



The Institutions of Intelligence and Information under Mughals (1526-1707 AD)

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Abstract: This study has been taken to investigate the functioning of the institution of intelligence and information during the Mughal period in India from 1526-1707 AD. In this paper the main focus is on the working of this institution under Mughals which was carried out through different agencies both at central and provincial levels. Besides this, the officials of intelligence and information departments became the source of Mughal emperor's knowledge of existing situation in the empire. The Mughals who established this institution not only controlled the information and news but also keep vigil on rebellious activities and maintain internal security and law and order through this institution and make their presence visible through this institution in every part of their empire. Through this institution Mughals became successful in receiving regular flow of news and information of every part of the Mughal Empire and due to this information network, Mughals maintained extensive authority over the whole Empire.

Key words: Barids, Waqiya Nawis, Khufia Nawis, Harkara, Mewra, Dak Chowki, Khabar, Farman.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Mughals believed in both expansion and consolidation of their empire. The Mughal emperor Akbar therefore gave emphasis on the reorganization of administrative institutions. Abul Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbari*-vol.1) has divided institutions theme wise. Consequently Mughal emperors for the functioning of the institutions and consolidation of the Mughal Empire reorganized the institutions of intelligence and information.

The institutions of intelligence and information were not new one for the Mughals. It was in a regular work during the Sultanate period. The Sultans also maintained a regular army of spies called as 'Barids' and postal service for the regular flow of news and regular orders. Ibn Battuta has given a detailed account about the *barid* and the postal system during the Sultanate period. He has mentioned that the postal service was of two kinds. The first one was horse post and the other one was foot post. The horse post which was called 'Ulaq', consists of horses belonging to Sultan and was stationed at the intervals of four miles. The foot post which was called 'Dawa' had three stations per mile. The system of dispatch of news was carried through the officials appointed who used to stay in pavilions near by the inhabited villages. These officials appointed for the postal services were always ready to move off with the news, information or any royal order. The men had a rod of two cubits long with copper bells at the top. These men or foot runners when left the pavilion took the letters in one hand and the rod with bells on the other hand and runs with all his might. The other foot runners when hear the sound of bells, waiting in the pavilion get ready to take the letter and passed on and so they continued until the letter reached the destination. This post system was faster than the horse post.

The reports dispatched by the intelligence officials to the Sultans were written with the utmost truthfulness and description regarding every event. The intelligence officials called *barid* informs Sultans about everything, for instance, who arrived in the Sultanate, his description regarding appearance and dress. The *barids* informs Sultans about every detail about the *Parganas* and towns, peoples, slaves, servants and beasts, their behavior and also the working of day today administration throughout the Sultanate.¹ The Sultans through the working of intelligence officials called *barids*, remained vigilant about their administrative officers and administrative structure which led them to rule over long period of time up to the invasion of Mughal emperor Babur in 1526 A.D. with the establishment of Mughal empire in India Babur also establish an information and postal system to carry out the reports of the Empire and remained under working under his successors with

certain modifications. The details regarding Mughals officials of intelligence and postal system working under *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki* is discussed below under different headings.

CHIEF INFORMATION AGENCIES -The institution of intelligence and information under the Mughals was carried out through different agencies both at central and provincial levels. The chief agencies were:

I. Officials of Information Bureau.

1. **The Waqai Nawis.**
2. **The Swanih Nawis.**
3. **The Khufia Nawis.**
4. **The Harkaras.**
5. **The Spies (Jasus or Munihyan).**

II. The Mewras (runners) and Local Messengers.

III. The Dak Chaukis and Postal System.

I. The Officials of Information Bureau:

The Mughals appointed different officials both at central and provincial levels to send and receive information between centre and the provinces. The officials appointed for this task were as under.

1. **The Waqai Nawis:** The institution of *Waqai nawis* was introduced during the reign of Akbar. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Akbar had appointed fourteen *waqai nawis*, two of whom would work daily in rotation, to record in their diaries whatever the emperor said or did and whatever was brought to his notice by the heads of their departments. They also recorded the daily routine of the emperor, appointments to *mansabs*, inspection of contingents of troops, grants of rent free lands, holding of general and private assemblies, the increase and decrease of taxes, contracts, sales, money transfers, *peshkash*, the arrival and departure of courtiers, details of battles, victories and peace, the harvest of the year the much more.² Under Jahangir, the office of *waqai nawis* also worked very efficiently. He has mentioned in his work (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*), that the events of the *Suba* should be reported up to the boundaries by the *waqai nawis*. He further mentioned that the rules of writing down the details or *waqia* was introduced by his father (Akbar) and he observed that this institution of *waqai nawis* brought a great advantage to the Mughal empire and through this institution, regular information was acquired about the whole empire and its inhabitants and was also written down by the *waqai nawis*.³ According to Thevenot, the great Mughals entertained great officers and one of them was *waqai nawis*, who writes and keeps a register of all that happened within the extant of the country wherever he would be. He also mentioned that Mughal emperor appointed him in every province to inform and give emperor a notice of everything and he never remained dependent on any minister but only to the Mughal emperor.⁴ Even Michael H. Fisher has mentioned in his paper, "*The office of Akhbar Nawis: the Transition from Mughal to British forms*", that information flowed constantly from the provinces to the Mughal imperial centre. He has mentioned that Akbar had established the original model and the *waqai nawis* was initially appointed, who was stationed with each important official or military officer of the empire, thus providing the emperor with service information independent of the official reports made by them.⁵

The details about the *waqai nawis* mentioned in the "*documents related to the Pargana Administration under Asaf Jah-I*", made a mention of *waqia nigar* that he was also an important functionary working in *Pargana* or *mahals* in the Deccan under Asaf Jah-I. His primary function was to record in his *waqai* (diary) all the facts concerning assessment and collection, cases of disputes and conflicts and conflicts among the inhabitants, proceedings and occurrences of every kind. He was required to dispatch abundant reports, together with his comments and explanatory notes to the government head quarters.⁶

Among the set of news reporters, the *waqai nawis* seem to be more numerous. The office of the provincial *Bakshi* and the *waqai nawis* were combined. According to *Mirat-i-Ahmadi (supp.)*, the chief *bakshi* and his four assistants discharge the duty of reports. Their personal rank was 500 *Zat* and 50 *Sawar*. Reporters were sometimes appointed separately, but in some *Parganas*, the *bakshi's* assistants discharge the duties and *bakshi* makes the summary of reports and encloses it with the reports for the emperor.⁷ During the period of Jahangir, Muhammad Husain Jabiri was appointed *bakshi* and news writer of the *suba* of Orissa.⁸ Similarly Jahangir himself also promoted Ibrahim Husain to the post of *bakshi* and Mirak Husain to that of news writer in the Deccan.⁹ The posts of *bakshi* and news writer were separated, but sometimes the responsibility of writing the reports were conferred on the same person. During the Jahangir's reign, there was a disagreement that had occurred between Lashkar Khan and Khan-i- Duran. So Jahangir appointed Abid Khan¹⁰ for both the posts of *bakshi* and news writer.¹¹

