of the Faujdar's court.

In 1695 Emperor Aurangzeb was reported from Hoshangabad in Malwa that Muhammad Khan Bijapuri, Faujdar of Hoshangabad, did not come from his house to offer Juma prayers; nor did he hold the court. Aurangzeb ordered to Bahrahmand Khan, the Chief Bakhshi to write to Muhammad Khan Bijapuri that he must always be regular in holding the court.⁴

Among various duties of the Faujdar the patrolling of highways leading to and from the cities was also very important.⁵

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1. Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriq, f. 63a.
 2. Ibid., ff. 65f - 66a.
 3. The English Factories In India (1678-84), p.355, Mutafarriq Maharajgan, bundle no.2, document no.329, dated Safar, 1117 A.H.
 4. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 17th Sept., 1695.
 5. Nigarnama-i-Munshi, ff.122b-23ab, 133ab, 260ab; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.48; Selected Documents Of Aurangzeb's Reign, p.41, Finch, Early Travels, p.157. Ovington, p.139.

He was again and again directed to be vigilant in ensuring safety to the banjaras (grain carriers) and traders and further he had to protect them from illegal exactions while they were entering the city to supply grain and other commodities. The Faujdar was also required to see that his subordinates and other local officials did not oppress or tease the people. He had to keep a keen eye on the work of the amin, mutasaddi, amil, karori, qanungo, zamindar and chaudhari on the revenue side. In executive matters he had to make watch on the activities of the Kotwal, Thanadar, Rahdar and local Waqai nawis, Sawanih-nigar and Harkara.¹

There are references when the governor of the province was given the charge of the Faujdari too. On 5th Jan., 1704, Shaista Khan II, the governor of Malwa was also appointed the Faujdar of Mandu by the transfer of Nawazish Khan.²

Amil or Amalguzar - Next to the Faujdar, the most important officer in the Sarkar was called Amalguzar.³ under Akbar but subsequently known as Amil. He was responsible for the administration of revenue of the entire sarkar and worked under the direct supervision and instructions of the provincial Diwan. His multifarious duties covered not only assessment and collection of revenue but also punishing disobedient and refractory peasants, highway robbers etc.⁴ In fact, the Amalguzar

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1. Nigarnama-i-Munshi, ff.122b-23ab, 133ab, 260ab.
 2. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 5th January, 1704.
 3. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.46
 4. Ibdi., p. 46.
 5. P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, pp.285-86.

was expected to be a development officer, working for agricultural advancement. In order to secure the extension of cultivation he was given the exceptional power of departing from the regulation system of assessment by measurement and agreeing to practically any method which the husbandman chose to be assessed by as also to payment either in cash or in kind.¹

The Amil had to see that the peasants were not oppressed by the village headmen and collected through village officials and village headmen, actual reports of cultivated land and while making assessment gave due allowance for inferior crops. He supervised and controlled the lower revenue officials such as surveyors, assessors etc. and fixed their daily ration while they were on active duty.²

After the accomplishment of the work of assessment the Amil had to despatch a copy of the abstract within fifteen days to the imperial Diwan's office. In case any calamity occurred to the crops after sending the draft estimates, he was required to make an estimate of the loss and send its report to the imperial court (Diwan's office) without delay. The imperial Diwan had the right to approve it or he could depute a commissioner to investigate and check the matter reported by the Amil.³

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1. P.Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, pp.285-86.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 47-48.
 3. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 48.

The Amil was also responsible for the collection of revenue in the Khalsa land. Moreover, he was responsible for the accounts deposited in the district treasury but for their accounts and for the safety of the treasury and for this purpose the treasury was provided with a double lock system - one of keys was kept with the Amil and the other one with the treasurer. The Amil had to start the collection of the spring harvest from the Holi and Autum harvest from the Dashahra. He had to despatch monthly reports at the end of the month of the daily receipts and expenditure to the Court and to remit the money to the central treasury through his honest and reliable agents as soon as the amount collected reaches to two lakhs dams. He was required further to inspect the suyurghal tenures and to send copies of the same to the registry office to be compared with the copy kept there. He had to ascertain the correctness of the chaknamah and resume the share of a deceased grantee or one who is an absentee. He was also responsible for checking the conversion of khudkashta land into a Raiyat Kashta.¹

The Amil was required to send to imperial Court a monthly statement of the conditions of the people, of the jagirdars, the neighbouring residents, the submission of the rebellion, the market prices, the current rent of tenements, the state of the destitute and the poor, of artificers and all other contin-

1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 49-50.

gencies. In the absence of the Kotwal at the district headquarters he had to discharge his duties.¹ About the discharge of duties of the Kotwal by the Amil, P. Saran opines that the Amil took over only the suburban police and judicial duties of the Kotwal and not his municipal duties.²

Kotwal - The Kotwal was in charge of the district headquarters towns and occupied pivotal place in Mughal town administration. The information gathered through different sources leads us to believe that the functions of the kotwal were very extensive, sometimes appearing to be wider in scope than those of modern municipal institutions.³ He was generally appointed by the Central government at the recommendation of Mir Atish through a sanad which bore his seal.⁴

Virtually the appointment of the Kotwal was the discretion of the Central government and it could post any person of its choice but the opinion of the important inhabitants of the town, where the kotwal has to be posted, could also have had a role in making influence on its decision. Similarly adverse

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 50.
 2. P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p. 287.
 3. For extensive duties of the Kotwal, see Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 43-45; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 390; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 168-70; Nigarnama-i-Munshi, ff. 43f, 144a, 238 ab - 239 a; Jawahar Nath Bekas Sahaswani, ff. 26b - 27ab; Dastur-i-Jahan Kushai, f. 55a; Manrique, II, pp. 188-89; Pelsaert, p. 57; The English Factories In India (1622-23), pp. 124-125; Javernier, I, p. 447; Thevenot, pp. 12, 27; Bernier, p. 369; Manucci, I, p. 292; Fryer, I, p. 246; Ovington, pp. 137-38; Manucci, II, pp. 295-296.
 4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi (Supplement), p. 178.

opinion of the inhabitants of the town caused dismissal of the Kotwal. There are documents belonging to seventeenth century preserved in Bikaner Archives to shed sufficient light on the matter. Two cases from Subah Kabul are cited here. In the 25th year of Aurangzeb, the Nazim of Subah Kabul wished to post, an Afghan named Taj Khan Afghan, the Kotwal of Kabul city. But the inhabitants were mostly Irani or Turani and they did not want the appointment of an Afghan to the post.¹ Later on, in the 29th year of Aurangzeb's reign, a similar report was received from the same Subah and therefore the Emperor called the explanation of the Nazim as to why he was going against the desire of the local inhabitants in appointing an Afghan as Kotwal while there were many Irani and Turani candidates deserving that post.² For the dismissal of the Kotwal a reference comes from Ujjain, Subah Malwa. The inhabitants of hawili Ujjain were not satisfied with Monorath Ram, the Kotwal and the people requested that some other person may be posted in his place. The request of the people was accepted.³

We can infer on the basis of the above information that while appointing the Kotwal the government gave due consideration to the wishes of the city people. It can be said that public pressure in this regard was a significant factor. The Central

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1. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mulla, Document No.1788, 11th Jumada I, 25th year of Aurangzeb.
 2. Ibid., Document No.2962, 21st Zilqada, 29th year of Aurangzeb.
 3. Khutu-i-Maharajgan, Document No.2743. The document does not bear date.

government, therefore, seems to have been cautious for not imposing on the people an undesirable man.

The failure in the discharge of his duties well, complaints by the residents of town against his tyranny,² acting beyond his authority³, seeking bribes and grabbing money through illegal levies⁴ and negligence and disobedience shown to government orders⁵, were the causes of the transfer, dismissal and the reduction in mansab of the kotwal.

The kotwal in his important duty acted as the head of the police. It was his main responsibility to keep vigilant watch and ward over the town and its suburbs. The farman of Akbar contained in Mirat-i-Ahmadi enjoins that "the kotwal of

1. Vakil Report, b.no.I, Document No.41 dated 11th Shawwal, 1093 A.H.; Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 13th Rabi II, 10th year of Aurangzeb; Khutut-i-Maharajgan, Document No. 2743. The document does not bear date.
2. Maasir-i-Mamgiri, p. 188. Abdul Salam, the Kotwal of Delhi, quarreled with Abdul Qasim, the Diwan, thereupon Abdul Salam was transferred, Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 21st Zilqada, 48th year of Aurangzeb. Bazi, the kotwal of Mathura was replaced because he used to interfere in matters concerning the Shariat, Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 6th Jumada II, 42nd year of Aurangzeb.
3. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, 12th Zilqada, 39th year of Aurangzeb.
4. Jahangir is said to have publicly flogged the Kotwal of Lahore who failed to prohibit the slaughter of animals and sale of meat. C.H. Rayne, Jahangir And The Jesuits, p. 38; Waqai-i-Ajmer, pp. 211-212.

every city and town and village ought to record its houses and buildings and prepare a note of the residents of every street from house to house as to know what sort of men they are. How many are cultivators, how many professional, how many soldiers and derweshes. Streets should be fixed and a Mir-i-Mahalla (chief of a ward) should be appointed so that the good and bad of that street may happen under his direction. A spy should visit him (mir-i-Mahalla) every night and day to write the events of that street. It should be so settled that whenever a thief comes or there is fire or some unpleasant event takes place, the neighbour should immediately rush to his (the victim's) help. In like manner, the Mir-i-Mahalla and the informer should help him.¹ Manucci informs us that the Kotwal utilised the sweepers, who went to clean the houses of the inhabitants twice daily, as his spies and through them he could get information about everything happening in any quarter of the town.² The kotwal also organised night-watch (chauki) in every ward and himself used to patrolling the streets at night. The men accompanying him in patrolling cried loudly the word Khabardar, i.e. 'alert'.³

The kotwal had to take preventive measures to check the theft, other crimes and murder within the area under his jurisdiction. On getting information of a theft or dacoity, the

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 168-70.
 2. Manucci, II, pp. 420-21.
 3. Thevenot, pp. 27-28; Ovington, p. 137.

kotwal was required to go to the spot of incident with his force. There are references of severe encounters with the dacoits.¹ For precaution against the incidence of theft and crime the kotwal had orders not to permit people to leave or enter the town after close of day without his pass (dastak)² and after sunset all the gates of the town were closed and strongly guarded.³

Besides the policing duties, the Kotwal had to regulate markets, prevent hoarding⁴, suppress the boarding of stocks,⁵ profiteering and prohibit the realisation of certain forbidden cesses.⁶ He had to check the use of under-weights and measures by the dealers. It was his responsibility to restrain the people from manufacturing buying or selling of wine.⁷

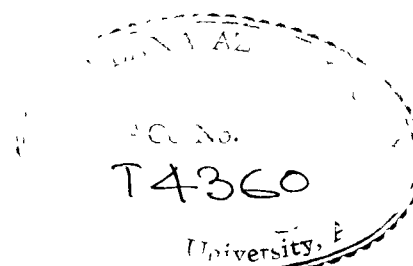
The Kotwal has been dubbed as 'City Magistrate' 'Criminal Judge' etc. by several European travellers. However, their accounts are not sufficient to show as to what exactly

1. Akbbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Document No.1146, 11th Safar, 24th year of Aurangzeb.
2. The English Factories In India (1622-23), p. 258; Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Document No.2304, 2nd Muharram, 27th year of Aurangzeb, Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 44, Khafi Khan, II, pp. 172-173; Hamilton, p. 321; Tavernier, I, p.47.
3. Vakil Report, b.No.I, Document No.321. The document does not bear date.
4. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.44; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 168-70; Dastur-i-Jahan Kushai, I. 55a.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 44.

his judicial powers were. There are various reference that show that in little cases and small irregularities, the kotwal exercised judicial power too. For instance a case from parganah Unhel of Sarkar Ujjain in the Subah of Malwa can be cited here. In the said parganah one man named Mohan had two wives who used to quarrel amongst almost daily. The man took them to the kotwal and lodged a complaint. Both the wives were kept in the lockup for three days. On the fourth day the kotwal called them for interrogation and on finding both of them guilty caused them whipped and sometime later released them on the assurance that they would not quarrel again. Mohan had to pay one rupee on account of expenses for keeping his wives in the chabutra and the rupee was deposited into the government treasury.¹

The building of kotwal's office and residence was known as 'imarat-i-kotwali!² and was usually located in the middle of the town. It contained (chabutra) a raised platform in front³, the bandikhana (prison)⁴ and store rooms. The kotwal

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1. Akbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Document No.660, 24th Rabi II, 49th years of Aurangzeb.
 2. Mutafarriq Maharajgan, b.no.I, Document No.163, Shaban, 1105 A.H., Wakil Report, b.no.8, Document No. 224, 24th Jumada II, 1102 A.H.
 3. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 282-283; Thevenot, p. 12.
 4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 282; Waqai-i-Ajmer, p.232; Massir-i-Alamgiri, p. 260.



spent a very busy day at the chabutra and a large crowd could be seen at his office throughout the day. People came to lodge complaint¹ or to receive a person just released from the prison² or to get an accused released on bail.³ When a man was arrested and brought the chabutra by kotwal's men or revenue collectors or on accusation by a plaintiff, the kotwal personally inquired into his case.⁴ In case the arrested person was found innocent the kotwal released him without delay.⁵

Thus the kotwal had multifarious duties to perform and Abul Fazl stresses that appropriate person should be appointed to the post. He further says that the kotwal should be vigorous, experienced, active, astute and humane.⁶

Qazi - Certainly the most important duty of the Qazi was administration of justice but he was required to perform a number of other duties also. Almost every town which had a

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1. Vakil Report, b.no.8, Document No.224, 24th JumadaII, 1102 A.H.
 2. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Document No. 660, 24th Rabi II, 49th year of Aurangzeb; Peter Van Den Broeke, pp. 205-206.
 3. Manucci was released on bail given by a Hindu, Manucci, II, p. 199.
 4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 282; Akbarnama, III, pp.746, 759.
 5. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 282.
 6. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 43.

considerable muslim population had a Qazi.¹ The Qazi of the Subah and the Qazi's of Sarkar, parganah and town were appointed on the recommendation and under the seal of the Sadr-us-Sudur by an imperial sanad, which was obtained through the office of the provincial Sadr and not directly.² He was expected to be a scholar of theology, with unimpeachable character.

