ground above the edge of the river or the lake. The frequency of earthquakes made it necessary for their houses to be light wooden structures. The intense cold of the climate made fires necessary in every household day and night for several months. The natural consequence of this chain of causes was that conflagrations were frequent, and when they broke out they spread from one end of the city to another, making a clean sweep of these crowded human warrens of timber and grass. To its inhabitants Kashmir was often a very unhappy valley, and their utterly degraded condition would be the standing disgrace of the Mughal administration if we were to judge it by modern standards of the duties of the State.

§ 29. Aurangzib’s viceroys and their doings in Kashmir. In Aurangzib’s reign, there were twelve subahdars in Kashmir during 48 years. None of them governed the country for more than eight years at a time. Ibrāhim Khan, a son of the famous Ali Mardān Khan of Shah Jahān’s Court, served there thrice for a total of 14 years, but most others governed it for a year or two only.

The life of the province varied as the characters of its successive governors varied. Some of them, like Itimād Khan and Fāzil Khan administered justice with great diligence and honoured learning. Others, like Saif Khan, introduced innovations in the form of new exactions such as (a) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of the land, in the place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate of it based on guess, (b) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things ordered from the province by the Emperors (qasur-i-farmaish), and (c) change in or deduction from men’s salaries due.

On 20th January 1696, the Emperor received complaints from the peasants of Kashmir to the effect that the high grandees who had been granted jagirs in that province had farmed their revenue collection to traders, who were mak-
ing oppressive exactions and had thus ruined the cultivators. Aurangzib immediately ordered all the jagirs in Kashmir to be resumed and made Crownland. At this the traders pleaded that they had advanced heavy loans to the nobles and they would not get back a penny out of them if the jagirs were resumed. The Emperor angrily replied, “Ask your money back from those to whom you have lent it.” [Akhbarat.]

Under Mubāriz Khan (1668—1669) who was a good-natured but indolent man, his Uzbek retainers shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people, wounding and killing all who resisted them.

Muzaffar Khan and his brother Abu Nasar Khan (1690—1697), both sons of Shāista Khan, enriched themselves by levying illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. A story is told that when a copy of the Qurān was included among the assets of a certain disputed property, they, after decreeing the shares of the estate to the different heirs, tore up the sacred volume and took one-fourth of its leaves as the magistrate’s lawful fee!

Fāzil Khan (1697—1701), in addition to being a patron of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens &c. He was the first to introduce the Kashmiris to the Emperor’s service, and he also remitted many cesses of former times. *

Saif Khan during his second viceroyalty (1669—1671) promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city. Nearly all the governors who were long enough in the province built mosques and sarais and laid out new gardens.

The long roll of natural calamities during the half century of Aurangzib’s reign includes two earthquakes (June

* They are named as hasil-i-ghalak (tax on earthen jars for storing things; or is it a mistake for nimak i.e., salt duty) and damdari (tax on bird-catchers, musicians &c.)
1669 and 1681), two conflagrations of the capital (1672 and 1678), one flood (1681), and a famine (1688). The most notable events of this period in the history of Kashmir were Aurangzib's royal progress through it (1663),† of which Bernier has left a graphic account, and the conquest of Greater Tibet (1666) whose ruler, styled Daldal Namjal in the Persian chronicles, bowed to Islam, caused coins to be struck and the khutba read in the Emperor's name, and built a mosque in his capital. In 1683 when the Black Qālmaqs invaded his country he begged the aid of his suzerain. An imperial force set from Kābul under Fidāī Khan (the son of Kashmir subahdar Ibrāhim Khan) drove the Qālmaqs out, reinstated the Lāmā, and returned in triumph with much booty. [Ch. 26 § 6.]*

§ 30. Civil war between Shias and Sunnis, 1684.*

In the same year took place what was probably the worst fight between the Shias and the Sunnis. The *Hasanabad quarter of Srinagar was a Shia stronghold. A resident of it named Abdus Shakur and his sons had done some injury to a Sunni named Sādiq. Their enmity grew into a long-standing quarrel. In the course of it these Shias publicly did some acts and made some remarks designed to insult the memory of the first three Khalifs (who were usurpers, according to Shia theology). When Sādiq lodged a com-

† V. A. Smith in his Oxford History of India, p. 425 footnote, is severe upon other scholars for their supposed error in placing this visit in 1663 instead of 1665 as stated by Bernier, while he is himself blissfully ignorant of the fact that Bernier was wrong in his date and this mistake was pointed out by his contemporary Manucci in such a standard work as the Storia do Mogor (ii. 66; also 72 for other blunders of Bernier). My date is based upon the official history Alamgirnamah, which cannot possibly be wrong about the Emperor's movements.

* An expedition was sent against the Rajah of Jāmu, which was kept busy there for two years (1686-1688.) About 1705 the Rajah of Rajaur and his son were converted to Islam.
plaint of blasphemy against these men in the ecclesiastical court, they took refuge with Ibrahim Khan. The qāzi Muhammad Yusuf, in pious frenzy, roused the mob of the city and created a great tumult. As the accused were being harboured in the governor's house, the Sunni mob set fire to the Hasanabad quarter. During the riot, Fidāi Khan came out to support the men of Hasanabad, while the mob strengthened by the Kabul officers just returned from Tibet and some local mansabdars, opposed him. Many were slain and wounded on both sides, the mob rioted with terrible fury, and the qazi lost control over them.

Ibrāhim Khan, finding himself worsted in the contest, at last handed Abdus Shakur and other accused Shias over to the qazi, by whom Shakur and his two sons and one son-in-law were put to death under canonical sentence. After this the qazi gave up visiting the subahdar, though it was his official duty, and he did not leave his own house, in spite of the latter begging for forgiveness. The mufti (Muhammad Tāhir), however, acted in exactly the opposite manner, and therefore the mob sacked and destroyed his house. The Sunni rioters were masters of the city. Bābā Qāsim, the preceptor of the Shias, was seized on the road and put to death with disgrace. Fidāi Khan rode out in force to punish the mob. The fight took place before the house of Mirzā Salim Kashghari, a local leader of the Sunnis, and the latter was slain with many of the mob. But in the meantime, Shaikh Bāqā Bāba had assembled another crowd, and set fire to Ibrāhim Khan's mansion! That governor then arrested and imprisoned Bāqā Bābā, the qazi, news-writer, and bakshi of the province, and the leading men of the capital. This strong action cowed the people into submission.

Aurangzib, on hearing of these occurrences, removed Ibrāhim Khan from the viceroyalty and ordered the Sunni captives to be released. [Azami, 131b—132b.]
§ 31. The Prophet's relics brought to Kashmir.
About 1698—99 an event happened which roused the religious fervour of the Muslims to the point of overflowing. This was the bringing into the country of the reputed hair of the Prophet Muhammad which Khwâjah Nuruddin had secured in Bijapur, and which was sent after his death to Kashmir along with his corpse. The entire Muslim population poured out into the streets and open spaces, to behold the blessed relic, chanting the praises of God and His Prophet. "Men and women flocked together in perfect amity as if a flood of human beings was sweeping through every lane and bazar, rendering them hard to cross. A great noise filled the air. Scholars, saints, theologians and religious mendicants vied with one another, in passionate earnestness, to get a turn in placing on their shoulders the poles of the litter in which the relic casket was carried," and they considered themselves blessed when with the greatest effort and difficulty they could once touch it. [Azami, 140a.]

§ 32. Example of popular credulity.
Another incident, illustrating the gross credulity of the people of Kashmir, took place in May, 1692, which in that year was the Muslim month of fasting (Ramzân). A stranger of some position (sârdâr) named Mir Husain had come to Kashmir and taken up his residence near the Takht-i-Sulaimân hill, where he set up his hermitage. Gradually the local people began to visit him freely. In the month of Ramzân he prepared a grand illumination in honour of the season. Most of the people of Srinagar turned it into an occasion for excursion and sight-seeing. Many boats went there, forming a vast crowd, and all were free from care. In the third quarter of the day such a violent storm of wind, rain, thunder and lightning burst upon the place that the whole city was darkened as in the darkest night. It continued so for some time, and then the people, believing
that the Sun had set, broke their day's fast. But after 2 or 3 hours the tempest ceased, the Sun reappeared, and all felt themselves befooled and disgraced, for a Muslim can hardly commit a greater sin than to eat anything in the day-time of the month of Ramzaan.

It is characteristic of the intelligence and education of the people of the capital city of Kashmir that they ascribed this abnormal phenomenon to the magic art of that heretic hermit. High and low, the vulgar and the wise, drew up a jury report (mahazar) fixing the blame for the temporary obscurity of the Sun,—and the consequent sin of their breaking the Ramzaan fast in the daytime,—on Mir Husain, and sent it to Aurangzib. The historian Azam gravely tells us that "faith-defending, truth-knowing" Emperor believes that the charge and ordered the magician to be expelled, which was immediately done by his viceroy. At this the historian exclaims in admiration, "Great God! what an act of devotion to goodness! What passion for doing justice! What intense attention to the enforcement of the decrees of Canon Law!" [Azami, 139a.]

GUJRAT

§ 33. Gujrat, its advantageous position.

Of all the provinces of India, Gujrat possesses the most complete and copious authentic records from ancient times down to the British period. A band of scholars have made much of this material available in English. Two of the longer Persian histories of the province have been translated down to the end of the 16th century by E. C. Bayley and J. Bird. As for the 17th century, we have a summary narrative of the chief events compiled by Col. Watson from the invaluable Mirat-i-Ahmadi, in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part 1, pages 273-282,* while the mediæval history of the adjoining peninsula of Kathiawad is given in

* With gross mistakes of dates and wrong translation in places.
Forbes's Rās-Mālā from purely Hindu sources. I, therefore, propose to deal here with only the broad features of this province's history during Aurangzib's reign, without going into details.

The economic and social condition of Gujrat, its poor soil, its liability to disturbances, have been described in Vol. I. Ch. 4 of this work. Its wealth was mainly due to its handicrafts and commerce. The former could flourish only in walled cities and in the villages nestling in their shelter. In commerce not only did its people, both Hindus and Muhammadans, possess a natural capacity surpassing that of other natives of India, but Gujrat enjoyed a position of exceptional advantage. All the merchandise of the rich inland districts of Khāndesh, Berār, Mālwa and even Upper India had to cross Gujrat for shipment abroad. On the coast of this province stand the greatest ports of India,—Broach in Hindu times and Surat in Muslim, while the ports of Konkan, further south afforded an outlet for the produce of the Deccan plateau.

Gujrat was, therefore, pre-eminently the gate of India in Mughal times, in respect of the outer Muslim world. Though a small stream of immigrants and traders filtered in through the Afghan passes, yet Surat and Broach were the most convenient and most frequented entrances to India for Southern Asia and Eastern Africa. Through Surat passed the enormous volume of Muslim pilgrims to the holy cities of Arabia and of Shia votaries to the shrines of Najaf and Karbālā. Travellers, merchants, scholars, fortune-hunters, and political refugees from Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Zanzibar and even Khurāsān and Barbary used to enter India through the Gujrat ports by the short, comfortable, cheap and usually safe ocean highway, while the land route across the Sulaimān and Hindu Kush ranges fell into growing neglect from the early 16th century onwards.
§ 34. *Diversified population; Lawless tribes.*
This geographical advantage had given Gujarati a very composite population and a large foreign strain from very early times. In this province the fire-worshipping Persians fleeing before the Muslim advance into Iran had found a new home, and today with all their contact with Europe, Gujrati has not ceased to be the language of their homes. Here was the chief seat of that branch of the Ismaili heretics of Islam who are popularly known as Bohras. Another unorthodox Muslim sect, the Mahdavis, muster strong in certain of its localities, such as Palanpur. Isolated Arab, Turkish, Persian and Afghan families and even sections of clans have settled here, and these, along with the remnants of the Muslim tribes that had held sway over the land before the coming of the Mughals, have given an unparalleled diversity to the racial complexion of the province. On the Hindu side the population is even less homogeneous. Leaving aside the foreign immigrants of forgotten antiquity who have been completely absorbed into Hindu society,—like the Nagar Brahmans, the Guhilots, the Hunas and Indo-Scythians,—there were in the fringe areas of Gujarat in the 17th century many primitive races not yet broken to civilization and orderly political life. Such were the Kolis in the broken jungly country of Dang (in the south), the Bhils in Baglana (south-east), the wild Rajputs and pseudo-Rajputs in the eastern frontier and the predatory Grasiyas scattered throughout the province, besides the Kathis of the west.

These were an ever-present menace to the peace of the country. To them were added in Aurangzib's reign another race of disturbers who soon surpassed the others in the range and vigour of their power, the superiority of their organisation and persistence, and the frequency and success of their raids, till at last they swept Mughal rule out of the province under Aurangzib's unworthy descendants, and established a Maratha kingdom there.
Surat was thoroughly sacked by Shivaji in 1664, and again in 1670; and the country of Kolvan, to within 60 miles of this city, was brought under Maratha sway in 1672 by their annexation of the Jawhar and Rāmnagar (modern Dharampur) States. Thus a thorn was permanently planted in the side of the Mughal Government of Surat. Thereafter, from this safe and convenient base, Maratha bands used to harry or menace some part of Gujrat almost every year. These raids and alarms of raids, even when the latter were false, most effectually ruined the economic life of the province. The trade of Surat, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed by them, as has been shown in Ch. 43 § 5.

