CHAPTER IV

MUGHAL ARISTOCRACY

After the death of Aurangzeb the nobles, tried to usurp supreme power in the state; and the rulers, helpless to fight against them, willingly surrendered their powers into one of the favourites and plunged themselves in revels. The nobles defied the orders of the kings and once a noble had seized power, he set out to crush his rivals. This led to personal jealousies and wranglings and intrigues which weakened the government and prejudiced the maintenance of law and order.

Regarding the disastrous consequences of the civil dissensions Hodges writes: "The fine country exhibits in its present state, a melancholy proof the consequences of a bad government, of wild ambitions, and the horrors attending civil dissensions; for when the governors of this country were in plentitude of power, and exercised their rights with wisdom, from the excellence of its climate, with some degree of industry, it must have been a perfect garden, but all is in desolation and silence."

Bahadur Shah had won the throne with the active support of Munim Khan, whom he had promised wizarat. He openly admitted that he had won the throne due to latter's exertions, all he had won was due to his exertions." Bahadur Shah honoured him with the title of Khan Khana Bahadur Zafar Jang, raised his mansab from 1500 to 7000 horse, with a grant of two crores diams.

1. Hodges's Travel, p. 121.
The policy of Bahadur Shah was always one of conciliation. He pardoned all those who had taken sides against him and re-admitted them into imperial service. When Asad Khan, the wazir of the late emperor and his son Zulfiqar Khan, who had supported the cause of Azam Shah, presented themselves, with their hands bound; the hands of the first were united by the emperor himself, those of the second by the eldest son of the emperor, Jahandar Shah. Asad Khan claimed the post of wizarat which the emperor refused because it had already been given to Munim Khan, but offered him the post of walkil-mutlaq, which the later was not prepared to accept, but reluctantly accepted it later on. This policy lowered the position of the monarch in the eye of the public, in general, and his supporters, in particular.

Bahadur Shah's death was followed by another civil war and Jahandar Shah ascended on the throne. He fell under the influence of Lal Kunwar, who raised the fiddlers and drummers to mansabs and dignified them with high sounding titles. This resulted in a loss of equilibrium. The old nobles, found themselves in the background and humiliated. Zulfiqar Khan, the wazir, delegated his duties to a favourite Hindu subordinate Sabha Chand, a man who was harsh and bad temper. A feud arose

2. Later Mughals, I, p. 36.
between Zulfiqar Khan, the Wazir, and Ali Murad Khan Jahan
Kokaltash Khan, foster brother of the emperor and then Amir-ul-
Umara or second minister, whom Jahandar Shah had promised to
appoint wazir, when he would succeed the throne. It was in
this disorganised state that a claimant to the throne appeared
in the person of Farrukhsiyar. The famous Saiyad brothers,
who held the governments of Allahabad and Bihar, Hasan Ali
Khan and Husain Ali Khan espoused the cause of Farrukhsiyar,
With the accession of Farrukhsiyar, the court party politics
came into forefront. The Mughal officers and army were divided
into various groups - Mughal, Turani, and Irani. The Turani
party in the early stages was headed by Ubaid-ullah, Shariyat-
ullah Khan, a Turani, who, when a Qazi of Deccan, had acquired
great influence over Farrukhsiyar. Allied with him were other
personal friends and dependants of the emperor, the principal
man being Khwaja Asim (Ashraf Khan) a native of Agra. Shariyat
ullah Khan, although possessing little capacity for such high
office, was a bold and ambitious man, whose chief object was to
clear his way to power by destroying as many of the nobility as
possible and sowing the seeds of suspicion in the heart of
Farrukhsiyar against the Saiyads whom he hoped soon to supplant.
The Irani party was headed by the Saiyad brothers. "Owing
to the difference of religion, principally there was a strong

2. Amtakhab-ul-Lubab (Text), II, pp. 711-12; Siyar-ul-
Mutakbirin (Text), II, pp. 392-393.
3. Mirza Muhammad, Ibrat-Nama, vide Later Mughals, I, pp. 243-
249.
feeling of animosity...between the Turani and the Irani.  
Besides these major party groups, the third party consisted of the Hindustani nobles, Afghans, Arabs, Habshis, Rumis and Farangis. On the advice of Mir Jumla, many of the old nobles who had served under Alamgir and Bahadur Shah were executed.

With the enthronement of Farrukhsiyar, the quarrel between the emperor and Saiyad brothers began. The main question was the nominations to offices and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of Jahandar Shah's nobles. Khafi Khan writes that one of the blunders committed by Farrukhsiyar in the very outset of the reign was that he failed to realise the importance of the post of wizarat. He further remarks that the past great rulers gave this office to a man who had proved his valour, wisdom and experience. Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb never gave this office to the Saiyads of Barha in spite of their gallantry and valour.