The Qazis, particularly of big town held mansabs. The Qazi was paid a daily allowance³ and the madad-i-maash (a revenue grant) was under his purview.⁴ There are references that this grant exceeded one hundred bigha a cultivable land.⁵ The post of the Qazi was transferable⁵ and his dismissal occurred on charges of abuse of authority, corruption, unfair judgement and even on the displeasure of the Emperor.⁷ At times he occupied

1. Apart from Subah capital each sarkar, parganah, town and even forts, which comprised sufficient Muslim population had qazis. Mirat (Supplement), pp. 199, 211, 222-223, Khafi Khan, II, p.630. See for Sarkar Qazi Mirat(Supplement) pp.193, 233; Siyaqnama, II. 86-87; Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign, pp. 189-190.
2. Mirat (Supplement), p. 174; Selected Documents Of Aurangzeb's Reign, pp. 30-31; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 327.
3. Selected Documents Of Aurangzeb's Reign, pp. 15-16.
4. Mirat (Supplement), p. 174; Selected Documents Of Shah-jahan's Reign, pp. 189-190; Selected Documents Of Aurangzeb's Reign, p. 15; Siyaqnama, pp. 86-87.
5. Siyaqnama, pp. 86-87.
6. Maasir-i-Alamgiri , p. 240.
7. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, pp. 78-79; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 224; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 248.

more than one post. For instance, a man was holding the offices of the Qazi and Sadr¹ both and in other case occupying the post of Qazi and Diwan simultaneously.²

Under judicial administration, the civil jurisdiction of the Qazi pertained to the cases of marriage, divorce,³ marriage with non-Muslims⁴, inheritance,⁵ disposal of stolen property⁶ salaries of the servants of mosques⁷ and other property disputes.⁸ His court also heard cases filed by one group of merchants against another merchants⁹, officials¹⁰, and artisans.¹¹ In his

1. Alamgirname, p. 1035.
2. Khafi Khan, II, p. 138.
3. Selected Waqai Of The Deccan, p. 95.
6. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 282.
7. Ibid., pp. 279-280.
8. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp. 279-80.
9. Waqai-i-Ajmer, p. 184.
10. Ibid., p. 35.
11. The English Factories In India (1637-41), pp. 106-107, For the cases of merchants versus merchants.
12. Merchant versus Faujdar and subahdar, Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Document No. 3302, 23rd Zilaqada, 38th year of Aurangzeb.
11. Merchant versus weavers at Ahmadabad, The English Factories In India (1622-23), p. 40.

court cases pertaining to custom house¹, arrangement of shops in the market², and trading contracts³ were filed and heard. Both Qazi and the Mufti were kept aware of the tax collection in the city or at the market.⁴

In the performance of his religious functions the Qazi was required to enforce the Shariat and urge the Muslims to offer the five times prayers of the day and also the Id and Friday prayers.⁵ He further exhorted the Muslims to observe fasts of Ramzan and pay zakat.⁶ The Qazi also read the khutba and led the Id and Friday prayers and announced the visibility of the new moon.⁷ The collection of Jaziya was also the duty of the Qazi.⁸

The Qazi had jurisdiction in criminal cases too. There are evidences of criminal cases like theft, robbery, attempt to murder, murder etc. being tried by the Qazi.⁹ He had

1. Ovington, pp. 136-137.
2. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Document No.3293, 8th Shawal, 38th year of Aurangzeb.
3. The English Factories In India (1622-23), p. 320.
4. Mazhar-i-Shahjahanī, p. 103.
5. Nigarnama-i-Munshi, f. 206a; Siyaqnama, p.86; Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, pp. 15-16.
6. waqai-i-Ajmer, p. 161; Mirat (Supplement), p. 69.
7. waqai-i-Ajmer, pp. 55-56.
8. Ibid., p. 509.
9. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 121; Khafi Khan, II, pp.156; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp.270-80; waqai-i-Ajmer, pp.4, 18-19, 68.

authority to release under trial prisoners on bail.¹

The marriages of the Muslims were solemnized by him.² He also supervised the public mosques³ and distributed money along with the Sadr for charitable purposes and distributed money to the poor from the public treasury (bait-ul-mal).⁴ Thus these non-judicial functions of the Qazi increased his importance.

Parganah - Each Sarkar was sub-divided into a number of parganahs or mahals. 'The parganah was the lowest official unit of administration, and below the parganah was the village panchayat, which was popular in origin but recognised by the government'.⁵ There five principal officer in the parganah.

(i) The Shiqdar - The executive head of the parganah was called the Shiqdar. In the exercise of his duties he combined the functions which were performed by the Faujdar and the kotwal in the Sarkar, that is, in the parganah he was responsible for the law and order as well as the criminal justice.¹ He worked under the supervision of the Faujdar. He

1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 282-283.

2. Fryer, I, p.237.

3. Khafi Khan, II, p. 606.

4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p.338.

5. P.Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p.207.

6. P.Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p.212.

worked under the supervision of the Faujdar. He was to help the Amil in the realisation of revenue whenever force became necessary in this regard.¹ The nature of his office can be judged from the instructions of Akbar, enjoining the Shiqdars to take the census of the country and note the names, occupations and addresses of the people. He was further directed to take note of the arrivals and departures of dangerous men and prevent men without livelihood from residing in the towns.² These were the functions of the kotwal in the Sarkar which were performed in the parganah by the Shiqdar. With some limited powers the Shiqdar also acted as criminal court.³

(ii) The Amil - The Amil of the parganah had the same duties as the Amalguzar in the Sarkar. He was responsible for survey, smooth assessment with the help of provincial Amin and collection of revenue of the parganah and expand the area under cultivation and ensure the well-being of the peasants who had direct approach to him. In addition to his normal duty, he was required to assist the Shiqdar together with the village headmen in maintaining law and order and punishing the miscreants. These two officers cooperated with each other in the discharge of their respective functions in the administration of the

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1. P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughal, pp. 211-12.
 2. Elliot and Dowson, History Of India, Vol. VI, p. 61.
 3. P. Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, pp.211-13.

parganah.¹ The Amin as assessment officer (as under the Sultans did not exist under Akbar but the post was revived under Shahjahan, when the Amil was left only with police duties and collection and gradually he became in effect Faujdar of the parganah.

The Bitikchi - The Bitikchi was chief accountant and registrar and kept all documents signed by officials and peasants.² Under Akbar there was one Bitikchi and not two as under Sher Shah. The position of the Bitikchi was the same as that of the Bitikchi in the Akbar and indispensable to the Amil.

The Qanungo - The Qanungo of the parganah kept revenue papers, schedules of assessment, record of collections and complete information regarding land tenure of his parganah. Prior to Akbar he received a commission on land revenue, Akbar made him a paid government officer in three different grades.

The Treasurer - The treasurer was called khazanadar or Fotadar.³ He was instructed to keep the treasure in a strong room under information to the Shiqdar and the registrar. He should count the money deposited in the treasury daily in the evening and cause a note thereof to be signed by the collector

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1. P.Saran, Provincial Government Of The Mughals, p.212.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 51
 3. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.52.

and compare the day-ledger with the registrars accounts and authenticate it by his signature.¹

For making the provincial and local administration more efficient in its working the Mughal Emperors used to undertake tours of inspection in various provinces and took steps to punish officers found guilty of oppression inflicting upon the people. Akbar made frequent tours for the purpose and attended personally to the grievances of the people. Inspection tours were undertaken in Malwa too by Akbar. Though sometimes these tours were just for pleasure or formal visits but still the task of keeping check on the provincial officers and tending to the grievances of the oppressed and the weak was their main objective.

1. *Ain-e-Akbari*, II, p. 52-53.

CHAPTER-IV

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Malwa was a land of plenty and prosperity. Its rich alluvial soils, its fauna, flora, crops, industry, trade prospects and its geographical features, its climate and natural gifts made it an envy of India and of the world.

Agricultural Production - Agricultural development and growth of raw material depended during the period under review, on climate, rainfall, soil, system of land tenure, government policy of agricultural improvement, irrigation facilities, supply of improved seeds, livestock, transportation facilities, general peace and absence of oppression of the peasantry. The references of Ibn Battuta when compared with the remarks made by Abul Fazl show that the pattern of production of the province of Malwa had practically seen little changes and Malwa enjoyed for many centuries the fruits of its fertile soil, overflowing rivers, bracing climate, natural resources, lush green fields and the skill of the people in the sphere of agricultural production besides various handicrafts.¹ The soil of Malwa consists either of a loose rich black loam, or a more compact ferruginous mould, both noted for their fertility.² Praising the goodness of the Malwa soil Abul Fazl remarks that every part of it is cultivable.²

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1. Chatarman in Chahar Gulshan and Sujana Rai Bhandari in Khulasatut Tawarikh have given a description of Malwa which is almost similar with the description of Abul Fazl shows that practically no change occurred in Malwa.
 2. Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol. I, p. 8., The East India Gazetteer (Walter Hamilton), Vol. II, p. 195.

A striking feature of the agriculture of the province of Malwa was the multiplicity of crops, both food and non-food. Abundance of production led to its export to the other provinces and even outside India and thus Malwa was economically very sound. Fruits of Malwa were greatly praised by the Emperors.

Food Grains - Malwa grew abundant food grains including wheat, rice, barley and oilseeds. Wheat grew in a considerable quantity as Abul Fazl puts wheat first among the major crops of Malwa.¹ Wheat was grown all over Malwa, but specially in the regions of the sarkars of Raisen and Sarangpur.² The sarkar of Mandu also produced it in large quantity.³ The bulk of the quantity of wheat produced was transported to other regions or exported.⁴ The rich and fertile land of Malwa gifted with so many rivers and their tributaries was best suited for the production of a larger quantity of wheat.

The tropical crop of rice requires much water, high temperature and water - logging. Rice was also grown in Malwa but in small quantities and was meant for internal consumption.⁵ But a pargana of Savligarh in the sarkar of Handia was reputed

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.455; Tavernier, I, p.57.
 2. Irfan Habib, An Atlas Of The Mughal Empire (Sheet 9B).
 3. Rehla, p.167. Ibn Battuta mentions that the region about Dhar produces abundant grain, specially wheat.
 4. Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol.I, p.8.
 5. Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp.92-93; Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol.I, p.8; The East India Gazetteer (Walter Hamilton), Vol.II, p.195; Tavernier, I, p.57.

for a high level of rice output.¹ Thus it seems that both high and low qualities of rice were cultivated in Malwa. Abul Fazl refers to certain special varieties of rice and in Malwa kur rice was produced besides other common varieties of rice.²

Gram was also cultivated in Malwa in large quantity that led to its export from Malwa.³ Besides wheat, rice and gram Malwa also produced paddy, mustard, jowar, bajra, moong maash, arzan (millet), linseed and til.⁴ Abul Fazl says that Garh region had rich agricultural turn-out & exported grains to the Deccan and Gujarat.⁵

Fruits And Vegetables - Vegetables and fruits of various kinds were largely produced in Malwa. Abul Fazl puts mango among the principal fruits of Malwa.⁶ Malwa produced mangoes of the best variety and taste and referring to the excellent quality mangoes from Malwa Tahangir remarks that, "through mangoes are produced in many parts, but there are few places the mangoes of which can rival those of Malwa in richness of flavour, sweetness,

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1. Thakur Lal, f. 35a, as quoted by Irfan Habib, An Atlas Of The Mughal Empire, p.38.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 92-93.
 3. Maleolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol. I, p.8.
 4. Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp.92-93; Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol. I, p.8.
 5. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 456.
 6. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 455.

in freedom from fibre and in size.¹ Mangoes were largely grown in the regions of Umaria,² Hasilpur³ and Sagor⁴ and between Mughal Sarai and Sadhaura⁵ in the sarkars of Kotri Pirawa, Mandu and Chanderi respectively. Mangoes of Malwa due to its excellent variety would have certainly been in great demand in other countries besides other Subahs of the Mughal empire exacting a considerable income to the province.

Melon, a major fruit of Malwa⁶ was produced in Nandurbar⁷ and in the region of Balakwada,⁸ in the sarkar of Bijagarh. Abul fazl praises the melons of Nandurbar as good in taste.

Among the important fruits that were produced in Malwa, grapes occupied an important place. It was chiefly produced at Hasilpur⁹ and Dhar¹⁰ in the region of sarkar Mandu. Nandurbar

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1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 377.
 2. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 173.
 3. Ibid., pp. 178-179.
 4. Ibid., p. 178.
 5. Mandy, II, p. 56.
 6. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 455.
 7. Ibid., p. 457.
 8. Ibid., p. 463.
 9. Ibid., p. 455; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 178-79.
 10. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 456; Juzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 172.

also produced a good variety of grapes.¹ In both these regions two crops are said to grow every year.² Jahangir informs that in Malwa the grapes grew in abundance that locally they were sold cheap and even the poor classes of the people could afford to purchase as much as they could.³ Of the other varieties of fruits Khirni and Tamarind also grew in Malwa. In the locality of Khokar in the sarkar region of Sarangpur wine was obtained from Mahua.⁴ In Mandu there is a mention of another kind of fruit bearing tree termed Khurasani Imli or baobab (*Adansonia digitata*). This tree is said to have been introduced into Mandu from Africa during the reign of Mahmud Khalji II.⁵ Abul Fazl has mentioned it as tamarind. Abul Fazl mentions "Here the tamarind grows as large as a coconut and its kernel is extremely white."⁶

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 456.
 2. Ibid., pp. 455-456; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 172.
 3. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 178-179.
 4. Finch, Early Travels, p. 143.
 5. G. Yazdani, Mandu, The City Of Joy, p. 2; Earnest Barnes (Jr. B.B.R.A.S., "Dhar and Mandu," p.355) says "It abounds in Nalcha and Mandu and except an occasional specimen it is not to be found in any other part of Malwa, and is exotic in India. The *Adansonia digitata*, i.e. the Baobab tree of Senegal is known in Malwa as Khurasani Imli. It seems probable that the tree was introduced into Malwa from Abyssinia during the reign of Mahmud Khalji, when Mandu was at its zenith and close trade relations with that country existed".
 6. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 208.

In Malwa vegetable crops of different varieties were also cultivated. Mention must be made of lobiya, turiya, Carrot, Onion, Lettuce, Lemon, Peas, etc.¹ The vegetables like spinach, turnip, cabbage, kachnar, chaulai, bethuwa, ginger, boi and radish were also grown to cater with the urban demand. In the cultivation of vegetables a particular caste of malis was engaged in it.² There also grew a number of spices. Among them the most common were ajwain, dhania, rai, and ginger. Luard's list also includes sonph (dillseed), Mitha nim (curry leaf), mirchi (chilli), dhania (coriander seed), ajwain, zira (pepper), rai (mustard), adrak or sonth (ginger).³

Other Products - Malwa was famous for its abundance in cultivation of betel leaf or pan. According to Ibn Battuta, an excellent quality of betel leaf was exported to Delhi.⁴ The large quantity of betel leaf that was produced in Malwa became a commodity of general consumption and almost an institution in social spheres of life. Even it was given to the guests during the marriage celebrations as a symbol of welcome.⁵ Pan was produced at Machalpur⁶ in the sarkar region of Sarangpur and

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 208.
 2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System Of Mughal India, p. 47.
 3. C.E. Luard, Indore State Gazetteer (Central India State Gazetteer Series), Vol. II, p. 94.
 4. Rehla, p. 167.
 5. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p. 357.
 6. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 462.

Sironj¹, which was a great commercial town of Malwa, in the sarkar region of Chanderi. Abul Fazl informs the pan that was produced at Hasilpur in Mandu was fine in quality², but it is possible to read this reference as applying to Malwa generally. The author of Gulzar-i-Abrar, Shaikh Ghausi of Mandu says the best quality of pan was cultivated in the pargana Amjhera (sarkar Mandu). The pan that was produced here were excellent in smell and taste and were exported to other Subahs. People who came to Malwa would take this quality of pan as a gift for their friends to different provinces.³

The territory of Malwa is highly fertile, being principally covered with the soil called 'mar' or 'Kali' by the local people and 'black cotton soil' by Europeans⁴, was most suited to the production of cotton which definitely was an important produce during the period under review. Cotton was produced in the region lying between the towns of Barrai and Pamar⁵ in the territory of the sarkars of Raisen and Chanderi.

In the sixteenth century indigo production was a commercially less important. It was used for internal consumption with-

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1. Finch, Early Travels, p. 143.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, p. 455.
 3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 388.
 4. The Imperial Gazetteer Of India, Vol.XVII, p. 100.
 5. Mundy, II, p. 55.

in India mainly for dyeing, washing or bleaching cloths crystal white and for paints. Used as a dye and for bleaching of cloths, indigo was locally demanded in all cotton manufacturing centres in Malwa. Abul Fazl makes reference to indigo production¹ but its output was relatively in small quantities. Besides indigo, morinda citrifolia was cultivated, the root of which produced an excellent red dye, was cultivated in large quantity and was of great commercial value.²

The town of Sironj in the sarkar of Chanderi produced roses, presumably in a considerably large quantity. They were both of red and white colours. The roses of white colour bore fair and fine smell.³ The roses and its wood both formed commercial importance but particularly the rose-wood was required in making tender and decorative pieces demanded in the houses of the richer section of the society.

Of all the productions opium is most important, the soil and climate appearing singularly well adapted for the cultivation of poppy⁴. The milky juice of the poppy heads, dried in the sun and air used as an intoxicant and as medicine was largely manufactured during the period under review in Malwa. Malwa

1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 93.

2. Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol.I, p.8.

3. Mandy, II, p. 56.

4. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.455; Finch, Early Travels, p. 142; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp.178-179; The East India Gazetteer (Walter Hamilton), Vol.II, p. 195.

opium was rated very high, and even children (upto three years) of all classes were given it in some parts there. The extraction of opium from the poppy constituted a great part of export trade of Malwa and was exported to Pegu, Java, Malay Peninsula, China, Persia and Arabia¹. The best of the opium was produced at Kanasia², in the sarkar territory of Sarangpur. In the sixteenth century Akbar taxed it heavily.