§ 35. **Governors of Gujrat under Aurangzib.**

During Aurangzib's reign of 50 years Gujrat was governed for him by twelve viceroyos, of whom Mahāhat Khan (6 years, 1662—1668), Md. Amin Khan (10 years, 1672—1682), Shujāet Khan (17 years, 1684—1701), and Prince Md. Azam (4 years, 1701—1705) ruled the province longest. In the remaining 13 years there were as many as eight subahdars. Md. Amin Khan's love of ease and aristocratic temperament made his tenure a period of peace, if also of supineness. The strenuous rule of Shujāet Khan and his tact and enterprising spirit have been already noticed in connection with his administration of Marwar in addition to that of Gujrat (Ch. 58). This exceptionally able officer kept the Marathas out of Gujrat and at the same time enforced peace in Marwar for many years.

Of Prince Md. Azam's viceroyalty we possess copiously detailed accounts in the daily news-letters of his Court of which two volumes are extant in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of London (Tod M.S.), and also in the mass of Aurangzib's letters to him included in Ināyetullah's Akhām and Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt. On the whole he succeeded in keeping order in his charge, though his difficulties were
aggravated by a fresh rupture with Durgādas due to imperial orders, as we have seen in Ch. 58, §§ 8 and 9.

Gujrat had an evil reputation for famines in the middle ages, and the reign of Aurangzib was no happier in this respect. We read of famines in 1681, 1684, 1690–91, 1695–96 and 1698. In 1681 there were bread-riots in the capital. The drought of 1696 was so terrible that “from Patan to Jodhpur no water nor blade of grass could be seen.” [Mirat, i. 300, 330, 336.] In addition to these natural calamities, pestilence desolated many of the cities, lingering for years together in them. [Mirat i. 325, Eng. F. R.]

Among the noteworthy public disturbances were the overflow of the Rajput war across the north-eastern frontier of Gujrat (1680) when Bhim Singh the son of Maharana Raj Singh raided Vadnagar, Vishālnagar and some other rich cities of Gujrat and returned with much booty, and the recovery of Idar by its Rathor chief, who was subsequently defeated and slain by the Mughals. [Ch. 26 § 7. Mirat i. 294.] A Beluch adventurer falsely personated Dārā Shukoh, and assembling a band of desperadoes in the Viramgaon subdivision (1663) and rousing the Kolis, who were ever ready for mischief, plundered the country for some time, until he was put down by the vice-roy Mahābat Khan [Mirat, i. 255.] Highway robberies by the predatory tribe of Grāsiās is mentioned. [Mirat, i. 304; A kh.]

§ 36. Maratha invasion of 1706

The earlier Maratha disturbances in the province have been noticed in Ch. 43. The greatest disaster that they inflicted on the Emperor’s troops occurred early in 1706, during the interval between the departure of Prince Azam from Ahmadabad (25 Nov. 1705) and the arrival of Bidar Bakht there (30 July 1706). The Marathas under Dhana Jādav took prompt advantage of this defenceless condition of the province for the time being. They had been hovering
on the southern frontier of Gujrat and now entered it in a vast body which rumour increased to nearly 80,000 men. The deputy governor of the province detached a force against the raiders, but the Mughal commanders quarrelled with one another, and lay inactive on the bank of the Narmadā near the Bāba Piarā ford for a month and a half. Then, under sharp orders from head-quarters, they advanced to Ratanpur (in Rajpiplā), and halted there in two widely separated bodies, which were signally defeated one after the other by Dhana. Two of their chiefs, Safdar Khan Bābi and Nazar Ali Khan, were captured and held to ransom; their camps were looted, and large numbers of Musalmans fell in the field, perished in the Narmadā, or were taken captive, (15 March, 1706).

When Abdul Hamid Khan (the deputy governor) himself arrived with another army, his small force was surrounded by the exultant victors near the Bābā Piarā ford, all the chiefs including the deputy governor himself were taken prisoner, and their entire camp and baggage plundered. Then the Marathas levied chauth on the surrounding country and retired after plundering the towns and villages that failed to pay it. The Kolis had taken advantage of these disorders to rise and sack the rich trading centre of Baroda for two days. [Mīrat, i. 359-368; Dil. ii. 165a, Storia iv. 246; see Ch. 57 § 11.]

§ 37 Religious persecution of the Bohra sect.

Aurangzib's policy of religious persecution had full play in Gujrat too, with its usual baneful consequences. We have seen how in the reign of his father he had as subahdar of Gujrat destroyed the Chintāman temple in Ahmadabad and several other Hindu shrines elsewhere [Ch. 34 § 9 and App. 5.] Throughout his reign, and more especially after 1669, when his iconoclastic zeal bubbled forth anew, he frequently sent out orders to the local officers of Gujrat to demolish particular temples, the most notable of them be-
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ing the Somnāth on the sea-coast and the Hateshwar Mahādev of Vadnagar. [Mirat, i. 260, 353, and 328; Ināyet 10a.]

It will be enough if we briefly refer here to his treatment of the Ismailiā sect,* the Bohrā branch of which supplied the best oversea traders and retail dealers in his western realm. Their spiritual guide Qutb had been put to death by order of Aurangzib early in his reign, and the sect was driven into secret ways in practising its faith. Later, many of their leading men were arrested and kept in prison on a charge of teaching heresy. In 1705 Isā and Tāj, two silk-vendors of the Sulaimāni branch of the Bohrās, were bound down in security not to collect money from the people by threat and accusation nor to teach heretical opinions. A little later they were sent to Court in chains. In the same year, the Emperor learnt that Khānji, the head of the Ismailia sect and successor to Qutb, had sent twelve emissaries (dais) who were secretly perverting Muslims to this heresy and had collected Rs. 1,14,000 from the members of this creed in Ahmadabad for procuring the release of their brethren then confined by Aurangzib. The Emperor on hearing of it ordered the twelve men and certain other members of this community to be arrested quietly without the knowledge of the rest of the sect, and sent to him under careful guard, with the money collected and the sixty and odd holy books of their faith. This was done. At the same time orthodox teachers were appointed by the State to educate the children and illiterate people of the Bohrās in every village and city in Sunni doctrines and practices. Their mosques had been converted to Sunni usage earlier in the reign [Mirat, i. 358, 263; Inayet’s Ahkam, 271b.]

§ 38. Rising of the Khoja sect in Broach, 1685.

Another branch of these sectaries, called Khojas in

Kathiawad and Mumins (or Mehtas) in Gujrat, consisted mostly of Hindus converted to Islam by a saint named Sayyid Imam-ud-din, whose tomb at Karmatah (9 miles outside Ahmadabad) was their chief shrine. They paid idolatrous adoration to their spiritual guide, kissing his toes and heaping up gold and silver on his feet, while he sat in royal splendour behind a screen. They supported their spiritual guide by a regular voluntary tax of one-tenth of their annual income, (including the market-price of one of their children when they had ten !)

In the general persecution of heretics, some Khojas had been arrested and imprisoned in Gujrat, and one of them revealed the secret practices of the sect. Aurangzib at once ordered the Sadr and Qazi of the province to arrest their spiritual head, Sayyid Shahji by name, and send him to Court. The man killed himself by poison on the way, but his son, a boy of twelve, was sent to Aurangzib. At this all his followers in Gujrat, old and young, set out for Ahmadabad, saying that the subahdar had killed their guide and they must secure the punishment of the murderer. Near Broach, as they were crossing the Narmadā, the local faujdar opposed them; a battle was fought; they killed him and captured the walled city of Broach. They held it in a body 4,000 strong and set to improving its fortifications, without molesting the citizens in any way, (Oct. 1685.) At the news of their success, others came to join them. The imperial faujdar of Barodā arrived there for expelling them, but soon retired in fear of their superior strength.

Then an army sent by Shujāēt Khan, the subahdar, opened regular siege operations against Broach. The garrison fought long and well, making frequent sorties. At last one day, at broad noon, when the defenders overconfident of the strength of the walls used mostly to vacate the ramparts, and even the few sentinels had retired to the shade, the Mughals suddenly scaled the walls by means of
ladders, slew the sleeping guards and opened the gate to their comrades. The rest was mere butchery. The fanatics fought desperately, openly courting death as martyrdom. Even the captives begged their conquerors to slay them quickly that they might join their brethren in Paradise. Many of their men and women wilfully drowned themselves in the river. Thus a bloody stop was put to the movement. [*Mirat*, i. 320-324; *F. R. Surat* 92, Surat to J. King. 30 Oct. 1685.]
§ 1. *The rapid decline of the Mughal empire*

To all outer observers the Mughal empire seemed to have attained to its highest splendour and power when Aurangzib ascended the throne of Delhi. His tried ability and known character promised to the country undiminished prosperity if only he was spared to rule long enough over it; and he ruled over it for 50 years. The native genius of Akbar, the genial moderation of Jahangir, the sagacity, energy and refined taste of Shah Jahan, had left the Mughal empire without a rival throughout Northern India and much of the Deccan too, and given peace, prosperity and culture to millions. "The Wealth of India" had become proverbial in far off countries, and the magnificence of the Court of the Great Mughal had "dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles." And when a trained administrator and experienced general, who was also a puritan in the simplicity and purity of his private life, succeeded to the guidance of this rich heritage in the fulness of his physical and mental powers, all people hoped that he would carry the empire to unimaginable heights of glory. And yet the result of Aurangzib's long and strenuous reign was utter dissolution and misery. The causes of this strange phenomenon it is the duty of the historian to investigate.

§ 2. *Internal peace the root cause of India's prosperity.*

In a warm moist and fertile country like India,—where the lavish bounty of Nature speedily repairs the ravages of hostile man and beast, of inclement Sun and rain—order is the root of national life, in an even greater degree than
in other lands. Given peace without and the spirit of progress within, the Indian people can advance in wealth, strength and civilization with a rapidity rivalled only by the marvellous growth of their vegetation after the first monsoon showers.

A century of strong and wise government under Akbar and his son and grandson had given to the richer and more populous half of India such peace and impulse to improvement. A hundred victories since the second Panipat had taught the Indian world to believe that Mughal arms were invincible and Mughal territory inviolable. Shivaji broke this spell. And his destructive work was carried to undreamt-of lengths by his successors in the second half of Aurangzib's reign. Mughal peace—the sole justification of the Mughal empire—no longer existed in India at Aurangzib's death.

In a predominantly agricultural country like India, the tillers of the soil are the only source of national wealth. They produce the food and raw materials of clothing for the entire population. Directly or indirectly, the land alone adds to the "annual national stock." Even the craftsmen depend on the peasants and on the men enriched with the land revenue, for the sale of their goods, and if the latter have not enough foodstuff to spare, they cannot buy any handicraft. Hence, the ruin of the peasants means in India the ruin of the non-agricultural classes too. *Pauvres paysans pauvre royaume*, is even truer of India than of France. Public peace and security of property are necessary not only for the peasant and the artisan, but also for the trader, who has to carry his goods over wide distances and give long credits before he can find a profitable market. Political unrest and insecure roads prevent the quick and cheap transport of grain from a district of bumper crops to one where the harvest has failed, and this circumstance makes famine relief slow and difficult.

Wealth, in the last resort, can accumulate only from
savings out of the peasant's production. Whatever lowers the peasant's productive power or destroys his spirit of thrift by creating insecurity about his property, thereby prevents the growth of national capital and impairs the economic staying power of the country. Such are the universal and lasting effects of disorder and public insecurity in India. And the failure of Aurangzib affords the most striking illustration of this truth.

§ 3. Economic drain of Aurangzib's ceaseless warfare.

The economic drain caused by Aurangzib's quarter century of warfare in the Deccan was appalling in its character and most far-reaching and durable in its effect. The operations of the imperial armies, especially their numerous sieges, led to a total destruction of forests and grass. The huge Mughal forces, totalling 1,70,000 troops according to the official records, with perhaps ten times that number of non-combatants, soon ate up everything green wherever they moved. In addition, the Maratha raiders destroyed whatever they could not carry off,—feeding their horses on the standing crops, and burning the houses and property too heavy to be removed. At the siege of Satara, the Marathas had prepared for defence by burning the grass for twenty miles round the fort; while the Mughals in their turn, in building a raised battery opposite the fort tower "had left not a single tree standing within a range of 60 or 80 miles from the place." [M.A. 414.] The mischief was multiplied by the immense number of sieges in which the Mughals engaged in that land of the mountain and the flood. Hence, it is no wonder that when at last in 1705 Aurangzib retired after his last campaign, the country presented a scene of utter desolation. "He left behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their places being taken by the bones of men and beasts." [Storia, iv. 252.]

This total and extensive deforestation had a most
injurious effect on agriculture. At the same time, herds of cattle became extinct through robbery and lack of fodder. The pastoral tribes were ruined, and meat and milk supply ceased over much of Maharashtra.

The financial exhaustion of the empire in these endless wars left Government and private owners alike too poor to repair buildings and roads worn out by the lapse of time. Indeed, in Aurangzib's last years, we read of urgent appeals from his officers for funds to make the most necessary repairs in important fortifications, which the Emperor has to reject owing to lack of money! Civil buildings, water-works, sarais and roads could not expect any better treatment in such a state of things.

The labouring population suffered not only from violent capture, forced labour, and starvation, but also from epidemics which were very frequent during these campaigns. Even in the imperial camp, where greater comfort, security and civilisation might have been expected, the annual wastage of the Deccan wars was one lakh of men, and three lakhs of horses, oxen, camels and elephants. [Storia, iv. 96.] At the siege of Golkonda (1687) "a famine broke out. In Haidarabad city the houses, river and plain were filled with the dead. The same was the condition of the imperial camp... Kos after kos the eye fell only on mounds of corpses. The incessant rain melted away the flesh and skin... After some months when the rains ceased, the white ridges of bones looked from a distance like hills of snow." [M.A. 292.] The same desolation overtook tracts which had hitherto enjoyed peace and prosperity. The acute observer Bhimsen writes about the Eastern Karnātak, "During the rule of the Bijapur Golkondā and Telingā [dynasties] the country was extensively cultivated. But now many places have been turned into wildernesses on account of the passage of the imperial armies, which has inflicted hardship and oppression on the people." [Dil. ii. 114a, also 136b about Berār.] The
depopulation and impoverishment of the Madras Coast in the closing decade of the 17th century is repeatedy noticed in the Madras Factory Diary and F. Martin's Mémoires.

