

Local Administrative Structure of the *Suba* of Kabul Under the Mughals

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Abstract

The paper gives a detail about the local administration of the suba Kabul at the sarkar level. It also gives a detail description about the administrative division of the suba of Kabul and the role of faujdar, his power and functions in this regard. Kabul from the time of its annexation by Akbar in 1585, remained a permanent part of Mughal India till the time it was taken over by the Persian invader Nadir Shah in 1739. Though it was quite distant from the imperial capital, but it was very significant for the Mughals. According to Abul Fazl Kabul along with Qanadahar served as two gates to Hindustan, therefore control over Kabul was very vital. Considering this the Mughal rulers had always given the charge of this Suba to their high ranking as well as capable nobles.

Keywords: Kabul, Sarkar, Tuman, Buluk, Faujdar

Kabul was an important part of Mughal India, for the Mughals control of Kabul *suba* was strategically important.¹ Even though Kabul was distant from the imperial control, the Mughal court exercised control over the rule structure.²

In 1504 the Kabul province was consisted of fourteen *tumans*. Babur reports that he shared his dominion with his brothers (Jahangir Mirza and Nasir Mirza), Andijanis or old servants and *Mehman-i-Beglar* or 'guest begs', Turkish tribe considered itself the guest of Uzbek Khans not as their subjects.³

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¹ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed., Agha Ahmad Ali and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind., 3 Vol., Calcutta 1878, pp. 335-337, 344-346; Father Monserrate, *Commentary on his Journey to the court of Akbar*, tr., J.S. Hoyland, Annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack, 1922, pp. 140-142; Father Rudolf Acquaviva, a Jesuit resident at Akbar's court, also viewed Mirza as ruling Kabul independently; During these years Mirza Hakim's mother, Mah Chuchak Begam (Humayun's thirty-one year old widow) emerged as the political force behind her minor son's throne.

³ Abul Fazl, *Ain-I Akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1867-77, I, p. 591; Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasdat-ut-Twarikh*, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, pp. 66-67.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 92; pp. 207, 227. Jahangir Mirza received Ghazni while Nasir Mirza got Ningnahar, Mandrawar, Nur valley, Kunar and Chighan Sarai; all these territories were included in the Lamghanat proper. Other *begs* were assigned villages as fief.

Babur allotted nothing at all from the Kabul *vilayat* to anyone else. He kept all the Kabul *vilayat* for himself including the fort and all land constituting the Kabul *tuman*.⁴

Kabul was a small country, its bare mountains, and narrow valleys around it could not support the large number of families of the tribes who had come with him from Samarqand, Hisar and Qunduz.⁵ Mirza Haydar Dughlat informs us that the impossibility of supporting an army on the limited resource of the Kabul strengthened Babur's decision of making raids upon the Indian provinces.⁶ Babur was succeeded by his son Humayun, who divided his father's territorial possession among his brothers. Kabul was under the jurisdiction of Mirza Kamran.⁷ After Humayun's defeat at the hands of Sher Shah, he was barred by his brother to enter Kabul. In 1545 Humayun with the support of Safavid army recovered Kabul from Kamran having earlier occupied Qandahar. Humayun with unwise generosity forgave the traitor, who again advanced on Kabul and reoccupied it. Finally in 1549 Humayun occupied Kabul from Kamran. On the death of Humayun in 1556, the two years old Mirza Hakim, the foster brother of Akbar received the possession of Kabul. Though Akbar had built a strong fort at Attock on his side of the Indus, he had allowed Hakim to rule independently in Kabul.⁸ The independent rule of Mirza Hakim came to an end with his death in 1585, Kabul became for all practical purposes a province of the Mughal empire, the seizure of Kabul marks a crucial milestone in Akbar's reign.⁹

With the incorporation of Kabul in the Mughal Empire, the Mughal ruler established a centralized bureaucratic administrative system in the *suba*. Imperial control over the *suba* was stringent, and even though Kabul was distant from the imperial control,¹⁰ the Mughal court exercised considerable control over the rule structure. The Mughals had successfully established a centralised administrative system, quite akin to the system in other parts of the imperial domain. The administrative structure was marked by a near-absolute control of the Mughal court in the management of the affairs in the *suba*. The centralised administrative structure was supported by the administrative division of the *suba*, into compact and manageable centres of local authority.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Cf. Gul badan Banu Begum, *Humayun Nama*, MS (Or. 166), ed. Annette S. Beveridge, reprinted, Delhi, 2006, p. 5, 49. Gulbadan Begam whose information is based on her father's autobiography also confirms this.