Between the region of Duraha and Sehore³, in the sarkar territory of Raisen, the production of sugar-cane was extensively undertaken. The quality of the sugar-cane produced in Malwa was superior and inferior both. The cultivation of the sugar-cane was not quite sufficient for internal consumption.⁴

The seventeenth century witnessed a significant and remarkably novel feature of Indian cropping, the introduction of the new commercial crop of tobacco and extension of its cultivation as a commercial or cash crop. It was almost unknown till the end of Akbar's reign but it was made known to his court by pilgrims from Mecca, brought by the Portuguese from North America into Gujarat early in the seventeenth century.⁵ Due to large

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, pp.410,417,II, pp.78-117,207; Fitch, Early Travels, pp.18,24,34; William Hawkins, Early Travels, pp.17, 116,142; Moreland, India At The Death Of Akbar, p.103; Cambridge Economic History Of India, Vol.I, p.275.
 2. Jourdain, p.149, Finch, Early Travels, p.142, also refers the place name 'Kanasia' for opium manufacture.
 3. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.455; Mundy,II, p.55.
 4. Maleolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol.I, p.8.
 5. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System Of Mughal India, p.45.

trade relations with Gujarat, it is possible that from Gujarat the tobacco was introduced in Malwa. Terry whose experience was mainly gained there in Malwa, testifies it was sown "in abundance in his time".¹ Its use, which was confined to aristocratic circles in the reign of Shahjahan but spread to the poorer classes under Aurangzeb.² The author of the Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, remarks that in the beginning only a small quantity of it used to come from Farang (Europe), so that it was not very common. But ultimately the peasants took to cultivating it with so much interest that it surpassed other crops, a change which, according to him, took place during Jahangir's reign.³

The tobacco cultivation in Malwa was sufficient for home consumption.⁴ This tobacco was sweet in smell and strong in taste. It was used to be taken in pan.⁵ The tobacco was also used for smoking purpose.⁶ The Malwa tobacco, more specially that of the Bhilsa, was very fine, the best in India, and much sought after by the addict of huqqah.⁷

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1. Terry, Early Travels, p. 299.
 2. Sujan Rai, Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 454.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Malcolm, A Member Of Central India, Vol.I, p. 8.
 5. Mundy, II, pp. 96-97.
 6. The addiction to tobacco smoking spread very fast in the empire that led to its prohibition by Jahangir, However, the prohibition was ineffective, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, I. 183.
 7. The East India Gazetteer (Walter Hamilton), Vol. II, p. 195.

FOREST AND THEIR PRODUCTS:

Malwa seems to be covered with widespread forests. However, there is no detailed information of forests but the districts where large number of wild elephants are recorded may extensively be regarded as covering large forests tracts. Abul Fazl has listed among the forests such territories as Chanderi, Raisen, Unchod and Satwas, Hoshangabad, Handia and Bijagarh.¹

Certainly these forests were of more importance to the supply of wood used in buildings, furniture and fuel wood. Several of these forests furnished fine timber, particularly the teak.² These varieties of wood formed valuable articles of commerce. Rose-wood might have been acquired from the orchards of roses in the town of Sironj³, to be used in most decorative and tender furniture and other articles.

These forests further supplied quite a number of products to the people of Malwa. Honey certainly was a fresh product and its by-products were prepared in sizeable quantity was of great use and served various purposes. Wax candles were used for the purpose of illumination in different ceremonies and formed an article of consumption in the royal courts and palaces⁴. Artificial trees made of wax, silk and wire were used for the purpose of decoration during the marriage ceremony of Prince Ghiyas Shah and similarly on the occasion of reception accorded

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.132.
 2. Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol. I, p.9.
 3. Mundy, II, p.56.
 4. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p.358. The illumination in the marriage ceremony of Ghiyas Shah were of wax candles as well as lamps.

to Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat by Mahmud Khalji II¹.

Gum Lac is a kind of wax found on the barks of certain standing trees. It was an indispensable material for manufacturing bangles and toys. Lac was extracted from the trees, and besides being used for manufacturing bangles for the women, it was also utilized in varnishing furniture, doors, screens, windows and toys.² The Dutch merchants exported it to Persia for red colour. "The lac bangle and toy industry flourished most in Gujarat (particularly at Surat), but it must have been diffused in other parts of India more or less"³. A large quantity of lac was found in Malwa, particularly in the forests of Dhar.⁴ Thus lac was certainly a very profitable item of trade and most probably it was exported to Gujarat to cater the demand of its bangle and toy industries. During the reign of Shahjahan lac sold at 7½ mahmudis (dams) per maund. The Dutch merchants purchased large quantities of gum lac, and exported it to Persia for textile printing. The English and the Dutch "carried away every year 50 chests at 10 pence per pound".⁵

The largely stretched forests of Malwa had a large number of wild elephants as mentioned by Abul Fazl⁶ and besides these,

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1. U.N.Day, Medieval Malwa, p.358. The illumination in the marriage ceremony of Ghiyas Shah were of wax candles as well as lamps.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, I, pp. 236-237.
 3. J.N. Sarkar, Studies In Aurangzeb's Reign, 281.
 4. Raghubir Singh, Malwa In Transition, p. 8.
 5. Bernier, Travels In The Mughal Empire, II, p. 63.
 6. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 132.

there were many other wild animals too. Among these the tiger, leopard, bear, wolf, hyena, wild dog, antelope, nilgai (nil gaw or white footed antelope), sambar and other deer species¹. The presence of such wild animals in plenty provided an ample scope for royal game of hunting. While Emperor Jahangir was on the royal tour of Malwa he had enjoyed his time in hunting a number of wild animals there and also refers a four horned antelope which was locally called dudhadharit².

The killing of wild animals also served the purpose of providing hides. The commodities prepared of these hides were of great value. The skin of Sambar when well furnished formed an important material for the military accoutrements of the soldiers.³ The skin of Sambar was also exported to the neighbouring places. Similarly, elephant tusk was a coveted commodity domestically used in decoration as ivory and exported abroad in shapes of rare and valuable goods. Much of it adorned the royal palaces and nobles' mansions in the Capital.

ANIMALS OF COMMERCIAL VALUE:

Malwa was also rich in sphere of domestic animals. They contributed much to the economy of the province. Among animals

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1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 349, 351, 363; Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol.I, p.9.
 2. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 352.
 3. Malcolm, A Memoir Of Central India, Vol.I, p.9.

of commercial value like horses, camels, cows and elephants were found in abundance. The region of Bhikangaon¹, in the sarkar territory of Bijagarh, was rich in horses. The horses of Bhikangaon were certainly used in the cavalry of Malwa Sultans when Malwa was independent and formed part of the troops of the provincial officers after 1562. There might be the export of these horses to the Capital for royal stable.

Similarly excellent breed of cows were reared in Malwa and they were mostly found in the region of Khandwa² in the territory of sarkar Handia. There is a reference of one camel and cattle mart at Mandhata located in the territory of sarkar Handia. An annual fair was held here for the sale of cattle but it was famous for the sale of camels.³

Thus Malwa had much commercial interests in rearing and sale of these cattle. The cattle mart at Mandhata would have attended by a flock of animal buyers from outside Malwa.

SALT MANUFACTURE:

The indispensability of salt in the life of people can hardly be exaggerated, and the Mughal period was no exception to this. Salt was a essential ingredient of daily food. Hence

1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 463.

2. Khulasatul Hind, P. 103.

3. Thakur Lal, f.35a, as quoted by Irfan Habib, An Atlas Of The Mughal Empire, p. 38.

manufacture of salt was then, as now, an important industry and an article of internal trade. Abul Fazl does not mention the production of salt in the description of Subah Malwa. But we are informed by Manucci that in Ujjain salt was manufactured¹ to cater the local demand.

PAPER MANUFACTURE:

The art of manufacturing paper was known to the Chinese as early as 105 A.D.² The Muslims acquired the knowledge of its manufacture from them in 751³. According to Alberuni, paper was not known to India even in the eleventh century⁴. The reference of the manufacture of paper in India was made for the first time by Amir Khusrau who flourished from 1253 to 1325. It, therefore, seems probable that this art of manufacturing paper was introduced in India in the thirteenth century.

In Malwa paper was manufactured at Mandu which had a locality of the paper manufacturers. Ghausi Shattari who finished his Gulzar-i-Abrar during the reign of Jahangir says that his father also earned his livelihood from selling papers which obtained from these paper manufacturers⁵.

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1. Manucci, Vol.II, p. 430.
 2. Derry and Williams, Short History Of Technology, p.232; D. Hunter, Paper Making, p.52.
 3. Derry and Williams, op.cit., p.232.
 4. Alberunis India, I, p. 171.
 5. Bulzar-i-Abrar, p. 609.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURES:

The textile industry of Malwa was well-advanced. Malwa produced fine cloth of different qualities. Abul Fazl writes that the cloth of best texture is woven in Malwa.¹ He refers to the excellently woven white muslin (mahmudi, white cloth) of Sironj² which was an important centre of manufacture of gold and silver embroidered cloth. The quality of this cloth made at Sironj was that it was semi-transparent known as (ab-i-rawan, 'flowing water'). When this cloth was put on the person, its thinness gave the body an appearance of nakedness.³ The merchants were not allowed to export this cloth and the governor of Malwa used to send all of it for the royal seraglio, and for the chief nobles of the Court.⁴ The wives of the Emperor and the nobles wore garments of this cloth.⁵

Malwa was famous for its coloured cloth which it produced in abundance.⁶ It was known as Chintz and was exported to foreign countries also. Sironj was also reputed for the manufacture of

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 207.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 461, Manucci, I, p. 68.
 3. Tanernier, I, pp. 46-47.
 4. Ibid, p. 46.
 5. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
 6. Ibid., pp. 36-37.

Chintz, excellent in quality which was much esteemed throughout India¹. It was said that the Chintzes made in Sironj did not merely look lively, but their colour would appear all the more beautiful the more they were washed. This particular quality of the cloth was attributed to the water of the river, which passes by Sironj, and specially when they were washed in the disturbed waters.²

The Chintz manufactured at Sironj had a large trade within and outside India. It was exported to Persia in large quantities, where it was used by the common people for their dresses specially waistcoats for both men and women, table-cloths and bed-covers and pock hand-kerchiefs. Moreover it was quite popular among the females there, and the manufacturers in Sironj made it to order to suit the taste and customs of that country. The Chintz of Sironj was also exported to Turkey also.³ The trade in this cloth was in the hands of the Armenian traders, who lived there, but many times European traders also arrived there to undertake business in Chintz.⁴ They were sold by corges, a corge consisting of 20 pieces. The Chintz made at Sironj were sold at from 20 to 60 rupees the corge or thereabout.⁵

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1. Mundy, II, p. 56.
 2. Tavernier, I, p. 46.
 3. Tavernier, I, p. 56; II, p. 4.
 4. Manucci, I, p. 68
 5. Tavernier, II, p. 4.

Muslin (mahmudi and sarisaf) was also fabricated in Chanderi.¹ Sarangpur which had a fair town-house manufactured good Muslin and turban cloth.² It had a great trade of all the clothings which were made.³ Hasilpur, in the sarkar of Mandu, also had a manufacture of Muslin.⁴ The entire white cloth produced at Dhar in Mandu was purchased by noblemen.⁵

Malwa had also earned great reputation for the manufacture of a fine and delicate cloth which was flowered excellently and called Do-dami. The manufacture of this cloth had long been a speciality of Malwa. But it is certain that Do-dami was not manufactured in Malwa during Akbar's reign as Abul Fazl does not make mention of it. The author of Shahjahan Nama remarks that the art of manufacturing this cloth reached its perfection during the time of Shahjahan. Making reference to annual weighing ceremony of Shahjahan, the author informs that 2000 bolts of the costly and delicate Do-dami of Malwa was presented by Khani-i-Dauran, Nusrat Jang, the governor of Malwa on the above mentioned occasion in January 1638.⁶

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1. Siyagname, p. 187.
 2. Finch, Early Travels, p. 143; Jourdain, p. 150.
 3. Jourdain, p. 150.
 4. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 462.
 5. Khafi Khan, II, pp. 234-235.
 6. Shahjahan Nama (Begley & Desai), p. 220.

Do-dami was a cloth used in summer.¹ It was sold for Rs. 80 a piece (for one with coloured flowers) and Rs. 40/- was the cost for a plain one.² This cloth was in demand by the Emperor and nobles in the summer.

During the reign of Aurangzeb the cloth factory at Chanderi manufacturing Do-dami was closed by an imperial order. But it seems that the manufacture of this cloth at other centres continued.³

Thus Malwa enjoyed fame and name in textile industry and the cloth manufactured therein was in great demand in other provinces besides the Capital. In fact the Chintz manufactured at Sironj swelled the economy of Malwa as it had caught large markets in foreign countries. The Do-dami of Malwa was also not lagging behind. The transparent cloth manufactured in the Subah was banned to merchants as being exportable and was only reserved for use in the Emperor's seraglio and noble's mansions. This cloth definitely would have been priced costly as its delicacy and thinness required much skilled artisans.

Above all, the textile industry of Malwa was well flourished and the towns of Malwa where cloth was manufactured also

1. The dress of Shahjahan was fashioned from this cloth during the summer, Shahjahan Nama (Begley & Desai), p.220.
2. Ibid.
3. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 162.

developed as great commercial centres of cloth trade. The merchants flocked in Malwa to have a deal in this trade.

GOLD AND SILVER WORK:

The ornaments had been an important article for female decoration and beautification since ancient times. During the ^{ornaments} Sultanate and the Mughal periods/generally made of gold, silver and precious stones were used by the women of royal seraglio and noble's families. In Malwa too the art of gold smith was certainly developed. The paintings of Nimatnamah show women dressed in male costumes but wearing ornaments. The bangles, ear-rings and tops are clearly pictured. We find a mention of ornaments as Jhuma and Jhamartali mahmudshahi as ornaments presented to the women of the nobles during the marriage ceremony of Ghiyas Shah of Malwa.¹

Among the ornaments Abul Fazl gives a long list of the variety of women's ornaments. Among the head-ornaments mention may be made of 'Sis-phul' an ornament for the head resembling the marigold; 'Mang', worn on the parting of the hair to enhance its beauty; 'Kot-biladar', worn on the forehead and consisting of five bands with long centre drop; 'Sekra' (Shikhara), seven or more strings of pearls, linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face and 'Binduli' worn on the forehead. Among the ornaments of ear Abul Fazl mentions 'Karnaphul', 'Pipalpatti', 'Bali', 'Mor-Bhanwar' and

1. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p. 360.

'champakali'. Nose, likewise was richly adorned with a variety of ornaments, e.g. 'Phuli', 'Nath' and 'Laung'. Among the neck ornaments 'Hans', 'Gulaband' and 'Har' were important. For the arms, wrists and fingers, likewise, there were different type of ornaments viz. 'Bazuband', 'Tad', 'Gajrah', 'Kangan', 'Churin', 'Bahu', 'Jawe' and 'Anguthi'.¹ All these ornaments were of gold and were made either plain or studded with jewels. The ornaments made of silver were presumably wore by the people of lower category than nobles. These ornaments mentioned by Abul Fazl seems to be common in Malwa among the families of nobles and local zamindars and other rich people. This naturally might have attracted the skilled gold-smiths to settle in Malwa. Utensils of gold and silver were used by the nobles and the richer class of the people.

PCTTERY AND GLAZE:

Besides other industries in Malwa the glazed pottery industry was much developed. The work of the glazed pottery had reached a mark of high standard. But in Malwa, particularly Mandu, this industry had a large production of high standard of glazed pottery. Blue and yellow painted glazed tiles are distributed throughout the buildings of Mandu.² Percy Brown elaborately writes,

1. Ain-i-Akbari, III, pp. 343-344.

2. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.63.