The primary duty of *waqia nawis* was to write the reports fully and send them weekly. During the reign of Aurangzeb, a *dastak* (permit) was issued to Mir Azizuddin for his appointment as a *Waqai Nawis* of Islam Garh on the recommendation of *Umdatul Mulk* Wazir Khan and he was instructed to perform his duty regularly and send the weekly reports to the imperial court.¹² The *Waqai Nawis* was to avoid writing complaints of the

people out of enmity and recommendations for concessions. He was also to write reports in such a manner that, if investigation is made, it should be proved and confirmed, as it would add to his credit.¹³ According to Satish Chandra, the *Mir Bakshi* of the Mughal Empire enjoyed all the powers of *Diwan-i-Arz*, but he was also the head of intelligence department and all the news reports sent by *waqai nawis* from different provinces were put by him before the emperor.¹⁴

The appointment of *waqai nawis* was made by the order of the emperor through a royal *sanad* which sometimes bore the signature of the *wazir*. Transfers of *waqai nawis* were also frequently made. The *waqai nawis* had the services of number of assistants and clerks at his disposal. They assisted him in the discharge of his duties in the *Pargana*, the *kacheri* of *Nazim*, *Diwan*, *Faujdar*, the court of judicature and the office of the *Kotwal* by writing daily reports which were submitted by him. He made a summary of their reports and transmitted them to the emperor through the superintendent of posts (*Darog-i-Dakchauki*) of the *Suba*. The assistants of the *waqai nawis* were paid 14 ½ rupees, as their salary per month. Since the beginning of the Shahjahan reign, the *waqai* were recorded according to the lunar calendar. The *waqai nawis* were appointed to the *Subas*, *Chaklas*, *Sarkars*, *Parganas*, ports, armies, forts, courts of princes, mansions of nobles and important officers and the *kachery* of the *diwan*. The *waqai nawis* also accompanied the ambassadors appointed by the Mughal emperors for the foreign lands.¹⁵

The *waqai nawis* was not merely a news reporter but also an official exercising some measures of administrative control and initiative is borne out by the fact that he was enjoined to promote agriculture and trade and to enforce the prohibition of illegal cesses. The institution of *waqai nawis* seems to have served the purpose of transmitting the news to the emperor in a number of cases.¹⁶ Michael H. Fisher has mentioned that in defining information and institutions to control it, the Mughals drew upon extant forms but reformulated them according to their own cultural and political values. He further mentioned that emperor created the model of elaborate system of court diarist i.e *waqai nawis*, or occurrence writer, to preserve accurately the official acts and the words of the emperor and the news of his reign. The model of Akbar's imperial court diary, '*Siyah-i-Huzur*' i.e account of the presence, would be thoroughly followed by *Akhbar nawis* working for regional rulers and the English East India Company until the end of the Mughal dynasty itself. The salient features of the court diary, like that of the Mughal culture was the centrality of the emperor.¹⁷

According to Muhammad Zameeruddin Saddiqi, the *waqai nawis* was directed to supply information in respect of the revenue and financial matters like state of agriculture, assessment, realization and arrears of revenue, presentation of gifts and *peshkash*, accounts of the daily collection of money at the cashier's office, remittances of money to the imperial treasury, taxes and prohibited cesses, accounts of income and expenditure, schedules of market rates of gold and silver and other commodities and exchange of coins current in the Deccan. The *waqai nawis* also contained the details of the proceedings of the court in civil, criminal and revenue cases, execution of the deeds of the contract, surety and indemnity bonds, assignments of *jagirs* to the *mansabdars*, their promotions, demotions, transfers, dismissal and reinstatements, dispatch of confidential letters, a correct estimate of horses and the arms, purchases of the elephants and their description, growth of trade and industry. The *waqai nawis* also preserve the descriptive accounts of the embassies, the piracy of the *dutch* and the *danes*, battle scenes, wars and victories, the eclipses, earthquakes, the falling of meteors and such other things of diversified nature.¹⁸

The *waqai nawis* maintained trusted agents in different parts of the *Suba* and *Parganas*, who regularly sent him reports. Sometimes, *waqai nawis* might send false and useless reports to the emperor. During the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan, the suspension of communication and the dispatch of the reports of the *waqai nawis* to Bengal, Ahmadabad and the Deccan by Dara Shukoh created a rumor about the Shahajahan's failing health and aroused a suspicion and apprehensions in the minds of the princes. The cases of misrepresentation of facts and making of false reports on the part of *waqais nawis* and his entering into collusion with the *Subedar* reduced the dignity and dependency on the institution of *waqai nawis*. Aurangzeb also complained about the inefficiency of the *waqai nawis* on numerous occasions.¹⁹

In order to counter the false, corrupted and fictitious reports of the institution of the *waqai nawis*, institution of *swanith nawis* was established (i.e the reporter of secret service)²⁰ which we will discuss in the next heading.

2. **Swanith Nigar:** The institution of *swanith nigar* seems to have been established during the reign of Shahjahan. It was to counteract the baneful effect of the false and fictitious reports of the *waqai nawis* who sometimes ignored minimized or exaggerated facts. The *swanith nigar* was a secret agent who did not disclose his identity and reports confidentially to the emperor.²¹ The *swanith nigar* were appointed for the provinces and other *Parganas* throughout the kingdom and was empowered to keep 20 horsemen for the additional duties of the superintendent of posts (*Darog-i-Dakchauki*). As they were secretly engaged in provinces to submit their own reports, they had also to work as postal superintendent and therefore they send their reports openly, enclosing letters, applications of *Nazims* and the *diwans*, treasury account sheets by the postman, who carry the mail bags

from one station to the rest and were opened in the superiors presence by the *Daroga* of the posts. In the *Parganas* and subordinate courts, the *swanah nigar* (or the reporter of secret service) appoint their own agents who deliver to the *Nazims* and the revenue officials, the *farmans* and orders issued from the *khalisa* office for the confiscation of the *jagirs* of the dead or of dismissed or rebelled *jagirdars*.²² According to J. N. Sarkar (*Mughal Administration*), who has quoted from the work *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* that the *swanah Nigar* was charged to send his reports of whole *Suba* eight times in a month.²³ While *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supp.) mentioned that they had to send their reports every week.²⁴

The *swanah nigar* who were also sometimes called as *khufia nawis*, were appointed to reside secretly in the *Subas* and reports about the sedition and the rebellion. It was during the period when Shivaji raised the standard of rebellion and seditious activities in different parts of Deccan, the reports reach the ears of Aurangzeb through the news reporter *Swanah Nigar*. In the reports, the *swanah nigar* mentioned the whole details about the activities of Shivaji that he had looted the big cities of Deccan, established his own posts (*Thanas*) and brought the region under his own control. The reporter further mentioned that the peoples of these regions were fed up with the ruinous, destructive and devastating activities and not a single *Zamindar* of the region possessed the courage to oppose him and therefore they tendered their submission to Shivaji and accepted his over lordship.²⁵ These reports were sent by the *swanah nigars* very secretly, so that action could be taken by the emperor timely. Sometimes, the reports of the *swanah nigar* were also founded corrupt and insufficient and due to the long period of the institution, there were seen some faults in the reports of *swanah nigar*.²⁶ Without uprooting the working of the institution of *swanah nigar*, another secret reporter was also established side by side to provide secret reports to the emperor about the respective areas where they were employed and this secret news reporter was called as *Khufis Nawis*.