⁵ Babur, *Baburnama*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1921, I, p. 228.

⁶ Mirza Haydar Dughlat, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, ed. N. Elias, tr. E. Denison Ross, Patna, 1873, p. 201. Kabul scant resource could not support Khusrau Shahi "2000 men" who had joined Babur earlier.

⁷ Gulbadan Begam, p. 49. See tr. pp. 29, 33.

⁸ Monserrate, pp. 140-142. In 1581 he accompanied Akbar on his march to Kabul; Cf. Munis D. Faruqui, 'The Forgotten Prince: Mirza Hakim and the Formation of the Mughal Empire in India', in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol., xxxviii, 4/2005, pp. 487-523,

⁹ *Baburnama*, I, pp.195-196, 207, 230-232; Cf. Gul badan, p. 5, 49; Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i-Humayun -wa-Akbar*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1941, pp. 364-65; Abdul Qadir Badayuni, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, ed. Ali Ahmad and Lees, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1864-69, ii, pp. 291-295;

See also William Erskine, *History of India Under Babur*, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 215-16, 526-27.

¹⁰ Terry, *Early Travels in India (1616-19)*, ed. W. Foster, London, 1927, p. 291; Joannes De Laet, *The Empire of the great Mogul*, tr. J.S. Hoyland and annotated S.N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928, p. 5.

For the sake of administrative convenience, the *suba* of Kabul was subdivided into seven *sarkars*: Kashmir, Pakli, Bimbar, Swat, Bajaur, Qandahar and Zabulistan. Even though Kashmir was made a separate province during the reign of Jahangir, it was occasionally entrusted to the *subedar* of Kabul by the successive Mughal rulers. In such situations, the *subedar* of Kabul governed Kashmir through a deputy appointed by him with the approval of the emperor. In 1634, Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian commandant of the fort of Qandahar was made *subedar* of both Lahore and Kashmir and occupied these positions till 1640.¹¹

The *sarkars* of Kabul were further subdivided in several districts or *tumans*. Babur informs that at the beginning of sixteen century, these *tumans* were fourteen in number.¹² In 1595, according to Abul Fazl the number of these *tumans* increased to twenty.¹³

In Kabul, as was the case with Samarqand and Bukhara, a *tuman* was a political unit consisting of several town and villages.¹⁴ *Tuman* was a Mongol term for 10,000 fighting men, but during the late Timurid period it was used to refer to a subdivision of a *Vilayat*. It is interesting to note that in his description of the Kabul *suba*, for which he used the term *vilayat*,¹⁵ he equates Lamghanat on the east with Qunduz to the north. He seems to mean that Lamghanat, like Qunduz, was not included in the Kabul *vilayat*, but was situated on its boundary. Initially he identifies Lamghanat as a *vilayat* and not as a *tuman*.¹⁶ Similar was the case of Ghazni which he sometimes identifies as *vilayat* and sometimes as a *tuman*.¹⁷

It may be pointed out that the chroniclers of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have used the term *vilayat*, which certainly meant the largest administrative unit and no doubt a synonymous of the modern province. By the time of Lodis, the *vilayat*, *sarkar*, *iqtas* had taken a definite shape. When Sher Shah came

¹¹ Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, ed. Abdu-r Rahim and Ashraf Ali, Bib. Ind., II, p. 798.

¹² *Baburnama*, I, p. 207.