"So much of this is even now traceable that it is evident there was a flourishing industry in glazed earthenware at Mandu during the fifteenth century, and the fine colours the potters were able to produce show that they were adepts at their trade. They possessed the secret formula, now apparently lost, for the preparation of a turquoise blue which for brilliancy has never been surpassed and the probability is that these craftsmen brought it with them from Multan, which again had derived it in the first instance from Persia"². As Malwa on the whole prospered after the occupation of Mughals as a province of the empire, this industry of glazed pottery also seems to be enjoyed its prosperity.

MINERALS:

In the field of minerals Malwa was not lagging behind. The hilly tracts of Malwa abound in stones of various kinds and of different tints. Diamond, the most precious of all stones, was found in Malwa. Shahab-Hakim makes the mention of the territories of Ratanpur and Raipur as possessing the mines of diamonds.² We come across to the reference of some other gems and precious stones as Yaqut-i-Hiramane (red), and Firoza Zamarrud (green).³

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1. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p. 63.
 2. Maasir-i-Mahmud-Shahi, p. 44.
 3. Ibid., p. 59.

Marble was also available in Malwa. It was of varying hues from white to pink. The marble of yellow colour was also found in Malwa. Marble was particularly used in royal buildigs.

The mines of precious stones in Malwa also led to the production of valuable articles as trays of Yaqut and cups of Firoza. Shahab Hakim also mentions that Mahmud Khalji I sent as presents, the items as a cup of Yaqut, a plate of Aqiq, a spoon of Ruby, a dish of Firoza and a basin of alabaster.¹ This ascertains that these articles were the specialities of Malwa and definitely were of high repute.

There was a silver mine at Joga in the sarkar territory of Handia. The silver obtained from this must have consumed in the mints uttering silver coin. It was also used in making ornaments, utensils and decorative pieces.

MINTS:

During the Sultanate of Malwa there was only a single mint for the entire Kingdom at Shadiabad Mandu.² But under Akbar the number of mints increased in Malwa. Ujjain was the only mint in Malwa which uttered coins in all the three metals, i.e., gold, silver and copper.³ All silver mints of 1595 also

1. Ibid.

2. The Imperial Monetary System Of Mughal India (Edited John F. Richards), p. 24.

3. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 27; M.P.Singh, p. 251.

uttered copper. In Malwa the mints which issued copper coins only were Sironj, Sarangpur and Mandu. The copper mint at Sironj was subsequently abolished after Akbar.¹

MARKET:

The main feature of the market was that all sorts of goods and commodities such as cloth, grain, food stuffs, sweets, drugs, medicine, tobacco, fruits, vegetable, pan, furniture, toys etc. were on sale. In Malwa the market was organized that shops of a particular commodity were allotted fixed place. We are informed that in Ujjain, the capital of Malwa there was arrangement of separate shops for each commodity at fixed place. The Qazi of Ujjain in a dispute warned the butchers of the city not to open meat shops in between the shops for other commodities. They were asked by the Qazi to shift to the place fixed for them.²

TRADE ROUTES:

Malwa had a network of numerous roads, connecting large towns and cities, some of which had large and shady trees on both sides and mile-stones to indicate distance. Two routes forwarded northwards from Burhanpur to Agra. The shorter route of Agra crossed the river Narbada at Handia while the other crossing the Narbada at Akbarpur ran to Ujjain and then joined the other route at Duraha.³ Mundy describes the route via Handia to Duraha.⁴

1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 27.

2. Mutafarriq Maharajgan, bundle no. I, document No. 69. The document does not bear the date.

3. Chahar Gulshan, f. 136 b.

Finch describes the route via Ujjain and thus this route deviates from the route given in Chahar Gulshan, to pass through Mandu and Sarangpur.¹

The roads that passed through Malwa were military roads as well as trade routes. The industrial activities of the Subah received added impetus from these routes. Moreover, the European traders who had settled on the western coast, generally travelled by Malwa routes and thus the towns falling on these routes rose high as centres of commercial activities in the province.

GENERAL ECONOMIC PROSPERITY:

Malwa occupied great reputation for the fertility of its soil. The abundance of food grain, fruits and vegetables and specialised production of fine cloth in large quantity and other skilled industries and its towns becoming great commercial centres like Mandu, Sironj, Ujjain, Sarangpur and Chanderi, all are great evidences of the well economic prosperity of the province. The production was so large that it led to the export of many things from Malwa. General economic prosperity is also indicated by the existence of well built residential buildings in many towns of Malwa. Referring to Chanderi, Babur writes, "All the houses in Chanderi, whether of high or low are built of stone those of the chiefs being labouriously carved; those of the lower

1. Finch, Early Travels, pp. 139-143; Jourdain, pp. 146-150 Pinkerton Roe, p. 6. followed the same branch route upto Mandu.

class also of stone but are not carved. They are covered in with stone-slabs instead of earthen tiles."¹ Chanderi in Malwa had 14,000 stone houses.²

The towns of Malwa were flocked by the traders. The town of Sironj was inhabited by large group of traders and artisans and it had fine houses of stone and bricks.³ Ibn Battuta also praises the prosperous conditions of Chanderi and speaks of it as a big city with busy market places.⁴

Malwa was well prosperous during its independence as Malwa kingdom. For a century and a quarter it enjoyed the protection and patronage of the Mughals and Malwa received its due share of the prosperity which enriched the revenues of the Mughal Empire. During the first century of Mughal rule in Malwa since 1562, the province attained the height of its prosperity in the middle of the seventeenth century, the provincial revenues collected in 1654 amounted to Rs. 1,39,32,933,⁵ which was the highest ever exacted and recorded. In fact it was doubled to the figure given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, which was Rs.60,17,136⁶. Malwa was also

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1. Babarnama (A.S. Beveridge), II, p. 597.
 2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 207.
 3. Tavernier, I, p. 46; The Imperial Gazetteer Of India, Vol. XXIII, p. 39.
 4. Rehla, p. 166.
 5. Dastur-ul-Amal in India Of Aurangzeb, pp. IX, XXXIX.
 6. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 209.

affected from the war of succession in 1658 but in 1697 the income of the province had a good figure of Rs.99,06,250.¹ Malwa once again enjoyed a period of comparative peace during the reign of Aurangzeb, however in the last years of Aurangzeb Malwa was disturbed by Maratha incursions. But the province fate was still bright as in 1700 the figure of the amount of provincial revenues reached another high watermark of Rs 1,02,08,667.²

Thus it can be said emphatically that the Subah of Malwa occupied good position economically and its revenues certainly were the strength of the Empire. During the period under review Malwa rose gradually since it became the Subah of the Mughal Empire under Akbar and reached its height of economic prosperity during the Mughal period.

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1. Manucci, II, p. 413.
 2. Dastur-ul-Amal, MS.C. in India Of Aurangzeb, pp. XXXII, IX.

CHAPTER-V

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Society reflects the complex phenomena of multifarious human activity and the various aspects of growth in the economic, cultural, political and administrative fields which combine to influence the pattern of society.

Social condition is reflected by economic growth. The strata of society and their inter-relation is determined by economic factor which overrides all other considerations. Various aspects of social development like the womenfolk, the under privileged classes, the sports and pastimes, labour and leisure, working condition, health and sanitation, all these and sundry aspects are subject of study under the overall social phenomenon.

Social Condition- The Common Man -

The general condition of the people of Malwa may relatively be described as one of prosperity. The fertility of soil and growing abundance is clearly indicative of a good living standard of the common people. Besides this the cloth karkhanas at Dhar, Sironj, Sarangpur and Chanderi and the opportunity of work at royal mints at Sironj, Sarangpur, Mandu and Ujjain provided ample employment to the people of Malwa.

Referring to Chanderi Babar writes, " All houses in Chanderi, whether of high or low, are built of stone, those of chiefs being labouriously carved; those of the lower classes are also of stone but are not carved. They are covered in

with stone slabs instead of with earthen tiles." This shows that the living standard of the people of Chanderi in Malwa was good as they occupied well-built stone houses.

Similarly referring to Sironj. Monserrate, a traveller contemporary with Akbar mentions that the poor classes in this town lived in round huts¹. He says that in Malwa this is the only region where such miserable hovels are visible². Monserrate had visited other towns of Malwa like Mandu, Sarangpur and Ujjain³. His reference of Sironj can be implied to suggest that the general condition of the common people in other parts was better than that of a particular locality of the town of Sironj. The large part of the town of Sironj was however inhabited by the traders and artisans and it had fine houses of stone and bricks.⁴

Indeed a larger part of the population was engaged in agriculture and as the land was fertile enough and production was in abundance, the living standard of the common man was of a high order.

Life of Peasantry - On account of the great fertility of land a large number of the population took to cultivation. It is recorded as a peculiarity of Malwa that both the peasants and artisans of the province used to carry arms⁵. Peasants engaged

1. Monserrate, p.21.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, pp.15-21.

4. Tavernier, I, p.46; The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.XXIII, p.39.

5. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.455; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.172. The Ain has 'grain-merchant' instead of 'artisan'.

in the cultivation of vegetables belonged to a particular caste of 'malis'.¹

After Pir Muhammad's death, Akbar had appointed Abdullah Khan Uzbek as governor of Malwa and with him Khwaja Muinuddin Farkhundi was sent as Diwan of Malwa. Akbar had realised that in keeping firm control on a province it was necessary to deal with the peasantry gently and honestly. Therefore Khwaja Farkhundi was directed to encourage the peasantry, the farmers and other inhabitants, both high and low². From the provincial Diwan down to lowest officer on the revenue side had the responsibility of welfare of the peasants and fair and free dealing with them. Nurjahan, in her hukum directs one Jagjivan Das, the Qanungo of sarkar Chanderi that it would be the duty of the aforesaid official to promote the welfare of the peasants besides other duties³.

Regarding the condition of the peasantry, Terry, whose experience mainly related to Malwa, says that "the ordinary sort of people did not eat wheat which was abundantly produced and even exported, but used to take the flour of "a coarser grain" (probably juwar)⁴.

The peasants in Malwa were a cheerful folk. They were fond of singing. At the rural marriage ceremonies women joined in singing⁵.

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.47.
 2. Akbarnama, II, p.260.
 3. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Edicts From The Mughal Harem, p.30.
 4. Both (sic) toothsome, wholesome and hearty and "made up in round broad and thick cakes" (chapatis). (Terry, Voyage to East India, reprint, London, 1777, pp.87, 199. This statement does not occur in the first version of Terry's journal, reprinted in the Early Travels).
 5. Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol.II, p.198.

Caste System -

Hindu society was divided into four divisions with countless subdivisions and sub-castes which not only made it more complex, but rigid too. The Brahmins occupied a position of great importance¹. They carried the name of their gotras² in their names such as Gopali, Kausika, Bhargava, Chapaliya etc. The Brahmins, sometimes took titles of distinction showing their rank and the bulk of their education, such as Sukla, Triveda, Pandita, Srotriya, Yajnika, etc.³

The Brahmins in Malwa tried to keep themselves aloof from the company of the Muslims as it was considered degrading to have relations with the Muslims⁴.

The Kshatriya caste includes clans like Chauhans, Parmaras, Pratiharas, Chandelas, Guhilas, Kalchuris etc.⁵ The Rajputs had long been the rulers of Malwa before the establishment of the independent kingdom of Muslims in Malwa. During the reign of Mahmud Khalji II, Purbiya Rajputs played more vital role during the days of adverse vicissitudes of Malwa.

The Kshatriya society, during the period of Rajput rule in Malwa and independent Muslim kingdom, was cut into two distinct

1. Malwa Through The Ages, p.480.

2. Ibid., p.481.

3. Ibid., p.482.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p.484

divisions. First, those Rajputs who had established themselves in Malwa during Rajput domination and second, who had retired to Malwa during first rush of Muslims in India. These Rajputs had lost their touch with those of Rajputana and made Malwa their permanent home. Many of these races intermixed with the local fighting elements. They were the landholders when Mughals occupied Malwa. There, however, grew up many intermixed races, such as the Bhilalas and the Sondhias,¹ who were settled throughout Malwa but specially in the central and southern Malwa. Many of these early Rajput races maintained their purity of blood. However in 1698, there arose another class of Rajputs who claimed themselves true Rajputs. This section of the Rajputs was consisted of those who belonged to the royal families of Rajputana, who had served the Mughals very faithfully, had proved their mettle and were assigned grants of land in Malwa. These Rajputs brought their relatives and friends to Malwa to be settled in this province.

The Vaisyas were rich and keenly interested in literary and charitable activities. The occupations of agriculture, cattle-rearing and handicrafts were carried on by the Sudras. Their economic improvement had altered the quality of social set-up². The Sudras did not eat or intermarry with others³.

1. Malcolm, A Memior of Central India, Vol.I, pp.511-516.

2. Ibid, p.487.

3. Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol.II, p.170.

Besides the Hindus there was a large number of Muslims in Malwa. The Muslims who lived in rural areas were cultivators, artisans and labourers and this class of population was mainly constituted of those who were converted to Islam from Hinduism¹. These converts retained the old Hindu practices². There are references that zamindars during the reign of Babur, Humayun and Akbar had become Muslims on condition of their left undisturbed in the enjoyment of time-honoured rights³.

In addition to this, the Afghans were scattered throughout Malwa, but they had mainly settled in different centres, while the Mughal element of Muslim population was concentrated in big towns only, or at places where there were outposts of the government⁴.

The Jains were also a segment of the population of Malwa. Akbar had showered large favours to the Jains and had honoured the Acharya of the Jain community Hirvijaya Suri by giving him the title of 'Jagat Guru'⁵. Akbar had issued a farman in 1584 addressing the governors, jagirdars and officials of Malwa, Multan, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Akbarabad, etc. and bestowed special favours on the Jains⁶.

1. Ibid., p.108.

2. Ibid., p.109

3. Ibid.

4. Mughal Administration, pp.55-56.

5. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Mughal Documents, p.62.

6. Ibid.

Jahangir had met one Jadrup Gosain, a Jain saint in Ujjain. He had retired in the suburb of the town and lived on alms receiving from the Brahmans of the town. Jahangir had a conversation with Jadrup and was impressed by him¹. Jahangir writes that Akbar also had seen him while passing through the place².

Robber Tribes -

Besides the individual thieves and organised bands of robbers, there were certain tribes notorious for their nefarious activities during the period under review. The Gralias, Baugris, Moghis, Minas, Gujars, Gonds and Gwariahas were those tribes who have the profession of thieves and robbers.

The Gralias, who lived in the hills of Malwa were 'theevish' and often looted caravans. Some hundred of them could have looted a caravan had William Finch(1608-1611) not reached there along with their caravan³. The Gralias were notorious thieves during the reign of Aurangzeb also.

The men of the tribes of Baugri and Moghi were accomplished robbers and thieves. The Baugris were brave and courageous and also engaged themselves in the occupation of tilling the land but their chief profession was plunder and robbery and

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.355-356.

2. *Ibid.*, p.357.

3. Finch, Early Travels, pp.143-144, 167.

in this business they were more expert. Their main activities were stealing the property of the rich inhabitants in the night or attacking and plundering the caravans and sometimes they even looted the village. The Baugris were also mercenary soldiers and could be employed by anyone on payment¹.

The greater part of the population of the tribes of Minas and Gujars took to the profession of cultivation. But the men of these tribes also distinguished themselves in the sphere of plundering and thieving. Minas and Gujars were also expert robbers and thieves² and the Gonds also possessed the same reputation in the profession of plundering³.

Another tribe that was engaged in the crimes of stealing was Gwarahas. Their chief profession was to steal women and children and thus obtained money by selling them. They were notorious as kidnappers.⁴

Slavery -

In Malwa slavery was mainly limited to the females only. Both female children and young women were purchased by all sections of the society. The dancing-girls were also sold. A large number of female slaves were in the Rajput households⁵. The number of male slaves can be said as rare and they were

1. Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol.II, p.182.

2. Ibid., p.185.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, pp.185-186.

5. Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol.II, p.199.

attached to rich men and acted as their secret agents¹. Male servants were treated more like adopted children rather than as menials².

Position of Women -

In Malwa women generally attained to high status. The girls of the higher classes were given proper facilities to acquire education. Besides the study of religious books they learned the art of dancing, painting and music³. In the family woman's position was inferior to that of the male.