§ 4. Pestilence and natural calamities.

In 1688, Bijapur was visited by a desolating epidemic of bubonic plague, which is estimated to have carried off a hundred thousand lives in three months. [M.A. 318.] So, too, we read of a plague in Prince Azam's camp in Aug. 1694. [Akh. 29 Aug.] The English factors at Surat report similar devastating epidemics throughout Western India in 1694 and 1696 (95,000 men perished.)* To take one example only, the drought and plague of 1702-04 killed two millions of men. [Storia, iv. 96.] Thus, war and its constant attendant pestilence broke the placid repose of rural life in the Deccan and disturbed the old distribution of economic resources and activities.

The waste of army horses was terrible. In the newsletters, we constantly read of commanding officers begging for the grant of horses, as their troopers had lost their animals in the campaigns. Bhimsen describes how Nasrat Jang's cavalry had mostly to march on foot after a long chase of the Marathas. [Dil. ii. 135b.] This loss had to be made good by the Government every year by purchasing remounts in Afghanistan through its subahdar, and in Surat from Persian and Arab importers, as well as by sending an agent of its "Purchase Officer" stationed at Surat to Persia for buying horses there and sending them to India. [Akhbarat.]

In addition to disease, great natural calamities like flood, drought and excessive and unseasonable rainfall were frequent in the Deccan at the beginning of the 18th century, which aggravated the sufferings of invaders and natives alike and still further reduced the population. The

* Surat to Bom. 6 Oct. 1694; Madras Diary 31 Dec. 1696; Karwar to Bom. 18 Nov. 28 Dec. 1696.
state of war, spread over nearly a generation of time, had left no savings, no power of resistance in the common people; everything they produced or had stored up was swept away by the hordes on both sides, so that when famine or drought came, the peasants and landless labourers perished helplessly like flies. Scarcity was chronic in the imperial camp and often deepened into famine. The former remarkable cheapness of grain in many parts of Khândesh, Berâr and Konkan now became a forgotten myth; and even in the best years, in no place south of the Narmada did grain sell cheaper than six seers a Rupee [Dil. ii. 146a], while in Multan and Bengal a bumper crop still brought prices down to two or even eight maunds a rupee. The Mughal army at last found life intolerable.

§ 5. Injury to trade and industry by war, disorder, and official exactions.

There being no peace or safety for tillage, the starving and exasperated peasantry took to highway robbery as the only means of living. In many villages of the Deccan they gathered arms and horses and used to join the Marathas in their raids, and also sheltered enemy Maratha families in their houses while the men-folk were out roving. Raiding bands were, also, locally formed, which gave employment to many and chances of glory and wealth to the more spirited among the villagers.

Trade almost ceased in the Deccan during this unhappy quarter century. Caravans could travel south of the Narmada only under strong escort; hence they had to wait in the fortified towns, sometimes for four or five months, before they could get an opportunity of advancing further towards their destination in safety. We even read of the royal mail and baskets of fruits for the Emperor's table being held up for five months at the Narmada by Maratha disturbances in the roads beyond it. A time came when even the Emperor's letters could be carried to distant
places only by spies who travelled in disguise,—no escort being available for the regular couriers. Government stores and the personal effects of the nobles were all that could be transported under such conditions; the movement of tradesmen’s goods was impossible.

Even where war was not raging (as in Bengal), the weakening of the central Government emboldened provincial governors to disregard imperial prohibitions, and to make money by forcing goods from traders at absurdly low prices and then selling them in the public marts, and also by exacting forbidden abwabs from craftsmen and merchants. [Mughal Administration, Ch. 5.]

In the absence of security at home and the impossibility of making purchases at distances, arts and crafts ceased to be practised except in the walled cities. Village industries and industrial classes together died out. The Madras coast, for instance, with its teeming weaving population, was so unsettled by the Mughal-Maratha struggle for the Karnātak (1690—1698) that the English found it difficult to get enough clothes for loading their Europe-going ships. [Ch. 51 § 5.] As early as 1688, Francois Martin had foreseen the war between the Mughals and the Marathas and the consequent ruin of the textile industry of the Karnatak. [Kaep. 259, also 293. Martin, Mém. ii. 546, 552.] Thus ensued a great economic impoverishment of India,—not only a decrease of the “national stock”, but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilisation, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country.

§ 6. Other oppressors of the cultivators.

In Southern India, with many parts of it harried by more than a century of warfare, the peasantry had many enemies to dread besides the regular fighters on both sides. The Mughal soldiers on their march often trod down the crops, and though the Emperor had a special body of officers for compensating the peasants for this loss (paimali-i-
zarait), his financial difficulties led to the neglect of this humane rule. The worst oppressors of the peasants, however, were the tail of the army—the vast nondescript horde of servants, day labourers, darvishes and other vagrants who followed Aurangzib's "moving city of tents" in the hope of picking up crumbs where such a crowd had gathered. Particularly the Beluchi camel-owners who hired out their animals to the army, and unattached Afghans searching for employment, plundered and beat the country people most mercilessly. The banjārās or wandering grain dealer tribe, who moved in bodies, sometimes of 5000 men, each with his couple of bullocks loaded with grain, were so strong in their strength of numbers and contempt for the petty officers of Government, that they sometimes looted the people on the wayside and fed their cattle on the crops in the fields, with impunity. Even the royal messengers (called mewrahs in Gujrat) who carried Government letters, reports of spies, baskets of fruits for presentation to the Emperor, used to rob the people of the villages they passed by sometimes under the pretext of making good the losses in the fruits they carried. [My Mughal Adm. Ch. 5.] The Emperor's repeated orders against this kind of iniquity were of no avail. [Mirat i. 291.]

In the trail of the Maratha soldiers appeared the Berads and even the Pindāries—who were brigands pure and simple, without even the pretence of belonging to any army or carrying out the orders of any Government.

Then, there were the land-stewards of rival jagirdars,—the incoming and the outgoing—of the same village. Under the plea of the never-to-be satisfied arrears of revenue, the late jagirdar's collector tried to squeeze everything out of the peasantry before he left, and even continued to stay in the village for some months after the arrival of his successor. And the new-comer, in order not to starve himself, passed the half-dead peasants through his fiscal grinding-mill.

The English conquest of India was of a pulsatory character, it was achieved not by an uninterrupted succession of advances, but each aggressive governor-general was followed by a pacific economical non-interventionist. A Warren Hastings filled the financial void created by the wars of Clive and Vansittart, and laid the basis for the military expansion of a Wellesley, while the bankruptcy caused by Wellesley's frenzy of conquest was repaired by the recuperation of a sober plodding Barlow or Minto. The pacific Bentinck undid the ravages in the Treasury made by the bellicose Marquis of Hastings and Earl of Amherst.

Not so Aurangzib. Ever since 1679, when he embarked on the spoliation of the kingdom of Marwar, his reign was one long warfare. He did not realise the necessity of intervals of peace and retrenchment, which would give breathing time to his subjects, recoup the losses of war, and lay by a reserve for future wars. He soon ran through his current revenue and the new tax (jaziya) imposed on the Hindus in 1679 and vigorously enforced by specially selected "pious" collectors. [K. K. ii. 278, 378.] Then he ordered the accumulated treasures of his ancestors, from Akbar downwards, to be taken out of the vaults of Agra and Delhi forts and sent to him in the Deccan. [K. K. 411; Storia ii. 255.]

Thus, the last reserve of the empire was exhausted, and public bankruptcy became inevitable. The salaries of the soldiers and civil officers alike fell into arrears for three years. The men starving from lack of pay and the exhaustion of their credit with the local grocers, sometimes created scenes in the Emperor's Court, sometimes abused and hustled their general's business manager,—some, driven to desperation, beat to death the paymaster of their contingent.

The imperial Government made reckless promise of money grant and high command to every enemy captain who was induced to desert and every enemy qiladar who
was persuaded to surrender his fort. It was not humanly possible to keep all of these promises. The Mughal army, too, was immensely expanded in order to cope with the growing strength of the Marathas and their allies. The result was that the entire land in the empire proved insufficient for the total amount of jagir needed to satisfy the dues of all the officers included in the swollen army-list. As the imperial diwan Inayetullah Khan, on being urged by Aurangzib to grant jagirs to every one and leave no claim unsatisfied, remarked in despair, "The contingents of the officers who are daily passed in review before your Majesty are unlimited in number, while the land available for granting as jagir is limited (in area). How can a limited figure be made to equal an unlimited one?" [Hamid-ud-din’s Ahkam, § 57.]

Even when the grants of land in lieu of salary were drawn up by the Pay Office, they remained for years as mere orders on paper, the actual delivery of the villages to the grantees being impossible. At last the Emperor used to cry out in bitterness of spirit to his Paymasters, 'How often have I told you that I do not need any retainers? Why do you not dismiss them? You do not realise the badness of your action, but refuse to listen to your master's words!" [K. K. ii. 411—412.] The interval between the order and the actual possession of the jagir, it was sarcastically said, was long enough to turn a boy into a grey-beard. [Ibid. 379.]

How impossible of realisation were the promises of bribes made by the Government to enemy captains and ministers and how ruinous was the price at which forts were bought by Aurangzib is strikingly illustrated by the case of Matabar Khan, the wise and able governor of Kaliān. He had secured the capture of some forts in the Nāsik and Thana districts by spending Rs. 1,20,000 out of his own pocket in bribes to their commandants and his own army expenses; but the Emperor in return granted him only
Rs. 30,000 or a quarter of his outlay, and even this small sum remained unpaid for years afterwards. If a minor Maratha hill-fort cost on an average Rs. 45,000 in cash to take it peacefully, the Emperor might well despair of taking all of them at this rate. And yet he obstinately went on capturing fort after fort by heavy bribery or by regular sieges which were ten times more costly. As Khāfi Khan tells us, "Most of Aurangzib's generals, whether posted in far-off provinces or conducting sieges under his eyes, after some fighting used in the end to secure the capitulation of the forts by bribing the qiladars. The Emperor was informed of it by his spies, and used to pay to the officer who had thus contrived the surrender the exact amount of the bribe (neither more, nor less), under the name of reward"! [ii. 503.]

The spirit of the Mughal army in the Deccan was at last utterly broken. The soldiers grew sick of the endless and futile war,* but Aurangzib would listen to no protest or friendly advice. Even his grand wazir Asad Khan, who had ventured to suggest that now that Bijapur and Golconda had been conquered he had no more work to do and might as well return to Delhi, received a sharp reprimand, "I wonder that a wise old servant like you has made such a request...So long as a single breath remains to this mortal life, there is no release from labour." [Hamid-ud-din's *Akhīm* § 46.]

A generation of imperial soldiers and servants grew up in the Deccan who had never seen a city or house of brick or stone, but passed all their lives in tents, marching from one encampment to another. [*Dil.* ii. 141a; see Ch. 57 § 2.] The Rajput soldiers complained that their race would not be able to serve the empire in the next generation, as they had to pass their lifetime in the Deccan campaigns, without getting any respite for going home and rearing up children.

* "Owing to my marching through deserts and forests, my officers long for my death." Aurangzib to Mauzzam in *Anecdotes*, § 11.
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One home-sick noble offered the Emperor a bribe of one lakh of Rupees for transferring him to Delhi! [M. U. i. 457. Akh. 31 May 1695.]

§ 8. Administrative decline and public disturbances in N. India.

The inflated expenditure and incessant warfare in the Deccan adversely reacted on the situation in Northern India. The older, and more settled peaceful and prosperous provinces of the empire were drained of their manhood, wealth, and talent. The best soldiers, the highest officers, and all the collected revenue were sent to the Deccan, while the subahs of Hindustan were henceforth left to minor officers with small contingents and incomes quite inadequate for maintaining viceregal authority. All classes of lawless men began to raise their heads in the north as well as the south, though later and more fitfully in Hindustan than in the Deccan. The new class of subahdars and faujdars were too low in rank and armed strength to repress them. The proud zamindars whose grand-fathers had been ruling princes before the coming of the Mughals, the Afghan families settled in various districts (especially Jaunpur, Malwa, Allahabad and North Orissa) and still dreaming of their lost empire in India, claimants to principalities dispossessed by order of Aurangzib, predatory tribes like the Jat peasantry west of Agra and the Mewatis south-west of Delhi, and turbulent Rajput peasantry like the Baises of Oudh and the Ujjainīs of South Bihar,—all rose in defiance of the Government and began to lay hands on their weaker neighbours. The local viceroys could not cope with them with their normal contingents (zābita); they could hope to suppress the rebels only if they engaged troops in excess of the number for which their salary was fixed. And such extra retainers meant increased expenditure. [Dil. ii. 139a-140a.]
§ 9. *Poverty and powerlessness of governors.*

But, at the same time, their income, inadequate even on paper for their heavy duties, was actually dwindling very fast. The general unrest naturally caused a falling off in the rent collection from the peasants. Then, the frequent changes of officers and transfers of their jāgirs prevented them from gaining knowledge of the tenantry, establishing relations with them, and spreading the inevitable arrears of a lean year gently over a number of fat years. It is difficult to imagine a system more ruinous to the peasants and therefore in the long run more harmful to the State also, than the actual administration of Mughal jāgīr. It ended in a mad looting of the peasants by rival jagirdars’ agents or successive agents of the same jāgirdār. The former I have described a few pages back. As for the latter, Bhimsen gives a lurid picture of it: “There is no hope of a jagir being left with the same officer next year. When a jāgirdār sends a collector to his jagir, he first takes an advance from the latter by way of loan. This collector, on arriving in the village, fearing lest a second man who had given a larger loan to the jagirdar was following (to supplant him), does not hesitate to collect the rent with every oppression.... The ryots have given up cultivation; the jagirdars do not get a penny.” [*Dīl.* ii. 139a-140a.] The same ruinous policy was followed in revenue-collection in the Crownlands, as we learn from the despatches of the subahdar of Orissa. [J. Sarkar’s *Studies in Aur. Reign,* 243.]