3. **Khufia Nawis:** The office of *Khufia Nawis* was not different from *swanah nigar*, who was also a secret reporter, but it was just a change of nomenclature during the reign of Aurangzeb. The term *swanah nigar* had become obsolete and also had been exposed before the public as secret reporter. So, it became necessary for Aurangzeb to change its nomenclature. The institution of *khufia nawis* was well established by Aurangzeb and was regarded as most confidential agent. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has quoted '*Alamgir-nama*' that *khufia nawis* reported secretly on events without any communication with the local authorities, who often did not know about him or his name. The *khufia nawis* performed his duties out of the contact with the people and people remained mortal dread of these secret intelligencers and their office. He was also maintained in some of the feudatory states to keep emperor informed about feudatory rulers.²⁷ J. N. Sarkar has categorized *khufia nawis* as another news reporter. But he also mentioned that *swanah nawis* was also called as *khufia nawis*, who were appointed to reside secretly in the *Subas* and report news.²⁸ The purpose of both *swanah nigar* and *khufia nawis* was same but the term *khufia nawis* was continuously being used from the reign of Aurangzeb as secret reporter. Nicollao Manucci has continuously mentioned in his work about the *khufia nawis* as the secret reporter of the empire.²⁹ He was under the obligations to send words to the court of all that had happened in their respective areas. Manucci also mentioned that Aurangzeb sent *khufia nawis* with the embassies. He had sent Tarbiat khan, an *Uzbek* as a secret reporter with the ambassador to the court of Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia, to report the whole matter about him.³⁰

The reports of *khufia nawis* were presented before the emperor directly and these news reports were commonly read in the emperor's presence by the women of the *mahal* (palace) at about nine o' clock in the evening, so that he would know what is going or happening in the whole empire.³¹ During the time of Aurangzeb, the office of secret reporters sometimes became suspicious of not providing a clear picture of the happenings. Even the secret reporters were sometimes bribed by the *Pargana* or *Suba* officials to control the secret information, so that it would not reached the emperor. Manucci has mentioned that during the reign of Aurangzeb, the *faujdar*s and other Mughal officers committed excessive acts of oppression upon the common people especially by the young officers. These officials in their eagerness to become rich plundered the common people and did unlawful acts. Due to the action of these officials, it became pertinent for the official reporters to send secret reports and information to the emperors. But these tyrant and cunning officials bribed the officials and secret reporters for not writing and sending any news to the emperor.³² Due to these acts, the office of *khufia Nawis* or secret reporters became less effective up to the end of Mughal period. The office of the secret reporters did not declined but remained working and sending information besides the *Harkaras*, who were also underground secret reporters of Mughals posted in provinces side by side to the *khufia nawis* for reporting the information to the emperor directly.

4. **Harkaras:** The *Harkaras* were also called as secret class of reporters literally meaning courier of news or called as men of all work. These *harkaras* were appointed throughout the empire from the office of chief superintendent of the *harkaras* called as '*Darog-i-Harkara-i-Kul*'.³³ They were regarded as the messengers of

confidential messages both verbal and written.³⁴ *Harkaras* as the reporters of the secret service were stationed at the court of *Nazim* and acquired information through their agents and report to the *Nazim*. The *harkaras* also prepared a list of papers and sent it with mail bag to the emperor.³⁵ The *harkaras* submit their reports normally once in a week. His reports were considered most trustworthy of all the news reporters. He was asked to write the truth and not the rumors and also to keep in his mind that he should not write false reports, which would lead to the disgrace of the nobles and other officials. If the information of *harkaras* were not proved they had to lose their life.³⁶ This kind of punishment was meant for *harkaras* because the stability of the empire was also dependent on his information of the provinces. The *harkaras* never take such a risk of life and that is why we have find out in the sources that *harkaras* were most reliable informer directly linked to the Mughal emperors. Their honesty and duties were also appreciated by the Mughals and for their services they also got promotions.³⁷ Even the *harkaras* brought news himself to the emperor about the critical or any rebellious persons, the *harkaras* were rewarded personally by the emperor. When the news of the wretched Sambha was communicated to the Aurangzeb through the petition (*Arz-Dasht*) of the prince Muhammad Azam Shah, the next day, Khandoji, the *harkara* of the Ikhlas Khan presenting himself before the emperor, also submitted a detailed account of the whole incident. Therefore the person who had brought the petition (*arz-dasht* of Prince Azam) and Khandoji *Harkara* (of Ikhlas Khan) were given rewards beyond their expectations.³⁸ This statement here made us clear that news were brought to the emperor through different sources or secret reporters, so that action could be taken timely.

The *harkaras* remained every time alert and ready to dispatch news and information about the condition. As during the conquest of the fort of Bijapur, the *harkaras* submitted to the emperor every detail about the situation.³⁹ The *harkaras* also brought regular information about the rebels from every part of the empire. The *Daroga-i-Harkara*, Muhammad Ali, reported to the Hayat Khan, the *Daroga-i-Ghusal Khana*, that he had sent *harkaras* in the territory of the rebel Sambha to bring news from different corners. He further reported that the *harkaras* had seen the men of Alam Bhadur in the land of rebel Sambha. It was also heard from the news that the rebels had been instigated by the prince to create trouble and disturbance by sending his own troops and he entered into conflict with the imperial army.⁴⁰ The regular news brought by *harkaras* was taken into confidence immediately, so that action could be taken against the rebels. Sometimes *harkaras* were sent to bring news about the rebel groups, their plans and the areas where they were grouped. As during the reign of Aurangzeb, the suppression of Durgadas⁴¹ and other Rathors was the highest concern of the emperor. There Aurangzeb issued orders to the chief *Daroga* i.e *Daroga-i-Harkara* to send *harkaras* as spies to bring the news of the where about of the rebellious group and it was reported by the *harkaras* to the emperor that the Rathors had gathered in the pass adjacent to the *mauza* (village) Daulai, which was situated in the territory of Rana Raj Singh, close to the *ghati* (pass) of Deve Suri.⁴² Such information was very much important for the Mughal emperors to crush the activities of rebels before their onslaught on the imperial forces or they might get the upper hand.