Purdah was maintained generally by the Muslim women and also by some sections of the Hindu women, particularly belonging to the upper and well-to-do classes. Poor women specially in the rural areas, who had to work out-doors for their maintenance, could not have afforded to observe the system of Purdah. The Muslim women observed Purdah with greater rigidity than the Hindu females. A milder and less elaborate form of Purdah commonly known as "Ghoonghat"⁴ seems to have been observed by the Hindu woman of the well-to-do classes.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.202

3. Malwa Through the Ages, p.488

4. References to "Ghoonghat" are to be found scattered in the contemporary vernacular literatures. Keshavdas, a poet in Orchha(Malwa) flourished during the reign of Jahangir, informs about "Ghoonghat". Keshavdas's, Rasikpriya, Savaiya 31, p.100.

Keshavdas refers to a class of courtesans or the dancing and public women whose number seems to have been considerable. Bernier refers it to a special class of dancing and singing girls called the 'Kenchens' (the gilded, the blooming). According to Keshavdas, the chief of Orchha (in Malwa) Raja Indrajit Singh had six very beautiful and talented prostitutes in his court. One of them, Pravin Rai or Raipravin, was particularly famous, at that time for her proficiency in music, poetry and dancing¹. Another famous courtesan Rupmati was in the court of Baz Bahadur. The class of the courtesans was supposed to be superior to that of the common women³.

Sati -

With the Rajputs, Sati or even the slaughter of the women and children was point of honour⁴. It was common in Malwa and this usage prevailed most commonly when the Rajputs were the rulers in Malwa⁵. Sati was generally praised by the women of Malwa as its conception also refers to a good wife⁶. The relationship with a sati woman was considered as badge of honour to womenfolk⁷.

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1. Keshavdas, 'Kavipriya', dohas 41 and 42, p.7, dohas 43, p.8 and 60 and 61, p.9.
 2. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p.596.
 3. Malwa Through The Ages, pp.488-489.
 4. Life And Conditions of The People of Hindustan, p.190.
 5. Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol.II, pp.206-207.
 6. Shyam Parmar, Folklore of Madhya Pradesh, pp.105-106.
 7. Ibid., p.106.

Jauhar -

The custom of Jauhar was mainly limited to the Rajputs, though other cases are not wanting¹. When a Rajput chief sustained defeat, he and his warriors usually killed their women and children or locked them inside an underground enclosure and buried them alive.

The rite of Jauhar sometimes took more tragic and helpless form. Babar gives a vivid account of the defeat and the observance of Jauhar by Medini Rai of Chanderi in Malwa. After sustaining defeat at the hands of Babar the warriors of Medini Rai killed all their women and children following the custom came forth to fight once again with their naked swords. But no sooner than they realised that it was not possible to fight and they became fearful of being captured alive, they in order to avoid such a humiliating lot, took the decision of committing suicide. It was arranged to put one of their men on an elevated spot with a sharp-drawn sword. All others then came forward below him one by one, their heads falling at regular intervals untill all of them died².

Dress And Costumes - The usual dress of the people of Malwa consisted of garments to cover the lower and upper parts of the body. Women's dresses were less varied than those of men. Hindu women ordinarily wore a 'Sari'(i.e. a long piece of cloth,

1. Life And Condition of The People of Hindustan, p.192,

2. Babarnama, II, pp.595-596.

wrapped round the middle part of the body and thrown over the head), and a small brassiere without a skirt round the chest, popularly called 'Angiya'¹. Men used to wear Pugrees² (turbans) on their heads specially among the Hindu upper classes. However, a considerable degree of respectability and honour came to be associated with the wearing of the head dresses, like a turban or a cap, by the well-to-do classes, both among the Hindus and the Muslims.

Besides Sari, Ghaghra, Choli etc. were also used by the women. A choli called 'Kamyyucholi'³, which only partly covered the breasts, was the fashion of the time. Women also used to wear woolen petticoats in the season of the winter⁴.

Men used to wear Pugrees⁵ (turbans) on their heads but specially among the Hindu upper classes. Turbans had also become popular among the Muslim noblemen and they were usually white and round-shaped⁶. In Malwa, Sarangpur was the centre of manufacturing fine turban cloth⁷.

1. Ain-i-Akbari, III, p. 342; Keshavdas, Rasik Priya, p. 20, also his Ramchandrika, p. 109.

2. Keshavdas, Kavi-Priya, p. 141; also his Ramchandrika, p. 110; Malwa Through The Ages, p. 488.

3. Malwa Through The Ages, p. 491.

4. Ibid.

5. Keshavdas, Kavi-Priya, p. 141, also his Ramchandrika, p. 110; Malwa Through The Ages, p. 488.

6. Thevenot, p. 52

7. Finch, Early Travels, p. 143; Jourdain, p. 150.

The dress of the common man differed basically from that of the rich people. During the summer months they contented themselves with the minimum clothings, i.e. a 'dhoti', tied round the waist. Keshavdas a poet from Malwa refers to fire (aag), heat of the sun(gham) and cotton(rui)¹ as the three important weapons in the hands of the commoners to combat against the tyranny of winter.

Malwa had a well-developed textile industry and the cloth like Muslin and Chintz of the fine quality was manufactured there. It also formed part of the dresses of the people of Malwa.

Pastimes And Recreation -

In the towns the prevalent vice was gambling with dice. But it was not common in the villages. The population with martial characteristics enjoyed themselves with the training and exercising of their horses and learning the use of weapons².

The dancing girls were source of entertainment in the towns and cities and the villagers entertained themselves by women tumblers and rope-dancers³. They had with them lower class of musicians and minstrels which had become the common entertainments of the rural folk⁴.

1. Keshavdas, Kavi-Priya, p.169. Here 'cotton' probably refers to the use of some kinds of quilt or small quilted coats by the people (See also Journal of the U.P.Hist.Society, July 1942, pp.68-69).

2. Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol.II, p.195.

3. Ibid., pp.195-196.

4. Ibid., p.196.

Drug Addiction -

Opium was largely grown and manufactured in Malwa and its addiction was common in the province. While Humayun was staying in Malwa it seems that he became too engrossed with the scenic beauty of Malwa and could not keep himself aloof from the contagion of opium¹ so common with the people of Malwa. Abul Fazl says that the people of Malwa used to give opium to their children up to the age of three years².

Another intoxicant used in Malwa was the palm-juice or toddy. It was gathered from palm-tree and drank as intoxicant. Shaikh Bakhshu, a saint settled at Mandsor in Malwa in the early sixteenth century, made an attempt to stop the addiction of this intoxicant. In his efforts he was supported by the local jagirholder in Mandsor³.

Festivals -

The festivals of the Hindus were, indeed numerous occurring in almost all important periods of the year. They fell normally in those seasons in which the peasants had been enjoying comparative spare time, and thus, they could get much leisure to take part in the festivals. In fact the important festivals of the Hindu like Dusherah, Dipavali (popularly called

1. Humayun Nama, p.131. To the complaints of Bega Begum about his neglect of the Begums, Humayun asked for their indulgence for his being an opium-eater.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.207, Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p.53.

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.224-225.

'Diwali) and Holi were celebrated with the same ceremonies in Malwa as in other parts of Hindustan.

The festival of Dusherah was particularly observed by the Rajputs while the Diwali was celebrated by the merchant class¹. On this occasion people did illuminations at their houses. The Holi festival was commonly celebrated by the Muslims also². While Monserrate was on a visit of Malwa and reached Narwar, he saw the festivity of Holi. He says that people plastered their body with mud and also of those they met. They squirted red-dye out of hollow reeds³.

The festival of 'Shivaratri' fell on the night of the fourteenth day of Phalguna. It was celebrated by the commoners with fire-works and various kinds of amusements, whereas the more religious-minded people observed it with night vigil and constant prayers. While Jahangir was in Malwa, he saw the observance of this festival. He says that a large number of Jogis were collected and the ceremonies of this night were duly observed.⁴

Similarly it seems that the Muslims observed their festivals in Malwa as in other parts of the country. Monserrate, a traveller contemporary with Akbar, refers to the mourning of Moharram⁵. Orthodox and religious minded Muslims, particularly

1. Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol.II, p.194.

2. Ibid.

3. Monserrate, p.22

4. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.361.

5. Monserrate, p.22.

the Shias, spent the first ten days¹ of the month of Muharram in reciting the deeds and circumstances leading to the tragedy of Karbala and in offering special prayers to their souls.

In India important Muslim pilgrimages were mostly confined to the graves(dargahs) of eminent saints. As Malwa was a great centre of Sufi saints and therefore, the 'Urs or anniversaries of the saints who had died were celebrated with befitting zeal and joy and the followers of the saints both Muslims and Hindus participated on such occasions.

Education -

During the independent kingdom of Malwa there was a network of madarsahs in the kingdom. At Mandu there were madarsahs founded by Hoshang Shah² and Ghiyasuddin Khalji³.

Besides, there were madarsahs at Ujjain, Sarangpur and Raisen. The madarsahs at Raisen were provided with residential accomodation for its students and teachers⁴.

Malwa was gifted by a large number of sufi saints who were either born there or migrated to be settled there. They taught the students at their residences or mosques where they lived. Indeed the contribution of the Sufis to the development of education in the province was stupendous.

1. Monserate, p.22 has given the time of this mourning for 9 days.

2. Firishta, I, p.241.

3. Zafar-ul-Walih, I, pp.208-209; S.Abdul Hai, India During Muslim Rule, p.178.

4. S.Abdul Hai, India During Muslim Rule, pp.178-179.

Shaikh Chardan(d. 1546) who settled at Mandisor took much interest in teaching and provided books on different subjects to ulama and students¹.

Mandu was also a great centre of education in Malwa. Shaikh Danishmand (d. 1555) was engaged in the work of teaching at the place of his residence in Mandu. He was a learned man and taught different subjects of knowledge to the students who attended his madarsah².

Shaikh Kamal Muhammad Abbasi, an eminent Sufi of his time came to be settled in Ujjain in 1574. For about thirty years he taught the ulama and students there and particularly lectured on theology.

People used to come to his place for seeking information on a particular point of dispute. Shaikh Kamal used to give fatwas on matters of dispute put up before him. Till 1604, he was engaged in the work of teaching as he died the same year³.

Shaikh Kamaluddin Qureshi ran his maktab in Mandu. Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari received his initial education with Shaikh Kamaluddin Qureshi in his maktab in Mandu. Ghausi was also taught Persian language in the same maktab⁴.

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p.261.

2. *Ibid.*, p.271

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.464-465.

4. *Ibid.*, pp.307-308, 611.

A great alim and Sufi of Malwa was Shah Manjhan whose teachings elevated the standard of education in Malwa. When Sher Shah had conquered Raisen, he appointed Shah Manjhan, the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Raisen. Shah Manjhan built his Khanqah there but when Raisen was reoccupied by the Rajputs in 1553, he migrated to Sarangpur.

The laudable scholarship of Shah Manjhan can be judged from the fact that unfortunately during the political upheaval in Raisen his library was destroyed while migrating to Sarangpur but Manjhan had a very good memory who compiled abstracts of all the important books he had lost. A large number of scholars began to attend his seminary and Khanqah and the town of Sarangpur began to vie with Shiraz as a prominent centre of learning¹.

Besides the madarsahs run by the government, there was a large network of madarsahs run by the Sufis throughout Malwa. They were learned scholars who honestly did the work of imparting education. Their teachings also contained the lessons of brotherhood and amity.

Official Translation of A Work From Malwa -

In 1575 Akbar directed Abdul Qadir Badauni to translate into Persian a book called 'Singhasan Battisi', which is a series of thirty-two tales about Raja Bikarmajit, the king of Malwa.

1. Ibid., pp. 371-373.

Akbar also gave instructions to Badauni to make a translation of the work in prose and verse¹. Akbar appointed a learned Brahman to assist and interpret the book to Badauni. The translation was made ready within a few weeks and Badauni named it Namah-i-khirad-afza².

Faizi wrote a masnavi entitled Nala-Daman. This work describes the romance of Nala, the king of Nishada or Malwa, and Damyanti, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha, in touching poetry. Faizi completed Nala-Daman in four months and presented it to Akbar on Dec. 11, 1594.³

When Prince Murad was appointed governor of Malwa in 1591, a copy of the Persian translation of the Mahabharata was sent to him with instructions that he should regulate his character according to the teachings given in that work⁴.

Literary Activity - In the field of literary activities, Malwa continued to prosper unhampered under the Muslim rulers. Though Persian was an official language and naturally received greater attention, the bulk of literature was also produced by the local Hindu and Sanskrit scholars.

Persian - As Persian was an official language it was

1. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 186.

2. Ibid.

3. Akbarnama, III, p. 661.

4. Akbarnama, III, p. 914n.

given more royal attention. The Sultans and later on the provincial governors and officers of Malwa gave patronage to the Ulama and Mashaikh who were repositories of Persian learning and which attracted them to come in large numbers and settle in Malwa¹.

During Ghiyas Shah's reign a number of Persian books were written in Malwa. Shah Abdullah Shattari, who had migrated to India during his reign and settled at Mandu, wrote Lataif-i-Ghaibiah dealing with abstract philosophy and dedicated it to Sultan Ghiyas Shah². Maulana Ilmuddin Sharif wrote notes on Fusus-ul-Hikam³.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari of Mandu wrote Gulzar-i-Abrar during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and completed his work in between 1611 and 1613. The work narrates the lives and activities of the Sufis of his time and past⁴. Gulzar-i-Abrar is written in a good narrative style and is very valuable

1. Shaikh Ghausi Shattari gives a detailed account of the Ulama and Mushaikh who had come to settle in Malwa, Vide Gulzar-i-Abrar.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p.162; Shahan-i-Malwa, p.93.

3. Gulzar-i Abarar, p.130; Shahan-i-Malwa, p.94.

4. It begins with an account of Shah Yusuf Multani who settled in Multan in 1155 and goes on to give biographical details of prominent Indian Sufis.

source for the knowledge of Sufi-saints who made Malwa their centre of activities. Persian literature received much impetus through the learning and literature, instruction and dissemination of knowledge pursued by them.

Hindi And Sanskrit - Hindi and Sanskrit also received patronage from the Muslim Sultans. Sultan Mahmud Khalji sent a poem composed in Hindi¹ besides other presents to Abu Saeed Mirza, the ruler of Khurasan. During the reign of Nasir Shah a large number of Hindi and Sanskrit works were produced². Hindi also became popular during the reign of the cultured monarch, Baz Bahadur, when Rupmati³ and Baz Bahadur both composed poetry in Hindi. When Baz Bahadur wrote poems he 'used to pour out his heart in Hindi poems descriptive of his love'⁴ and in his composed poems he often inserted the name of his beloved Rupmati⁵.

During the period of Akbar and subsequently too there developed in Hindi poetry a tendency to emphasize the technique of poetry and to describe in vivid details the figure and beauty of women and the followers of this school were known as

1. Firishta, II, p.501.

2. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, p.368; S.L.Katre, "Devisingh Bundela of Chanderi, A Royal Patron of Sanskrit Authors-Fresh Light On His Date & Sanskrit Authorship", pp. 385-387, PIHC, 1952.

3. For an idea of the compositions of Rupmati, See Luard, Dhar And Mandu, pp.22-23.

4. Akbarnama, II, p.137.

5. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p.596.

Reeti poets. Keshavdas, a Reeti poet flourished during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir in Orchha¹ and had received favours from the chief of Orchha, Indrajit Singh, son of Raja Madhukar. Indrajit Singh respected him as his guru. The books Rasik Priya, Nakh Shikh, Kavi Priya, Chandmala, Ramchandrika, Vir Singh Dev Charit, Ratnavali, Vigyangita and Jahangirjaschandrika were written by Keshavdas².

Women also flourished in the field of poetry in Malwa. In the sphere of Reeti poetry the names of Praveen Rai Patur, Rupmati and Teen Tarang are worth mentioning. Praveen Rai Patur was a dancer and singer by profession. She developed her art in the court of Raja Indrajit of Orchha who was her patron and was himself an expert in music³. It is said that Praveen used to sing her own compositions. All of her compositions are not available but whatever scattered verses are available, they are sufficient to prove her genius to adore Muses and her originality of expression⁴. Rupmati, the beloved of Baz Bahadur also belonged to this school of poetry. Teen Tarang carried on her absorption in the art of poetry under the patronage of Madhukar, the chief of Orchha⁵.

