CHAPTER III

KING AND KINGS HOUSEHOLD

Position of the Monarch:

Upto the time of Aurangzeb both in theory and practice the Mughul emperors occupied a position of unique power and prestige in the country. After his death, the position of the kings began to deteriorate so that by the time of Shah Alam II, the position of the King, was reduced to a mere nonentity. "In the reign of Aurangzeb", says Forester, "it may, without any violation of truth, be said, that Hindustan, whether for its wealth, magnitude or military resources, was the most distinguished Empire in the Asiatic World. It must also be noticed that the English at that period were not known beyond the sea-coasts of India, where they occupied, under various restrictions the profession of merchants. Behold the scene presented in our day of the feeble princes of Delhi; where a near successor of the great Alamgir, impelled by the destruction of his fortunes, is seen soliciting in a country so lately under the dominion of his ancestors, maintenance and protection from an English Subjects." 1

This loss of royal power and prestige was due amongst other causes to the character of the rulers of this period, most of whom had neither the will or the ability to guide the ship of state and others who might have provided able rulers in normal times, were paralysed by court and palace intrigues.

Not much is known of the private life of Bahadur Shah. His greatest fault was that he was over-generous in distribution of money and offices and unable to say no to any one. He found 13 crores of rupees in the fort of Agra at his accession and at once distributed 4 crores among his family members and offices.

He was very careless and indifferent in administrative matter. He would at times ridicule his own weakness. Once Hamid-ud-din asked for the title of Rai for his private diwan, Kesari Singh. Bahadur Shah wrote across the petition, "Khans in every house and Rais in every bazar." To please Hamid-ud-din Khan let this blockhead (gidi) also be a Rai. After that, wherever the man went, they spoke of him as Gidi Rai.

The mansabs or ranks granted by Bahadur Shah were higher than ever granted before him, and titles were conferred regardless of the fact that another man already bore the same title. One mansabdar petitioned the Emperor that he had lost his family title because it had been granted to another person. On that petition, Bahadur Shah wrote, "Granted, granted, granted even if another man has it." From that time the methodical and systematic distribution and conferment of titles was abandoned. Danishmand Khan informs us that there were three persons who at the same time bore the title of Fazil Khan. During his reign members of the

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4. ibid, II, p. 628.
The royal family began to interfere in the routine work of the state. The signatures of the emperor were forged. Consequently the emperor's signature lost its value. A court wage found the chronogram for his accession in "Shah-i-be Khahar," (the unheeding king).

Jahandar Shah (1713 A.D.) was a notorious debauchee and a libertine and addicted to the most degrading sensual enjoyments. He was an open-hearted, generous, pleasure-loving fool, who took delight in the company of buffoons and fiddlers and squandered the riches of the state in ministering to his grosser appetites. Consequently the fear and awe of the emperor disappeared from the hearts of men and irregularities crept in the administrative machinery.

He and his confidant Lal Kunwar, in defiance of etiquette, often visited the markets together, seated in a bullock cart, making such purchases as took their fancy. One night they entered the house of a wine seller, a friend of Lal Kunwar. They had drunk too much and were intoxicated. The woman owning the shop was rewarded with a large sum of money and a grant of the revenue of a village. During the journey home, they both fell asleep, and, on reaching the palace, Lal Kunwar was taken out of the 'rath by her women and carried to her room. The driver of the cart,

2. Muhammad Shafi Tehrani, Tarikh-i-Chaghtai, (MS), f. 279.
4. Mirza Mubarakullah, Sawanih Azam Khani, f. 103a
who had also shared in the carouse, left it at the stable gate. Later at Lal Kunwar's direction the cart was searched and they found the emperor fast asleep in it, nearly two miles from the palace.

So superstitious and so indifferent to decorum was Jahandar Shah that he used to bathe every Sunday with Lal Kunwar, both absolutely naked, in the tank at the shrine of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh Dehlvi, in the hope that his saintly intercession might bless them with an offspring.

All respect or fear of the sovereign disappeared from men's mind. When the emperor went out to hunt or for recreation, not a single noble attended on him, nor was he accompanied by any armed force, as was the tradition during the Muslim period. Jahandar Shah raised low born fiddlers, drummers, buffoons, and vegetable sellers, all relations of Lal Kunwar to high mansabs and honoured them with high sounding titles. Khausuh-hal Khan, a brother of Lal Kunwar, was appointed to the Subah of Allahabad. He was honoured by a Khilat and a mansab of five thousand Zat and three thousand Sawar. Zulfiqar Khan, the Bakhshi, deliberately delayed the issue of the Spanad. Lal Kunwar complained against the Bakhshi. Jahandar Shah asked Zulfiqar Khan the reason of

1. Muntakib-ul-Lubab (Text), II, p. 690, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Nama, f. 61a; Sawanih Azama Khani, f. 103b.
3. Mullah Muhammad Mahm, Tanguh-ul-Akhbar (MS), f. 268b, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Nama, f. 61b; Sawanih Azama Khani, f. 103b.
5. Azam Khan Bahadur, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Nama (MS), f. 61a; Mirza Mubarakullah, Sawanih Azama Khani, (MS), ff. 102b, 103a.
the delay in the issue of the order. He replied that it was a well-known practice that no public office was granted without a bribe. Jahandar Shah laughingly inquired what sort of bribe, the Bakhshi desired from Lal Kunwar. The Bakhshi in reply said, "One thousand guitars," because that when musicians were sent to govern provinces, nobles must discard their weapons and learn to play on the guitar. On hearing this ironical reply, Jahandar Shah was ashamed and cancelled the appointment.

