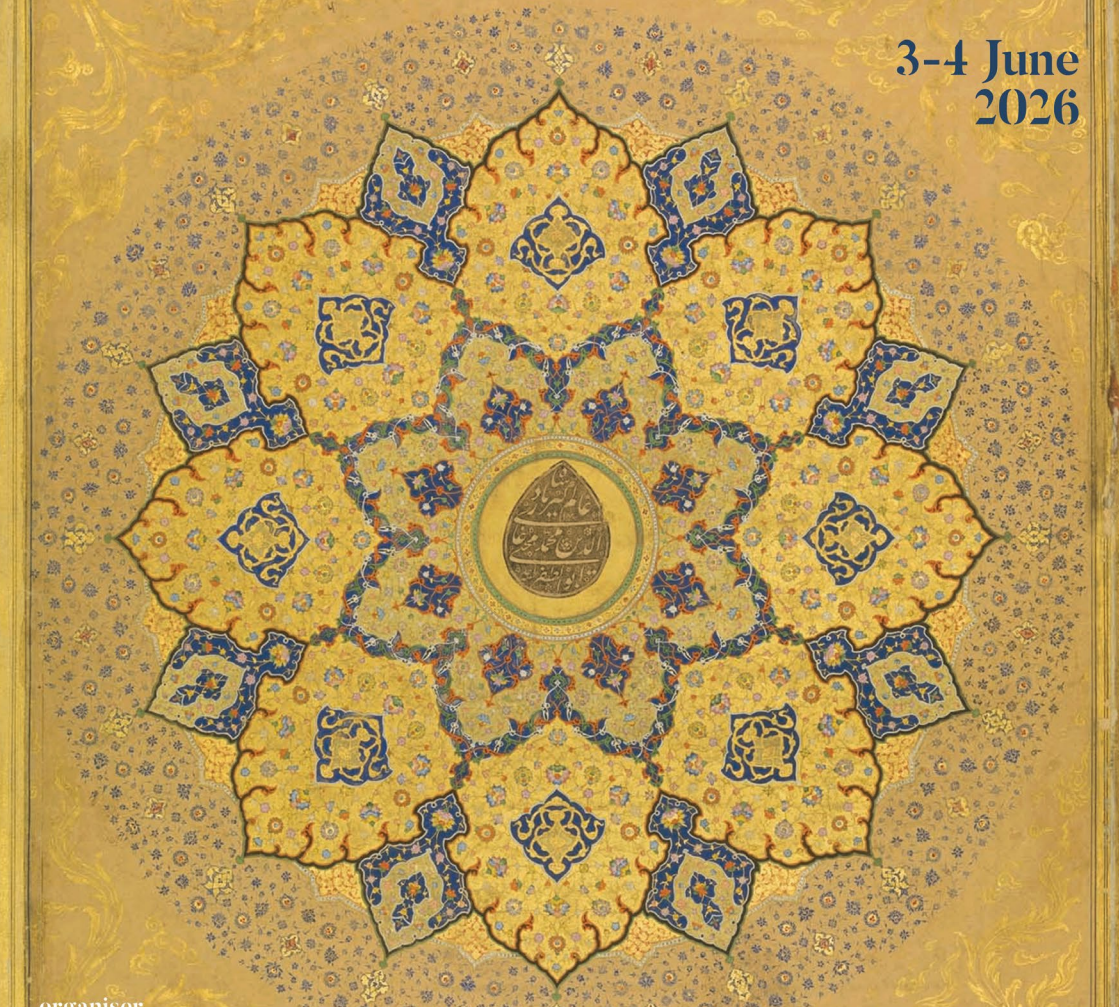
International Conference

The Empire that Made India: 500 Years of the Mughals

3-4 June 2026



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Naveen Kanalu
(EHESS-CRH)

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The year 2026 marks half a millennium since the foundation of the Mughal Empire (1526-1857), the last great precolonial power, which governed most parts of the Indian sub-continent. In its heyday, the Mughal dynasty ruled over a population of more than 100 million subjects. The Mughal Empire has remained at the centre of major debates in Indian historiography on issues as diverse as the nature of political and administrative institutions, fiscal and economic systems, literary and artistic cultures as well as inter-religious cohabitation prior to colonial rule. The international conference commemorating the 500-year anniversary of the empire's foundation critically engages with various historiographical approaches while proposing potential avenues for future research.