The reports made by all these groups of officials i.e *waqai nawis*, *swanah nawis*, *khufia nawis* and the *harkaras* were sent to *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki*, who submitted them to the *wazir* for presentation to the emperor.⁴³ These officials were collectively called *Akhbar Nawis*,⁴⁴ which were employed for transmitting news of all sorts of occurrences within the country. According to Michael H. Fisher, the etymology of *Akhbar Nawis* indicates some meaning lying behind its first use in the Mughal Empire. The term '*Akhbar*' has its Arabic root '*Khabar*', i.e to know. He has further made a classification that the term *khabar*, as taken from Arabic into Persian and then Urdu in India came to denote variously i.e news, information, advices, intelligence, notification, announcement, report, rumors, fame, story, account. *Akhbar* (the Arabic broken plural form of *khabar*, taken as a singular or plural noun into Persian and Urdu came to mean histories, tales, annals, gazettes, news, relations, advices, chronicles, traditions, a newspaper. Michael H. Fisher further argued that the dozens of scholarly Arabic, Persian and Urdu histories of individuals, dynasties, politics or even the world, have used *akhbar* in the title to describe their approach. He mentioned that the other part of the title, i.e '*nawis*' or '*nigar*' means writer. Thus *Akhbar Nawis* means a writer or reporter of the news and information.⁴⁵

There is also a reference given by Michael H. Fisher regarding the court *Akhbarat* from the Akbar's period onwards. He has mentioned two types of *akhbar nawis*, one who recorded the formal acts of the ruler and court and the other type of *akhbar nawis* reported uncensored whatever information they felt would be interesting to their masters. In the reports of the former, there was no explicit intrusion of the voice of the *akhbar nawis* in the account. Because many of the functions or ceremonies of the court were repeated virtually every day and the *akhbarat* tended to be very repetitive and prescribed, while the reports of the later provide important and diverse prospective on the imperial court. The *akhbar nawis* seemed to have worked exclusively for a single imperial official. Sometimes they were employed by a merchant or a large land holder, who wished

to learn about events at court. Some of the *akhbar nawis* sold their written records to the scribes while others circulated them among the Mughal officers and soldiers.⁴⁶

5. The Spies (*Jasus or Munihyan*):

The *Jasus* (spies) were also intelligence officials, who reported confidentially. Besides, the above three mentioned officers or secret reporters, the *Jasus* or *Munihyan* were regarded as underground news reporters. As we have already mentioned in this chapter about *barids* as spies during sultanate period, there were also another reporter called as '*munhis*' (literally a person who informs concerning things forbidden) during Allauddin Khilji's reign.⁴⁷ Allauddin remained well informed about the state through this intelligence system. Therefore the *munhiyan* of the Mughal period had its beginning from the sultanate period onwards and it was not new one for the Mughals.

According to Nicollao Manucci, the policy of the Mughals was so fine and so delicate as to surpass that of all their predecessor and they had peculiarly work hard to maintain himself on the throne up to the time against the wish and will of several persons.⁴⁸ In order to keep check on the day to day working of the administration, they kept spies regularly to report about the officers of the administration and the princes posted as governors in the provinces. Therefore the best means that the Mughal emperors possessed for the good regulation of their empire was through the trusty spies. These spies reported what was going in the realm and chiefly amongst the officials. Nicollao Manucci has mentioned that Mughal Empire was behind none other in having a kind of person from whom they learnt all that happened throughout the empire. He further mentioned that during the reign of Aurangzeb, a trusty spies were appointed to report the activities of the officials. He mentioned that Aurangzeb had such good spies that they even know men's very thoughts. Everything that happened in the empire had not been left by spies without being informed. This statement shows that the spies were very trustful and vigilant in their duties.⁴⁹

The Mughal emperors were also informed by the spies about the movement of the imperial armies and rebellious activities. During the reign of Aurangzeb, petitions were sent by the *munihyan* that Zulfiqar Khan was in a trouble at the siege of Jiuji Fort. In this situation, Aurangzeb ordered to write a *farman* to Jandetul to provide every help to Zulfikar Khan.⁵⁰ Under these critical circumstances, information was regularly dispatched to the Mughal emperors, so as to overcome the situation immediately. During the time of Babur, spies were regularly employed to bring news of the opponents. Babur has mentioned in his work "*Tuzuk-i-Baburi*", that Nizamud-din Sultan Muhammad *Bakshi* after posting the *Gazis* of Islam, dispatched *Tawachi* (adjutants) and *Yasawals* (messengers) in various directions to convey imperative orders concerning the marshalling of troops to the great *Sultans* and *Amirs*.⁵¹ News was also brought by sending *Qazaq Yigiltar* (scouting braves) ahead to get news of the opponents. The spies were also sent in large numbers in order to get news from every side. As Babur during the march of Kannauj, news were brought by the messengers that on seeing the large number of spies the rebels fled away, so that they could not be traced.⁵² Babur remained vigilant through the news informers and spies, who informed him regularly. Babur had mentioned about the Hindustani *piyada* (footman), who brought reports regularly to him from Kabul and Khurasan and also about their sons who were far away from him.⁵³

Even during the period of Shershah, news was brought by the spies very quickly. Shershah for the enforcement of regulations which he had published for the protection of the people sent trusted spies with every force of his nobles and acquire details secretly of every circumstance related to the nobles, their soldiers and the people. These spies informed the Shershah about the disorder and deficiency, which he would found its way into the court of justice and would be corrected.⁵⁴ It was through the underground espionage system and the regular reports of the provincial news writers that reached the court by the '*Dak-Chauki*', Shershah kept his fingers on the pulse of Bengal, wherever he happened to be.⁵⁵

Akbar was very much concerned about the information and intelligence of his whole empire. He established the institution of news writers in every province, in which a person of intelligence and obedient would be employed. He further mentioned that if a person like honest, provident and truthful are not obtained, he ordered that in every affair spies were to be employed who would be unknown to each other and received their reports to ascertain the truth.⁵⁶ About the intelligence and espionage, S. M. Jaffar in his work (*Some Cultural aspects of Muslim rule in India*) has mentioned that espionage has no doubt a bad odor about it, but it has been found indispensable especially in despotic governments. He has further mentioned that, the rulers maintained a regular army of spies who kept informed of all the events that took place throughout the empire. In order that no secret might leaked out, there exist a close connection between the postal system and the secret service.⁵⁷