Lal Kunwar was honoured with the title of 'Intiyaz Mahal.' An annual allowance of two crores of rupees was made for her household expenses, exclusive of expenses for clothes and jewels.

Irvine sums up the character of Jahandar Shah in the following words: "His conduct during his few months of power showed him to be quite unfitted to hold rule over others, being unable, even according to the somewhat lax Eastern standard, to govern himself. He was the first sovereign of the house of Taimur who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule. The only good quality left to him, in popular estimation, was his liking for and liberality to religious mendicants. In company with Lal Kunwar, he visited them and kissed their feet." He was also fond of watching the fighting of elephants. He delighted in illuminations and fire-works, himself setting fire to the Lanka, the mimic fortress of Ravan, the ravisher of Sita. The cause of his fall is...to the case of the exiled monarch, who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing."

2. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Nama, f. 61a; Savanih Azam Khani, f. 103a.
Farrukhsiyar (1712-1719 A.D.) was a generous and liberal prince. He was fond of fine clothes and fine horses. He loved gold-embroidered raiments bordered with gold lace, such as no sovereign had worn before. Several thousand horses were maintain in his private stables, and a select number of them were tethered under the balcony of the room where he slept. The Khan Saman had strict orders about the horses being properly fed. Once Muhammad Yar Khan, when holding that office, reported that the quantity of fodder issued for the horses was in excess of the regulations. Farrukhsiyar directed him to pay up to one gold coin a day for each of them.

Farrukhsiyar was much devoted to Polo-playing and hunting and regularly went out of Dehli to hunt or shoot in the imperial preserves round the city. He spent immense amount of money on his marriage with the daughter of Ajit Singh, more than any king of the south or north had ever done before, declares Muhammad Ali Khan. As a result of the extravagance, the treasury became empty and the soldiers were in arrears for twelve months.

Farrukhsiyar, himself the most cowardly man, was a puppet in the hands of the Sajjad brothers, with whose active support he had captured the throne of Dehli. From this period onward, we find that the prestige and awe of the Kings had gradually been reduced to the most degrading position. Some differences arose

1. Regarding the dresses of the rulers of the 18th century, See: Mu'izz-ullah-d-d-Baligha (Urdu Trans), pp. 162-163.
between the emperor and the Saiyad brothers over the distribution of office and the activities of the rival clique. These differences led to the assassination of Farrukhsiyar.

After a short reign of Rafi-ud-Darjat (1719 A.D.) who had been raised to the throne by the Saiyad brothers, Rafi-ud-Daula was seated on the throne. He beguiled his time in listening to music and indulgence in other sensual pleasures. He was so indifferent to the state affairs that he never knew what was happening inside the palace. As a matter of fact he was virtually a prisoner of the all powerful Saiyad brothers. He was finally removed from the throne and succeeded by Muhammad Shah. With the accession of Muhammad Shah, a new chapter in the dissipated life of the Mughal rulers begins. He was popularly known as 'Kangila'.

The contemporary writers unanimously refer to his love of pleasure and gay life. Rustam Ali remarks: "This Muhammad Shah Badshah is a debauchee and ease-loving; indifferent from administrative affairs of the country and inclined towards dissolute disposition." Young and handsome, with strong limbs, his sedentary life and sexual excesses soon impaired his constitution and he became a confirmed invalid by the time he was forty. His health

1. For details see, Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (Text), II, pp. 396-421; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p. 820.
2. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Name, f. 32a.
3. Rustam Ali, Tarikh-i-Hindi (MS), p. 470; For the details regarding the luxurious life of Muhammad Shah see, Tazkirat-ul-Mulu (MS), ff. 132a, b; Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani (MS), pp. 16-19. Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi's Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin (MS), ff. 201b, 202a, Janki Ram's Fakhriz Khandan-ul-Mughal, f. 102b; Majaa-ul-Akhbar (MS), ff. 450b, 456a, Isqaya-i-Badaya (Oriental College Magazine, Feb., 1950, p. 55).
was further impaired by his taking to opium and this made him so weak that it became impossible for him to move from his palace.