Programme

Wednesday 3 June 2026

(Main Hall)

9:30-10:00 Introduction and Welcome Remarks

Romain Huret, President, EHESS

Naveen Kanalu, EHESS-CRH

10:00-11:30

Keynote: *Absolutism or Condominium? The Mughals and Modes of Power-Sharing*

Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Distinguished Professor of History and Irving & Jean Stone Chair in Social Sciences, University of California, Los Angeles

(Salles BS1_05/BS1_28)

13:30-15:00

CONQUEST AND CONSOLIDATION OF EMPIRE
Chair: **Jean-Frédéric Schaub**, EHESS-Mondes Américains

The Mughal Conquest of Gujarat: A Reappraisal
Jyoti Gulati Balachandran, Pennsylvania State University

Mughal Delhi under Akbar and Jahangir
Corinne Lefèvre, CNRS, CSH Delhi

15:30-17:00

GOVERNING THE IMPERIAL SPACE
Chair: **Olivier Bouquet**, Université Paris Cité-CESSMA

Routes of Regulation: Transit Permits, Everyday Life, and the Afterlives of Mughal Archives
Subah Dayal, New York University

The Mughal Information Economy: Coordinating the Imperial Grid of Governance from Southern India (ca. 1690s)
Naveen Kanalu, EHESS-CRH

Thursday 4 June 2026

(Rooms BS1_05 & BS1_28)

9:30-11:00

ISLAM IN PRACTICE

Chair: **Anna Joukovskaia**, CNRS-CERCEC

Juristic Habitus or Judicious Kingship? Revisiting the Crisis of 1579 via Islamic Legal Theory
S. Shiraz Ali, University of California, Berkeley

Law and Social Communication in Mughal India: State-Society Interactions in Legal Spaces
Farhat Hasan, University of Delhi

11:15-12:00

Spectral Conversions: Becoming Muslim in Mughal India (c. 1658-1707)
Munis D. Faruqui, University of California, Berkeley

13:30-15:00

ECONOMIC LIFE: PEASANTS AND MERCHANTS

Chair: **Catarina Madeira-Santos**, EHESS-IMAF

Peasants as Hunter-Gatherers in Mughal India
Ali Anooshahr, University of California, Davis

"Without a king's farman it is difficult to negotiate here": The Dutch East India Company Factory in Mughal Agra, 1621-1730
Maarten Draper, European University Institute, Florence
Mike O'Sullivan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

15:30-17:00

FRONTIERS OF EMPIRE

Chair: **Marc Aymes**, EHESS-CETOBaC

Revenue Collection in the Border Provinces of the Mughals and Marathas in the Eighteenth Century
Michihiro Ogawa, Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, The University of Tokyo

Courting the 'Other': Occult and Political Culture beyond Mughal Hindustan, 1720-1750 CE
Samyak Ghosh, National Law School of India University, Bengaluru

17:00 Final Discussion

Abstracts

Keynote

Absolutism or Condominium?
The Mughals and Modes of Power-Sharing

Sanjay Subrahmanyam
Distinguished Professor of History and Irving & Jean Stone Chair in Social Sciences, University of California, Los Angeles

What were the limits of Mughal power at the high tide of the dynasty (1560-1700)? A Jesuit writer from the court of emperor Jahangir describes him as an absolute ruler, who “thinks that he alone is lord of all” and “who lives by fate and fortune, follows his appetites, and is full of the pride and vainglory of the world”. While some modern historians and polemicists have accepted this type of portrayal, also in order to underline the tyrannical nature of the regime, others have sought to portray Mughal rule as made up of many more checks and balances. In this presentation, I will seek to understand how and in what situations the Mughals sought power-sharing arrangements. This will be framed in terms of a comparison with other contemporary Islamic regimes like the Ottomans and Safavids.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam is Distinguished Professor of History and Irving & Jean Stone Chair in Social Sciences at UCLA. A specialist of the early modern period (15th-18th centuries), he is the author of numerous books, essays, and edited volumes, ranging between studies of India and the Indian Ocean, the early modern European empires, and reflections on global history as a field of research. In 2026, Subrahmanyam and his frequent co-author Muzaffar Alam have published *Mirrors of Empire: Courtiers, Diplomats, and Intellectuals in Mughal India* (Permanent Black/SUNY Press), a book on “ego-documents” and first-person narratives in the Mughal empire.