1. Hindī Sahitya Ka Vrahat Itihas (Edited-Dr. Nagendra), part VI, pp. 301-302.

2. Ibid.

3. Keshavdas, Kavi Priya, pp. 8-9; Sinha, pp. 239-240.

4. Sinha, pp. 240-241.

5. Kok Shastra Granth is said to have been written by Teen Tarang. See Sinha, p. 252.

In the Ramait school of poetry a poetess named Madhur Ali, wrote in the latter half of the sixteenth century. She lived in Orchha at a time when it was ruled by Madhukar¹. Amongst her works are 'Ram Charit' and 'Ganesh Dev-Leela' but none of them are extant.

While Shah Manjhan, a great scholar and a Sufi saint was Shaikh-ul-Islam of Raisen and settled there, he wrote 'Madhu-malti' a love poem in Hindi². According to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, "Madhu-malti is one of the best works of imagination written in North India" .

The story of the Madhu-malti itself is a traditional Indian fairytale built around the romance of Prince Manohar, of an imaginary town, Kannaigiri-garh, and the princess of Maharasnagar, Madhu-malti. The story is full of romance, pathos and union of the lovers in wedlock.

Shah Manjhan concluded the love story with the remark that ceaseless efforts in love did not render anyone immortal. Only he who managed to perish in the path of love was immortal. He further says the fire of love was the sole remedy for protecting an individual from the ups and downs of fate. Speaking to his soul, Manjhan suggested it to seek the protection of love for the sake of overcoming the dominance of Fate in both

1. Sinha, p.222.

2. The work was edited and published by Dr.M.P.Gupta(Allahabad, 1961).

the worlds. To him, the love-affair of Madhu-malti symbolised Divine love¹. Moreover, he emphasised that eternal lovers could sleep with each other without getting involved in sexual pleasure and that true love was invariably serene and pure². And this was equally true of love with the Divine wherein no worldly benefit was involved. Marriage symbolised the final union with the Divine.

In Malwa Sanskrit literature was also developed. During the reign of Ghiyas Shah, Punjaraja wrote a commentary on Sarasvata, a Sanskrit grammar written in Mandu. During the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, Sanskrit authors of works were patronised in Chanderi in the court of Orchha chief³.

Music - Music attained to a high watermark in Malwa and was greatly patronised by the Muslim rulers. Shahab Hakim, the historian of Mahmud Khalji I refers to the marriage ceremony and says that musicians came with their sweet and melodious voice. He mentions the instruments of the musicians like Bajar, Daf, Chang, Barbat, Rubab, Nai, Ud, Fani and Arghanum⁴.

Ghiyas Shah took much interest in the promotion of music⁵. He collected musicians from all quarters. He considered that the women of his harem should be taught the art of Muses according to their fitness. The art of dancing and singing, or

1. Madhumalti (Edited M.P. Gupta), p. 535.

2. Ibid., pp. 113-20, 318-334, 341.

3. S.L. Katre, pp. 385-387, PIHC, 1952.

4. Maasir-i-Mahmud Shahi, p. 56.

5. Zafar-ul-Walid, I, p. 209.

playing on the flute¹ and the like made great strides in Malwa.

There was a large number of musicians in the harem of Mahmud Khalji II and by that time keeping of dancing-girls and musicians had become the fashion of the life of the courtier. The harems of Medini Rai, Salivahan, Silahdi and Puran Mal maintained trained musicians and dancing girls.

During the time of Baz Bahadur music had reached its perfection. It was Baz Bahadur's inordinate devotion to music and addiction to wine and women which created slackness in the administration and invited the attention of Akbar to capture Malwa².

Abul Fazl has praised Baz Bahadur as "a singer without rival"³. According to Ahmad-al-Umri, "He (Baz Bahadur) passed his days in the company of singers and musicians, and from the north and the south and the east and the west collected them, both men and women, singers and chanters and players upon all instruments, on the bin and the rabab on the ^{nai} and the sarnai on the sarangi and the tambura⁴.

1. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p.562.

2. Chandra Kant Tiwari, Rupmati- "The Melody Queen of Malwa", p.246, PIHC, 1977.

3. Ain-i-Akbari(Tr.), I, pp.681-682.

4. Crump, Lady Of The Lotus, p.7. Crump, fn.17,p.86 "Bin an instrument sometimes with five sometimes with six, main wires stretched over two guards which give a peculiar resonant note; Rubab, a stringed instrument played with a plectrum; Nai is the flute; Sarnai is Pathan stringed instrument; Tambura also a stringed instrument".

Rupmati, according to Ahmad-al-Umri, was expert in the art of poetry and music¹. Crump says, "Rupmati is still remembered as poetess and musician and is credited with the creation of Bhup Kalyan Ragini, a subordinate mode of Hindu music"².

On the conquest of Mandu in 1535, when Humayun ordered a general massacre of the prisoners, he came to know that there was a musician among the captives. Humayun granted him an audience and was so pleased by his performance that he ordered him to be enrolled among the musicians of the court³.

Thus art and literature, music and poetry embellished the cultural life of the court and the urban and rural folk and enriched cultural saga of Malwa. Society, though, it was diversified by its pursuits, avocations and pastimes, its food and raiment, ornamentation, its stratification and ethnic content, yet it retained its regional identity and distinctive character.

1. Crump, Lady Of The Lotus, p.47.

2. Ibid., fn.61, p.90.

3. Ishwari Prasad, A Short History Of Muslim Rule in India, p.679.

CHAPTER-VI

SUFI ORDERS AND THEIR SOCIAL IMPACT

Malwa had become a focal point of the dissemination of religious and mystic teachings of Islam. The social life of the people was immensely influenced by the religious and spiritual traditions of Islam and Sufism. In the vast province of Malwa Sufis had taken up their abode at several urban and rural centres which became the rallying point of seekers after spiritual solace and Divine felicity, proximity to God and mystic knowledge and insight into the intricacies of sufi theosophy and discipline.

Chishti silsilah -

The first sufi order to reach Malwa was that of the Chistis. It was due to the efforts of the mystic and spiritual activities of three disciples of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya during the fourteenth century viz., (1) Shaikh Wajihuddin Yusuf, (2) Shaikh Kamaluddin (3) Shaikh Mughisuddin¹.

Shaikh Wajihuddin was one of the chief khalifas of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya who deputed him to establish a khanqah of the order at Chanderi². He had obtained khirqah of khilafat from the shaikh. It is said that when he used to undertake journey to visit his Pir he travelled long distances in one course of his total journey. People asked him one day about his extraordinary stride to meet his mentor to which he remarked that

1. Siyarul Auliya, pp.286-287 as quoted in Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chist, K.A.Nizami, pp.213-214.

2. Ibid.

he did not walk on foot but fly like a bird while going to meet his Pir. Shaikh Wajihuddin replied that it was due to his reverence and affection for his Pir Shaikh Wajihuddin lies buried at Chanderi¹.

The other great saint, Shaikh Kamaluddin, was a grandson of Baba Farid. He too, was very dear to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and was deputed by him to go to Malwa. He was held in great veneration by the sultans of Malwa. Sultan Mahmud Khalji (d. 1530) had constructed a dome over his grave and a Khanqah stands nearby for the votaries of the silsilah².

Maulana Mughisuddin was the third great khalifa of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to grace Malwa in the year 1320. He settled at Ujjain near the riverside and his shrine stands there. On every Friday night people came to his shrine and distributed nazar o niyaz (sweetmeats and Fatiha) to Derveshes and the sama gathering was held there³.

The aforementioned three sufis of eminence introduced the doctrines of mystic discipline and spiritual sublimation the principles and organisation of Sufi theosophy and the abiding law to God and man to the region of Malwa which had not yet been familiar with the peculiar trends and tracts of the Sufi

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 101-102.

2. Siyar-ul-Auliya, pp. 197-198, Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 581-582, quoted in Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht, p. 214.

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 111.

concepts, practices and organisation. The distinctive role of the Chishti saints to propagate the spiritual elevation of mankind and the principles of human love and amity was made aglow by these saints. Later on a number of Chishti saints made Malwa their centre of activities and propagated and popularised the silsilah.

During the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji and Nasiruddin Khalji, Mandu, the capital of Malwa was the centre of activities of Chishti saint Shah Miyanji Chishti. He was the son of Shaikh Najmuddin ibn Shaikh Bahauddin Siddiqui. He was born at Mandu. He got married at an advanced age by the efforts of his mother. Ghausi Shattari says that whatever he uttered or thought to himself, was always according to the will of God. People came to him to receive his blessings. Shaikh Miyanji Chishti died about 1513 and lies buried in Mandu¹.

Another Sufi of the Chishti order affiliation was Shaikh Husain. He came from Multan to visit the sacred shrine of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer. Sultan Mahmud Khalji I came to know about his presence in Ajmer. He sent Chisht Khan to Shaikh Husain with the request that he should visit Mandu. When Shaikh Husain arrived in Mandu, Sultan Mahmud could meet him only once as after one year the Sultan died. After Mahmud's death his son Ghiyasuddin took care of the Shaikh. When Humayun

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p.219.

conquered the fort of Mandu, he went to see the Shaikh. Humayun gave presents to the Shaikh but he distributed them among the needy¹.

Syed Nizam Mandvi was the son of Syed Sharf and disciple of Shaikh Burhan Chishti. He adopted the profession of a digger to earn his livelihood. But one day while doing the work of digging in a house, a pot full of coins was found at the bottom of the wall. The Shaikh called the owner of the house to take the money. But the owner asserted that it should go to the digger as with his fortune and labour this is found. Shaikh Nizam refused to take the pot and money and finally gave up his profession as it might cause greed next time.

When Mandu was conquered by Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1531, he went to pay a visit to the Shaikh and presented a huge offering of money. The saint accepted it and spent it entirely on the construction of the building of the khanqah and built a large dome on the tomb of his father. After the capture of Mandu, Humayun also went to see Shaikh Nizam and attended the sam'a (audition assembly) and held a cordial conversation with him. Shaikh Nizam died in 1543 and was buried in Mandu near the tomb of his father.²

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 245-247.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 251-252.

Another Chishti saint of eminence was Shaikh Chandan of Mandisor. He was the son of Shaikh Budha who was the son of Shaikh Chajju. A disciple of Shaikh Sadruddin Khamosh Chishti, Shaikh Chandan always helped the people in times of need by giving them money or articles. He provided books on different subjects to the Ulama and students. Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat held him in great veneration. Shaikh Dan and Shaikh Sultan were the senior Khalifas of Shaikh Chandan. He died in 1546 and was buried in Mandisor¹.

The inhabitants of Malwa were also benefitted by Chishti saint Shaikh Danishmand whose real name was Bayarah. He was the disciple of Shah Fakhruddin ibn Hamid Chishti. Born at Lucknow he had migrated to Mandu and settled there. However he had obtained permission to settle at Naharwala from his Pir but the pleasant atmosphere and the love and veneration of the people of Malwa for him persuaded him to stay in Mandu. People kept good touch with the Shaikh. Since the reign of Nasiruddin Khalji to the period of the governorship of Shujaat Khan in Malwa he lived in Mandu and taught the students different subjects of knowledge and many people were benefitted with his teachings. He lived for 120 years and died in 1555 in the month of Ramzan. He was succeeded by his son Shaikh Usman who had gained the art of miracles from the teachings of his father.

1. Ibid, pp.260-261.

He was the friend of Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar. Ghausi has praised his good behaviour and hospitality¹.

Mandu was also graced by Shaikh Mahmud Chishti of Ranthambhor who was the khalifa of his father Shaikh-ul-Hidad Chishti. During the reign of Qadir Shah he left his native place and came to settle in the parganah Kujhawan on the bank of river Narbada. Kujhawan is three kos away from Mandu and lived for a long time there in his hujrah which he had chosen for his hard Sufi practices. To the extent possible he did not accept any assistance for his livelihood from any one.

The circle of his disciples became larger and the expenses of the khanqah increased the officers of the time granted him madad-i-maash for his livelihood and expenses of the Khanqah increased he needed money for its upkeep and fulfilling the needs of the people. Shaikh Mahmud always felt gratitude for this help and service. Later on he built a house for him in Kujhawan and also built a mosque and a tomb there. He used to sit in the lawn of his house and had a talk with the dervishes and visitors who would come to see him. He entertained them with food and took his meals together with the guests. He died in 1550's and was buried in Kujhawan. He was succeeded by his son Shaikh Miyan who was also his khalifah. The latter lived on the pattern of

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.271-272.

his father and died in 1576-77. He was buried by the side of his father's grave¹.

Shaikh Fazlullah was the son of Shaikh Husain Chishti Multani. He had extended good relations with the people of Malwa. He did not keep things for his use in time of necessity but always offered them to the people who were in need of those. In 1539 he went on Haj pilgrimage and returned to Nalcha in Mandu in 1543 and for nearly twenty years he continued to live in the way of life of his father and died in 1564. He is resting at Nalcha in Mandu².

Ujjain was endowed with the presence of Chishti saint Shaikh Musa. Shaikh Musa was a disciple and senior khalifah of Shaikh Chandan of Mandor. He remained busy in the intricate Sufi practices and took very little food. That is why he became nearly a skeleton. When Akbar had visited Malwa and went up to Dipalpur in the company of Shaikh Ziaullah Chausi, Qazi Sadruddin Lahori, Qazi Jalaluddin and Sadr-us-Sudur Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Shaikh Musa came to meet them. Sadr-us-Sudur Shaikh Abdun Nabi fixed a befitting stipend for Shaikh Musa but the Shaikh refused to accept it and passed his life on his meagre resources from the cultivation and trade in radish. He died in 1578³.

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 278-279.

2. Ibid, p. 308.

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 344.

Another Chishti saint of eminence in Malwa was Shaikh Chadan ibn Umar Chishti. He was born at Ajmer. He came to visit Malwa in 1540's and stayed at Nalcha in Mandu. Afterwards he retired to the Jami mosque of Mandu. He scattered some sand on the floor of the mosque on which he used to sit and sleep. Neither he would visit some one nor he would ask anything from anyone. When Baz Bahadur, the king of Malwa was defeated by the forces of Akbar under Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad was entrusted with the charge of Mandu and Ujjain, Shaikh Chadan was living in Mandu. Pir Muhammad paid a visit to him and told him about his plan of invading Khandesh. The saint advised him to abandon his plan. But Pir Muhammad did not heed the Shaikh's advice and was ultimately defeated by Baz Bahadur and ^{by drowing} lost his life/ in the Narbada while returning from Burhanpur. Later on the Mughal officers in Malwa held Shaikh Chadan in great respect. He died in 1581 and was buried in an open space of the mausoleum of Sultan Hoshang Shah¹.

There was another Chishti saint Shaikh Abdul Wahab Afghan. He was the disciple of Shaikh Fazlullah ibn Shaikh Husain Multani Chishti. Shaikh Abdul Wahab was born in Mandu. He was a young soldier but suddenly he was influenced with Divine passions. He started covering his half body with male dress and half body with female dress and ornaments. For a long time he lived in this way. He never accepted anything from the people.

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.351-352.

He used to bring bundle of wood from the forest and sold it in the market. He made three parts of the money thus gained and one part he spent on his family and friends, the other on his livelihood and the third one on the poor and orphans. He died in 1582 and was buried in Mandu¹.

Shaikh Nizamuddin of Narnaul, a khalifa of Khwaja Khanu, was a saint and a teacher of Chishti ideals and lived for at least forty years at Narnaul. His khalifa Shaikh Maruf ibn Qazi Sadullah was born at Dhar, an important town of Malwa. His grandfather Shaikh Mahmud was the Qazi of the parganah Amjhera² in Mandu during the period of Khalji kings of Malwa. When Shaikh Sadullah died, his son Shaikh Maruf was a child. When Shaikh Maruf grew in age he went in the service of Shaikh Nizamuddin of Narnaul and lived for years with him and then returned to Dhar. Here he engaged himself in austere Sufi practices and reduced his diet.