Muhammad Shah used to dress himself in female attire and female slippers. He and his nobles were devoted to dancing and music and the company of women. "His sole diversion outside the harem was witnessing animal fights on the sandy bank of the Jaman below the Jharoka in Dehli palace." He was at the same time much attached to the society of mystics and philosophers and held long conversations with them. He asked them to expound to him philosophical problems.

Muhammad Shah had fallen under the influence of Koki Jiu and her companions, Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan and Raushan-ud-Daula Zafar Khan of Panipat, completely neglecting the business of state. Consequently the position of the King was reduced to a cipher. The Wazir, Shah Abdul Ghaffar had captured all powers, while Muhammad Shah's share in the government was, 'to sit on the throne and wear the crown.'

1. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 4; The poet 'Abru, has referred Muhammad Shah's habit of drinking of Bhang in this verse:

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\text{Diwan-i-'Abru, f. 126.}
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2. Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan (MS), p. 76


4. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 4.

5. Qazi Hurrata Husain, Hadisat-ul-Aqalim, (Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1879), p. 44.

6. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 9.

7. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 4, for further details see also p. 5.
Muhammad Shah was extremely extravagant. Regarding his income, Shakir Khan informs us that he received one crore and a few lacs rupees from Khalsa lands, fifty lacs as presents, one crore and fifty lacs from Bengal, besides income from other sources and all this amount was spent before the end of the year. Consequently the treasury was always empty and the soldiers pay in arrears. When Ahmad Shah ascended the throne, he had to face acute financial difficulties by selling the household gold and silver utensils and vessels. This decreased the prestige of the monarch in the public eye. This inactivity and weakness of the emperor opened the way for internal and external enemies of the Mughal empire. There was no security of life and property and the imperial provinces became the hunting ground for the Jats and the Marhattas.

The greatest calamity that fell the empire was the invasion of Nadir Shah. The story of the sack of Dehli, the numerous executions, the rich spoils carried away and the misery of the people have been preserved in prose and verse. Anand Ram Mukhlis remarks that Dehli had to face such a misfortune after three hundred and forty eight years.

The total booty obtained by Nadir Shah is estimated at one hundred and eighty crores of rupees, including the peacock throne,

1. Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan (M3), p. 16.
and the famous diamond Koh-i-Nur. The author of Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi regretting the state of affairs writes that, 'an Empire of four hundred years was razed to the ground.'

While Nadir Shah was about to leave India, the emperor Muhammad Shah bowed low in gratitude and said: "As the generosity of the Shahanshah has made me a second time master of a crown and a throne and exalted me among the crowned heads of the world, I beg to offer as my tribute the provinces of my empire west of the river Indus, from Kashmir to Sind, and in addition the Suban of Tattha and the ports subordinate to it. Thus, the trans-Indus provinces and Afghanistan were finally lost to the heirs of Babar."

Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), who succeeded his father, Muhammad Shah, 'had not even been given sufficient allowances to live in ordinary comfort, nor permitted to enjoy the usual games and amusements of princes such as polo, animal combats and hunting during his father's life time. The result was that his natural dulness of intellect was not cured by education, and he grew to manhood as a good-natured imbecile, without a personality of his own and entirely dominated by others.' His education had been totally neglected and had received the worst possible training for a ruler of men. Totally ignorant of administration, he immediately was surrounded by worthless men who provided to his low tastes. He neglected the duties and spent his time in drunken

2. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi (MS), ff. 12a, 136a.
4. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 184.
reveled and plunged into sensual pleasures without check. Javid Khan on his part, encouraged the unhappy youth to drink wine and filled his harem with women. With these debased women came equally debased men whose only business was to humour him. "Gradually the Emperor's mind inclined to the society of vulgar and he practiced evil deeds which made him a shame to the country". 2

Major Polier wrote from Delhi in 1777 A.D. - Prince Ahmad after his accession to the throne, "gave himself up entirely to the drinking of wine, bhang, charas, and other intoxicating liquors, and left an eunuch, the gallant of his mother, the sole disposer of everything". 3

The Queen-mother Udham Bai, became very influential during this period. At a time when the soldiers were daily mutinying for their long overdue pay and the government could not raise even two laks of rupees by selling the palace plates, Udham Bai committed the criminal folly of spending two crores in celebrating her birth-day 21st January, 1745 A.D. 4

1. For Javid Khan's influence on Ahmad Shah see: Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 189.

2. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, pp. 184-85. Hadigatul Aqalimi: "Javid Khan, the eunuch, always kept Ahmad Shah plunged deep in dissipation". p. 135.

Also see: Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah. Ps. 6a, 13b, 14a, 21a, 25a, Siver, III, p. 27. Hazin remarks about Ahmad Shah (Text)

3. Vide Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 185 (P.N.).

4. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 188.
The end of Ahmad Shah's reign shows the extent to which the position of the kings had been reduced. Once Safdar Jang, the wazir, by learning the ill intentions of the emperor stopped visiting the court. On this the emperor began to flatter the wazir and he personally visited the wazir's residences and put many excuses. Imad-ul-Mulk, the new wazir, imprisoned the emperor and his mother. The fallen monarch cried out for water in the agony of the thirst and mental anguish. After a week, Ahmad Shah and his mother both were blinded.