The Mughal Conquest of Gujarat: A Reappraisal

Jyoti Gulati Balachandran
Pennsylvania State University

In modern scholarship, the decades leading up to the Mughal conquest of Gujarat in 1572-73 are seen as a confusing and chaotic time marked by shifting political alliances. Indeed, several contemporary accounts noted in detail the intense rivalry among different groups of nobility, particularly those headed by the *Habashis*, the Abyssinian military slave commanders. This paper revisits this time of political turmoil to tease out the region-specific processes that shaped the transition from the rule of the Gujarat sultans to the Mughals. Through its focus on the nature of regional historiography in sixteenth-century Gujarat, the paper further reflects on how contemporary Muslim chroniclers understood Gujarat's incorporation into the Mughal Empire as an imperial province.

Jyoti Gulati Balachandran is an Associate Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University. A historian of medieval and early modern South Asia and the western Indian Ocean world, she is the author of *Narrative Pasts: The Making of a Muslim Community in Gujarat, 1400-1650* (Oxford, 2020), a finalist for the British Association for South Asian Studies Book Prize 2022. Balachandran is currently working on Muslim scholarly networks between Gujarat and the Red Sea region in the sixteenth century using Arabic narrative texts.

Mughal Delhi under Akbar and Jahangir

Corinne Lefèvre
CNRS, CSH Delhi

Not much has been written on the history of Delhi under Akbar and Jahāngīr (1556-1627), a period during which other cities like Agra, Fatehpur Sikri or Lahore were preferred as imperial capitals. The little literature that exists (e. g. Michael Brand on Humāyūn's tomb, Ebba Koch on the Mughals' visits to Delhi prior to the construction of Shahjahanabad) mainly deal with imperial architectural patronage and activities in the city.

While pursuing this historiographical 'tradition' to an extent, this presentation will be more generally concerned with the urban development of Delhi between the mid-16th century and the first quarter of the 17th century. In view of the dearth of surviving administrative documents from this period, the analysis will principally rely on epigraphic materials and urban vignettes included in contemporary imperial, sub-imperial and Sufi narrative literature. Particular attention will be paid to the figure of Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī (Murtaḍā Khān, d. 1616) and his engagement with various neighbourhoods of Delhi. Although a well-known *amīr* and Sufi benefactor during Akbar and Jahāngīr's time, his contribution to the social life and built landscape of the city still awaits exploration.

Corinne Lefèvre received her Ph.D. (2005) in History from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris. She taught at the INALCO University (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales) before becoming a CNRS Research Fellow and a member of the Centre for South Asian and Himalayan Studies (CESAH, formerly known as the CEIAS) in 2006. She is currently a researcher at the Centre de Sciences Humaines, Delhi. Through her research, she revisits the political and socio-cultural history of the Mughal empire by considering it within the broader context of precolonial Muslim Asia (from Istanbul to Aceh, via the Deccan sultanates). In order to do so, she draws on a wide array of sources (Indo-Persian narrative literature, paintings, monuments, inscriptions, coins). Lately, Corinne has shifted her attention to issues of art and material culture: she has recently completed an edited volume on Mughal arts, and published chapters on the Mughals' relationship with the material cultures of ancient times. She is currently working on a history of the city of Delhi from the late 12th to the late 19th century.