The result of this policy was that the imperial officers, whether holding jāgirs in the older or the newly conquered provinces, all alike starved on account of the rent collection of their fiefs always falling into arrears. Thus, a vicious circle was formed: political disorder (to which we must add a wrong system of land administration) led to less and less money coming from the jāgirs; this diminished income
forced the governors to keep fewer and fewer men* in their pay; the decrease in their armed strength encouraged greater lawlessness among the people, from which followed a further impoverishment of the peasants and falling off in the land revenue. The evil was universal throughout the Deccan, and also very noticeable in Bundelkhand, Malwa, and parts of Allahabad and Oudh.

War was the only occupation of the Rajputs and indeed of all the Hindus who claimed to belong to the Kshatriya caste. The Mughal peace established in northern India had left to them chances of employment only in the trans-frontier regions on the west or in the still unsubdued parts of the Deccan. Rajputs had fought under the imperial banner in Central Asia and Qandahār. But in Aurangzib’s reign Mughal military activity was contracted within the frontiers, though Kābul was still a part of his empire. His annexation of the remaining Deccan principalities caused unemployment among the Rajputs in two ways,—first because he was under the necessity of giving employment to the masterless local troops of the subverted monarchies, and secondly because fewer territories were now left for him to conquer. In these circumstances aspiring scions of Rajput houses could only fight with their kinsfolk for their ancestral “homes,” take to robbery, or apostatize in order to get grants of estates from Aurangzib.

This situation was changed by the huge waste of life through pestilence and famine, even more than by actual slaughter, in the last years of the Emperor’s reign. The Hindu manhood of the North therefore continued to be drained for the Deccan war, but without any corresponding gain to Aurangzib; because the Rajputs with all their

* Dil. ii. 140b. “Except these three men who have ancestral estates, viz., Rao Dalpat, Ram Singh Hada, and Jai Singh Kachhwah, I have not seen a single noble who kept even a thousand troopers in his contingent.” The Akhbarat give reports of hazaris and 2 hazaris not keeping a single soldier under them.
bravery were proverbially unfit for siege operations and hill-fighting, and at the same time his Deccani auxiliaries were untrustworthy. [Dil. ii. 146b.]

§ 10. Decay of Indian civilisation under Aurangzib, its causes and signs.

The retrogression of mediaeval Indian civilisation under Aurangzib is noticeable not only in the fine arts,—the decay of which was only the outward manifestation of it,—but still more in the low intellectual type of the new generation. As the 17th century wore on, the older nobility nourished on the manly traditions of Akbar and Shah Jahan, gifted with greater independence of spirit, and trained with greater resources and responsibility,—gradually died out, and their places in camp and Court were taken by smaller men, supplied with poorer resources by the suspicious Aurangzib, afraid to exercise responsibility and initiative, but seeking to advance themselves by sycophancy. [Dil. ii. 150b.] The exceptionally prolonged life of Aurangzib with its ever increasing store of experience and information made him intellectually dwarf the younger generation. His self-sufficiency and obstinacy increased with age; till at last none dared to contradict him, none could give him honest advice or impart unpleasant truth. With the lack of leisure amidst the incessant warfare and rough camp-life in the far-off South, the culture of the aristocracy decayed, and, as the nobles set the tone to society, the whole of the intellectual classes of India slowly fell back to a lower level. A Jafar Zatalli took the place of Faizi for their delectation.

§ 11. Gloomy outlook for India in the 18th century.

The growing pessimism of the older men, which we find reflected in the letters and anecdotes of the time and even in the works of thoughtful historians, bears witness to the moral decay of the governing classes. It was too deep and
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too sincere to be passed over as an example of the familiar oriental habit of imagining a golden age in the past and looking down upon the present generation as the degenerate successors of their glorious ancestors. It finds utterance as early as the latter years of Shah Jahan, as we learn from the sayings of that monarch quoted in Aurangzib's letters. [Ruqaāt, Nos. 41, 55; Irvine MS. 350, No. 218.]

The historians Bhimsen and Khāfi Khan were struck by the hopeless change for the worse that had seized the Indian world and looked wistfully back at the virtues and glories of the men of the times of Akbar and Shah Jahan. [Dīl. ii. 139a, 146a, esp. 157a; K. K. ii. 550.] We find the aged Aurangzib himself dolefully shaking his head over the prospect of the future and predicting a deluge after his death. [Anecdotes § 11.] It is true, as Sadullah remarked in reply to a pessimist, that “No age is without men of ability. What is needed is a wise master to find them out, cherish them, get his work done by them, and never lend his ears to the whispers of selfish men against such officers.” [Ruq. No. 46.] But this wise principle was not followed in Aurangzib’s latter years, and it was altogether discarded by his successors. Career was not freely opened to talent. The public service was not looked upon as a sacred trust, but as a means of gratifying the apostate, the sycophant, the well-groomed dandy, the great man’s kinsmen, and the sons of old official families. Bigotry and narrowness of outlook under Aurangzib and vice and sloth under the later Mughals, ruined the administration of the empire and dragged down the Indian people along with the falling empire.

§ 12. Moral degeneration of the Mughal aristocracy.

The moral decay was most noticeable among the nobility and it produced the greatest mischief. The character of the older nobility in the late 17th century was deplorable. In a mean spirit of jealousy they insulted and thwarted “new
men" drawn from the ranks* and ennobled for the most brilliant public services, and yet they themselves had grown utterly worthless. Aurangzib himself remarked in 1701, "My nobles had opposed me in giving suitable rewards to Shaikh Nizām for the capture of Shambhu. So, too, they are now belittling the achievements of Md. Murād." [K.K. ii. 489.]

We have a significant example of the moral degeneration of the Mughal peerage. The prime-minister's grandson, Mirzā Tafākhkhur used to sally forth from his mansion in Delhi with his ruffians, plunder the shops in the bazar, kidnap Hindu women passing through the public streets in litters or going to the river, and dishonour them; and yet there was no judge to punish him, no police to prevent such crimes. "Everytime such an occurrence was brought to the Emperor's notice by the news-letters or official reports, he referred it to the prime-minister, and did nothing more." At last after a Hindu artilleryman's wife had been forcibly abducted and his comrades threatened to mutiny, Aurangzib merely ordered the licentious youth to be prevented from coming out of his mansion. [Hamid-ud-din's Akham § 48; another in M. U. i. 320.]

All the surplus produce of a fertile land under a most bounteous Providence was swept into the coffers of the Mughal nobility and pampered them in a degree of luxury not dreamt of even by kings in Persia or Central Asia; as the Court historian of Shah Jahan scornfully remarks, the revenue of the king of Balkh was less than the income of a third-grade peer of the Mughal empire. [Abd. Hamid, ii. 542.]


Hence, in the houses of the Delhi nobility luxury was carried to an excess. The harems of many of them were filled

* Similarly the old effete French nobility of birth objected to the victor of Fontenoy being raised to the peerage by his grateful master.
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with immense numbers* of women, of an infinite variety of races, intellect and character. Under Muslim law the sons of concubines are entitled to their patrimony equally with sons born in wedlock, and they occupy no inferior position in society. Even the sons of lawfully married wives became, at the precocious age, familiar with vice from what they saw and heard in the harem, while their mothers were insulted by the higher splendour and influence enjoyed in the same household by younger and fairer rivals of servile origin or easier virtue. The lofty spirit and majestic dignity of a Cornelia are impossible in the crowded harem of a polygamist; and without Cornelia among the mothers there cannot be Gracchi among the sons.

There was no good education, no practical training, of the sons of the nobility. They were too much petted by eunuchs and maid-servants and passed through a sheltered life from birth to manhood, every thorn being removed from their path by attendants. Early familiarised with vice, softened in their fibres by pleasure, they were yet taught to have an inordinately high opinion of their own wealth and importance in the scale of creation. Their domestic tutors were an unhappy class, powerless to do any good except by leave of their pupils, brow-beaten by the eunuchs (with the support of the ladies of the harem), disobeyed by the lads themselves, and forced to cultivate the arts of the courtier or the sneak, unless they were prepared to throw up their thankless office. The free give and take life in a public school (which hardens character and at the same time removes its angularities), the salutary discipline of training as subalterns in an orderly army, were unknown to the sons of the Mughal aristocracy. Hence their moral decline was

* Hindu nobles and rich men were often as licentious, but they kept their mistresses in a separate establishment and not in their homes. Moreover, the children of such irregular unions among the Hindus formed a lower caste (golak), occupying a depressed rank in society.
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astonishingly rapid and unchecked. Most of them, and even sons of Aurangzib like Shah Alam and Kām Bakhsh, were beyond correction. As Aurangzib, worn out with giving them unheeded counsels, cries out in despair, "I have become garrulous by talking and talking; but none of you have taken heed from my words." [Ruqāat No. 2.]

In addition to unbridled sexual license and secret drinking, many members of the nobility and the middle class were tainted by pederasty. This vice was most prevalent among the Mongoloids of Central Asia, and there is reason to believe that even some of the so-called saints were not free from it. All Aurangzib's prohibitions and all the activity of his Censors of Public Morals failed to hold the Mughal aristocracy back from drink. Manucci notices it [Storia, ii. 6, 157, 393; iv. 131.] The news-letters of Aurangzib's Court contain many reports of wine-selling and wine-drinking in the camp-bazars and houses of his nobles, and among the garrisons of forts. On 22 Sep. 1698 the English governor of Madras presented one hundred bottles of Canary to Nasrat Jang. [Madras Diary.] A similar present was made to his successor Dāud Khan in Nov. 1706. The drunken frolics of this Dāud Khan are described in Wilkes's Mysoor, [2nd ed., i. 133 and 149n.] The freak pleasures and queer fancies of some of the nobles are noticed in the contemporary accounts. [E.g., Storia, iv. 254–6, 262.]

§ 15. Popular superstitions.
All classes alike were sunk in the densest superstition. Astrology governed every act of life, among rich and poor alike. Every king and noblemen maintained and always carried with himself a staff of star-gazers to point out the auspicious and evil days for his marches, entrance into cities or houses, receiving or making visits, besides domestic ceremonies. The planets hung like a lowering cloud over all
men's lives. Relic worship was universal among Hindus and Muhammadans alike. Even the orthodox Aurangzib adored and walked devoutly round the pretended footprints and hair of the Prophet Muhammad (āsār-i-sharif), as if these were representations of the Deity. It is difficult to distinguish between his attitude towards them and a Hindu's worship of Vishnu's footmarks on stone. The universal and tumultuous exultation of the Muslim population of Srinagar when these bogus relics went to Kashmir, has been described in Ch. 61 § 31. Trade in false relics was very brisk and highly profitable.

Man-worship of the grossest form degraded the character of the masses. Besides the adoration of gurus and mohants by Hindus and Sikhs, the Muslims, equally with the members of those two creeds, venerated saints and religious mendicants, and besought them to work miracles, and give them amulets spells or marvellous medicines.* Pretended magicians did a roaring trade in these things, as well as in the philosopher's stone,—being patronised by the nobles as well as the common people. Alchemy was believed to be a science and men of the highest status and education supported and encouraged the professors of this art, even undertaking to introduce them to the Emperor.

The darker aspect of the subject was not wanting, and we read of human sacrifice being performed to aid the quest for gold and the elixir vitae, though it was criminal in law and punished whenever detected. [K.K. ii. 542.] A lurid light is thrown on the medical art and beliefs of the age by Manucci's evidence that some Muhammadan doctors used human fat to cure their patients. [Storia, ii. 210.] Hindu superstition is further illustrated by the worship of long-armed men as incarnations of the monkey-god Hanumān. There was a Portuguese of St. Thome whose hands reached below his knees, and whenever any Hindus met him they

* E.g., the religious delusion of Sahibji's son-in-law, as described in Siyar-ul-mutakharin.
prostrated themselves, worshipping him like a god. When another long-armed Portuguese visited Jagannāth-Puri in Orissā, “the Hindu priests and the people of the town conducted him to the temple with great veneration and made over to him the idols and all the wealth of the temple. He led a joyous life, regaling himself with delicate dishes and requisitioning young girls whenever he pleased, they imagining he did them a great honour.” He afterwards departed secretly, with the wealth of the temple. [Storia, iii. 140.]

As a natural consequence of their ignorance and pride, all classes felt contempt for foreigners. European gunfounders, artilleryists and doctors (a few) were no doubt patronised by the wealthy, because their superior efficiency had been demonstrated before the public; and European objects of luxury were eagerly bought. But no attempt was made by any Indian noble or scholar to learn European languages, arts or military system. A modern Indian nationalist will best realise how blindly selfish and autocratic the Mugal Emperors and the Indian aristocracy of the 16th and 17th centuries were, if he considers that while they spent lakhs every year in buying European objects of luxury or art, not a single printing press, not even a lithographic stone was imported, either for popular education or public business.