¹³ *Ain*, I, p. 592. While the number given by Abul Fazl is nineteen, in which he had not included the *tuman* of Kabul; *Khulasat-ut Twarikh*, p. 88, these *tumans* were thirty six in number; Raverty, p. 682. According to him, Kabul *suba* was divided into twenty two *muhallas* or *tumans*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, In Andijan and Kashghar the Turkic term *Orchin* was used, whereas in India districts were called *Pargana*.

¹⁵ Babur, *Baburnama*, Chaghtai Turki text: Hyderabad Codex, Facsimile ed. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1905, reprinted, 1971, f. 128 a, 144 b; tr. I, pp. 199-200, 204; Lamghanat, ff. 131 b, 133 b; pp. 207, 210; Farmal, f. 139 b; p. 220, 227.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200. He says on the east it has Lamghanat, Peshawar, Hashtnagar and some countries of Hindustan, while on page 207, for the sub-division of Kabul country, he explains Lamghanat has five *tumans* and two *buluks*. ff. 137 b-138 a; p. 217. Ghazni as a *vilayat* belonged to the third climate, as Kabul belonged to fourth climate. He also included it in the list of fourteen *tumans*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 217. Ghazni as a *vilayat* belonged to the third climate, as Kabul belonged to fourth climate. He also included it in the list of fourteen *tumans*.

to power he reorganized the administrative units with necessary modifications and changes. Indeed, he found the *sarkar* an ideal administrative unit so he designated many a *vilayat* as *sarkar*.¹⁸

Babur also uses the Turkic term *buluk* for the subdivision of Kabul, which was a territorial unit smaller than a *tuman*, but not a *tuman* necessarily in all cases.¹⁹

Babur informs that during the sixteenth century Bajaur, Swat and Peshawar were under independent Afghan chiefs, but earlier these were the dependencies of Kabul.²⁰

The Lamghanat (Laghman) had five *tumans* and two *buluks*. The largest of these was Ningnahar (Nagarhar). During Babur's time the headquarters of Ningnahar was at Adinapur, but during Akbar's time it was transferred to Jalalabad. Abul Fazl, who is clearly most reliable in matters connected with the geography and revenues, calls it Nek Nihal, adding that it contained nine rivers.²¹ According to Raverty, Ningnahar is the corruption of Nekanhar, *Nek* signifying in Persian "good" and also "many" and *anhar* is the plural of *nahar* "a stream or rivulet".²² It was in former times also called *Jui Shahi*. Bayazid Bayat informs us that Humayun in 1552 built a fort at *Jui-Shahi*, where later on another fort was constructed called Jalalabad after the name of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar.²³

Kama was the *buluk* of *tuman* Ningnahar. Alishang, Alingar and Mandrawar were the three main *tumans* of Lamghanat. Kunair with Nurgal was another *tuman*, which was situated on the border of Bajaur.²⁴ The two *buluks* of Lamghanat were Nur valley (*darra-i-Nur* or the valley of Light) and Chighan-Sarai. The *tuman* of Najrao was situated north-east of Kabul in the *Kohistan* (hill country).²⁵ Towards the east of Najrao was situated Alasai, which according to Babur, was placed between warm and cold belts. Babur identifies it as a *buluk* of Kabul while Abul Fazl describes it as *tuman*.²⁶ Similarly Badrao (Tag-au) inhabited by Kafirs, Afghans and the Hazaras was one of the *buluks* of Kabul, but was referred to as *tuman* by Abul Fazl.²⁷ Badrao, Nur Valley, Chighan-Sarai, Kama and Alasai were few of the *buluks* of Kabul.

¹⁸ For an excellent discussion on *vilayat* see Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Evolution of the Vilayat, the Shiq and the Sarkar in Northern India (1210-1255)*, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, ed. K. A. Nizami, Aligarh, 1963, V, pp. 10-35; I. H. Siddiqui, *Sher Shah Sur and His Dynasty*, Jaipur, 1995, pp.131-172. That is why the *vilayat* of Bengal, Malwa and Multan were well-organized into *sarkars* during the reign of Emperor Akbar.

¹⁹ *Baburnama*, I, p. 207. See footnote, the two *buluk* of Nur valley and Chighan Sarai were in Lamghanat *tuman*. Kama was the *buluk* of Ningnahar which was a *tuman* of Lamghanat proper; *Ain*, I, p. 592.