Alamgir Sani (1754-1759 A.D.) the grand son of Jahandar Shah who ascended the throne was utterly wanting in strength and resolution. He openly used to declare himself a puppet in the hands of his wazir without any power to guide the government. He was a mere shadow, never daring to assert his own will or express his own judgement but leaving everything to his wazir's discretion even more absolutely than Farrukhsiyar or Muhammad Shah. He passed his time in hunting expeditions and in enjoying music and dancing. He always remained in the company of women. One night overpowered by his sexual appetite, he entered the female apartment, but was beaten back by the female servants.

3. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, p.3.
4. Ibid., II, p.5.
Qazi Murtaza Husain has given a vivid account of a public darbar. This darbar was arranged in the Qudsia bagh, where a big tent was raised. The author was present at that time there. The darbar was decorated with fine tents and carpets of different colours. The emperor dressed in white garment, sat on the throne. Seven other persons, among the sons and relations of the emperor were sitting on his left and right side. Besides them, on the right side stood the son of Khan-Dauran, who had succeeded to his father as Bakhshi-i-Mumali, then and Ghaziuddin Khan son of Asaf Jah, dressed in Akh-i-Jaam, the dress which was prohibited in the court up to the reign of Muhammad Shah stood on the left of the throne. When the emperor asked a question, the said noble merely laughed. This behaviour of the noble astonished the author who remembered the court etiquette of Muhammad Shah. On every side the dancing girls, mimics and story-tellers were showing their performances. When the sun was about to set, the darbar was suspended. At the time of departure, the emperor regarded the nobles by offering them (betel-leaves) by his own hands.

The seven invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali gave the death blow to the tottering Empire. The immensity of the booty taken away from India can be gauged from the enormous size of the transport required to carry it. The Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, elephants, mules, bullocks and carts, while 200 camels - loads of property were taken by Muhammad Shah widow who accompanied him and these too belonged to him. Eighty thousand horses and foot followed him, each carrying away spoils.


The author of Tarikh-i-Rampur writes:

"سدن عہد جنگ مسلسل انٹراز مولت و جہرہ بانی ناماند" یہاں

Khawaja Bashir, Tarikh-i-Rampur (MS) F.182 b.

The cavalry returned on foots loading their booty on their changes. For securing transport, the Afghan King left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey..... In Delhi no sword was left with any body.

After the departure of Abdali, the turn of the Marhattas came who spread all over northern India and plundered and looted the cities and towns. Alamgir Sani was murdered treacherously by Imad-ul-Mulk. The Emperor was persuaded to pay a visit to a saint who had newly arrived at Fīrūz Koṭla. The innocent Emperor accepted the proposal and there where he was murdered by the persons appointed by Imad-ul-Mulk. The dead body was thrown on the sand of Yamuna and later on it was buried.

During the short reign of Shah Jahan II, the monarchy had become a child's play.

Shah Alam Sani (1759-1806 A.D.) succeeded his father, Alamgir, II. More than twelve years passed before his wanderings ceased and he entered the city of his fore-fathers as a sovereign. During the interim period the capital remained kingless. The life of neglect and captivity that had shared with his father till the age of 25 had prevented him from acquiring experience of men and state affairs or developing his potential faculties. After his failure against the English in 1764 A.D. Shah Alam had to surrender the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English. The English promised on their part to pay 26 lacRs of rupees annually as a pension to the Emperor. Later on the English made a treaty with Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh and took Kara and Allahabad from his territory for

1. Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, p.93.
2. For details see: Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, pp.79-269.
3. Šīyār (Text N.K.) II, p.676. Also see: Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah 29.
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the maintenance of the Emperor. In short, the emperor became 1
a virtual prisoner and pensioner of the English.

Shah Alam lived at Allahabad from 1765 A.D. to 1771 A.D.
under the protection of the English. He was a sovereign
without a Capital or any hand in the administration. On the
invitation of the Marhattas, Shah Alam went to Delhi to occupy
the throne of his forefathers. At Delhi, the emperor became
the virtual prisoner of the Marhattas. Shah Alam himself
expresses his helpless condition in the following verse:

"مَا هُوَ اِلَّا مَالٌ كَثِيرٌ..." 3

It is in this helpless condition, Ghulam Qadir captured
the fort, blinded and deposed the emperor. "Perhaps no monarch
ever suffered more humiliation than the successors of Timur,
Akbar and Aurangzeb now experienced."

1. Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (Eng. Trans.) III, p.9, Fall of the
Mughal Empire, II, pp 400-401.

2. Regarding the reasons of leaving Allahabad by Shah Alam
Comte de Modave, who visited Delhi in 1776 A.D. writes:
"Shah Alam did not take a long time to discover that the
outward respects of the English concealed a real servitude",
vide Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, p.403.