The moral and intellectual tone of Indian society was greatly lowered by the abundance of slaves. In addition to captives of war and vanquished families reduced to bond-

* At the Mughal Court interpretation was done for European visitors by Armenians or by Europeans who knew Persian. Only one Muhammadan (Mutamad Khan, c. 1703) is spoken of in Aurangzib's letters as knowing the English language. A few Shenvi Brahmans of Goa territory, who knew Portuguese, translated Marathi documents into the former language for the benefit of the English at Bombay. In Madras, the English and French factories employed Brahman interpreters who knew these languages besides “Moor” (i.e., Persian).
age, men and women were sold by their parents for money in famine times, or in discharge of debts. A defaulting debtor could himself be sold with his family at the demand of his creditor. This was an ancient legal practice of the Hindus and Muhammadans alike. [Cf. the Sanskrit story of Harishchandra.] One way of punishing criminals of certain classes was to turn them into slaves and sell them to the public; the sale of female-slaves of this class is noticed in the "Peshwas' Diaries." Slavery lingered down to the first quarter of the 19th century even in the British district of Purnia. [Martin's Eastern India.] People often made eunuchs of their children and sold them; Orissā and Sylhet were notorious for this offence, which was strongly condemned by Aurangzib. [Ch. 38 § 4; esp. ref. in footnote.]

§ 16. Official bribery, its forms and causes.
The educated middle class was composed entirely of officials, if we except the handful of physicians and superior priestly families. Among the traders and lesser land-owners there were many who ranked with the middle class in wealth, but not in education, nor did they ever cultivate literature. The Mughal administration, both civil and military, could be carried on only with the help of a vast army of clerks and accountants. Every department, every Government store or factory, every subah and even faujdari, every field-army, had a complete set of them. Their official pay was very low (like that of the East India Company's factory 'writers' in the early 17th century).*

But the exaction of official perquisites or gratuities from men who had to get business pushed through the public offices, was the universal and admitted practice, as in Tudor and Stuart England. In addition, many officials from the highest to the lowest took bribes for doing undeserved favours, or deflecting the course of justice. Official corruption was, however, admitted in society to be immoral, and

* For example, Mirāt-i-Ahmādī, Supplement, 172 et seq.
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was practised only in secrecy. There were many officers above corruption even in Aurangzib's reign [K.K. ii. 261, 374-82.] But the receiving and even demanding of presents by men in power was the universal rule and publicly acknowledged.* Even the Emperor was not exempt from it. Aurangzib asked an aspirant to a title, "Your father gave to Shah Jahan one lakh of Rupees for adding alif to his name and making him Amir Khan. How much will you pay me for the title I am giving you?" [M.A. 489.] Manohar-das (qiladar of Sholapur) gave him Rs. 50,000 in return for the title of Rajah. Officers weary of the life in the Deccan, used to present him with large sums to induce him to transfer them to Northern India, especially Delhi.

The ministers and influential courtiers round the Emperor's person had the opportunity of reaping a golden harvest, by selling to suitors their good offices in speaking for them to the sovereign when in private attendance on him (tagarrub). Thus, Qâbil in 2½ years of personal attendance on Aurangzib amassed 12 lakhs of Rupees in cash, besides articles of value and a new house [M.A. 191.]* They were besought and bribed with presents and money

* Nur Jahan's father, when prime-minister under Jahangir was shameless in demanding presents. So also was Jafar Khan, one of the early wazirs of Aurangzib. Jai Singh offered a purse of Rs. 30,000 to the wazir for inducing the Emperor to retain him in the Deccan command. [Haft Anjuman, Ben. MS. 195b.] Bhimsen's disgust at having to pay everybody at Court in order to get or retain a common civil office [Dil. i. 194.] On official bribery, see my Mughal Administration, Ch. v. § 4 and 5.

† Abdun Nabi, faujdar of Mathura, left a fortune of 13 lakhs of Rupees, 93,000 mohars (worth Rs. 14 each), and articles jewels, etc. worth 4½ lakhs more; Azam Khan Kokah (Fidal Kh.), governor of Bengal, 22 lakhs in Rupees and 1,12,000 mohars; Hafiz Md. Amin Kh., subahdar of Gujrat, 70 lakhs of Rs. 1,35,000 mohars, 76 elephants, 482 horses, 117 camels, and 10 chests of China-ware; Abdul Wahhab, Chief Qazi for 16 years, 33 lakhs of Rs. besides jewellery. [M. A. 83, 169, 226; M. U. i. 235-41.]
to yield their protection to officers, to conceal the shortcomings (ghaib-push) of the latter, to intercede for them with the Emperor (wasila), and in general to watch over their interests at Court during their absence.

This pressure was passed from the Emperor downwards to the peasant; each social grade trying to squeeze out of the class below itself what it had to pay to the rank above it, the cultivator of the soil and the trader being the victim in the last resort.

§ 17. Lower official world, its life and character.
The drink habit was widely prevalent among the clerks, both of the Kayastha* and Khatri castes,—as well as among the Rajput soldiers. In spite of the prohibition of the Qurān, the Muslim nobles and officers, both military and civil, were in many cases addicted to it. The Turks were specially notorious for their violation of this precept of their religion.

The lower official class, on account of their having to do their work far away from their homes, kept small harems of local concubines. This was the case with the Hindus no less than with the Muslims. The evil lingered on in British India till the middle of the 19th century. It was only the annihilation of distance by railways and the moral reform effected by English education and theistic religious movements in the sixties of the last century, that put an end to this general immorality.

The clerks, both Hindus and Muhammādans, formed a brotherhood bound together by community of duties and interests, education and ideals, social life and even vices. We find in the memoirs of one of them, Bhimsen of Burhānpur, a pleasing picture of the clerical world, with its mutual dancing parties, dinners, aid in trouble, consolation in sorrow, and union at sittings of Sufi devotional exuberance. The official world was marked by its hatred and contempt for

* Several of Bhimsen's relatives, civil officers in the imperial army, died of drink.
intruders into its preserves. Offices were expected to be reserved for old families of clerks and accountants. Any official who was not a ‘hereditary servant’ (khānahzād) of State but had sprung from the ranks, was despised as a novum homo was in the official world of the dying republic of Rome. The speedy ruin of the State from the employment of such interlopers and upstarts was predicted [Dil. ii. 140b.] This attitude was universal, from the higher nobility to the petty clerks.

§ 18. The purity and delights of the life of the masses. The above picture of social life in Mughal India appears very dark, and must be declared incomplete and therefore untrue if we do not consider certain other aspects of it. When we turn our gaze from the crowded harems of the rich and the lax morals of the Mongoloid and some other frontiers tribes,—we are bound to admit that among the teeming millions of the Indian people domestic life was pure and not without its simple colour and joy. This virtue alone saved the people from the doom of extinction which overtook the degenerate Romans of the later empire. We had many popular songs, ballads and stories, which assuaged the stricken human soul, taught heroic patience, and infused tenderness into the most unlettered hearts. The epic of Tulsidas, which is even now acted annually in every centre of population and recited in every Hindu home in the Hindi-speaking provinces, filled millions of people with love of duty, manliness, the spirit of self-sacrifice, and taught them wisdom in public and private life.

In Bengal, Tirhut, Orissā and Assam and certain other parts, the Vaishnavism taught by Shankardev and Chaitanya introduced an unwonted gentleness and fervour, and tamed the rude if manly savagery of the Tantric worship and animism that used to prevail there before. The 17th century was the great period of the expansion of this new Vaishnavism—which was marked by enthusiastic personal
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devotion (as in the Christian revival movement), tenderness to children and the weak, the cultivation of literature (both Sanskrit and the current speech of the people), and the infusion of song and dance and a delicate romantic sentiment into the everyday life even of the poorest. It also bridged social gulfs and established a democracy of the spirit. Apart from this new popular religious literature, the masses* in different parts had their folk-songs, like the ballad of Ranjhā and Hir (in the Panjab), which went to their very hearts and relieved for a time the dead weight of labour and political tyranny which pressed them down. The kirtan or chanting of religious narratives in verse with ecstatic chorus singing, was the popular substitute for the sermon, the lecture, and literature throughout India—in the south as much as in the north,—e.g., Shivaji doted on the kirtan and once risked his life and liberty in his passion to attend one. The common people were equally fond of these. [For a graphic description of such popular recitation among the Maratha villagers, see Acworth’s Ballads, xxvii.]

The Muhammadans of that age (except the Hindi-speaking portion) had no vernacular religious poetry for the masses. But they had the annual celebrations of different saints (wrs) at their tombs, which were attended by tens of thousands of pilgrims from distances, and where fairs were held which attracted men and women of all creeds. In addition, both sexes dwelling in cities, had their usual weekly outing to the garden-tombs of saints in the suburbs. The opportunity was utilised for pleasure rather than piety, and the spread of immorality that it caused led Aurangzib to issue an order for stopping the practice. But it was too popular to be put down. [Storia, iv. 205; 205; ante Ch. 28 § 3.]

* I have spoken of popular romance and religious poetry in the vernacular. But a vernacular literature for the upper classes was just missed by Aurangzib. It came into being under Wali of Aurangabad only ten years after his death.
Visits to these periodical fairs and seats of pilgrimage were the sole joy of the Indian village population, and men and women were passionately eager to undertake them. Pilgrim-centres like Ajmir, Gulbargā, Nizām-ud-din Auliyā, and Burhānpur for the Muslims, and Mathurā, Allahabad, Benares, Nāsik, Madura and Tanjore for the Hindus, served also to diffuse culture and to break down provincial isolation and narrowness of mental horizon.
§ 1. Character of Aurangzib: courage and coolness.

In the mediaeval world, and nowhere more so than in India, the king was held responsible for the happiness of his people,* and with good reason. He was regarded as a superman, as an incarnation of the Deity or at least God's representative on earth; he was invested with unlimited, unquestioned authority and the entire property in the land; he was, except in Catholic Europe, the head of Church and State alike.

Therefore, when towards the close of Aurangzib's reign all things began to go wrong, the contemporary historians,—Bhimsen and Khāfi Khan,—turned to examine their Emperor's character. And yet, to all outer seeming, he had no moral defect which might account for the destruction of the empire and of public peace.

Aurangzib was brave in an unusual degree. All the Timurids, till the days of his unworthy great-grandsons, had personal courage; but in him this virtue was combined with a coldness of temperament and a calculating spirit which we have been taught to believe as the special heritage of the races of Northern Europe. Of his personal fearlessness he had given ample evidence from the age of fifteen, when he faced a furious elephant unattended, to his 87th year, when he stood in the siege trenches before Wāängerā. And further testimony was borne to it by the fact that two of his sons fell on the battle-field, which were

* Cf. Upon the king! Let our lives, our souls,
   Our debts, our careful wives,
   Our children and our sins lay on the king!

(Shakespeare's *Henry V.*)
the first examples of such death among the descendants of Bābur. [Dil. ii. 166b. Character sketch 159a-160b; K. K. ii. 550; A. N. 1070—1096; M. A. 525—533.] His calm self-possession, his cheering words amidst the thickest danger, and his open defiance of death at Dharmat and Khajwā have passed into the famous things of Indian history.


In addition to possessing constitutional courage and coolness, he had early in life chosen the perils and labour of kingship as his vocation and prepared himself for this sovereign office by self-reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control. Unlike other sons of monarchs, Aurangzib was a widely read and accurate scholar, and he kept up his love of books to his dying day. Even if we pass over the many copies of the Qurān which he wrote with his own hand, as the mechanical industry of a zealot, we cannot forget that he loved to devote the scanty leisure of a very busy ruler to reading Arabic works on jurisprudence and theology, and hunted for MSS. of rare old books like the Nehāyya, the Ahiya-ul-ulum, and the Diwān-i-Sāib with the passion of an idle bibliophile. His extensive correspondence proves his mastery of Persian poetry and Arabic sacred literature, as he is ever ready with apt quotations for embellishing almost every one of his letters. In addition to Arabic and Persian, he could speak Turki and Hindi freely. To his initiative and patronage we owe the greatest digest of Muslim law made in India, which rightly bears his name, the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* and which simplified and defined Islamic justice in India ever after.

Besides book-learning, Aurangzib had from his boyhood cultivated control of speech and action, and tact in dealing with others; and even the dizzy eminence of the Peacock Throne and lordship over "nine hundred thousand horse-

* Printed in Calcutta in six volumes. For its composition, A. N. 1086-'87, M. A. 530.
men” did not intoxicate him into losing the curb over his tongue, temper and heart for a single day during an exceptionally long life. As a prince his tact, sagacity and humility made the highest nobles of his father’s Court his friends; and as Emperor he displayed the same qualities in a degree which would have been remarkable even in a subject. No wonder his contemporaries called him “the darvish in the purple.” [M.A. 334.]

§ 3. Aurangzib’s industry, moral purity, and simplicity of life.

His private life,—dress, food and recreations,—were all extremely simple, but well-ordered. He was absolutely free from vice and even from the more innocent pleasures of the idle rich. The number of his wives fell short even of the Quranic allowance of four,* and he was scrupulously faithful to wedded love. The only delicacies he relished,—the reader will smile to hear,—were the acid fruit corinda (Carissa carandas) and a sort of chewing gum called khardali.