Routes of Regulation: Transit Permits, Everyday Life, and the Afterlives of Mughal Archives

Subah Dayal
New York University

In this talk, I will share my translations of multiple iterations of an ubiquitous Persian document - the *dastak* - a type of transit permit that regulated people and things that moved all across Mughal Hindustan. Tracking the *dastak* spatially, the talk examines interpolations in the Dutch East India Company's archives covering port-cities along the Coromandel Coast, moving further north towards the document's uses in the military bureaucracy of the Deccan and central India, finally turning to how it regulated everyday transactions of ordinary subjects, from soldiers, traders, and laborers, under the Kachwaha Rajputs of Rajasthan. Apart from the material and linguistic features of the *dastak*, I will also reflect briefly on the stakes of considering the question of "Mughal archives" spatially across regions, particularly, by discussing on how twentieth-century archivists understood, summarized, and organized these materials, setting certain constraints and limits on how we reconstruct imperial record-keeping and its archival practices.

Subah Dayal is Assistant Professor at New York University and author of *Between Household and State: The Mughal Frontier and the Politics of Circulation in Peninsular India* (University of California Press, 2024).

The Mughal Information Economy: Coordinating the Imperial Grid of Governance from southern India (ca. 1690s)

Naveen Kanalu
EHESS-CRH

Jadunath Sarkar's emplotment of the latter years of Aurangzeb's reign as a tragedy that resulted in the neglect of Hindustan's affairs has cast a long shadow on Mughal historiography. More recently, even the Mughal decline has been attributed to as early as the 1680s due to the emergence of impersonal bureaucratic practices or alleged under-administration of the empire. Taking Agra and its environs as a case study, this paper reconstructs the interactions between governors, military magistrates and judges, and their correspondence with the grandees of the itinerant imperial court stationed in the Deccan and the Karnatak. It demonstrates that, within an integrated grid of imperial power, which was spatially projected onto Mughal territories, a well-oiled, responsive administrative machinery intersected with the ground realities of the political economy. Drawing upon a substantial corpus of chancery records, contracts and correspondence, the paper examines the north-south nexus of information flows passing through Gwalior, Ujjain and Burhanpur in the 1690s. The coordination of prebendalisation, treasury movements and security concerns had resulted in the perfection of an information economy in the seventeenth century, which operated across the various jurisdictions of the hinterlands of the empire. The imperial court collected information from multiple sources, while processing and verifying it, and acting upon it consistently. The paper elucidates how the Ḥanafī legal opinions compiled in *al-Fatāwā al-ʿālamgīriyya* were translated into effective practices in the Mughal institutional mechanisms. The network of officials working in different parts of the empire operated under the legal authority vested in the Mughal emperor as the post-prophetic leader (*imām*) within his realms. Thus, the paper reveals the underlying principles of imperial governance during Aurangzeb's peripatetic statecraft and their economic consequences.

Naveen Kanalu is Associate Professor at the EHESS and holds the chair, “The Institutional History of the Mughal Empire: Law, Power and Political Economy in South Asia (17th-18th Centuries)”. He is the Principal Investigator of the ANR Project MugUrba: “The Bureaucratic Rhythms of Imperial Urbanity: Law, Property, and Public Life in Mughal South Asia, c. 1650–1750.” He is currently completing a monograph on Islamic Statecraft and Ḥanafī law in Mughal India during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Juristic Habitus or Judicious Kingship? Revisiting the Crisis of 1579 via Islamic Legal Theory