Polier remarks, "Though the Emperor had been extremely well
treated by some of the commanding (British) officers, at
Allahabad, yet it is no less true, he had sometimes met with
different usage and been much slighted." Shah Alam II and
his Court, p.1.

p.65.

4. For further details see: Waziyat-i-Ghulam Qadir, Hakim Mir
Quarat-ullah Khan- Kuliyat-i-Qasim (MS) Anjuman Taraqqi
Urdu, Ali arh, pp. 401; The History of the reign of Shah
Alam pp. 249-51.

5. For further details see: Twining's Travel, pp.238-239.
Muslim Society in Northern India in the 16th Century

The eighteenth century is a formative period in the political and cultural history of medieval India. The Mughal Empire which had for centuries held together the complex social and political fabric of medieval India began to disintegrate. As a result the Indo-Muslim Society was called upon to face new moral and material challenges arising out of the emergence of new political powers, financial bankruptcy of the state, agrarian distress, decay of old industries and towns, poverty of the middle class, etc., thus leading to the growth of a new social order which forms a watershed between the old and the new.

Considerable research work has lately been done on the various political and military aspects of the Mughal Empire in the 18th Century, but so far no attempt has been made to study the condition of Muslim Society in that critical and transitional period. This thesis attempts to fill this gap in our historical studies.

As regards the sources, I have mainly relied upon Indian contemporary literature - Persian, Urdu and the relevant contemporary traveller's accounts. The contemporary Persian chronicles and literary works of eminent Persian and Urdu poets and theologians have also been utilised. The official and semi-official histories of the period have been used for the treatment of the institution of monarchy and Mughal aristocracy. The tajirates, biographies, sawais, story, books, books on grammar etc., and Mafiusat of eminent saints, some of the not fully utilised so far, have been made use of. The Kulliyats, Divans, and Namans, both Persian and Urdu, which are rich in material for the study of the social, economic, political and religious conditions of the period, yet unexplored, have been fully used, without which the social history of the 18th century can never be properly understood and written.

I have discussed the main sources in the Introduction PP V- XIV and a detailed list is given in the bibliography at the end.

Yours Obediently,

Mohammed

(Mohammad Umay)
A poet writes:

هک حماود دعیم، از لهه، ت پالم

Of the twenty provinces of the Mughal empire after Muhammad Shah by 1780 A.D., Kabul, Qandhar and Sindh were in the possession of Ahmad Shah Abdali's son; the provinces of Multan, Thatta, Bakhhar, Lahore and upto Karnal, were in the hands of the Sikhs; the eight provinces of Deccan, including Gujrat and Malwa were governed by the Marathas, not only this, their influence had reached upto Kalpi, Gwalior and upto the bank of the Chambal river. The Subha of Hyderabad was controlled by the successors of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, who had founded an independent dynasty there. The three provinces of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar were under the control of the English. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula governed the large part of Oudh, i.e. in one side stood Etawah and on the other Patna. Akbarabad (Agra) was governed by Najaf Khan Bahadur. Broadly speaking only the province of Dehli was in the direct control of the emperor Shah Alam.

W. Franklin commenting on the period and circumstances under which Shah Alam II, had ascended the throne remarks:

"But he unfortunately reigned at a time when the royal authority was in its most degraded state and when great and shining talents were necessary to render permanent his power and curb the licentious effusion of rebellions and discontented subjects. The sun of time, has justly observed, is most probably set for ever, and...it may be added that the decline and utter extinction of that august family was reserved to the days of the unfortunate Shah Alam." 3

1. Puller remarks about the territorial possessions of Shah Alam II thus: "The King's possessions are confined mostly to the environs of Delhi and the whole may amount to 70 pargunas (parganas) great and small"- Shah Alam II And His Court, p.6 Compare with Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai(MS), pp. 484-486.
2. Chahar-Gulzar-i-Shujai(MS), p. 486; For independent states see: Shah Wali-Ullah Ke Siyasi Maktubat, pp. 97-106.
Though he was an old man, he had fallen in love with a dancing, low-born lady, popularly known as Azizan. He married and honoured her with the title of Malika-i-Alam. Whenever she became angry, Shah Alam put up with all sorts of humiliation to appease her anger.

Shah Alam was well-versed in Persian and Arabic and compose poems of high standard. He maintained a good number of poets in his court and enjoyed himself in literary discourses with them.

Attachment to luxury and dissipation of the rulers was one of the most important causes of their downfall. Shah Alam was not an exception. He himself writes about his own luxurious life:

\[\text{مع تو جام سے گزرتی ہے} \quad \text{شہدلا رام سے گزرتی ہے} \]
\[\text{غلبیت کی خبر خدا ہے} \quad \text{اب تو آرام سے گزرتی ہے} \]

The dismemberment of the empire and the establishment of the independent principalities reduced the income of the central Government to such an extent that the emperor Shah Alam became a pauper.