The Saiyads, as was natural, looked upon Farrukhsiyar's accession to the throne as their own achievement and resented the grant of any share of power to other persons. On the other hand, the small group of Farrukhsiyar's intimate friends were aggrieved at their exclusion from a share in the spoils. To reduce the power of the Saiyads, the Turani party persuaded the emperor to

2. ibid, I, p. 274.
3. ibid, I, pp. 275-81.
raise two men, Khan Dauran and Mir Jumla to the same position to create a balance of power. The emperor, a man of no wisdom, accepted this advice. The Saiyad brothers began to take precaution against the conspiracies of the rivals. Farrukhshiyar became alarmed and without any regard to his high position or taking any active action, he opened negotiations with the Saiyad brothers. This made them more strong and they insisted upon the king removing Mir Jumla from the court and appoint their nominees to all the posts relating to the fort. Consequently the emperor conceded their demands. Mir Jumla was transferred to Azimabad (Patna). Nizam-ul-Mulk was succeeded in the government of Deccan by Husain Ali Khan. The party of the emperor tried to seize Qub-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan when he would come to pay obeisance in the court. But they failed in their attempt because the later had already been informed about the plot by his spies. Abdullah Khan called his brother, Husain Ali Khan from Deccan, who concluded a treaty with the Marhattas and invited them to accompany him to Delhi. The dispute ended, with the capture and deposition of the emperor. Later on he was put to death by the Saiyad brothers. The Irani party gained victory over the Turanis.

It was the first instance in the history of the Mughal rule, that a Mughal ruler was deposed, blinded and assassinated by the military aristocracy for their selfish ends. From this

time onward, the nobles became supreme in the State as King-makers. The position of the nominal king was reduced to cipher. Upto 1739 A.D. Saiyad brothers, who were the leaders of the Irani nobility, exclusively ruled the empire, installing nominal emperors on the throne. It is they, who raised to the throne Rafi-ud-Darjat and Rafi-ud-Daula and finally Muhammad Shah. The military aristocracy was during this period, at the height of it’s power.

As a matter of fact the king was virtual prisoner. All the persons surrounding the sovereign were the nominees of the two Saiyads. Himmat Khan acted as tutor and guardian. Muhammad Shah did nothing without his permission and asked his permission to attend the public prayers on Friday or to go out for shooting. On the march, the Saiyads men surrounded the young emperor and prevented any access to him.

The tutelage of the Saiyad brothers was calling to the emperor and the royal family. Consequently a plot was hatched to free the emperor from the hands of the Saiyads. The chief conspirators were, Muhammad Amin Khan, Haidar Quli Khan, Abdul Ghaffur and Mir Jumla. Husain Ali Khan was murdered when the emperor was marching towards Deccan to punish Nizam-ul-Mulk. When Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-Mulk received the sad news of his brother’s death, he boldly raised, Prince Muhammad Ibrahim, a

3. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab (Text), II, p. 904; Tarikh-i-Shahir Khani (MS), f. 10b; Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (Text), II, pp. 433-434
son of Jahandar Shah to the throne. The kubba was read in the name of the new monarch. In this way there were two monarchs at a time. A battle was fought between the emperor Muhammad Shah and Abdullah Khan at Hasanpur, in which the latter was captured and the prince Ibrahim was made prisoner. In this contest, Nizam-ul-Mulk was the chief partisan of Muhammad Shah.

Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed wazir, but his work was obstructed by the emperor's favourite, Koki and her party. The wazir remonstrated against this fruitlessly. Besides this, there was a constant hostility of Mamsam-ud-daula, who headed a party of his own, principally of the Hindustanis and the Hindu Rajahs. Nizam-ul-Mulk retired to Deccan and severed his relations with the central government and became independent.

The weakness of Muhammad Shah provided a golden opportunity for the Mughal nobility to strengthen their power. When Ahmad Shah ascended the throne, the Mughal Empire which had once embraced practically the whole of India, had dwindled into insignificance and most of the provinces had become independent for all practical purposes.