S. Shiraz Ali
University of California, Berkeley

Postclassical Islamic law is sometimes portrayed as rigidly scripturalist and incompatible with governance grounded in reason or public welfare, with the *sharīʿa* cast as a school-bound system of divine commands. This paper challenges that portrayal by examining how Mughal jurisconsults mobilized Islamic jurisprudence to negotiate authority, dissent, and governance during a crisis in 1579. Focusing on the court of Akbar, I revisit the famous maḥẓar declaration concerning whether the just ruler *(sulṭān-i ʿādil)* stands above qualified jurists (*mujtahids*) and may arbitrate their disagreements. Rather than reading this episode as a moment of imperial absolutism or proto-secular expediency, I approach it as a constitutional event shaped by a shared legal epistemology. Central to it was a concept of intellectual "habitus" articulated by the Verifiers *(muḥaqqiqs)* among the ulema: *malakat al-istiḥṣāl*, an agentive capacity to navigate principles, evidence, and outcomes in the absence of apodictic proof for divine command. Drawing on Saʿd al-Dīn Taftāzānī's *al-Talwīḥ* and its reception in Mughal-era pedagogy, I show that juristic certainty in such cases was understood to rest on the preponderance of one plausible judgment *(ẓann ghālib)* over another—and that juristic habitus *(malaka*) is what generates this preponderance (*tarjīḥ*) within the jurist's mind. Because this episteme of legal pluralism was a source of juridical impasse in the domain of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, Akbar's jurisconsults extended a parallel logic of embodied experience to theorize an executive *ijtihād:* the just ruler's capacity to privilege a mujtahid's opinion on the basis of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*). I argue that this transposition of juridical *tarjīḥ* specifically mirrored the authority of the *muḥaqqiq muftī*, who in cases of genuine *maṣlaḥa* was already permitted to preponderate an opinion across madhhab boundaries. This authority was exercised by the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* in a blasphemy case that had precipitated the crisis. Far from collapsing fiqh into imperial discretion, the *maḥẓar* configured executive authority by analogy with juristic ability, and thereby also restricted it to the normative bounds of the *sharīʿa*. Read in this way, the 1579 declaration cannot be mapped onto binaries like scripturalism vs rationalism, religious orthodoxy vs sacral-mystical sovereignty, or legal positivism vs natural

law. It reveals how the ideal of verification (*taḥqīq*) shaped Mughal legal and political culture.

S. Shiraz Ali is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Berkeley. He is a coeditor of the forthcoming volume *Islamic Intellectual History in the Mughal Era* (Cambridge University Press) and serves as Assistant Editor for the *Journal of South Asian Intellectual History* (Brill).

Law and Social Communication in Mughal India: State-Society Interactions in Legal Spaces

Farhat Hasan
University of Delhi

Based on the scrutiny of the extant legal documents, this paper looks at the complexities of legal pluralism in Mughal India. It studies the significance of non-state actors in shaping the Mughal legal order, and in doing so, it seeks to highlight the interactive and dialogic processes through which this order was constituted and reproduced. Even as the period was marked by considerable diversity in the realm of law, I argue here that the state legal space was crucial, and probably central to the reproduction of legal diversity; and this was because the state was itself a social formation functioning through complex levels of relations with the local power relations. I focus on state-society interactions in legal spaces with a view to better understand the social constituents of the Mughal state, and apprehend, if only partially, the process of state formation from below.

I argue here that the state-society interactions in legal spaces provide a clue to social communication in Mughal India, and the extent to which inter-subjective communication helped shape the 'moral economy of the state'. I see the dialogic spaces as constituting a South Asian public sphere, but, more importantly, I position the legal space as the primary site for its articulation and reproduction. This paper looks at how the state was discussed and debated in these dialogic spaces, and served to modify the system of rule. Clearly, my effort here is to move away from the structural and institutional correlates of the state, and, instead envision it within a processual dynamic, as an activity, or, better still, a malleable formation, in constant conversation with the social forces. The state documents also reflect the traces of multiple social actors, and emerged out of contested negotiations between the state officials and local power relations. I hope to read the legal documents not merely as administrative texts, affirming the rule structure, but also as social texts, indicating multiple contestations – between the state and local power-holders, orality and literacy, law and custom, and local beliefs and practices and the imperial normative system.

I see the state legal order as an inclusive, diverse and dialogic space where social actors pushed for multiple norms and values. Within these inter-

subjective spaces, social actors discussed and debated on the state's moral economy, and participated in shaping law and the rule structure. In time, it seems, these conversations prompted the development of a shared, if still contested, normative system. In the Mughal legal records, it is this shared normative system that was described as the *shari'at;* markedly malleable and fluid, it could scarcely be distinguished from local norms and values. My study of legal disputes seeks to draw attention to the malleability and ambiguities in *shari'at* that were exploited by litigants to defend their interests and aspirations. We need to look at the legal system in Mughal India not as a fixed, concrete entity, but as a fluid system in constant change, incessantly negotiating with the local networks of power relations.