It is said that once the drummers sounded the drums for march, but Shah Alam postponed it on the request of Patel. The drummers, according to the tradition and convention of the preceding rulers, demanded 125 rupees as a reward. According to

1. *Wagaya-i-Alam Shadi*, p. 111
2. Ibid, p. 60. Also see *Shah Alam II And His Court*, p. 68. Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi, *Tazkira-i-Hindi* (Delhi, 1933), p. 4.
Firaqi thus Sultanat Bakhsh king with great hesitation gave only one rupee and four annas and when they protested against it, the emperor replied:

"آن ورق بركة وآن دفتر را کا می ورد وآن دوکان برچیده شد - چم کاشت از جام اوپانه شاند، آن ندرد بشکست وآن ساقی نه ماند - این هم فطنی جمع و والا نهمت ما بهدیزی است که در چنین اوقات بسیار سهل بست آنها بخشنم."

While writing about the reign of Akbar II, Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan remarks, "Though Akbar Shah ascended the throne, but the financial difficulties continued as in the time of Shah Alam. In the time of Shah Alam there was financial bankruptcy. The condition of the royal household was worst. The princes who lived in the New Mohalla of the fort, did not get their monthly allowances and they cried from the roofs of their houses, that they were dying, from hunger." Mir compared his poverty with that of Shah Alam in this verse:

سنیز که هرکسی بالام ہو گا جبی شاء عام 3

**Routines:**

The later Mughal rulers followed the traditions set up by Akbar regarding the daily programme. The author of *Janifa-i-Iqbal* has given us a detailed account of the routine followed.

   Also see: *Twilight of the Mughals*, p. 52.
by emperor Muhammad Shah. The emperor got up early before sun rise and offered his morning prayers and recited the Qur'an. After it, he appeared at the Jharoka-i-Parshan. Soldiers, merchants, artisans and peasants etc. flocked there for a look at the king. Sometimes from that place the emperor witnessed the elephant fights, and inspected the elephants. This was followed by the darbar-i-Am. It was here that fresh appointments were made, promotions granted to the officers, and foreign visitors and state officers were interviewed. Provincial governors and other officers proceeding on military duties or to their head-quarters, appeared before the king, on the day of their departure in this darbar.

After the public darbar, the emperor held private darbar. Petitions and the letters from princes and provincial governors were presented to the king. The king personally read those letters from beginning to the end and orders were dictated to the munshi. Munshi Chandra Bhan informs us that after the state business was over, dancing girls and musicians appeared on the scene and the king enjoyed their performances. After the meeting of Diwan-i-Khas, the king retired to his female apartment for his lunch. He generally used to take meals thrice

1. Sahifa-i-Iqbal (MS), f. 34a, compare with Gulasta-i-Munshi Chandra Bhan, ff. 4a, 4b.
2. Gulasta-i-Munshi Chandra Bhan, f. 5a.
3. Sahifa-i-Iqbal (MS), f. 35a.
4. Gulasta-i-Munshi Chandra Bhan, f. 9a
5. ibid, f. 11a.
6. Sahifa-i-Iqbal (MS), f. 35b
a day. Before retiring, he conducted some business relating to the haram.

The king offered his after-noon prayers in congregation, in which the leading Ulema, divines and other courtiers participated. After it, the meeting of the Ulema was held and in the theological discussions the king took part. These discussions continued till the evening prayer. After it, the emperor retired to the Shah Burj and remained engaged there for about an hour in prayers. Sometimes, State business, like signing of farmans etc., was executed there. After this he retired to the Diwan-i-Khas and offered his night prayers in the Tasbih Khana.

Muhammad Shah was keenly interested in the game of Chausar. He played Chausar at night. When he retired to his bed, the story-tellers recited the stories from history books, like Zafar Nama, Waziyat-i-Babari and Akbar nama.

Diwan-i-Adalat (Justice)

Muhammad Shah had set apart Sunday and Thursday for attending to judicial cases; Saturday and Monday for hunting expeditions.

1. Sahifa-i-Iqbal (MS), f. 35b.
2. Ibid. f. 35b.
3. Ibid. f. 36a.
4. Ibid. f. 36b.
5. Ibid. f. 37a.
6. Ibid. f. 37b.
7. Ibid. f. 37b.
9. Sahifa-i-Iqbal (MS), f. 34b.
10. Ibid. f. 34b.
Friday: On this day the king used to go for Juma prayer in the Jama Masjid. The contemporary historians give an excellent descriptions of court ceremonials. Apart from their spectacular value, these public shows enabled the king to keep in touch with his subjects and to minister the needs of the humble/the poor.

Nauroz: The popular Iranian festival was celebrated by early Mughal rulers till Aurangzeb abolished it on the ground that it was un-Islamic. During the time of the later Mughals, this festival was again revived and celebrated.