His industry in administration was marvellous. In addition to regularly holding daily Courts (sometimes twice a day) and Wednesday trials, he wrote orders on letters and petitions with his own hand and dictated the very language of official replies. Four volumes of these, relating only to his last four years, are still extant and testify to his prodigious working capacity. The Italian physician Gemeli Careri thus describes the Emperor giving public audience (21 March 1695): “He was of a low stature, with a large nose, slender and stooping with age. The whiteness of his round beard was more visible on his

* Dilras Banu died in 1657; Nawab Bai was relegated to a retired life at Delhi after 1660; Aurangabadi seems to have stayed with him till her death in 1686, so that Udaipuri (married about 1660) was his only companion (after Aurangabadi) for the last half of his life.
olive-coloured skin. . . I admired to see him endorse the petitions [of those who had business] with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seem to be pleased with the employment." [Churchill's Voyages, iv. 222.]

Historians have observed that though he died in his 90th year, he retained to the last almost all his faculties unimpaired. His memory was wonderful: "he never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard." All his physical powers retained their vigour to the end, if we except a slight deafness of the ear, which afflicted him in old age, and a lameness of the right leg, which was due to his doctor's unskilful treatment of an accidental dislocation.

§ 4. His besetting sin of over-centralisation: its disastrous effects on the administration.

But all this long self-preparation and splendid vitality, in one sense proved his undoing, as they naturally begot in him a self-confidence and distrust of others, a passion for seeing everything carried to the highest perfection according to his own idea of it,—which urged him to order and supervise every minute detail of administration and warfare personally. This excessive interference of the head of the State kept his viceroys and commanders and even "the men on the spot" in far-off districts in perpetual tutelage; their sense of responsibility was destroyed, initiative and rapid adaptability to a changing environment could not be developed in them, and they tended to sink into lifeless puppets moved to action by the master pulling their strings from the capital. No surer means than this could have been devised for causing administrative degeneration in an extensive and diversified empire like India. High-spirited, talented and energetic officers found themselves checked, discouraged and driven to sullen inactivity. With the death of the older nobility, outspoken responsible advisers dis-
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appeared from his council, and Aurangzib in his latter years, like Napoleon I, after the climax of Tilsit, could bear no contradiction, could hear no unpalatable truth, but surrounded himself with smooth-tongued sycophants and pompous echoes of his own voice. His ministers became no better than clerks passively registering his edicts.

Such a king cannot be called a political or even administrative genius. He had merely honesty and plodding industry. He was fit to be an excellent departmental head, not a statesman initiating a new policy and legislating with prophetic foresight for moulding the life and thought of unborn generations in advance. That genius, though unlettered and often hot-blooded, was Akbar alone among the Mughals of India.

Obessed by his narrow ideal of duty and supremely ignorant of the real limitations of his character,—and not out of political cunning, as Manucci suggests,—Aurangzib cultivated saintly austerities and self-abasement and went regularly and even ostentatiously through all the observances of his religion. He thus became an ideal character to the Muslim portion of his subjects. They believed him to be a miracle-working saint (Alamgir, zinda pir!) and he himself favoured this idea by his acts.*

Politically, therefore, Aurangzib with all his virtues was a complete failure. But the cause of the failure of his reign lay deeper than his personal character. Though it is not true that he alone caused the fall of the Mughal empire, yet he did nothing to avert it, but rather quickened the destructive forces already in operation in the land. And these I shall examine now.

§ 5. True character and aim of the Mughal Government.
The Mughal empire did much for India in many ways. [See Mughal Administration, Ch. 15.] But it failed to weld

* Storia, ii. 19, iii. 259; he writes spells on a paper and throws it into flooded rivers to still them! (Dil. ii. 159a, also Akh.)
the people into a nation, or to create a strong and enduring State.

The glitter of gems and gold in the Taj Mahal or the Peacock Throne, ought not to blind us to the fact that in Mughal India man was considered vile;—the mass of the people had no economic liberty, no indefeasible right to justice or personal freedom, when their oppressor was a noble or high official or land-owner; political rights were not dreamt of. While the nation at large was no better than human sheep, the status of the nobles was hardly any higher under a strong and cunning king; they had no assured constitutional position, because a constitution did not exist in the scheme of government, nor even had they full right to their material acquisitions. All depended upon the will of the autocrat on the throne. The Government was in effect despotism tempered by revolution or the fear of revolution. [*Mughal Adm.* Ch. 9.]

The most exact parallel to the Mughal Government is supplied by the mediaeval Italian kingdoms, as described by the great German historian Ranke: "We here see the whole character of the Italian principality, as it existed in the 15th century: based on judiciously-calculated political relations, it was absolute and unlimited in the power of its internal administration, surrounded by splendour, closely connected with literature, and jealous even of the very appearance of power. . . . The whole power and all the resources of a country produce a Court,—the centre of the Court is the prince; finally, then, the ultimate product of all this gathered life is the self-sufficiency of the sovereign." [*Hist. of Popes*, Bohn's ed., ii. 66.]

In Mughal India, as in all other absolute monarchies, popular happiness even under the best of sovereigns was unstable, because it depended upon the character of one man. "The Mughal system of education and training entirely failed to maintain a line of promising heirs-apparent. . . . As the princes grew up, the jealousy of
rival queens forbade their taking a leading part in the politics of the capital. . . A prince who took his proper part in the council of the State was suspected of intriguing against the monarch. . . Hereditary succession is only tolerable under a system where the responsibility falls on a ministry, which screens the viciousness or incompetence of the occupant of the throne.”

“Such a ministry the Mughals were never able to organise. The monarch was obliged to fall back on the mob of adventurers who crowded round his darbar. . . whose function was more to amuse their master than to act as a modern Cabinet. . . It was never the Mughal policy to foster the growth of a hereditary aristocracy. [Crooke’s North-Western Provinces, 102-104.]

By its theory, Islamic Government is military rule—the people are the faithful soldiers of Islam, the Emperor (Khalifa) is their commander in war and in peace, (which is only another name for the unending preparation for war with infidels,) In an army it is not for the officers, any more than for the privates, to reason why or to seek reply from the supreme leader. The Khalifa-Emperor is the silhouette of God (zill-i-subhāni), and in God’s Court there is no “why or how. ” No more could there be in the Pahishah’s administration, which was a sample of God’s Court (namuna-i-darbār-i-ilāhi). By the basic principle of Islamic Government, the Hindus and other unbelievers were admittedly outside the pale of the nation. But even the dominant sect, the Muslims, did not form a nation; they constituted a military brotherhood, a perpetual camp of soldiers.

§ 6. Difference in life and ideal makes fusion of Hindus and Muhammadans impossible.

According to the root principles of Muslim polity, there can be no political rights for minorities, the nation must be merged in the dominant sect, and a community homogeneous in creed and social life must be created by crushing out
all divergent forms of faith, opinion and life. The nation as a purely political creation was inconceivable and impossible in such a state of things. The evil was aggravated by the fact that in India the politically depressed class or “official minority” was a numerical majority, outnumbering the dominant sect as three to one, and at the same time economically better qualified, stronger in capital and wealth-producing power, and not inferior in intellect or physical vigour.

No fusion between the two classes was possible even with the passage of centuries, as they differed like poles in ideal and life. The Hindu is solitary, passive, other-worldly; his highest aim is self-realisation, the attainment of personal salvation by individual effort, private devotions and lonely austerities. To him birth is a misfortune and his fellow-beings so many sources of distraction from his one goal. Not by enjoyment of God’s gifts but by renunciation, not by joyous expansion but by repression of emotion, is he to attain to bliss.

The Muslim, on the other hand, is taught to feel that he is nothing if not a soldier of the militant force of Islām; he must pray in congregation; he must give proof of the sincerity of his faith by undertaking jihād or active exertion for the spread of his religion and the destruction of unbelief among other men. He is a missionary and cannot be indifferent to the welfare of his neighbours’ souls; nay, he must be ever alive to his duty of promoting the salvation of others by all means at his command, physical as much as spiritual. Then, again, Islām boldly avows that it is good for us to be here, that God has given the world to the faithful as an inheritance for their enjoyment.

The ancient Socratic ideal that “he who has the fewest wants is most like the gods”, is peculiarly the Hindu’s. No doubt, Islam too has its ascetics; no doubt Muslim theology recognises abstinence (parhez) as good for the soul even of the householder. But in practice the immense body
of Islamites loved to enjoy and considered it as nowise wrong to enjoy the good things of the world.*

The practical outlook and social solidarity of the Muslims have made them develop the arts and civilisation (excepting literature) in a much higher degree than the Hindus; their pleasures are of a more varied and elegant kind, and the Hindu aristocracy in Mughal times were only clumsy imitators of the Muslim peers. The general type of the Muhammadan population (excepting beggars and menial labourers) are accustomed to a costlier mode of life and more refined, while Hindus of the corresponding classes, even when rich, are grosser and less cultured.† The lower classes of the Hindus, however, are distinctly cleaner and more intellectual than Muslims of the same grades of life.


Apart from the restrictions about food, difference of religious doctrine and ritual, rules forbidding inter-marriage, etc., this polar difference in their outlook upon life made a

* Persian poetry is not lacking in melancholy musings on the mutability of things (like what we find in Chaucer and Spenser). We are told that the world is a caravan sarai, a goblet of gold now filled with sweet drink and now with a bitter draught,—the steed of death ever stands ready saddled, &c.

But it was a literary fashion handed down from the middle ages, and did not influence life in India in the 17th century.

† Col. T. D. Pearse wrote to Warren Hastings in 1781 from Ellore: "The Hindus [of N. India] are nine out of ten in the numbers composing this army;.....but 29 Hindus have deserted for one Musalman. The cause is but too evident: an Hindu can live on Rs. 2 a month, and save 5 after paying for necessaries,—whereas the Musalman will live well whilst he can; is seldom worth a Rupee, and therefore has a tie upon the service that the other has not: for the Hindu with Rs. 100, returning to his home, can stock a farm, and live happily for the rest of his days." [Br. Ind. Mil. Repository, vol. ii. (1823) p. 19.] H. C. Irwin, Garden of India, 58-60 (best.)

Mrs. A. Deane wrote in 1805, "It is computed that one rupee and
fusion between Hindus and Muslims impossible. In addition to these, the Quranic polity made life intolerable for the Hindus under orthodox Muhammadan rule. Aurangzib furnishes the best example of the effects of that policy when carried to its logical conclusions by a king of exemplary morality and religious zeal, without fear or favour in discharging what he held to be his duty as the first servant of God. Schools of Hindu learning were broken up by him, Hindu places of worship were demolished, Hindu fairs were forbidden, the Hindu population was subjected to special fiscal burdens in addition to being made to bear a public badge of inferiority; and the service of the State was closed to them, as we have seen in Ch. 34.

Thus, the only life that the Hindus could lead under Aurangzib was a life deprived of the light of knowledge, deprived of the consolations of religion, deprived of social union and public rejoicing, of wealth and the self-confidence that is begotten by the free exercise of natural activities and use of opportunities,—in short, a life exposed to constant public humiliation and political disabilities.

Heaven and earth alike were closed to him as long as he remained a Hindu. Hence, the effect of Aurangzib's reign was not only to goad the Hindus into constant revolt and disturbances, but also to make them deteriorate in intellect, organisation, and economic resources, and thereby weaken the State of which they formed more than two-thirds.

§ 8. Decline of the Muslims in India; its causes.

The Muslim portion of the population, too, did not prosper under such a polity, though for a different reason in their case. The Turks are soldiers and nothing else; their manhood is a naturally embodied army, and war is their

a half will furnish a Hindu with food and raiment for a month; whereas three rupees are barely sufficient for the maintenance of a Musalman of the same rank and station, for the same space of time.”

(Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan, p. 41.)
only profession. A standing army in necessarily prevented from cultivating continuous domestic life. The ruling race among the so-called Mughals were really Turks. Hence, Muslim society in the Mughal period, in many of its civilian ranks also, frequently displayed garrison manners, as the organisation of their Government was of a military type and the soldiers set the tone to society.

The intellectual decline of the Muslims was hastened by the peculiar position of the faithful in India: They had made India their permanent home; many of them were Indians by race; and all had become so in their personal appearance, thoughts, manners and customs. And yet their religious teachers urged them to look back to ancient Arabia and draw their mental sustenance from the far-off age of the Prophet. The language of their religion must be Arabic, which not one in a hundred fully understood; their cultural language was Persian, which a few more learnt with difficulty and used with an impurity that excited the laughter and scorn of the Persian born. The greatest Indo-Persian poet was Amir Khusrau, but even he was ranked with third-class poets among the natives of Persia. Faizi, our second best, was held to be still inferior. Witness the scorn poured by Babur and Shaikh Ali Hazin alike on the Persian style of the Indian Muslims.

The Indian Muslim considered it beneath his dignity (till well into the 18th century) to use the vernacular for literary purposes. Hence, the immense majority of this sect were without any literature of their own; their education was hampered and their private life, (except in the case of the few who could use Persian freely), was deprived of intellectual joys. They could not have even a living growing religious literature. Hindustani amatory or devotional songs and Sufi verses in Persian were not adequate instruments for the diffusion of culture or the removal of general ignorance among a whole community.
Thus, the orthodox Muslim ever felt that he was in India, but not of it. He durst not, for peril to his soul,—so he was taught,—strike his roots deep into his native soil. He must not take to his heart its traditions, language and cultural products; he must import these from Persia and Arabia. Even his civil and criminal law must be derived from the writings of jurists and the decisions of judges in Baghdad or Cairo. [Mughal Administration, Ch. 6.] The Muslim in India was an intellectual exotic; he could not like Antaeus replenish his strength by coming in contact with his mother earth. He must not adapt himself to his environment. The Quranic precepts for the guidance of civil society and the regulation of human conduct and relations, were framed in a far-off age for a nomadic people. It was absurd, as a rationalist like Akbar argued, that they should be considered binding on men of the 16th or 17th century living in a country that had nothing in common with Arabia.