Farhat Hasan is a professor of early Modern South Asia at the Department of History, University of Delhi (New Delhi). He is interested in studying the political culture, legal order and social communication in Mughal India; and he has authored two books on these themes: *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c. 1572-1730* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *Paper, Performance, and the State: Social Change and Political Culture in Mughal India* (Cambridge University Press, 2021). More recently, he has been working on the literary culture, gender relations, and cultural memories in South Asia in the early modern period; and he has published several articles and a book on the topic, entitled *Voices in Verses: Women's Poetry and Cultural Memory in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge University Press, 2024). He is also associated, as the 'partner investigator' for South Asia, with the Australian Research Grant (ARC) Discovery Project on 'Pursuing Health in Preindustrial World, 1100-1800' (principal investigator: Prof. Guy Geltner). He is also affiliated with the 'Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities.' project based at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences (Leipzig University, Germany); and, under this project, he is editing (jointly with Anindita Chakrabarti and Sushmita Nath) a volume on 'Multiple Secularities in South Asia' (to be published by De Gruyter Publications, Berlin).

Spectral Conversions: Becoming Muslim in Mughal India (c. 1658-1707)

Munis D. Faruqui

University of California, Berkeley

In Spring 2024, riots erupted across parts of Maharashtra following calls by Hindu nationalist groups to exhume the remains of the last of the so-called "great" Mughal emperors, Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (r. 1658–1707). At the heart of this controversy is a long-standing accusation: that 'Alamgir was a violent and fanatical ruler who forcibly converted large numbers of Hindus to Islam. My talk reconsiders that claim through the lens of a massive but infrequently used collection of imperial records known as the *Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mu'alla* (Newsletters of the Exalted Court). In doing so, it will engage with the ways historians have approached the question of religious conversion in Mughal South Asia over the past century. It will consider how we might think about the motives, meanings, and limits of conversion at the Mughal court in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and why Mughal emperors – including Aurangzeb 'Alamgir – were largely disinterested in conversion. It will conclude with a case study of Hidayatkesh Khan (executed in 1713), a convert to Islam who served as Emperor 'Alamgir's chief newswriter during the final years of his reign. The Khan's career offers insight into both the opportunities and constraints faced by converts at the Mughal court.

Munis D. Faruqui is the Sarah Kailath Chair of India Studies and a historian in the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at UC Berkeley. His research work is focused on the Mughal period (but especially the 1550s-1720s). His books include *Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504-1719* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), *Expanding Frontiers in South Asian and World History*, co-edited with Richard Eaton, David Gilmartin and Sunil Kumar (Cambridge University Press, 2013), and *Religious Interactions in Mughal India, co-edited with Vasudha Dalmia* (Oxford University Press, 2014). He has recently completed a book (forthcoming in Spring 2026 with Cambridge University Press) focused on the life and reign of Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (1618-1707) and the Mughal Empire in the latter half of the seventeenth and first decades of the eighteenth century.

Peasants as Hunter-Gatherers in Mughal India

Ali Anooshahr
University of California, Davis

The question of what peasants ate in the Mughal Empire is significant for two historiographical debates. One involves scholars who mention peasant diet in order to show the general poverty and misery in rural settings. Another argument has been proposed to question the reliability of imperial revenue figures, given that at such rates the peasants would have run out of food after nine months. Although we lack adequate data on this topic, a survey of Persian sources suggests that in many regions of the empire, peasants were not just agricultural laborers and that they relied on seasonal hunting-gathering to supplement their diets. In short, these findings challenge the scholarship on the agrarian situation in the empire.

Ali Anooshahr is a professor of History at the University of California, Davis. He specializes in Mughal history as well as the history of the "Persianate World". His Publications include *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam* (Routledge, 2009), *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires* (Oxford, 2018), and *Slavery in the Early Mughal World* (Oxford 2025). His research has been supported by fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, and the Hellman Foundations, among others.