Weighing Ceremony:

The birthday ceremony and weighing of the king were performed annually. Aurangzeb had suspended the weighing ceremony, but his successor, Bahadur Shah revived it, and he was weighed on his 67th years in 1119 A.H. This ceremony continued to be observed during the 18th century.

Contemporary accounts of the routine activities of Mughal Kings give a picture of extreme dissolute and extravagant living. There was a senseless round of pleasure parties accompanied by ceremonials rigidly followed. For example, the festival of Basant was observed inside the palace with great festiviti
The ladies played with the flowers and a flower pot was carried about by dancing-women. Besides this, there were many other festivals observed inside the palace. Besides this, there were many other festivals observed inside the palace. 

1. For further details see: \textit{Nadrat-i-Shahi}, pp. 99, 141, 142, 143, 158, 159.

2. For details see: \textit{Nadrat-i-Shahi}, pp. 104, 119.

3. The last Tuesday of the Arabic month Safar, was a day of rejoicings among the Muslims of the 18th century. On this day, the men and women inside the palace used to go for a walk in the garden, sung songs, fasted, and congratulated each other. \textit{Nadrat-i-Shahi}, pp. 78, 91, 94, 98, 103, 109, 113, 114, 128.


6. Worship of Hindu goddess of learning, worshipped also by the Muslim ladies. For details see: \textit{Nadrat-i-Shahi}, pp. 104, 120, 174.


9. For details see: \textit{Nadrat-i-Shahi}, pp. 132, 134, 135, 139, 141, 143, 145, 152, 156, 157, 160, 221, etc.
Royal Seraglio.

The Mughal rulers maintained a large seraglio. Manucci informs us that during the reign of Aurangzeb, ordinarily there were within the palace two thousand women of different nationalities. Each had duties assigned to her - to attend on the king, or his wives or his daughters or his concubines. Each concubine was assigned her own set of rooms, and matrons were placed over them. In addition to these matrons, there were the female superintendents of music and women musicians. Among them were the female who taught reading and writing to the princesses and for their relaxation read books like 'Gulistan' and 'Boaten.'

Regarding the family of Shah Alam Sani, Polier remarks: "The king has a very numerous family, above 500 women and nearly 70 children male or female, besides grand children and exclusive those that have died."

Though Aurangzeb had forbidden music in the court, but it continued in the palace. Several dancing and singing women were maintained and special names were conferred on them. His successors were more interested in music and dance. A host of dancing and singing girls were employed in the harem. Shah Alam II entertained Twining with dance and music. Twining writes:

3. Polier, Shah Alam II, And His Court, pp. 69-70.
"A numerous set of handsome and richly dressed nautch or dancing girls appeared. They were accompanied by respectable band of musicians, with instruments not much unlike fiddles and guitars. They danced in a line before me, one or two sallying forth from the line at a time and after a few shuffling steps and postures, to the sound of the music and of little bells worn round their ankles, glided back to their places."

There were a host of bhagats (mimics) and buffoons in the court. A number of eunuchs served inside and outside the palace, and were in charge of a chief eunuch. This officer was highly esteemed by the king. He had a large allowance, had charge of the treasury, was the master of the wardrobe, decided on the details and the pattern of the sarapas (robes). It was he who had charge of all expenditure on clothes, the jewellery and of every that went into or came out the palace. The principal eunuchs were known as Nazirs. The kings, princes, queens and princesses, placed great confidence in them and each queen, princesses or other lady of high status had a Nazir in charge of her property, lands and income. All the officials, servants and slaves were bound to account to the Nazir for all they did and for whatever they possessed. The Nazir at the gate of the

1. Twining's Travel, p. 240.
2. For the names of mimics and buffoons attached to the court of Muhammad Shah see Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani (MS), p. 114.
royal palace was a very important officer. During the reign of Aurangzeb, he searched every thing going into the palace with great care, to stop the entry of bhang, wine, opium, nutmegs or other drugs. But in the 18th century, the Mughal rulers drank wine openly, and Nazir ceased to perform this duty. The Nazirs of this period were disloyal and false to their masters. Ali Khan, the Nazir, of Shah Alam II, joined Ghulam Qadir.

Officials.

A big staff of household officers, usherers and heralds were employed to arrange and control the palace and court life of the emperors. The royal bodyguards, the King's personal attendants, the palace guards, the staff for the inmates of the royal palace and a host of favourites were maintained. Attached to the palace were, a number of departments, incharge of daroha for each of it. The darocha-i-bawarchi khana supervised the kitchen and tasted the food which was served to the kings and royal family; darocha-i-kutub khana, supervised the library; darocha-i-zargar khana looked after the female dresses; darocha-i-tanur khana supervised the granaries, darocha-i-palkhy khana looked after the palkys, darocha-i-abu khana, the supervisor of the deers, darocha-i-gau khana, supervisor of the cows; darocha-i-tair, supervised the birds; darocha-i-shatru, supervisor of chess; darocha-i-asp khana, supervised the royal horses; darocha-i-tambool khana, supervisor of betels; darocha-i-shama khana was responsible for lights; darocha-i-naqar khana