II. Mewras (runners) and Local Messengers:

The *mewras* (runners) were another class of reporters who travel by a foot over a long distance to dispatch the news. The *mewras* were native of Mewat and are famous as good runners. They bring from great distances anything with zeal that may be required. They are also regarded as excellent spies and perform most intricate duties.⁵⁸ According to Arif Kandhari (*Tarikh-i-Akbari*) Akbar was very much expert in espionage and establish an institution of foot runners called as *mewras*. These *mewras* were regarded as good runners. They were employed by the Mughal emperors regularly day and night and reports every day from all sides of the world.⁵⁹ According to father Monserrate, the foot runners (*mewras*) run so fast on foot as far as horse man ride at a full speed. He has mentioned that they have removed their livers in their infancy, in order to prevent their sufferings from shortness of breath. But it was just a phrase to show the *mewras* ability and swiftness in dispatching royal orders and news. Father monserrate further mentioned that in order to become a good runner, they practice running in shoes made of lead and continuously train themselves by repeatedly lifting their feet and moving their legs till their heels touch the buttocks, while standing at one place. When their lead shoes are removed, they are seen to be magnificent runners and by the help of their swiftness, the Mughal emperors rapidly and regularly obtain news or several orders on any matter.⁶⁰ Francisco Pelsaret has also mentioned about the runners that the letters and *farmans* of the Mughal emperors and princes were transmitted with incredible speed and they are posted in the village four or five *Kos* apart, taking out their turn of duty throughout day and night. When these runners received the letters, they immediately run with it to the next village in a breath and handover it to another runner, So that the letter goes steadily on and travelled 80 *Kos* between night and day.⁶¹ But Arif Qandhari has mentioned that the runners (*mewras*) cover a distance up to 150 *Karoh* (*Kos*) in a day and night. He has also mentioned that from the capital of Gujarat to the imperial capital of Agra, they reached in five days and from Tanda,⁶² the head quarters of the province of Bengal, two *mewras* of the *chauki* run a distance of 100 *Kos* in a day and night.⁶³ The *Mewras* were employed throughout the Mughal Empire and '*Ain-i-Akbari*' has mentioned that there were one thousand *mewras* under Mughals.⁶⁴ But Arif Qandhari has given an estimate of four thousand *mewras* as foot runners employed by the Akbar.⁶⁵

The institution of foot posts and runners (*mewras*) was regarded as remarkable one in carrying out the royal news, *farmans* or letters. The *mewras* were always prepared in the *Dak-chaukis* to receive letters for dispatch. As at the end of every six miles throughout the route, there was a little hut (*Dak-chauki*) and these *mewras* were always ready there. When a runner reached the *Dak-chauki*, he threw the letters on the ground as it was a bad sign to give them into the messenger's hand. The next appointed runner picked them up and carried them to the next stage and in this way letters and news were sent over the different parts of the Mughal Empire. The highways during Mughal period were mostly covered by trees on both sides to show the right way and provide shade to the travellers. In the absence of trees, a heap of stones were setup at every five hundred paces and the head or the people of the nearest village were held responsible to kept the heaps white washed, so that when the nights were dark and strong, the post runners might not lost their ways.⁶⁶

The *mewras* or runners carried letters to distant places with utmost safety. The security or secret letters were sent either from emperor or to the emperor was enclosed in a hollow bamboo about a foot long, at one end of which was a cap, two inches long. After a letter had been place inside, the tube was capped and sealed. A letter could not be removed from the tube without breaking the seal. This precaution protected the letter from rain or dust and from being soiled by the hands through which it passed. Even if the journey were long, the letter remained safe and secure inside the bamboo tube until it reached the destination or it was properly received.⁶⁷ If the reports or letters were to be sent immediately or to be reached urgently through the *mewras* (runners), they were sent on horseback by relays.⁶⁸ There were some runners who took opium regularly to counterfeit fatigue. This habit was only to increase their stamina to run day and night without any delay.⁶⁹ The *mewras* (runners) were also appointed for *chaukis*. The total *mewras* employed along the Agra-Ahmedabad route was 164 and of these 77 were stationed at the *chaukis*. This means that half of the *mewras* had to remain on duty round the clock and most probably the remaining half always stood in reserve.⁷⁰ The runners were expected to cover a certain distance every day. They were enjoined to go one *Kos* (two miles) per *ghari*.⁷¹ At every station the *fauj-dars*, *thanadars* and *Zamindars* kept scouts ready to escort the runners without delay as soon as they arrived. The days fixed to dispatch of letters or news were fixed as twelve days. But in urgent cases, only one week was allowed for the whole journey. If there was any delay in the dispatch of letters or news, the runners were punished by deducting one-fourth of their wages.⁷² Runners (*mewras*) were paid regularly every month, so that there would not be delay in news and royal orders. There were sixty-two runners employed between Ahmadabad to Khandabpurani⁷³ and all of them received Rs. 250 per month. It means that approx. Rs. 4 was the salary of each runner per month. They had to receive their salaries from the royal treasury, after scrutinizing their attendance by the *Diwan* of the province. Out of 62 runners, two were diary writers two were heralds waiting on the *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki* and rest of the runners were reserved for the other *chaukis* between the Ahmadabad and Khandabpurani, after which the runners of the province of Ajmer carry on the service of news and royal letters.⁷⁴

The expenditure on the *mewras* was borne by those in whose jurisdiction the *chaukis* lay. The *mewras* appointed at the imperial *Dak-chaukis* located in the territory of the Rathore rulers were on the regular roll of the state establishment of Jodhpur. The monthly salary of the *mewras* was about Rs. 3 which was lower than that given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. In addition to that, state used to pay other expenses to the *mewras*. The *mewras* of Jalore and Bharwani were given eleven and four dams respectively as daily expenses.⁷⁵ During the reign of Aurangzeb, the salaries of *mewras* were not delayed in order to maintain mail service. A copy of *Dastak* (order) issued to Sital Singh, the treasurer of imperial army was ordered to pay the monthly salary to Nagoji and other *mewras* Rs. 4 per month of *Dak-chaukis* of Bijapur to Poona, for maintaining the mail service between these two cities.⁷⁶

Besides *mewras*, there were also other messengers who were also regarded as good runners and informer of the news. Mughals also used mounted messengers to carry the news and royal orders. Through these mounted messengers, nobles and other royal officials were entitled to send letters, petitions and messages on urgent matters to the emperors. According to Arif Qandhari, on the main roads, Akbar stationed two speedy horsemen at every five *Kos* to keep watch and when messenger who carried an imperial *farman* or order, bearing royal seal is carried by the horsemen.⁷⁷ To proclaim a victory and to send urgent news to the different parts of Mughal Empire and abroad, special mounted messengers were used. Some of them may have been the emperor's personal and confidential employs and were not attached to the *Dak-chauki*. Sometimes when there were political disturbances, the messengers sometimes encountered great difficulties. They were often detained and prevented from delivering news and letters to their destinations. At such times their loyalty and shrewdness were put to test. The messengers sometimes finding insecurity on the roads and highways, they often travelled in groups. But this not always ensure their safety.⁷⁸