²⁰ *Baburnama*, I, p. 207.

²¹ *Ain*, I, p. 592.

²² Henry George Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan And Baluchistan*, 2 Vols., Pakistan, 1982, p. 51.

²³ Bayazid Bayat, p. 161.

²⁴ *Baburnama*, I, p. 211; *Ain*, I, p. 595.

²⁵ *Baburnama*, I, p. 213; *Ain*, I, p. 593.

²⁶ *Baburnama*, I, p. 220; *Ain*, I, p. 593.

²⁷ *Baburnama*, I, p. 221.

The *tuman* of Panjshir also called Panjhir was the northern most *tuman* of the Kabul *Suba*, lying at in immediate vicinity of Kafiristan. The *tuman* of Najrao to the north-east of Kabul adjoined Panjshir in the direction of north-west.²⁸ The two eastern most *tumans* were Hashtnagar and Porshor or Parshawar (later Bigram). Hashtnagar is mentioned by Babur,²⁹ but is not mentioned in *Ain-i-Akbari*. The *tuman* of Porshor is called Bigram by Akbar's time, but had also begun to be popularly called Peshawar. The route from Attock to the Khaibar Pass went through this city.³⁰

Tuman of Bangash was a mountainous district, which lay to the south-east of Kabul. This *tuman* was divided into two parts: the upper or *bala* and the lower or *pain* Bangash. This division led to the use of the name Bangashat for the entire territory.³¹ The upper Bangash included the territory of Kurram and the fertile Parachinar plain while the lower Bangash included the territory of Kohat. Babur identifies lower Bangash with the territory of Kohat. Lahori informs us that Kohat (to the west of Bangashat) served as the headquarters of the commandant (*thanedar*) of both upper and lower Bangash.³²

The *tuman* of Gardez was also called Zurmat and was situated few miles south of Kabul and to south-east of Ghazni. It consisted of eight 'mauzas' (villages or townships). Gardez was the seat of authority where the *darogha* or the superintendent of the *tuman* resided.³³ *Tuman* of Logar was situated a few miles to the south of the Kabul city. It was enclosed from all sides by the mountains of greater or less elevation. Though mountainous throughout, this *tuman* rendered grassy and excellent pastures on which account it was visited by *kuchis* or nomads of certain clans of Ghilzais.³⁴ Ghazni and Maidan were other *tumans* in this direction.

The *tuman* of Ghorband was to the north-west of Kabul. It had many villages but yielded little revenue.³⁵ Koh Daman extended towards north from Kabul to beyond Qarabagh. In its total revenue this *tuman* was only second to the city of Kabul. *Tuman* of Zuhak Bamian was famous for its fort. Lahori says that the fort of Zuhak was the headquarters of this *tuman*.³⁶ Naghz, Bannu and Farmal were the southern *tumans* of the Kabul *suba*.³⁷

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 214; *Akbarnama*, I, pp. 283-288; Lahori, II, p. 461.

²⁹ *Baburnama*, I, pp. 200, 410-411; *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 525-526. He spells Ashtnagar.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1971, f. 131b. Beveridge has not recorded this *tuman*; *Ain*, I, p. 592; *Akbarnama*, III, p. 599.

³¹ *Khulasatu-t-Twarikh*, p. 86. He writes it Nekshab which according to Irfan Habib is a misprint. Compare, *Atlas*, p. 3, Sheet, 1 A-B.

³² *Baburnama*, I, p. 382; Lahori, II, pp. 158, 486.

³³ *Ain*, I, p. 593; Raverty, pp. 685-686.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Baburnama*, I, p. 214; *Ain*, I, p. 594.

³⁶ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Bib., Ind., Calcutta, 1866-72, I, pp. 260-261.

³⁷ *Baburnama*, I, pp. 206, 233; *Ain*, I, p. 590.