2. The History of the reign of Shah Alam, p. 147. Also see: Tazkira-i-Gulsan-i-Hind, p. 7. Shakir Khani has given a list of the names of twenty-six principal eunuchs of the palace of Muhammad Shah, for their names see: Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani, (MS), p. 110.
supervisor of drums; darogha-i-suni khana, supervisor of the musical instruments; darogha-i-dawa khana, supervisor of medicine; darogha-i-ilaga bund, and darogha-i-khatam bundan, supervised the gold lace work and inlaid work respectively. The darogha-i-Khushbu khana (perfumery); darogha-i-shikar khana (the department which arranged royal hunting expeditions); darogha-i-bhandar khana (a place where household goods are kept); darogha-i-taushak khana (an officer incharge of wardrobe); darogha-i-feel khana (an incharge of camels); darogha-i-qush khana (an incharge of falconry); darogha-i-chini khana (an incharge of the apartment adorned with china); darogha-i-zaruf-khana (an incharge of vessels); darogha-i-Jawahir khana (an incharge of jewellery); darogha-i-ferras-khana (an officer who superintended the pitching of tents); darogha-i-ab-dar khana (an officer incharge of the repository of drinking water).

The Royal family and politics.

The royal family exercised a good deal of influence in politics of the day indirectly during the Mughal period in general and during the time of the later Mughals in particular. The senior queen was styled as Malika-i-Zanani or Malika Sahib. Jahandar Shah honoured Lal Kunwar with the title of Latiyaz Mahal, and Shah Alam II, gave Azizan, a dancing lady, whom he had married, the title of Malika-i-Alam.

1. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi (MS), ff 161a-183b.
2. Waqaya-i-Bada\(\text{\text{a}}\). (Oriental College Magazine, Nov., 1941) pp. 110, 118.
3. For the names of queens and princesses see: Storia Do Mogor, II, p. 333.
During the reign of Bahadur Shah, his wives Mahur Darwar and Amat-ul-Habib took keen interest in the daily business of the state. When Ikhtias Khan, who held the post of Ana-i-Mukarrar appointed Muhammad Sadiq Mustaid Khan (the author of Masir-i-Alamgiri) to receive all applications after the first order has been passed and then institute an inquiry whether the recipients were fit for service, and the grounds on which an office, or promotion had been granted to them. Mahur Darwar and Amat-ul-Habib put great pressure upon Mustaid Khan and forced him to sign the papers without such scrutiny. The mother of Farrukh-Sayar played a very important diplomatic part in effecting reconciliation between the emperor and the Jaiyad brothers.

Throughout his reign Muhammad Shah was influenced by favourites, most of them women and eunuchs, whom his weakness encouraged to interfere in public affairs. During the first year of the reign the most prominent and influential of these favourites was Hamim-un-nisa, popularly known as Koki Jin with her acolytes Kadi Khidmatgar Khan, a palace eunuch, Hamzah-un-Ijada Safar Khan of Ranipat, known usually by the nick name of Turre-i-Jaaz (Falcon’s crest) and Shah Abdul Shaffur. The Koki Juna was so influential that they interfered in every measure and secured large payments for every appointment done.

on their recommendations. Nizam-ul-Mulk became so disgusted that he abandoned the Wizarat.

Nawab Qudsia Begam, mother of Muhammad Shah and Mughalani Begam, wife of Zakaria Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, were the typical women politician of those days. After Ahmad Shah Abadali had annexed Lahore to his empire, he had appointed Mir Momin son of Moin-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Lahore, but due to his tender age, his mother was nominated to run the administration. When Ghulam Qadir dethroned Shah Alam II, the Dowagar Empress Malika-i-Zamani, made a pact with him to give the throne to her grand son, Bidar Bakht, in return for twelve lacs of rupees. As a result of this agreement Bidar Bakht was placed on the throne. In the court of Murshidabad, the harem ladies played very important part in the politics of the day. Nafisah Begam, Sarfaraz Khan's sister, who had adopted Aqa Baba Suchak, her nephew, entered service as governess in the household of Nawabzish Ahmad Khan, the eldest son of Haji Ahmad and used her influence to support her nephew's cause. Ghasiti Begam, widow of Nawabzish Ahmad Khan Shahamat Jang, who resided at Motijhil, opposed the accession of Shuja-ud-daula as the Nazim of Bengal. Later on, with the establishment of independent state of Oudh, the scene of royal female activities shifted to Faizabad and Lucknow and there the tradition of Dehli was continued by the Begams of Oudh.

1. For details see: Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, (Eng. Trans), II, pp.245-6
3. Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, pp. 36-44.
5. Fall of the Mughal Empire, III, p. 317.
6. He was then deputy governor of Decca.