“Without a king’s farman it is difficult to negotiate here”: The Dutch East India Company Factory in Mughal Agra, 1621-1730

Maarten Draper
European University Institute, Florence
Mike O’Sullivan
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In 1730 Ruderam Ragdas, a long-standing Indian ‘broker’ (*makelaar*) for the Dutch East India Company (hereafter VOC) in Gujarat, embarked on a pilgrimage to Benares. Before setting out, Ruderam was ordered by the Dutch to inspect the ruins of the VOC factory at Agra, which had been shuttered three years before. Ruderam’s survey of the factory’s debris was a bizarre postmortem for a site that had housed such famous chroniclers of the VOC experience in Mughal India as Palsaert, de Jonghe, and Ketelaar. Ragdas’ journey hints at the fraying of a complex relationship that had existed between the VOC and Mughal state over the past century, but which remains poorly understood, especially on its economic side.

This paper uses sources in Persian and Dutch to examine the history of the factory, which operated intermittently between 1621 and 1727. It explores four themes: 1) the place of the factory against the backdrop of the urban infrastructure of Mughal Agra; 2) the factory’s function as a VOC listening post on the Mughal court; 3) the factory’s role as a node of cafila networks linking inland commodity markets and maritime trade; and 4) the activity of Indian brokers. These themes speak to the richness of the archival material pertaining to the Agra factory, which nonetheless is remarkably understudied. While the factory formed a partial subject of a pioneering thesis by H.W. van Santen over forty years ago, it has never attracted systematic attention, overshadowed by in-depth research on the VOC in Surat, Bengal, and South India.

A close study of the voluminous materials on the Agra factory serves as a counter-balance to the maritime bias of much scholarship on European trade in the Mughal Empire, and draws attention to the dense Mughal legal and physical infrastructures governing the overland trade.

Maarten Draper is a Research Fellow on the ERC-funded project 'CAPASIA: The Asian Origins of Global Capitalism' at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. He is a socio-economic historian of the early modern period with particular interests in the history of commerce, finance, and shipping. His research concerns how informal networks, migration, and institutions interact and shape economic and commercial behaviour in this period. He was previously a lecturer at the University of Groningen and completed his PhD at the EUI.

Mike O'Sullivan is Assistant Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. He is also a research fellow for 'CAPASIA: The Asian Origins of Global Capitalism' at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence.

Courting the 'Other': Occult and Political Culture beyond Mughal Hindustan, 1720-1750 CE.

Samyak Ghosh
National Law School of India University, Bengaluru

Drawing on early modern Assamese records, in this paper, I study cultural encounters between the royal courts of the Tai-Ahom Tungkhungia kings of Brahmaputra Valley (in present-day Assam) and the Kachwaha Rajputs of Amer (in present-day Rajasthan). The Kachwaha kings held elite profiles in the Timurid Mughal court and played a crucial role in the expansion of the Mughal empire in seventeenth-century Hindustan. Their relationship with the Tungkhungia kings was forged through networks of travelling soldiers, monks, artists, and scholars. These courtly-monastic networks were crucial for the early eighteenth-century Tungkhungia royal court and its self-perception within the Persianate world. Historians have generally ignored these histories of 'connections' that reveal the influence of Mughal-Rajput cultural networks beyond the realm of Hindustan.

In this paper, I reconstruct the eighteenth-century knowledge of the 'occult', expressed in contemporary Assamese manuscripts on medicine and cure, as a site of recovering lost histories of cultural encounter between the Mughal Empire and regions beyond its 'frontiers'. 'Occult' framed ideas of kingship and was a substance of Tungkhungia political culture formed through the interactions of the transregional Persianate and the local Tai-Ahom worlds. I study courtly rituals, recipes of cures from courtly manuals (on disease of animals), paintings, and scripts to highlight the embeddedness of the Tungkhungia courtly world within a Persianate cultural sphere, considered as the realm of the 'other' by courtly intellectuals. I suggest that the Tungkhungia courtly self was formed through a mutual comprehensibility of the 'other', an idea that undergirded the knowledge of difference as expressed in Assamese records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This paper, thus, draws attention to the significance of the Mughals in the early modern world, by focusing on cultural processes in a region (i.e. Brahmaputra Valley) often ignored in transregional histories of Mughal Hindustan.

Samyak Ghosh (he/they) is a historian of the Early Modern World and an Assistant Professor in History at the National Law School of India University (NLSIU), Bengaluru. He completed a PhD in South Asian History from Columbia University. His PhD dissertation is titled, “Formations of the King: Politics, Pleasure, and Law in Eighteenth-century Brahmaputra Valley, 1700-1750”. His articles and chapters have appeared in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* and the edited volume *Textual Histories of Caste Across the Ages*. He is currently completing his first book titled, “Courting Difference: Ahom Courtly Culture in Transregional Asia”.