Other types of messengers were also known as *Qarawal*,⁷⁹ *Yasawal*⁸⁰ and *Jiladaur*.⁸¹ Usually they were mounted messengers and also sometimes perform other primary responsibilities like scouts, huntsmen, stewards and grooms. The *Qasids* and *Ilchis* were also messengers. *Ilchis* were selected from the emperors close associates, who usually acted as his messengers or envoys to another country or court⁸² where as *qasids* were generally referred to as messengers, who were usually send to brought news from enemy's army or country. Jahangir mentioned in his work that when Abdullah Khan passed the *ghats* and entered the enemy's country, he did not realize to send *Qasidan* (runners) to bring intelligence from the other army.⁸³ During the Mughal period there were also private messengers hired by the traders and merchants both local and foreigners. As with the expansion of trade and commerce, the demand for messengers increased. This demand gave employment to large number of messengers who were called *bazaar-qasid* (market couriers), *Pattamar* or fast runner. They were private messengers and were not employed by the imperial authority. Foreign factors, travellers, and traders regularly used the hired messengers to investigate and report on commercial conditions. In 1613, Nicholas withington, an English traveller and an employ of the East India Company hired a *pattamar* and sent him to Lahri Bandar in Sind to investigate and reports its commercial conditions. The *Pattamar* were not only a fast runner but also a good spy.⁸⁴

The private messengers, though efficient and fast had their limitations. The reliability and speed varied from messenger to messenger. But when an employer needed to sent an urgent message or letter, he assured the messenger of additional charges for delivering as speedily as possible.⁸⁵

III. Dak-Chaukis and Postal System:

The Mughals in order to maintain extensive authority over the whole empire establish an elaborate and efficient communication network. For the regular transmission of news and royal orders, Mughals establish *Dak-chaukis* and postal organization in every province. The *Dak-chaukis* and postal stations were controlled by the officials appointed by the imperial authority. By these officials, regular news and official papers were received and transmitted without any delay.⁸⁶ The *Dak-Chaukis* were an imperial monopoly and on occasions, nobles and princes used its services.⁸⁷ As the empire expanded, large numbers of *Dak-Chaukis* were constructed. The marked expansion started to increase under Jahangir and continued under Shahjahan, who ordered Aurangzeb, the then governor of Deccan, to build new *Dak-chaukis* between Hyderabad and the Karnataka. There were also other *Dak-Chaukis* established between Hyderabad and Burhanpur and were placed in the charge of *Zaminadars* and other officials.⁸⁸

The reports, news or royal orders whether political, financial or any other provincial matter were sent through *Dak-chaukis*. It was the duty of the *Wazir* to sent reports of provincial matters every month through the *Dak-Chauki*. The *Diwans* of the province were also advised to send the reports of the *Suba* with an account of the treasury, twice each month through the *Dak-Chauki*.⁸⁹ The establishment of *Dak-chaukis* was not important politically and militarily but commercially as well. These *Dak-Chaukis* and posts were established almost at fixed distance, along the routes connecting important towns and cities. The routes were marked by *Sarais*, wells and avenue of trees.⁹⁰ Sometimes *Sarais* were also used as *Dak-chaukis* for transmission of news. Shershah Sur built 1700 *Sarais* on various roads and in every *Sarai*, he kept two horsemen ready to carry news quickly.⁹¹

Satish Chandra has also made a reference in his work that *Sarais* were also used for *Dak-chaukis* (postal service) for which two horses were kept at every *Sarai*. By this, it means that by relay of horses news from a distance of 300 *Kos* could reach in a day.⁹² Babur who established Mughal Empire in India was very much conscious about the regular flow of news and postal service. So, he ordered that road between Agra and Kabul to be measured. At every 9th *Kuroh*, a tower was erected, 12 *qaris* high and at every 18th *kuroh*, 6 post horses were kept fastened and arrangements were made for the payment of the postmasters, grooms and horse corn. If posts were near the crown land, the cost would be charged on the incharge of the *Pargana*.⁹³

Aurangzeb was very much conscious about the news and postal system and took special interest in the construction of *Dak-chaukis* throughout the empire. As already discussed that *Dak-chaukis* were the state monopoly, but sometimes it was used secretly by the princes also. Serious difficulties arose when their control was successfully challenged. During the war of succession (1656-1660) which brought the reign of Shahjahan to an end, Prince Dara's zeal in suppressing the news from the capital created the problems. There was a complete breakdown of the postal system which added to the confusion by the civil war. Aurangzeb and Murad also won over many messengers with bribes and promises of advancement.⁹⁴ Accurate intelligence and the rapid dispatch news also played an important role in securing the throne for Aurangzeb. During the war of succession, Aurangzeb kept himself informed of his brothers every movement and the intelligence of the imperial army. It was not a new phenomena, even Shahjahan also rebelled against his father Jahangir and tried to disrupt the imperial posts and orders passing through the *Dak-Chaukis*. Even in Bengal, he appointed a person as a censor to keep a check on all the letters entering and leaving the province.⁹⁵ There were not only rebellions by princes but some governors, who took advantage of long distance from the capital. They not only interfere in the imperial postal system but also keep a check on the news reporters. In Bengal, Islam Khan, the governor of the province maintained his own *Dak-Chauki*, employ spies on the news writers, harassed them and made difficult for them to send accurate news to the court. In these cases, the imperial news reporters resorted to all types of tricks to smuggle reports out of the province.⁹⁶

Mughals built postal stations (*dak-chaukis*) in every province and connected them with each other. When Mughal emperor Aurangzeb marched towards the Deccan postal arrangements were made for the transmission of the news from Ahmadabad to Baroch and thence to port Surat under the control of *Daroga-i-Dak-Chauki*. About 25 men were appointed on 180-4 per month. Among these, two were heralds and one diary writer and others were allotted the following postal stations like Batwa, Barejari, Kanij, Town of Muhamadabad, Andhuj Salud, Town of Nadiad, Boriavi, Hadgud, Basad, Ranoli, Town of Baroda, Dhaniavi, Choranda, Karmali and Baroch.⁹⁷ There is another list of *dak-chaukis* given by *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* between Ahmadabad and Khandabpurani. In these *Dak-chaukis* sixty two runners were employed between these two stations. These *Dak-chaukis* or postal stations are, Kali, Adalaj, Pansar, Jornang, Mehsana, Bhandu, Unjha, Siddhpur, Bislaw, Halodi, Town of Palampur, Bhutari, Dantiwara, Khansowarai Pantiwara, Bant, Bhadkanam, Dongri, Kudi, Bhilmal Sunt, Turna Mudra, Jalur, Debadas, Bhurani and Khandab. These *chaukis* were organized and supervised under the Mughal administration as the officials received their salaries from the royal treasury.⁹⁸

Table showing monthly salary of Nagoji and others of *Daroga-i-dakchaukis* (the relay stations) of Bijapur and Aurangabad, who were the servants of the *Khasa-i- Sharifa*.