The chief district officer of *tuman* was called *Irman*. The *Irman* had to pay a fixed amount of revenue to the treasury of Kabul.³⁸

To conclude, one of the essential features of Mughal administrative system in Kabul was the division of the *suba* into smaller administrative-cum-territorial units, called *tuman*. Each *tuman* was administratively controlled by a petty official, called *Irman*. In addition, Kabul was also divided into *buluk*. While the relationship between *tuman* and *buluk* is not clear from the sources *buluk* was a smaller territorial unit than the *tuman*. Mughal centralism was crucially dependent on the administrative division of the *suba* into smaller territorial units.

At the local level, administrative responsibility was shared by various officials amongst them following officials: *faujdar*, *thanedar*, *qiledar* are very important.³⁹ In this paper an attempt has been made to investigate the power and functions of a *faujdar* in the *suba* of Kabul during the Mughal times.

Faujdar:

The *sarkar* was under the charge of a *faujdar*.⁴⁰ Within the Kabul *suba* there were seven *sarkars* viz. Kashmir, Pakli, Bimbar, Swat, Bajaur, Qandahar and Zabulistan. The *faujdar*s in the *suba* Kabul had many difficult tasks to perform. Since Kabul was a frontier province of Mughal empire, the *faujdar* here had to keep watch over the frontiers and suppress the turbulent tribes settled in and around the area under his jurisdiction. He had to control rebellious chiefs as well as aggression from beyond.

From 1585 onwards Akbar found himself involved in prolonged tribal war involving the Yusufzai and the Mandar tribes as well as the Raushanai movement in the north-west. Therefore, in order to quell these disturbances, he appointed his most able officers as the *faujdar* of this region. In 1586 the *faujdar* of Bigram (Peshawar) Sayyid Hamid was killed by the Raushanais (Tarikis).⁴¹ Mutlab Khan was sent to the Bangash area. In 1611 Muiz-ul Mulk the *faujdar* of Kabul boldly resisted and killed many of the followers of Tarikis in the absence of the *subedar* Khan Dauran.⁴² The latter was assigned the whole of the *sarkars* of Kabul, Tirah, Bangash, Swat and Bajaur with the task of suppressing the rebellious Afghans those regions.⁴³ In 1617 Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal was made *faujdar* of Bangash. A year after the death of Jahangir Said Khan was the *faujdar* of Bangash who saved and ransomed Buzurg Khanum wife of Muzaffar Khan the *subedar* of Kabul.⁴⁴ During the reign of Shahjahan, Saadullah Khan, the Wazir,

³⁸ *Kaifiyat-i-Subajat-i-mumalik-i-mahrusah-i-Hindustan*, B. M. Or. 1779, f. 232 a. cited in Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Patna, 1994, p. 237.

³⁹ Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat Supplement*, ed. Nawan Ali, Baroda, 1927-28, pp.169-185.

⁴⁰ *Dastur-ul Amal*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 2026, f. 34 a.

⁴¹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, pp. 368-371; *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 509, 513-14. They called themselves the Raushanai but the Mughal chroniclers bitterly referred to them as the Tarikis. (See chapter 6 for their tussle with the Mughals. Abul Fazl gives a detailed account of this movement and the Mughal operation against them.

⁴² *Masir-ul Umara*, II, pp. 642-645; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 325-26. In 1607-08 Shah Beg entitled Khan Dauran was made the *subedar* of Kabul.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 96-97.

⁴⁴ Lahori, I, p. 125, 213; II, pp. 190-191.

introduced some changes in the local administration. He created the administrative unit of the *chakla* which comprised a few *parganas* and each *chakla* was placed under a *faujdar*.⁴⁵ While this was not implemented in all the *subas* of the Mughal Empire, with same uniformity, the effort signified the pre-eminent position of the *faujdar* in local administration. In 1638-9, Raja Jagat Singh was *faujdar* of Bangash.⁴⁶ Khushhal Beg Qaqshal and Ishaq Beg were the *faujdar* of Bangash in 1650. Sher Khan Tarin was the *faujdar* of Ghazni.⁴⁷

According to the *Ain* the *faujdar* was the most important officer among the lower rung of administration. Though he was subordinate to the provincial governor, he could have direct communication with the imperial government.⁴⁸ He was appointed through the *farman-i-sabati*, by orders of the imperial court, in just the same way other high appointments were made.⁴⁹

Abul Fazl states that the *faujdar* had to look after three branches of administration—revenue, police, and army.⁵⁰ On the revenue side his part was only indirect and he was only expected to assist the *amalguzars* (revenue collectors) in the realization of revenue from the peasants.