In 1588 when Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz koka was the Subahdar of Malwa³, Shaikh Maruf wore Ahram to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. But he decided to go on the pilgrimage with his head bent. He had friendly relations with Mirza Aziz Koka. Mirza and other people who held him in great veneration asked

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 356.

2. Betels of this place were famous for their taste and smell and were sent in other provinces. See Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 338.

3. Akbarnama, III, pp. 779, 865.

him to postpone his journey. He accepted the request. When the desire to see the Kaba became strong he went for Umrah and Haj in the following year. Mirza Aziz Koka arranged money for his journey. Shaikh Maruf after completing the Haj lived five months more and died there in 1590¹.

Mandsor was graced by Shaikh Ziauddin Chishti who was the khalifa of Shaikh Syed Razi ibn Safi Husaini and Syed Razi who in turn was the khalifa of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior. Beside his house there was a mosque in which he retired after obtaining khilafat from his Pir and remained engaged in Sufi practices for about 90 years. He died at the age of 120 years in the year 1600 and was buried in an open space of the mosque where he passed his life².

During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir Shaikh Ali Afghan, a saint of Chishti silsilah was having his seat in the tomb of Maulana Mughisuddin in Ujjain. The name of his Pir is not known. He never demanded anything from the people. For about fifty years he was the Mujawir of the tomb of Maulana Mughisuddin. In 1603, Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari went to Ujjain. Shaikh Ali Afghan sent him message to meet him. Shaikh Ghausi went to meet him and was received with great respect and cordiality. Shaikh Ali Afghan lived for about 100 years and was buried near the tomb of Maulana Mughisuddin³.

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.387-389.

2. Ibid., p.450-451.

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.463-464.

Another notable saint of Chishti order in Malwa was Shaikh Khudabakhsh Mandwi. He got settled in Mandu and was the disciple of Shaikh Fazlullah ibn Shaikh Husain Chishti. He was engaged in the business of woollen and silk cloth since he was 15 years of age and upto the age of forty. Out of his income he made three parts and the first of it he spent on the deserving poor people, the second on his family and the third on his own person and the guests. At the age of forty he became an ascetic and whatever money he had at this time, all of it distributed among the poor and engaged himself in the devotion of God. In the year 1573 he retired himself in an old mosque near the Sagar Talab and got it repaired. Since 1573 to 1613-14 he remained in the mosque keeping strict solitude in the Sufi practices and devotion and attained to an exalted position in Sufism. He disallowed men of high status like Emperors, governors, nobles to meet him. However he met the general public and whatever eatables he was keeping with him entertained them with. But he liked solitude and this caused him fame. Neither he enrolled disciples, nor made khanqah and also remained away with the sama meetings¹.

Shaikh Syed Hasan Husaini of Mandu was deeply pious and devoted to the Chishti order. He was the son of Allah Baksh and disciple of Shaikh Syed Ali Chishti who had a direct lineage from Shaikh Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz. When Mughal forces were

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 545-546.

sent against Malwa for its conquest and Pir Muhammad had occupied Mandu, the inhabitants of the place dispersed from there due to the terror of the Mughals. In this condition of terror and disturbance Shaikh Syed Hasan Husaini's father separated from his sons and could not meet again. At this time Shaikh Hasan Husaini was of the age of ten years and was brought up by his brother-in-law, Shaikh Firoz. When he attained to maturity the fervour of seeking communion with God went deep in his mind. Consequently he became disciple of Shaikh Syed Ali Chishti, but his Pir died soon. His quest for seeking God became strong and he went into the service of eminent saint Shaikh Muhammad Jalal Shattari and learned from him the knowledge of Tariqat. At the age of twenty-five he took to solitude from the people and retired to a closet on the outskirts of Mandu. For twenty-eight years he lived there on tawakkul (trust in God). Whoever, either rich or poor went to meet him, he would offer a cup of buttermilk (chhach). During his whole life he never went to the door of the rich people to demand anything. He brought wood and grass from the forest and sold them to earn his livelihood. Throughout the whole year he resorted to continuous fasting and broke his fast with a little of bread. He had good relations with Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari¹.

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 564-565

Thus Chishti saints were spread all over Malwa and they propagated the philosophy of the order. People came to seek redress and solace and realisation of their desires to these Sufis and they solved their problems. Without making any discrimination between the Muslims and the Hindus they disseminated the teachings of amity, human love and brotherhood among the people at large. They made their abodes as centres of education where they imparted Islamic instruction besides other subjects. In fact education was greatly promoted in the Subah with the efforts of these Sufis and they commanded much veneration due to their role in the sphere of education. The saints of this order had a large network of their followers throughout Malwa.

The Shattari Silsilah - The Shattari Silsilah found a sound base in Malwa and the Sufis of Shattari order gained a large number of followers in Malwa. Among the prominent Shattari saints of Malwa was Shah Abdullah.

The information about his early career is little known. He was born somewhere around Bukhara. He was taught by a Suhrawardi Sufi Syed Ali Muwahhid at Azerbaijan. He was an adept in the Sharia as well as in the Tariqa and Haqiqa. He migrated from Azerbaijan and reached India early in the fifteenth century¹. From there we notice him in Manikpur and Jaunpur. At Jaunpur he initiated Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri. He also met Syed

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 161-162.

Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Samnani¹. Shah Abdullah offered challenge to the local saints either to teach him or to be taught by him. Shaikh Muhammad Ala, a great Bengali Sufi did not pay heed to his challenge and replied that the saints from Fars and Khurasan had often arrived with outlandish claims. Being disappointed he arrived in Malwa. Later on Shaikh Ala realised his mistake and importance of Shah Abdullah Shattari and came in the service of the Shah who was settled in Mandu and obtained the khilafat from Shah Abdullah Shattari².

In Malwa Shah Abdullah was received with warm welcome by the Sultan and remained in Mandu until his death under royal favour and patronage which provided him opportunity to enhance his prestige and fame. He wrote in Malwa a treatise entitled the Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah dealing with abstract philosophy and dedicated it to Sultan Ghiyasuddin (1469-1501)³.

Shah Abdullah died in 1485 and was buried in Mandu, south of the tombs of the Khalji Sultans of Malwa⁴. Jahangir erected a mausoleum over his tomb in Mandu⁵. Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri was his khalifa at Jaunpur and had made a large number of disciples. One of his eminent khalifas of Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri was Shaikh Buddhan Shattari, a descendant of Shah Abdullah.

1. Maarijul-wilayat, f.538a, as quoted by S.A.A.Rizvi, A History of Sufism In India, Vol.II, p.153.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.163, 204.

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p.162, Shahan-i-Malwa, pp.92-93.

4. Ibid, Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.176, Mirat-ul-Asrar, f.496b.

5. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Vol.III(Eng.Trans.), p.7.

There was another Shattari Sufi Shaikh Bahauddin (d.1515-1516). He arrived in Mandu to settle there in his old age and was originally a Qadriyya. But when he finally entered the Shattari silsilah he was initiated by Shaikh Buddhan Shattari. His prestige was enhanced by his composition of a short treatise entitled Risala-i-Shattaria. He believed like Najmuddin Kubra¹ that the ways of God were as numerous as the breaths of his creatures², but that three ways (those of akhyar, abrar, shattar) were pre-eminently superior.

Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir whose real name was Muhammad was born in Champaner. His father Shaikh Shams was a merchant but at the age of twenty-five Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir renounced the world. In 1545-46 he became a disciple of great Shattari Sufi Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and accompanied his Pir when he left Gujarat to live in Gwalior. In Gwalior he practised the zikr and dawat-i-asma formulae given in the Jawahir-i-khamsa. When Shaikh Ghaus realised him perfect in all this, he allowed Shaikh Sadruddin to leave his khanqah and settle in Gujarat. Shaikh Sadruddin also visited Mandu where he enrolled a large number of people into his discipleship. Among those who met the Shaikh was Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, then only eleven years old. From Mandu, Shaikh Sadruddin returned to Champaner, but finally he settled in Baroda.³

1. S.A.A.Rizvi, A History of Sufism In India, Vol.I, pp.94-95.

2. Ibid., p.95

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.349-350.

A famous disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was Shaikh Shamsuddin whose title was Zindadil. After the completion of his training under his Pir he was directed to disseminate Shattari teachings in the Deccan. He would frequently travel to Gwalior from the Deccan and en route was at many times the guest of Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. Some ascetic knowledge Ghausi Shattari has gained from Shaikh Shamsuddin Zindadil¹. Similarly when Raji Syed Mustufa visited Mandu with Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1575-76, Ghausi Shattari had met him and was benefitted from Raji Syed Mustufa², who was a great Shattari saint.

Another saint of Shattari silsilah was Shaikh Muhabbat. He was excellent in writing Persian in nastaliq style. He was settled in Ujjain. He had a good companionship for a long time with Ghausi Shattari of Mandu. During the span of friendship there was an arrangement of Qawwali in the house of one acquaintance of Shaikh Muhabbat. Shaikh Muhabbat was attending the Qawwali programme when the two Qawwals began to quarrel with each other. Shaikh tried to reconcile them. But his words of reconciliation were felt ill by one of them and he injured the Shaikh with the dagger. People attending the Qawwali became irate and tried to kill the wicked man. But the Shaikh saved him and uttered that it was written in my lot. When his wounds were cured he migrated from Ujjain to Sarangpur. He died in

1. Ibid., pp. 354-355.

2.

Sarangpur in the year 1578¹.

Another prominent Sufi of the Shattari order was Shaikh Lad, also known as Shaikh Wududullah Shattari, son of Shaikh Maruf Siddiqui. Shaikh had possessed a deep ascetic temperament and had served about twelve years in obtaining knowledge of the secrets of zikr and the technique of the dawat-i-asma, under the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior. When his Pir migrated from Gwalior to Gujarat, he came to be settled in Ashta, a village in Malwa. When Akbar conquered Malwa in 1561 his Afghan disciples dispersed and therefore he left Ashta for khandesh. Shaikh Lad died at the age of more than hundred years in 1585².

Shaikh Ahmad Mutawakkil graced Malwa when he arrived to live in Ujjain during the reign of Afghan ruler Sher Shah. He had obtained Khirqa-i-Khilafat from Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He died in 1590 and was buried beside the tank which was attached to the fort of Ujjain from outside³.

Shaikh Amanullah, son of Shaikh Kamaluddin Sulaiman Qureshi, was the disciple of Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir Shattari. Since he attained maturity till his death he lived according to the Shattari teachings and never deviated from following

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 381-382.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 385-386.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

the sharia. For about forty years he was the neighbour of Ghausi Shattari of Mandu and had fraternal relations with him. He attained the age of 63 when he died in 1596¹.

Another eminent Sufi of the Shattari silsilah was Shaikh Kamal Muhammad Abbasi who was the Khalifa of Shaikh Wajihuddin Ahmad Alvi of Ahmadabad. Shaikh Muhammad Abbasi had obtained the sanad of Hadis from Shaikh Abdul Malik Banbani. In 1574 he migrated from Ahmadabad to be settled at Ujjain in Malwa. There he was married with a girl from an eminent Sufi family of Kalpi. For about thirty years he lectured on theology and wrote fatwas based on the rulings of the Ulama. He engaged his much time out of twenty-four hours in offering namaz and in the morning after ishraq prayer (offered at about eight O'clock in the morning) and upto noon delivered lectures on theology. After offering zuhr prayer till namaz asr he would meet the people and solve their problems by giving fatwas (juridical pronouncements) on problems put up before him. In 1604 he wrote a letter to Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari calling him from Mandu to Ujjain. Ghausi Shattari went to meet Shaikh Kamal Muhammad Abbasi in Ujjain and joined him for some days in happiness. The same year Shaikh Abbasi died and was buried at the same place where he used to deliver lectures.²

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 420-421.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 464-465.

Shaikh Abdul Latif, son of Malik Shah Kori, was a disciple of Shattari saint Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir. He was settled in Baroda. While he was going to Gwalior via Malwa in 1575-76 he was the guest of Ghausi Shattari in Mandu¹.

Shaikh Kamaluddin, son of Salman Qureshi was an outstanding khalifa of Shaikh Ruknuddin Shattari. During the reign of Baz Bahadur, Shaikh Kamaluddin arrived in Mandu. He became the friend of Ghausi Shattari's father and began to live in his neighbourhood. Ghausi Shattari had received his initial education in the maktab of Shaikh Kamaluddin and he could finish the holy Quran in two years under the able guidance of Shaikh Kamaluddin. He passed his long life of about one hundred years in tawakkul and died in 1565 and was buried in Mandu near the tomb of Shaikh Ghausi's father².

Miyan Miyanji bin Dawood, a famous saint of the Shattari order was born in Mandu. His father had taken up his abode in Mandu during the reign of Nasiruddin Khalji. In his early age Miyanji, maternal uncle of Ghausi Shattari, was taught by Shaikh Syed Jalal ibn Syed Ahmad Jafar. He was a khalifa of Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir. He always earned his livelihood through business and whatever he earned he would share with his fellow derveshes. He attained the age of eighty years leading austere life and died in 1576-77³.

1. Ibid., pp. 468-469.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 307-308.

3. Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 341.

One of the most remarkable Sufis of Shattari order in Malwa was Shah Manjhan Shattari. He was the son of Abdullah Qazi Khairuddin and a grandson of Qazi Tajuddin Nahwai. Shah Manjhan was born in 1515-16 and was educated in his grandfather's seminary at Lakhnauti in Bengal, but it was the training of Tajul Urfa Syed Tajuddin of Bukhara that made Shah Manjhan an alim and a Sufi. Syed Tajuddin had travelled through many countries when he left his native place Bukhara. He had obtained khilafat from different Shaikhs of other countries but when he arrived in India, he became the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and also introduced his disciple Shah Manjhan to Shaikh Ghaus and left Manjhan in his service. Shah Manjhan studied Jawahar-i-khamsa under the direction of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and so deeply impressed Shaikh Ghaus with his clear perception of it that the Shaikh gave the same khirqa to Manjhan which he himself used to wear during his long Sufi exercises in the Chumar hills and forests.

When Afghan ruler Sher Shah had conquered Raisen and renamed it Islamabad in 1543, he induced Shah Manjhan to migrate to Raisen and to assume the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam (officer in charge of the religious activities of the Muslims). Manjhan came to Raisen accepting Sher Shah's offer and built his own khanqah there, but in 1553 the Rajputs reoccupied Raisen and Shah Manjhan migrated to Sarangpur. Unfortunately during the political upheaval in Raisen his library was

destroyed while migrating to Sarangpur but Manjhan had a very good memory and he prepared abstracts of all the books he had lost. There in Sarangpur a large number of scholars began to attend his seminary and khanqah and thus he made Sarangpur as a prominent centre of learning like Shiraz.

When Akbar visited Malwa in 1578, Shah Manjhan along with other alims, also met the Emperor. It was on this occasion that Ghausi Shattari was benefitted from meeting with Shah Manjhan and he became his life-long admirer. Shah Manjhan in his old age retired to a lonely place Ashta which was about fifteen miles from Sarangpur and left his family. A few years later he again shifted to Sarangpur and led a secluded life and engaged himself in meditation and ascetic exercises. Shah Manjhan died in 1593¹.

Shaikh Mubarak Siddiqui Shattari was the disciple of Shaikh Jalal Lohanki but he was awarded Khirqa of khilafat from Shaikh Abdul Malik Shattari of Sarangpur. He had profound knowledge of tasawwuf. In 1573 he had come to Mandu. There he sought the training in dawat-i-asma from Shaikh Mahmud Jalal Shattari, and also practised ascetic exercises of chilla. He never accepted any support for his livelihood from the government. For about thirty years he lived on tawakkul (Trust in God) in Mandu. He died in 1601 and was buried in Mandu².

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 371-373.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 462-463.