Monthly Salary of <i>Daroga-i-dakchauki</i> and other officials stationed between Bijapur and Aurangabad.				
S.No.	Official Name	Father's Name	Income	
			Rupees	Annas
1	Masaar Ali	Hajuji	4	14
2	Tahan	Syed Rajo	3	14
3	Abdullah	Mohd khan	3	14
4	Mahb	Darya	3	14
5	Abdullah	?	3	14
6	Habib	Syed Khan	3	14
7	?	Nabaji	3	14
8	Sheikh Mulk	Mohd Husain	3	14
9	Manohar	Govind	3	14
10	?	Bikaji	3	14
11	Gopal	Ujagir	3	14

12	Sheikh Maula	Jamal	3	14
13	Sultan	Dalohi	3	14
14	Mir Manan	Sayes	3	14
15	Fateh Mohd.	Taj	3	14
16	Baharji	Sambhaji	3	14
17	Jan Mohd.	?	3	14
18	Harji	Omaji	3	14
19	Ragohji	Malni	3	14
20	Jagan Nath	Maloji	3	14

Farman of Aurangzeb's Reign regarding the *Qabzul Wasil* (Pay Bill) of the four month's salary paid to Nagoji and other servants.

Source: Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign 1659-1706 A. D, ed. by Yusuf Husain Khan, Farman No. 42, P. 55-56.

The *chaukis* on the Agra-Ahmadabad route were also organized by the Mughal administration. There were seventy seven *chaukis* in all and the total distance between the two ends was estimated at 328 *Kos* (about 870 miles). In 1646-47, the *Dak-chaukis* were under the supervision of one Isap Khan, who was *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki* and Sayid Kabir was appointed as '*Mirdha*' or Head runner. At each *Dak-chauki*, two or three persons were stationed. The *mewras* employed along the route were 164 and out of these 77 were stationed at the *chaukis* on duty round the clock and remaining half were always stood in reserve. The minimum distance between any two *chaukis* was 3 *Kos* and maximum 7 *Kos* and six *Kos* was the distance between eight *chaukis*. The majority of the *chaukis* were located at a distance of 4 and 5 *Kos*. The average spacing of the *chaukis* comes to be about 4.25 *Kos* (10 miles).⁹⁹

Aurangzeb was very much conscious regarding the postal system. In order to tighten the control over all postal system, he appointed *Darog-i-Dak-chauki* with full confidence and power, under whose direction the postal system was fully examined and revived regularly. Aurangzeb's close contact with the officials of the postal department did much to secure his control and efficiency over the postal system.¹⁰⁰ The Mughal administration was also vigilant about the safety and protection along the imperial roads and highways. For the security of highways, Mughals maintained a regular check on the highways in order to remove the obstruction to the travellers and news reporters. Even the highways passing through the non-Mughal areas were also protected by the autonomous chiefs and tributary Zamindars which we will discuss in the next chapters. B.L. Bhadani has given a reference from the *Parwana* of Maharaja Jaswant Singh addressed to Nainsi, then the *Diwan* of the state, clearly mentioned that "*the Chaukis along the imperial highways (Patshahi Marg) should be protected*". He also made a reference in his work that Nainsi himself records some examples that the responsibility to provide protection along the imperial highway rested on the shoulders of the Rathore rulers and sometimes quite harsh in maintaining in law and order along the imperial highway passing through their territory. Once, goods dispatched for the emperor were robbed near Sojhat by certain persons. When the culprits were identified, they were beheaded by the Maharaja Jaswant Singh's men.¹⁰¹ The tributary chiefs remained faithful to the Mughals and provided every possible support to the Mughals in their own respective areas.

Aurangzeb from his earlier experience from the war of succession, he remained vigilant and tightened the control over postal system. He did not want his previous methods turned against him. He did not permit any royal princes to use the *Dak-chaukis* without his permission. When he heard that his son Muhammad Azam had appointed his own mail runners in the *Dak-chaukis* on the royal road without his permission, he immediately wrote to the Asad Khan, his Prime minister to stop this practice as *Dak-chaukis* were his sole prerogative.¹⁰² There is also a mention of a letter of Azizi that Muhammad Muazzam had asked his own peoples i.e reporters to sit on the highways just like *Dak-chaukis*. Aurangzeb resented it very much and said that if he wanted to intercept the *waqia* reports, he would never get any. Aurangzeb further made a remark to Muazzam that, "*the crow never gives the snake in his beak*".¹⁰³ This phrase made it clear that the reporters or runners of the *Dak-chaukis* were so clever and dedicated to their work that they would never disclose the news or royal orders. The officers of the *Dak-chaukis* or postal system were in collaboration with the imperial secret service during Aurangzeb's reign. This cooperation was not entirely a new development as all his predecessors had been dependent heavily on secret reporters and spies but under Aurangzeb the postal and secret service department remained amalgamated and worked together with the *Daroga-i-dak-chauki*.¹⁰⁴

The Mughals also used carrier pigeons as the letter carrier. Jahangir in his work '*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*', mentioned that he ordered to the fanciers to teach the carrier pigeons (*Kabutar-i-nama-bar*) and they taught some of them in such a manner that when they fly from Mandu in early morning and if there was much rain, they reached the Burhanpur by 2 ½ *pahars* (watches) of the day or even 1 ½ *pahars*. If the sky would be clear, most of them would arrive by one *pahar* of the day and some by four *gharis* (hours) of the day.¹⁰⁵ Similarly

Francisco Pelsaret has also mentioned about the carrier pigeons that Jahangir had also kept some pigeons to carry news in the time of great urgency or in any case of sieges. But actually, these carrier pigeons were used for shorter distances.¹⁰⁶ According to Manucci, the court nobles used pigeons to carry messages and intelligence. Sometimes these pigeons were also used to signal the emperor's movements. The pigeons were not used permanently but on certain occasions only¹⁰⁷.