The intellectual vacuity caused by this unnatural strain- ing after a foreign and impracticable ideal, not only arrest- ed the mental and social progress of the Indian Muslims, but also made their hearts a fertile soil for noxious weeds. The eternal human craving for a personal religion, for a living faith, could not be satisfied by repeating an Arabic book by rote (hifz-i-kalam-ullah), or by going through one monoterruous physical drill five times a day in a public gathering (jamait). The thirsty soul turned to every fabled living saint in its neighbourhood and to the successors in attendance at the tombs of famous saints of the past,—both of whom were believed to be capable of working miracles.

The racial character of the Semitic peoples who created the Quran and Sunni Canon Law was essentially different from that of the Indians, and the mere fact of a body of the latter race having accepted the religion of the Arabs could not obliterate this ethnic difference. These were insur- mountable handicaps to Indian Islām.

The Hindus of medieval India presented an equally unhappy spectacle. They could not possibly form a nation, or even one compact sect. A social solidarity like that of the Muhammadans was inconceivable among a people divided into countless mutually exclusive castes, with their rancorous disputes about rights to the sacred thread and the Vedic chant, access to public water-supplies, besides *touchability*, and in Southern India also *approachability*. And time and prosperity seemed only to aggravate these differences. “Caste grows by fission,” and the multiplication of new sub-castes was in active progress through the operation of internal forces during Muhammadan rule, dividing and weakening Hindu society still further. A Hindu revival like the empire of the Peshwas, instead of uniting them only embittered caste bickerings by intensifying orthodoxy, leading to a stricter repression of the lower castes by the forces of the State, and provoking more wide-spread and organised caste feuds, like those between the different subdivisions of the Deccani Brahmans or between the only two literate and well-to-do castes of Maharashtra, *viz.*, the Brahmans and the Prabhus.

No enlightened or patriotic priesthood arose to save the Hindu peoples. The separatist tendency is as strong in their religion as in their society; and, indeed, an organised priesthood or State Church is opposed to the root principles of the Hindu scheme of salvation. Stray sheep running after stray shepherds fall easy victims to the quack and the voluptuary. Even if we pass over the degrading forms of man-worship that marked the religious practices of the Vallabhacharya, Kartabhaja and other sects of *guru-adorers*, or the licentiousness promoted by temple dances (*devadasis* or *muralis*) and small prurient esoteric sects, and turn our eyes to the ordinary idol-worship of the millions, we find the priesthood bringing their worshippers down to the lowest intellectual level by holding up to their
adoration a god who eats, sleeps, falls ill of fever (as Jagannath does for a week every year), or pursues amour- ous dalliances which a Nawab of Oudh might envy or a Qutb Shah imitate in his own harem. Reform was possible only outside the regular Hindu Church followed by the masses,—i.e., among the small non-conforming sects, where men were prepared to leave all things and follow truth; but even there only during the first generation or two after their foundation, before they too sank into gross guru-worship.

§ 10. How Hindus and Muslims lived together in India; occasional union, latent danger of fight.

In spite of what has been said before, the Hindu and Muhammadan societies often touched each other at certain points. The true ideals of both creeds were the same, namely, the worship of one Supreme Being, abstinence from earthly joys, tenderness to all creatures. But bigots and the mass of ordinary people could not rise to such a high plane of thought. The holy men of each sect recognised the general truths underlying all sincere creeds; witness the delighted cry of Shaikh Nizām-ud-din Auliyā on looking at a Hindu bathing festival, “Every sect has its own mode of adoration and centre of faith!” Muslim saints, famous for striking acts of self-mortification or miracle-working power, were often adored by Hindu princes and people.

Similarly, the cult of Sufism brought members of the two sects together in friendly communion. Sufism, however, was not so much a living creed as an emotional-intellectual enjoyment,—a “fashion” of polished society like atheism in the France of Louis XV or Brahmoism in Bengal in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century. It affected the select few, being confined to the educated and official classes of the 17th century.

The masses could not appreciate such lofty ideas as mystic pantheism and the universal brotherhood of man.
Fanatics had greater sway over their hearts than philosophers. The lower classes, after some fighting between Hindus and Muslims or Shias and Sunnis, (the forces of Government being always on the side of the orthodox creed),—at last came to a settlement in every locality, recognising the boundaries, rights and limitations of each creed on a basis which acquired the sacredness of custom with the passage of time. Thus they lived amicably within their own narrow limits. But this religious truce held good only so long as the local society was static. With the least change in the relative strength of the two sects or in their temper, with the visit of an active orthodox preacher from outside or the accession of a bigot to the throne, the sleeping volcano of mob-passions would again wake to fury. Examples of it are furnished by the massacre of the Shias at Srinagar in 1685, the destruction and pollution of Hindu temples by Aurangzib, the plucking of the jaiziya-collector’s beard by Rajputs in Malwa, and retaliation on mosques by some Rathor and Maratha princes of high spirit.* Indian society was, therefore, in a state of unstable equilibrium in every centre of mixed population in Aurangzib’s reign.

§ 11. Indian peoples lack the spirit of progress; hence their decline.

Finally, the Indian people of the Mughal age, both Hindus and Muslims, were stationary, prone to venerate the wisdom of their ancestors and look down upon the latest age as the worst. Experiment and free thought are hence apt to be condemned as an impious questioning of sacred authority and an insolent setting up of our own puny intellect against that of the sages of yore. The progressive spirit died out of India at the death of Akbar.

* E.g., complaint of Abdullah (a merchant of Alamgirpur) against Rajrup and Rustam Bhonslé, great-grandsons of Maloji’s brother Vitoji, in the 40th year of Aurangzib. [Dhar papers.]
Then followed a stationary civilisation, and such a civilisation is bound to decay as it finds improvement impossible. "The rigidity of Islam has enabled its followers in all lands to succeed up to a certain point. But there they have stopped, while progress is the law of life in the living world. While Europe has been steadily advancing, the stationary East has been relatively falling back, and every year that passes increases the distance between Europe and Asia in knowledge, organization, accumulated resources, and acquired capacity, and makes it increasingly difficult for the Asiatics to compete with the Europeans. The English conquest of the Mughal empire is only a part of the inevitable domination of all Africa and Asia by the European nations,—which is only another way of saying that the progressive races are supplanting the conservative ones, just as enterprising families are constantly replacing sleepy self-satisfied ones in the leadership of our own society." [My Mughal Administration, Ch. 15 § 11.]

§ 12. The significance of Aurangzib's reign: how an Indian nationality can be formed.

The detailed study of this long and strenuous reign of fifty years that we have pursued through five volumes, therefore, drives one truth home into our minds. If India is ever to be the home of a nation able to keep peace within and guard the frontiers, develop the economic resources of the country and promote art and science, then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science. That such a rebirth of Islam is not impossible, has been demonstrated in our own days by the conqueror of Smyrna. Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha has proved that the greatest Muslim State of the age can secularise its constitution, abolish polygamy and the ser-
vile seclusion of women, grant political equality to all creeds, and yet not cease to be a land of Islam.

But Aurangzib did not attempt such an ideal, even though his subjects formed a very composite population, even though the Indian world lay at his feet and he had no European rivals hungrily watching to destroy his kingdom. On the contrary, he deliberately undid the beginnings of such a national and rational policy which Akbar had set on foot.

History when rightly read is a justification of Providence, the revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in time. The failure of an ideal Muslim king like Aurangzib with all the advantages he possessed at his accession and his high moral character and training,—is, therefore, the clearest proof the world can afford of the eternal truth that there cannot be a great or lasting empire without a great *people*, that no people can be great unless it learns to form a compact *nation* with equal rights and opportunities for all,—a nation the component parts of which are homogeneous, agreeing in all essential points of life and thought, but freely tolerating individual differences in minor points and private life, recognising individual liberty as the basis of communal liberty,—a nation whose administration is solely bent upon promoting national, as opposed to provincial or sectarian interests,—and a society which pursues knowledge without fear, without cessation, without bounds. It is only in that full light of goodness and truth that an Indian nationality can grow to the full height of its being.
§ 1. The Empire: its extent and revenue.

At the death of Aurangzib (1707), his empire consisted of 21 subahs or separate provinces, of which 14 were situated in Hindustan or Northern India, six in the Deccan, and one (namely, Kabul) in what now forms Afghanistan. Their names are:

(i) Subahs of Hindustan—Agra, Ajmir, Allahabad, Bengal, Bihar, Delhi, Gujrat, Kashmir, Lahor, Malwa, Multan, Orissa, Oudh, and Tatta (or Sindh).

(ii) Subhas of the Deccan—Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad (old Ahmadnagar), Bidar (old Telengana), Bijapur, and Haidarabad.

A century earlier, i.e., at the end of Akbar's reign (1605), the Mughal empire had embraced all the fourteen subahs of Hindustan and only the first two of the above provinces of the Deccan,—the annexation of Ahmadnagar by Akbar being nominal. Qandahar of South Afghanistan was long entered in the official records as a subah of the Mughal empire, but it was in name only, as it frequently changed hands between the kings of Persia and Delhi and was finally lost by the Mughals in 1649; it was even at the best of times a barren possession and a very losing concern. Kabul or North Afghanistan, though held by the Mughal Emperors till its annexation by Nadir Shah (1739), had a revenue of only 20 lakhs of Rupees in Akbar's time and 40 lakhs in Aurangzib's reign, much of which was often unrealized. So, we shall leave these two provinces of Afghanistan out of our consideration in this chapter.

The Mughal empire under Aurangzib included in the north Kashmir and all Afghanistan south of the Hindukush;
on the south-west a line 36 miles south of Ghazni separated it from the Persian kingdom. On the west coast it stretched in theory up to the northern frontier of Goa and inland to Belgaon (in the Bombay Karnataka or Kanara) and the Tungabhadra river. Thereafter the boundary passed west to east in a disputed and ever shifting line through the centre of Mysore, dipping south-eastwards to the Kolerun river (north of Tanjore). In the extreme north-east, the river Monas (west of Gauhati) divided the empire from the independent kingdom of Assam. But it should be always borne in mind that in the south-west, south and south-east, i.e., throughout Maharashtra, Kanara, Mysore and the Eastern Karnataka, the Emperor’s rule was disputed and most places had to obey a double set of masters or spoliators (do-amli),—as the English and French factory records painfully illustrate.

Excluding Afghanistan, the Mughal empire had a revenue of Rupees 13 krores and 21 lakhs under Akbar, and 33 krores and 25 lakhs under Aurangzib. This was the standard or maximum State demand from land, but this amount was never fully realized and the actual collection often fell very short of it. This figure stood for the land revenue alone and did not include the proceeds of taxes like the zakat (one-fortieth of the annual income of Muslims, to be spent solely in religious charity) and jaziya. A rough idea of the proportion of the different sources of State-income can be formed from the figures for Gujrat in Aurangzib’s reign:—land revenue Rs. 113 lakhs, jaziya 5 lakhs, custom-dues of Surat port alone 12 lakhs per annum. (The other ports did negligible trade, except Masulipatam and Hughli towards the end of the reign). The amounts of land held as military fief (jagir) and Crownland (khalsa sharifa) can be judged from the following figures (circa 1690): land revenue assessed on jagirs 27.64 krores and on khalsa 5.81 krores of Rupees (for the whole empire).
§ 2. The Official peerage.

The government both civil and military was conducted by means of officials entered in the army-list and graded in successive ranks (mansab) from commanders of (nominal) twenty thousand horse down to commanders of twenty [in Akbar's reign ten] men only. Of these, all who held any grade from 3 hazari upwards were called grandees (umara-i-azam or umdat-ul-mulk), those between 500 and 2500 as umara, and commanders below 500 were styled simply mansabdars.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{c. 1596} & \text{c. 1620} & \text{1647} & \text{c. 1690} \\
\text{Number of Grandees (i.e., 3-hazari and upwards including the princes)} & 63 & 112 & 99 \\
\text{Total, including both umara and mansabdars} & 1,803 & 2,945 & 8,000 & 14,449
\end{array}
\]

From the above we can see the enormous inflation of the army-list under Aurangzib and the heavy financial burden that it produced.

Out of the 14,449 mansabdars under Aurangzib, about 7,000 were jagirdars and 7,450 were naqdi (or paid in cash), i.e., nearly half and half. The annual salary and allowances of the mansabdars, including the pay of their troops (who, under Shah Jahan's rule, had to be actually at least one-fourth of the nominal number of their grade) were as follows, for the first class in each grade:

7-hazari...3.5 lakhs of Rs.
5-hazari...2.5 lakhs
Hazari...half a lakh
Commander of twenty...Rs. 1,000.

The actual armed strength of the empire in 1647 was 2 lakhs of troopers brought to the muster and branding,
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8 thousand mansabdars,
1,85,000 tabinan or additional troopers of the
princes, umara and mansabdars,—and
40,000 foot-musketeers, gunners and rocket-men.

These numbers underwent a still further increase with
Aurangzeb's fresh warfare and annexations in the
Deccan, till at last his finances hopelessly broke down under
the army bill.

In the Mughal empire there prevailed what Bernier
calls "the barbarous and ancient custom" of the sovereign
confiscating the property of every one who died in his
service. In other words, there was no hereditary property
among the nobility, but the Emperor always took possess-
sion of the treasures and houses of his noblemen on their
death and made a gift to their children of only what he
pleased; the heirs had no legal right to their fathers' legacy.
The result was very harmful to the State and to Indian
civilization. The nobles lived extravagantly and squander-
ed their all on luxury, as they knew that they could leave
nothing to their family and that the Emperor alone would
profit by their frugality. Again, the insecurity of the nobles' fortunes prevented the accumulation of private capital and the economic growth of the country which depends on capital. The general level of civilization and culture, too, was lowered, because each generation had to work from the bottom upwards, instead of benefiting by the acquisi-
tions and progress achieved by its predecessor.