Shaikh Amin ibn Ahmad Nahrwala was the senior disciple of Maulana Muhammad Tahir Muhaddis of Naharwala, an eminent Shattari saint of his time. In 1575 he had migrated from Gujarat to Malwa and settled in Mandu. He lived for more than a year in Manu and then migrated to Ujjain. Here he made friendly relations with Shaikh Raji Muhammad Qadri, Shaikh Abdul Ghafur, Shaikh-ul-Islam, Shaikh Jamal ibn Ahmad, Qazi Baba Khwaja Miyan, Kale Miyan Amin Malvi and other Sufis of Ujjain. This friendship became so profound that he finally settled in Ujjain. Till the year 1605 he lived an ascetic life and delivered lectures on Hadis. In 1608 he went to Burhanpur to see Shaikh Abdul Aziz and in the same year he died there¹.

Shaikh Abdul Wahid (d. 1608), son of Shaikh Muhammad, was a disciple of Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattari of Akbarabad. He was a Sufi and a scholar. As a youth he had been initiated into the Chishtiya silsilah, and had also received instruction from Mir Abdul-Awwal Shirazi. Later on he went in the service of Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattari and received training of Shattari order. Fortunately he had obtained khilafat from both the orders.

Shaikh Abdul Wahid was settled in Mandisor. At the age of thirty he fell into a mystic ecstasy and did not regain consciousness for about three years. It is believed that for about twenty-seven years he took no water, although he ate food. Shaikh Ghausi Shattari went to meet Shaikh Abdul Wahid at Mandisor in the last quarter of 1605 and had the useful discussion

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 483-485.

on secrets. Shaikh Abdul Wahid engaged himself studying fiqah and taksir besides other subjects¹.

Shaikh Saleh Hafiz, an eminent Sufi of his time was the disciple and khalifa of Shaikh Nuruddin Ziaullah. He was born at Champaner in Gujarat. He was a great alim and had learned by heart several books of ascetic importance and throughout his life followed the sharia. At the age of forty he came in the service of Shaikh Mahmud Jalal Shattari in Mandu and settled there.

Besides his Pir he had obtained khirqa of khilafat from three sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. These were Shaikh Kamaluddin Burhan, Shaikh Uwais and Shaikh Mahmud Jalal and this caused him much popularity and fame. The author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Ghausi Shattari had friendly relations with Shaikh Saleh Hafiz².

Shaikh Dawud Shattari, son of Shaikh Khan Muhammad was wandering in search of a Pir. He travelled towns and forests for the sake of his mission. In this attempt he reached Mandu and went to meet Shaikh Jalal Mahmud Shattari. He received ascetic training under Shaikh Jalal Mahmud and very soon was successful in attaining knowledge of Shattari method of Sufi practices. After sometime of his Pir's death, he went to Gwalior to visit the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and from there he went

1. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, p.487.

2. *Ibid.*, 563-564.

on a tour of different places and met many scholars. After about twenty years in 1610 he returned to Mandu to visit his Pir's tomb. He stayed in Mandu for more than a year and again went to visit Gwalior. This time he returned back to Mandu in 1611-12.

Shaikh Dawud met the people in a courteous manner and never extended his hand before anyone. To him making demands to the people is a sin.¹

Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa of Ahmadabad was the father of Ghausi Shattari, the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar. He became hafiz (memoriser) of the holy Quran at the age of eight years. He was a scholar of fiqah and hadis. When Gujarat was attacked by Humayun in 1535 while pursuing Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, there was chaos and disorder in Gujarat. In this situation Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa of Ahmadabad migrated to Malwa with Humayun's party. He settled at Lonhera, three kos away from Mandu. He started practising ascetic exercises in the night but in the morning began the day with the people. He earned his livelihood from the business in paper. After his marriage at Lonhera he shifted himself to Mandu. There in 1554 Muhammad Ghausi Shattari was born. Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa died in 1565².

Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa's son was Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari of Mandu. It is his book Gulzar-i-Abrar that supplies

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 605-606.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 608-611.

a lot of information about Sufi's of different order in Malwa. This book is a basic source of our knowledge about the cultural and educational elevation of the people of Malwa with particular reference to the activities of the Sufis in this regard.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari a prominent Sufi of this silsilah was born in 1554. At the age of five years, his maternal uncle Shaikh Miyan Jiv sent him for his initial education in the maktab of Shaikh Kamaluddin Qureshi. Shaikh Ghausi was the disciple of Shaikh Sadruddin Muhammad Shams Zakir of Baroda (Gujarat). He obtained training of the Shattari ascetic exercises from Shaikh Jalal Mahmud Shattari of Mandu. Ghausi had friendly relations with all the sections of the society and had also good relations with the government officers¹. Many Sufis while passing through Mandu were the guest of Shaikh Ghausi.

Shaikh Ghausi Shattari had studied books on philosophy and astronomy from Hakim Usman, a great scholar of his time². In 1594-95 when Ghausi Shattari met Shaikh Uwais, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he was encouraged by him to complete his *Gulzar-i-Abrar*³. Ghausi completed his *Gulzar-i-Abrar* between 1611 and 1613. It begins with an account of Shah Yusuf Multani who settled in Multan in 1115 and goes on to give biographical details of prominent Indian Sufis. As a Shattariya himself, Shaikh Ghausi enthu-

1. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, pp.611-621.

2. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, p.445.

3. *Ibid.*, p.606.

siastically describes Shattariya Sufis and gives valuable details about the lives of seventeenth century Sufis in general, most of whom were his contemporaries. The Shaikh's relations with his contemporaries were fraternal, enabling him to obtain important details about them. In fact his book Gulzar-i-Abrar is as important for the knowledge of Sufism in Malwa as Ain-i-Akbari for the information of Mughal history.

The Qadriyya Silsilah - There also developed Qadriyya order in Malwa but it could not gain strength as the Shattari silsilah. One of the earliest Qadri saint to settle in Malwa at Mandu was Shaikh Bahauddin. He was originally a Shattari and wrote a treatise on the discipline of Shattari order as mentioned earlier in the discussion of the Shattari saints. He was initiated into the Qadri order by a saint in Mecca. He died in 1515-16¹.

Qazi Abdul Qadir, a Qadri saint was a disciple and Khalifa of Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Jhanjhana and a nephew of Shaikh Amanullah. Shaikh Abdul Qadir had also obtained ascetic training from Shaikh Amanullah. After making three times journey to Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem he returned to India and settled at Ujjain in Malwa. He lived a solitary life for years in Ujjain and on the request and desire of his relatives he migrated to Sarangpur. His uncle was the Qazi of Sarangpur and after his death he was made Qazi of Sarangpur. From time to time he would accept the

1. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, pp. 198-200.

invitation of local officers to become a Qazi but then invariably he would resign. He died in 1602-03¹.

Another Qadri saint who graced Malwa was Shaikh Zakaria. He was also the disciple of Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Jhanjhana. In 1575-76 he started from Delhi for Malwa with the intention to be settled there. He was warmly welcomed by the people at Dhar and therefore he took his abode there. Here he also became close to Shaikh Maruf Sadullah. In 1580, he died and was buried at Dhar beside the tomb of Maulana Ghiyas².

A famous Qadri saint Shaikh Abdul Haq was initiated into the Qadri silsilah by Shaikh Musa. After leaving Delhi, Shaikh Abdul Haq travelled through Malwa and Gujarat in the year 1586-87. He stayed in Ujjain with Mirza Aziz Koka, the governor of Malwa and at Mandu was the guest of Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari³.

Thus the arrival and settling of Sufi saints in Malwa promoted the spiritual life of the people and they came to them for receiving education and for the solution of their problems. Even the sultans and later on governors and officers became the followers of the Sufis and made proper arrangements for their livelihood and patronised them fully. This respect and patronisation attracted a large number of Sufis to settle in Malwa.

1. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 461-462.

2. Ibid., p. 349.

3. Ibid., pp. 598-599.

The saints of these principal orders who flourished in Malwa enriched the life and cultural heritage of the people and ushered in an atmosphere of common brotherhood among the people of all communities. The sufis believed in the gospel of universal human brotherhood, amity and understanding and the doctrine of love and pacifism. Their presence was mainly instrumental in generating a feeling of kinship and elevation of man to a higher spiritual plane.

The Sufis of Malwa of all the three affiliations of Chishti, Shattari and the Qadiri offshoots of the mystic discipline who dominated the moral and spiritual life of the people of Malwa, inspired the common folk with new zeal and fervour of leading a life of elevation of the human soul from the abject dependence on material things and upholding the ideals of human dignity, Divine felicity and dependence and total abnegation of all profanities of life. Thus the land of Malwa was studded with Khanqahs which enkindled spiritual resplendence and ushered in an era of deep moral consciousness and instructions in ethical and dialectic knowledge and dissemination of spiritual culture throughout this extensive region.

APPENDIX I

TABLE OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS OF MALWA
(1562 - 1707)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF GOVERNORS OF MALWA
Provincial Governors Under Akbar

Date	Name and Title	Designation	Source
1561-1562	Pir Muhammad Khan	Hakim of Malwa (A.C.)	Akbarnama, II, pp. 152, 168.
1561-1562	Abdullah Khan Uzbek	Hakim of Malwa	Akbarnama, II, p. 168.
1563-1564	Bahadur Khan	Hakim of Malwa	Tarikh-i-Alfi (113), 525a.
1564-1565	Bahadur Khan	Hakim of Malwa	Tarikh-i-Alfi (112), 615b; Badauni, II, p. 69.
1564-1565	Abdullah Khan	Hakim of Malwa (A.C.)	Tarikh-i-Alfi (112), 615b.
1567-1568	Muhammad Murad Khan	Hakim of Ujjain (A.H.)	Tarikh-i-Alfi (113), 535b.
1572-1573	Muzaffar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Akbarnama, III, p. 33.
1573-1574	Muzaffar Khan Turbati (now Jumdat-ul-Mulk)	Hakim of Sarangpur (A.C.)	Badauni, II, p. 171; Akbarnama, II, p. 68.
1576-1577	Shah Budagh Khan (D)	Hakim of Sarangpur (A.C.)	Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 223; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, p. 431; Maasir-ul-Umara, II, p. 536.
1576-1577	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Nishapuri	Hakim of Malwa	Akbarnama, III, p. 170.
1580-1581	Muqim Arab, Shajast Khan (D)	Subahdar of Malwa (A.C.)	Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, p. 431; Akbarnama, III, p. 312; Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 223.
1585	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Akbarnama, III, p. 456.
1585	Muhammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri (D)	Hakim of Malwa (A.C.)	Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 223; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, p. 433.
1585-1586	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam	Jointly Subahdar of Malwa	Akbarnama, III, p. 511.
1585-1586	Naurang Khan	Jointly Subahdar of Malwa	Akbarnama, III, p. 511.

Date	Name and Title	Designation	Source
1589-1590	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Akbarnama,III,p.571
1589-1590	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Akbarnama,III,p.571
1590-1591	Sultan Murad(P)	Subahdar of Malwa	Akbarnama,III,p.597.
1592-1593	Mirza Shahrukh	Subahdar of Malwa	Akbarnama,III,p.644.
1592-1593	Sultan Murad(P)	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Akbarnama,III,p.639.
1593-1594	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	Hakim of Malwa(A.H.)	Tabaqat-i-Akbari,II, p.440.
1593-1594	Mirza Shahrukh	Subahdar of Malwa	Tabaqat-i-Akbari,II, p.426.
1598-1599	Mirza Shahrukh	Subahdar of Malwa(A.H.)	Akbarnama,III,p.749.

Provincial Governors Under Jahangir

1605-1606	Mirza Shahrukh	Subahdar of Malwa	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.11.
1606-1607	Mirza Shahrukh(D)	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.56.
1606-1607	Abdullah Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.60.
1609-1610	Khwaja Abdullah, Abdullah Khan (now Firoz Jung)	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.74.
1611-1612	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam	Subahdar of Malwa and Deccan	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.97.
1613-1614	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam	Subahdar of Malwa(A.H.)	Ahwal, 67a.
1614-1615	Khurram(P)	Subahdar of Malwa	Ahwal, 74b.

Date	Name and Title	Designation	Source
1616	Mir Jamaluddin Husain (Gemal-din-ussain)	Governor of Malwa	Roe, 215
1621-1622	Khurram(P)	Subahdar of Malwa	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 353.
1627	Mir Abdur Razzaq Mamuri, Muzaffar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A.H.)	Qazwini, 131b

Provincial Governors Under Shahjahan

1627-1628	Amanullah, Khan-i-Zaman	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, I, p. 126, Qazwini, 144 b.
1627-1628	Abdur Razzaq Mamuri Muzaffar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Lahori, I, p. 126.
1627-1628	Amanullah, Khan-i-Zaman, Khanazad Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Lahori, I, p. 199
1627-1628	Pir Khan, Khan-i-Jahan Lodi	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, I, p. 199.
1630-1631	Mirza Makki, Mutaqad Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A.H.)	Lahori, I, p. 362.
1630-1631	Mirza Muzaffar Kirmani	Subahdar of Malwa	Qazwini, 208b
1631-1632	Mirza Makki, Mutaqad Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Lahori, I, p. 424.
1631-1632	Khwaja Sabir, Nusrat Khan, Nasiri Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, I, pp. 396, 424.
1633-1634	Khwaja Sabir, Nasiri Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	Subahdar of Malwa(A.H.)	Lahori, I, p. 534.
1634-1635	Khwaja Sabir, Nasiri Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	Subahdar of Malwa(A.H.)	Lahori, I, p. 540.
1634-1635	Khwaja Sabir, Nasiri Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Lahori, I(b) 63.
1634-1635	Ilahwardi Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, I(b) 63.

Date	Name and Title	Designation	Source
1634-1635	Khwaja Sabir, Nasiri Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, I(b) 97.
1637-1638	Khwaja Sabir, Nasiri Khan, Khan-i-Dauran	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, II, p. 11.
1644-1645	Sardar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, II, p. 378
1645-1646	Sardar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A. C.)	Lahori, II, p. 425.
1645-1646	Mirza Abu Talib, Shaista Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, II, p. 425.
1646-1647	Mirza Abu Talib, Shaista Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A. C.)	Lahori, II, p. 583.
1646-1647	Shah Nawaz Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Lahori, II, p. 583.
1647-1648	Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi	Subahdar of Malwa and the Deccan	Waris, 17(a)
1648-1649	Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi	Subahdar of Malwa(A. C.)	Waris, 46(b)
1648-1649	Abu Talib, Shaista Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Waris, 46(b).
1649-1650	Abu Talib, Shaista Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A. C.)	Waris, 87(b).
1649-1650	Shah Nawaz Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Waris, 87(b).
1650-1651	Murad Bakhsh(P)	Subahdar of Malwa	Waris, 114(b).
1651-1652	Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi	Subahdar of Malwa(A. H.)	Waris, 123(b).
1653-1654	Murad Bakhsh(P)	Subahdar of Malwa(A. C.)	Waris, 179(a).
1653-1654	Abu Talib, Shaista Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Waris, 179(b).

Date	Name and Title	Designation	Source
1654-1655	Abu Talib, Shaista Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Waris, 203(b)
1657-1658	Mirza Abu Talib, Khan-i-Jahan, Shaista Khan	Subahdar of Malwa(A.C.)	Amal-i-Salih, III, p. 285.

Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb

1658-1667	Jafar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 47-48; Alamgirnama, pp. 162, 229, 419.
1667-1668	Najabat Khan(D)	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 47-48.
1668-1672	Wazir Khan(D)	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 48, 120.
1672-1673	Mir Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 120.
1673-1676	Islam Khan(D)	Nazim of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 151.
1676-1678	Muhammad Akbar(P)	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 152, 166.
1678-1682	Mukhtar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 174, 220.
1682-1684	Khan-i-Zaman(D) S/O Prince Azam	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 220, 246.
1684-1685	Mughal Khan(D)	Nazim of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 246, 261.
1685-1686	Prince Azam, Rai Rayan Muluk Chand (Dy. Subahdar)	Subahdar/ Dy. Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 273.
1697-1701	Mukhtar Khan	Subahdar of Malwa	Manucci, III, pp. 194-95; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 442; Maasir-ul-Umara, I, pp. 246-47; III, p. 656.

Date	Name and Title	Designation	Source
1701-1704	Abu Nasr Khan (Shaista Khan II)	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp 442, 483.
1704-1706	Bidar Bakht	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp.483, 512.
1706-1707	Khan-i-Alam	Subahdar of Malwa	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.512.

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