As the very word, '*faujdar*' indicates, he was first and foremost a military commander. Manucci uses the term 'lord of army' for him.⁵¹ He regularly inspected the local militia and kept it well-equipped. The *faujdar* was entrusted with the task of suppressing refractory elements and policing the *sarkar*. He had to control the armed force of the *sarkar* and guard the frontiers.⁵² The *faujdar* supervised the roads for the safety of the merchants and travellers passing through his *sarkar*. He was held responsible for all thefts and dacoities committed in the area under his jurisdiction.⁵³ He provided safety to the *banjaras* (grain-carrier) and other merchants, carrying commodities from one place to another. The *faujdar* was held accountable for any robbery or incident of theft that occurred in his domain. There are instances when they were transferred or dismissed if they failed to nab the culprit.⁵⁴ The *faujdar* realized tribute from the

⁴⁵ *Khulasat-us Siyaq*, Aligarh Muslim University, MS. ff. 25 b, 26 a-b.

⁴⁶ Lahori, II, p. 144.

⁴⁷ Waris, pp. 100 b, 120 a.

⁴⁸ *Ain*, I, p. 282. *Ain* gives a sort of instruction given to every *faujdar* by the government at the time of their appointments; also see *Mirat*, I, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁹ Munshi Nand Ram Kayasth Srivastava, *Siyaqnama*, Litho, Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1879, p.67; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 594.

⁵⁰ *Ain*, I, p. 282. The function and duties ascribed to him indicate that he combined in himself the office of an executive officer and that of a military commander.

⁵¹ Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India: 1656-1712*, tr. W. Irvine, Indian Text Series-1, Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1966, II, pp. 450-51.

⁵² *Mirat*, I, pp. 257-258.

⁵³ *Siyaqnama*, 67; Finch (1608-11), *Early travels in India: (1583-1619)*, p. 157; Thevenot, p. 50.

⁵⁴ Manucci, II, p.450. When merchants or travellers were robbed in day light, they were obliged to pay compensation.

tribal chiefs, who had acknowledged imperial suzerainty.⁵⁵ The *faujdar*s posted at the borders were sometimes appointed to defend the forts and military stations which were constructed on the borders.⁵⁶

In 1667 Kamil Khan was the *faujdar* of Attock who fought bravely against the rebellious Yusufzais.⁵⁷ During the time of Aurangzeb it was observed that there was no coordination between the *faujdar* and the *diwan*, they quarrelled with each other. Aurangzeb took decision to assign these two posts to one person.⁵⁸ In 1738 Baqi Khan was the *faujdar* of Ghazni when Nadir Shah attacked Kabul.

The *faujdar* supervised the work of petty officials involved in revenue collection, such as, *amin*, *amil*, *karori*, *qanungo* and *chaudhary*. He also looked after the functioning of the petty officials, dealing with executive matters, in particular, *kotwal*, *thanedar*, *waqianavis*, *swanihnavis* and *harkaras*.⁵⁹

He kept in touch with the local news-reporter and secret agents like *sawanihnavis* and *khufianavis*, and informed them about the activities to be reported to the imperial court. Sometimes these *faujdar*s undertook excessive act of oppression and bribed the *waqianavis* and the *Khufianavis* so that news of their oppression might never reach the imperial court.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Saran, p. 288.

⁵⁶ *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 491, 492, 517-18; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, 160-170, 123-129.

⁵⁷ *Alamgirnama*, pp. 1042-44.

⁵⁸ *Kalimat-i-Taiyibat*, f. 3 b, p. 27

⁵⁹ *Nigarnama-i-Munshi*, ff. 122-123 b, 133 a-b, 260 a-b.

⁶⁰ Manucci, II, pp. 450-51