The political effect of this escheat system was most
disastrous; it prevented India from having one of the
strongest checks on royal autocracy, namely, an independent
hereditary peerage, whose position and wealth did not
depend on the king's favour in every generation and who
could therefore afford to be bold in their opposition to
royal tyranny. It also made the Mughal nobility a selfish
band, prompt in deserting to the winning side in every war
of succession or foreign invasion, because they knew that
their lands and even personal property were not legally assured to them, but depended solely on the pleasure of the de facto king. Mediaeval India had no independent nobility or powerful trading class to act as a barrier between the omnipotent Emperor at the top and the countless poor peasants and labourers at the bottom. Such a Government is most unstable and unsound.

§ 3. Manufactures and trade.

The Mughal Government was its own manufacturer, in State factories called kar-khanahs, for large quantities and an immense variety of articles. These have been described in detail in my book Mughal Administration, Ch. X ("State Industries"). The private industries of the various provinces are enumerated separately in my India of Aurangzib. Foreign trade, however, occupied a negligible position in the economics of the Mughal empire, on account of its small volume,—the total yield of the import duty being probably less than 30 lakhs of Rupees a year, while the land revenue brought to the State one hundred and eleven times that amount. As Bernier acutely observes: "Nor can the commerce of a country so governed be conducted with the activity and success that we witness in Europe....

In case, indeed, where the merchant is protected by a military man of rank, he may be induced to embark in commercial enterprises; but still he must be the slave of his patron, who will exact whatever terms he pleases as the price of his protection."

The value of the Indian products exported by the English E. I. Company during the first sixty years of its trade (1612-1672), did not average more than a hundred thousand pounds (or eight lakhs of Rupees) per annum. [In 1681 it rose to £2,30,000 for Bengal alone.] While the trade of the Dutch Company with India was at this time probably at least as large as that of the English Company, the trade of the Portuguese was certainly smaller. There
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is no evidence to show that any very considerable volume of trade by sea was in the hands of native merchants, but a small amount of traffic continued to be carried on by the overland route to Persia and Turkey [and also Tibet]. The fact is that the people of India at that time obtained little by international exchange except precious metals together with a few articles of luxury enjoyed by the rich. These imports were in the main paid for by her export of cotton goods, supplemented by a small variety of raw produce such as pepper, indigo, and saltpetre. India was thus economically almost self-supporting. [C. J. Hamilton, 32-33].

The low range of import duties [namely, 3% per cent ad valorem, of which 1 p.c. was for the jaziya] imposed by the Mughal Emperors proves that there was a general desire to encourage foreign trade. There was no question of an attempt to protect native manufactures [by prohibitive import duties]. The export trade seems to have been approved [by the Delhi Government] as the recognized means for obtaining a supply of the precious metals and of articles of luxury consumed at the Court. [C. J. Hamilton, 20.]

The English E. I. Co.'s trade with the East during the first half of the 17th century was to a large extent confined to dealings in five classes of goods. In the English market the products most sought for were the spices from the Archipelago and the Spice Islands, the raw silk of Persia, and the saltpetre and indigo of India. No doubt a fair quantity of the finer cotton cloths, as also a small quantity of manufactured silk goods, was imported into England. But, for the most part the Company's purchases of cotton goods were made not for import into England, but for the markets of the Further East and of Persia. India, indeed, possessed almost a monopoly in the manufacture of cotton goods, in foreign markets, . . . . but she had not even a considerable export trade in silk goods. Raw silk came [to
England] chiefly from Persia and from China, while even in the first half of the 17th century, China supplied the greater part of the manufactured silk articles imported into England. [C. J. Hamilton, 31-32].

The chief imports into India in the Mughal times were silver and gold (in specie), and to a lesser extent copper and lead. We were practically dependent upon foreign countries for these metals, though not for iron and steel,—which last were, however, imported as cheaper. For high class woollen clothing Europe (notably France) was our sole supplier, and large quantities of imported broadcloths and other woollen fabrics (Arabic saqarlat, scarlet) were consumed in India by the Court and the rich. Next in value were horses, of which large numbers came by ship from the Persian Gulf and by the land-route from Khurasan Central Asia and Kabul through the north-western passes. Hill ponies (called tangran or gunt) were imported from the Eastern Himalayan States, Tibet and Bhutan, through Bengal, Kuch Bihar, Morang and Oudh. Large quantities of fruits—fresh in winter and dry all the year round, were consumed in Upper India, and came from Central Asia, Afghanistan and Persia. Spices (such as, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon and cardamom) were supplied by the Dutch from the Spice Islands, which had a monopoly in these commodities. Articles of luxury like musk and porcelain came from China, pearls from Bahrain (Persian Gulf) and Ceylon, elephants from Pegu and Ceylon, superior brands of tobacco from America, glass-ware, wine and curiosities from Europe, and slaves from Abyssinia; but the quantity of these was very small, as befitted their high price and limited consumption. The European Companies very occasionally sold artillery and munitions (in small quantities) to our local rulers, in their sudden need, but there was no regular trade in these things and, indeed, the transactions were mostly done in secret as unlawful. A thin stream of
traffic entered India from the Himalayan regions by way of Oudh (and later through Patna), they brought to us, loaded on ponies and sheep (!), small quantities of gold, copper, musk and the tail of the yak cow (for use as fans or fly-whiskers), and also spare hill-ponies; and after selling them took back salt, cotton, glass-ware, etc. European paper, imported by the Portuguese and later by the Dutch (but still popularly called 'Portugal paper'), was largely consumed by the independent Sultans of the Deccan. But the Mughal Emperors had their own factories for very fine paper (now known in Europe as 'India paper') in Kashmir and a few other places, while the needs of ordinary office work and private persons were supplied by a class of Muslim manufacturers (called kaghazis) who plied their industry in every town, with a special suburb (pura) of their own near the capitals.

Our most important exports in those days were common cotton cloth (called calicoes), either plain or printed (chintz), which were largely consumed in the Indian Archipelago, and towards the close of the 17th century in England also,—muslin or very fine cotton fabrics,—and raw products like saltpetre, indigo, silk and pepper (besides certain other cooking spices). Small quantities of white sugar were exported from Hughli, diamonds and rubies via Masulipatam, slaves from Bengal and Madras, and also cotton yarn for making candle-wicks in England. Towards the end of the century silk taffetas and brocades began to be exported in larger quantities, and a distinct improvement in the dyeing and weaving of silk was effected in Bengal by the English Company. The whole Madras coast from Masulipatam to Pondicherry, (and next, but far behind it, Kanara or the country from Hubli to Karwar) were the seats of the most productive cotton industry in India; but the wars following the overthrow of the Golkonda sultanate and the rise of the Marathas, completely ruined these regions and the primacy in cotton manufac-
ture passed on to Bengal at the beginning of the 18th century.

§ 4. The administrative system.

The Muslim State was essentially a military Government and depended for its very existence on the absolute authority of the monarch, who was also the supreme Commander of the Faithful in war. He had no regular council of ministers. The wazir or diwan was the highest officer below the Emperor, and the other ministers were in no sense his colleagues but admittedly inferior to him. Many important questions were decided by the Emperor and the wazir alone without the knowledge of the other ministers. But none of the ministers, not even the wazir himself, could serve as a check on the royal will; their office depended entirely on his caprice. They, therefore, could not form a Cabinet in the modern sense of the term. Every Muslim sovereign is, in strict theory, the head of the Church and the State alike; he is the Khalifa of the age to his subjects.

The chief departments of the Mughal administration were:

1. The Exchequer and Revenue (under the Diwan or Chancellor).
2. The Imperial Household (under the Khan-i-saman or High Steward).
3. The Pay and Accounts office (under the Bakhshi or Paymaster).
4. Canon Law (under the Qazi of Qazis).
5. Religious endowments and charity (under the Sadr of Sadr).
6. Censorship of Public Morals (under the Muhtasib).

Inferior to these, but ranking almost like departments, were—

7. The Artillery (under the Mir Atish), and
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8. Intelligence and Posts (under the Darogha of Dakchauki).

The Imperial Diwan received all revenue papers and dispatches from the provinces and field armies, and decided all questions connected with the collection or assessment of the revenue. He also appointed and controlled the diwans of all the provinces. All orders of payment had to be signed by him. He wrote letters "by order" (hasb-ul-hukm) in his own person to communicate the Emperor's wishes, and often drafted royal letters to important persons and foreign rulers.

The salary bills of all officers—both civil and military (because both were alike mansabdars)—had to be calculated and passed by the Bakhshi, and in the case of a field army the payment also was made through his department. At the end of Aurangzib's reign, owing to the great expansion of the empire, there were one Chief Bakhshi (called the First Bakhshi) and three assistants, called the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Bakhshis. Each field army was placed under a general appointed for the occasion. Though at several periods we find officers invested with the title of sipah salar or 'chief of the army', it was only a title of honour and these officers did not really command the entire Mughal army. The Emperor alone was the commander-in-chief.

The Khan-i-saman or High Steward was the head of the Emperor's household department; he controlled all the personal servants of the Emperor, supervised his daily expenditure, meals, stores, &c., and accompanied him during his journeys. The State factories or karkhanahs were managed and paid by him.

The Emperor was theoretically the highest judge in the realm, and used to try cases personally every Wednesday. But the court held by him was a tribunal of the highest appeal rather than a court of first instance. The Qazi was the chief judge in all criminal suits under the Quranic law and the civil cases of the Muslims and tried them according
to Muslim law, assisted by a mufti, who stated the abstract law bearing on the case after consulting Arabic books on jurisprudence, while the Qazi pronounced the sentence.

The imperial Qazi, called the Qazi-ul-quzat, always accompanied the Emperor, and appointed and dismissed the local qazis of the cities and large villages in every province.

The Chief Sadr (called the Sadr-us-sadur) was judge and supervisor of the endowments of land made by the Emperor and the princes for the support of pious men, scholars and monks. It was his duty to see that such grants were applied to their proper purpose and also to scrutinise fresh applications for grants. He was also the Emperor's almoner and had the distribution of the charity fund of the State. The provincial sadrs were appointed and supervised by him.

It was the duty of the Muhtasib to regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the Quranic rules, and to enforce the Prophet's commands by putting down the drinking of distilled spirits, bhang and other liquid intoxicants, gambling and the practice of immorality as a profession or in public. The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy against the Prophet, and neglect of the five daily prayers or of the fast during the month of Ramzan, also lay within his province. The demolition of newly built temples was entrusted to him.

The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government. There were the governor (officially styled nazim and popularly subahdar), the diwan, bakhshi, qazi, sadr, buyutat (keeper of Government property and official trustee), and the muhtasib, but no Khan-i-saman. Each subahdar tried to play the Emperor within his own jurisdiction.

The provincial administration was concentrated in its chief town. At important centres or sub-divisions there were faujdars to maintain order, punish rebels and wrong-
doers, and assist in the collection of revenue when opposed. The villages were neglected and, either contemptuously or through insufficiency of official staff, left to live their own lives, often as small self-governing units or "village communities."

In the big cities the kotwal or prefect of police not only enforced law and order, but had also to discharge many functions of a modern municipality, control the markets (weights and prices), and maintain the Quranic rules of morality.

The Central Government kept itself informed of the occurrences in all parts of the country by means of spies and news-reporters, both public and secret. These agents formed four classes: 

\textit{wagai-navis, sawanih-nigar, khufianavis} (secret letter-writer), and \textit{harkarah} (spy and courier). They had to send reports at regular intervals. Every public office had an open reporter or diarist attached to it. All the reports reached the Emperor through the Postmaster-General (\textit{Darogha-i-Dakchauki}).

In spite of the repeated prohibitions of the Emperors, many local officials (and even subahdars) used to exact illegal cesses (called \textit{abwabs}) under an immense variety of heads and from all classes of artisans, traders, labourers, and people in general. A list of 67 such \textit{abwabs} is given with explanatory notes in my \textit{Mughal Administration}, ch. 5. A further source of oppression was the practice of some subahdars to seize the goods of merchants in transit, pay an inadequate price or no price at all for them, and then sell these goods in the open market for their own profit (what the English traders called "the forcing of goods") or appropriate the choice articles to their own use. Only a strong and vigilant Emperor could stop it.
Author's thanks

The history of Aurangzib which I began twenty years ago, is now complete. The task has been ceaselessly pursued in the midst of exacting professional duties and private cares that have only grown with age.

That it has been possible to use in this book all the known original sources is due solely to the generous rule of the India Office, London, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain for lending their MSS. to students outside,—the enlightened liberality of the Nawab of Rampur (U.P.) and the Jaipur State (Rajputana) in permitting me to take copies of their Persian documents,—the unfailing kindness of Sir Edward Gait, who secured for me a loan of the Assam Buranjis and access to the Jaipur archives,—and the constant help of many friends in India, notably Thakur Narendra Singh of Jobner (State Councilor) and the officers of the Mahakuma Khas of Jaipur, and Govind Sakharam Sardesai, the greatest living historian of Maharashtra.

For proof-reading from the 3rd volume onwards I have been indebted to the tireless industry and minute accuracy of Brojendra Nath Banerji, a very promising and devoted investigator of history at Calcutta.

Patna, 14th December, 1924.  
JADUNATH SARKAR