Revenue Collection in the Border Provinces of the Mughals and Marathas in the Eighteenth Century

Michihiro Ogawa
Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo

This paper explores how the borders between the Mughals and the Marathas territorially defined the sovereignty in the eighteenth-century India. As a result of the fierce struggle between the Mughals and the Marathas, in 1719 the Mughal Emperor issued the imperial grants (*farmān*) to the Maratha King, which allowed the Maratha king to collect two types of levies—namely, *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī*—in the six provinces of Deccan under the Mughal Empire. After these grants were issued, a dual administrative system was established in the six provinces, under which both Maratha and Mughal officers collected revenue. In short, the grants of 1719 defined the six Deccan provinces as a vast "border" between the Mughals and the Marathas.

Based on these circumstances, this paper demonstrates in detail how the Marathas and the Nizam—successors to the rights and privileges of the Mughal Empire in these provinces—divided land revenue rights and various privileges in their border areas during the late eighteenth century. The analysis is based on unpublished Marathi documents written in Modi script, preserved in the Maharashtra State Archives, Pune (The Peshwa Daftar). In short, the border did not exclusively divide the territories of these two states. In this situation, this system for dividing the revenues of villages or counties was called *dutarfa* meaning two directions. In a village under this system, the village headman sent grain or money to both states as taxes. The timing and share of each payment appeared to be fixed according to local customs. In this context, states were not exclusive rulers but recipients within this local distribution system which managed the *dutarfa* system at the local level. This system illustrates not only the complex horizontal relations among states in eighteenth-century India, but also the vertical relations between the state and the village.

Michihiro Ogawa has been Associate Professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, the University of Tokyo, since 2021. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Pune, India, in 2013. He previously served as a Research Fellow at the National Institute for the Humanities (2013–2016) and at the Institute of Developing Economies (JETRO) in 2016, before holding the position of Associate

Professor at Kanazawa University (2016–2021). His research focuses on the socio-economic history of Western India in the early modern period, particularly the transition of the land revenue system from the Marathas to the Bombay Presidency. More recently, his interests have expanded to include changes in trade during this period.

His publications include, “The Spatial Analysis of the Transition of the Land Revenue System in Western India (1761–1836), with Special Reference to Indapur Pargana”, in Bina Sengar and Laurie Hovell McMillin (eds.), *Spaces and Places in Western India: Formations and Delineations,* Routledge, 2019, and “Inland Trade Networks under the Marathas in the 18th–19th Century with Special Reference to Indāpūr Pargaṇā in Puṇe Subhā”, in Radhika Seshan and Ryuto Shimada (eds.), *Connecting the Indian Ocean World Across Sea and Land*, Routledge India, 2023.

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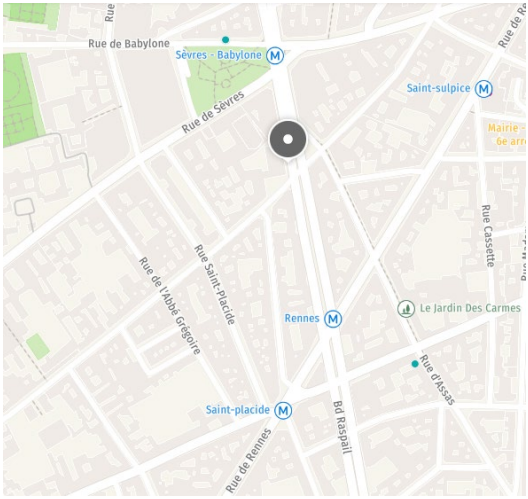

Public Transport

- Métro 4 (Stations « Saint-Sulpice or Saint-Placide »)
- Métro 10 (Station « Sèvres Babylone »)
- Métro 12 (Station « Sèvres Babylone »)
- Bus (Station « Sèvres Babylone »): 63, 68, 70, 83, 84, 86 et 94

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