The officers responsible for the maintenance of the institution of intelligence and information through *dak-chaukis* worked out accurately and perfectly throughout the Mughal period. Besides these responsible officers, Mughals also made *Jagirdars* and officials of *Khalisa* responsible for the regular information about the working of day to day administration. As officers in the Mughals administration maintain law and order in their respective areas, it was also their responsibility to remained in touch with the Mughal emperors through their own *waqia* reports regularly dispatched to the capital. 'Akbar Nama' also made a reference about the officers of the *Khalis* and *Jagirdars* that they should provide correct reports about the well conducted and ill-conducted, about the obedient and disobedient in their respective areas, so that recompense and retribution may be bestowed and the thread of the government would be strengthened.¹⁰⁸ The *Faujdar*s whose duty was to maintain law and order establish peace and security in their areas were also advised to keep cordial relations with the *Waqai Nigar*, *Swanah Nigar* and *Harkaras*, as their reports would lead to their promotions.¹⁰⁹

Mughal description of intelligence and information system led to the introduction of the institutions such as the *waqia nawis*, *swanah nawis*, *khufia nawis*, *harkaras*, *jasus* or *munhiyans*, *mewras*, local messengers and institution of *Dak Chaukis* in various parts of Mughal empire. Though the Mughal emperors were the creator of these institutions, the officials of intelligence and information departments became the source of Mughal emperor's knowledge of existing situation in the empire. The functioning of the officials of these departments were evaluated by the officers like *Sipah Salar*, *Faujdar*, *Mir A'dl* and *Qazi*, *Kotwal*, *Amal-guzar* (collector of revenue), and the *Bitikchi* (accountant). Consequently these official's performances were the basis of their promotion and Mughal emperor's symbols of authority.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this work the main focus is on the working of the institution under Mughals was carried out through different agencies both at central and provincial levels. The Mughals who established this institution not only controlled the information and news but also keep vigil on rebellious activities and maintain internal security and law and order through this institution. Besides this the Mughals also make their presence visible through this institution in every part of their empire. Through this institution Mughals became successful in receiving regular flow of news and information of every part of the Mughal Empire and due to this information network, Mughals maintained extensive authority over the whole Empire.

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- ⁵¹ Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, tr. by A.S. Bevridge, vol. 1, Oriental Books Rpt New Delhi, 1970, P. 568.
- ⁵² Ibid; P. 598.
- ⁵³ Ibid; P. 618.
- ⁵⁴ Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* 2nd edition, 1952 p. P. 149.
- ⁵⁵ K. R. Qunungo, *Sher Shah and His times*, Orient Longman Ltd. Lucknow, 1964, P. 314.
- ⁵⁶ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, Tr. by Col. H. S Jarrett, Low Price Publications Delhi, 2011, P. 39.
- ⁵⁷ S. M. Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim rule in India*, P. 31.
- ⁵⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.1, P. 262.
- ⁵⁹ Muhammad Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, Tr. by Tasneem Ahmad, Pragati Publications Delhi, 1993, P. 62.
- ⁶⁰ *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, ed. by S.N. Banerjee and John S. Hoyland, Asian Publishers Jalandhar, 1993, PP. P. 212.

- ⁶¹ Francisco Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, Tr. by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, Delhi, 1972, P. 58.
- ⁶² Tanda is known as Saturat; Sultan Karami, the last ruler of Bengal built this city in 1564-1565 A.D and made it his capital.
- ⁶³ *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit. P. 63.
- ⁶⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1, Op. Cit. P. 262.
- ⁶⁵ *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit. P. 62.
- ⁶⁶ James Talboys Wheller and Michael Macmillan, *European Travellers in India*, Susil Gupta Ltd. Calcutta, 1956, P. 39.
- ⁶⁷ A. K. M. Farooqui, *Roads and Communication in Mughal India*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1977, PP. 130-131.
- ⁶⁸ *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit. P. 63.
- ⁶⁹ A. K. M. Farooqui, Op. Cit. P. 133.
- ⁷⁰ B. L. Bhadani, *Peasants, Artisans and Entrepreneurs (Economy of Marwar in the seventeenth century)*, Rawat Publications New Delhi, 1999, P. 329.
- ⁷¹ 1 Kos = 200 Jaribs, 1 Jarib = 25 yards, 1 yard = 42 inches, 5000 Shahjahani yards = 200 jaribs.
- ⁷² *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supp.), P. 151.
- ⁷³ Khandabpurani was on the frontier of Ajmer province.
- ⁷⁴ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (supp.) Op. Cit. P. 151.
- ⁷⁵ B. L. Bhadani, Op. Cit. P. 331.
- ⁷⁶ *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign (1659-1706)*, Op. Cit. PP. 50-51.
- ⁷⁷ *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit. P. 63.
- ⁷⁸ A.K.M Farooqui, Op. Cit. PP. 136-137.
- ⁷⁹ *Qarawa*: A sentinel, a watchman, spy, guard. These belong to branch of army. During the war they were sent ahead as spies.
- ⁸⁰ *Yasawal*: A horseman and a state messenger.
- ⁸¹ *Jiladaur*: A messenger or carrier of letters.
- ⁸² Ibid; PP. 139-140.
- ⁸³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Op. Cit. P. 219.
- ⁸⁴ A.K.M Farooqui, Op. Cit. PP. 153-154.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid; P. 154.
- ⁸⁶ B. L. Bhadani, Op. Cit. P. 327.
- ⁸⁷ A.K.M Farooqui, Op. Cit. P. 142.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid; P. 140.
- ⁸⁹ Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, Op. Cit. P. 268.
- ⁹⁰ B.L. Bhadani, Op. Cit. P. 327.
- ⁹¹ *Tarikh-i-Shershahi*, Op. Cit. P. 140.
- ⁹² Satish Chandra, Op. Cit. Vol. 2, P. 83.
- ⁹³ *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, Op. Cit. P.629.
- ⁹⁴ A.K.M. Farooqui, Op. Cit. P. 143.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid; PP. 143-144.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid; P. 144.
- ⁹⁷ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supp.), PP. 151-152.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid; P. 151.
- ⁹⁹ B.L. Badhani, Op. Cit. PP. 329-330.
- ¹⁰⁰ A.K.M. Farooqui, Op. Cit. P. 145.
- ¹⁰¹ B. L. Bhadani, Op. Cit. P. 331.
- ¹⁰² A. K. M. Farooqui, Op. Cit. PP. 144-145.
- ¹⁰³ *Raqaim-i-Karaim*, P. 28.
- ¹⁰⁴ A.K.M. Farooqui, Op. Cit. P. 146.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol.1, Op. Cit. P. 387.
- ¹⁰⁶ Francisco Pelsaret, P. 58.
- ¹⁰⁷ A.K.M. Farooqui, Op. Cit. P. 142. See also Nicallao Manucci Vol. 2, P. 467.
- ¹⁰⁸ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. 3, Ess Ess Publication Delhi 2nd Rpt. 1977, P.565.
- ¹⁰⁹ Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, Op. Cit. PP. 273-274.