The court of Ahmad Shah continued to be the centre of party politics. Safdar Jang, a shia, was appointed wazir. The Turani party, headed by Intizam-ud-daula, the second son of the later

2. Ibid, p. 932; Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (Text), II, pp. 442.
3. For details see: Muntakhhab-ul-Lubab (Text), II, p. 947.
wazir, Qamaruddin Khan, regarded wazarat as his hereditary right. He was supported in this claim by his two most powerful relations: Mir Mannu, the Governor of Lahore and Multan, and Nasir Jang, Governor of Deccan. Intizam-ud-daula was hatching plots to overthrow the wazir. On the other hand, Javid Khan, entitled Nawab Bahadur, an eunuch, in alliance with the queen-mother Udham Bai was usurping the functions of the wazir, by alienating the emperor from Safdar Jang and engaging his young master in all sorts of sensual pleasures. The light headed, emperor, gave no support or confidence to the wazir. Consequently the wazir ceased to attend the court.

Desirous of becoming the Wazir, Intizam-ud-daula, hatched a plot against the then wazir to end his life. He concealed some light guns, muskets, rockets, swivels and other combustibles on the roof of a house situated inside a covered passage known as Ghata-i-Nigambodh, by expert gunners. Safdar Jang usually passed through it on his way to and back from the court. On the day of Id, the wazir was returning to his house after the congregation prayer with the emperor, after having conducted the latter back into the royal fort. As soon as he reached the dark and covered passage, the plotter's agents set fire to it. There was a sudden explosion. Guns, muskets and rockets were discharged and few of the attendants of the wazir, who were riding before him, were killed. Safdar Jang's own horse was stuck by a bullet.

1. For details see: Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah, f. 18a.
and fell down on the ground with its master, but the wazir, by good luck escaped unhurt. As a result of this, the wazir, planned a counter-plot against his enemies. He wrote seductive letters to Sadullah Khan (popularly known as Musaffar Jang) deputy governor of Bijapur and Adoni, instigating him to rebel against his master Nasir Jang, (who at that time was marching towards Delhi) and to seize his provinces, which the wazir promised to confer upon Sadullah Khan by patent of appointment from the emperor.

Now the Turani attempts on his office and life made him to strengthen his own party and followers. After it Safdar Jang induced Nasir Khan (ex-governor of Kabul and Ghazni) to fight Mir Mannu and drive him away from Punjab. In the following contest Nasir Khan was defeated. Safdar Jang became so powerful that a civil war broke out between the wazir and the emperor. In the contest Safdar Jang was defeated and was dismissed, who retired to his province Oudh. As a matter of fact, as Ghulam Ali Naqvi remarks, this contest was between two parties - Shia and Sunnis. The emperor seduced the Mughal troops of Safdar Jang and proclaimed a holy war (Jihad) against Safdar Jang, a disloyal heretic. Imad-ul-Mulk (the new wazir) worked upon Sunni fanaticism by issuing a decree signed by some theologians which denounced the ex-wazir as a Shia, misbeliever, and called

1. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah, f. 36b.
2. Siyar-ul-Mutekhirin (Text), III, pp. 891-893; Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah, for details see;ff. 845-895.
3. For details see; Imad-us-Sa'adat (Text), p. 60. Siyar-ul-Mutekhirin, (Text)III, p. 892; Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 273.
upon all true Muslims who honoured the first three Caliphs (cursed by the Shiias as usurpers) to join in a holy war against this heretic leader. The green banner of the Prophet was unfurled, and the public enthusiasm was roused to the boiling point in favour of the war. This propaganda was vigorously worked by the Punjabis and the Kashmiris. Most of the Rohillas hitherto in Safdar Jang's pay hated him for being a Shia and readily rose against him. The new waqir Imad-ul-Mulk became so strong that he deposed Ahmad Shah and proclaimed Alamgir Sani, the new emperor. This struggle between the kings and nobles on one hand and Irani and Turani on the other and continued during the whole reign of Shah Alam II.

"Thus the nobles found that career was not open to talent, that loyal and useful service was no security against capricious dismissal and degradation, that their property and family honour were not always safe in such a court. Their only hope of personal safety and advancement lay in asserting their independence and establishing provincial dynasties of their own." Rustam Ali remarks that, when the nobles, who were the pillars of state quarrelled among themselves, it encouraged the centrifugal force as it was happening in India.

1. For details see: *Imad-us-Sadat* (Text), p. 60; *Siyer-ul-Mutekhirin* (Text) III, p. 892; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 272.
3. For details see: Polier's *Shah Alam II, And His court*.
General Life of the Mughal Aristocracy:

The Mughal nobles imitated their masters, in their extravagant life of sensuality. Hodges remarks: "When the Mughal Government was in the plenitude of its power, it was an object with the Omersahs or great lords of the court, to hold captives in their zamansahs, even hundreds of females collected from various quarters of the empire, and particularly so from Kashmir, a country famous for the beauty of its women." Mir Taqi Mir remarks thus:

Qazalbash Khan Ummid, who came from Iran in search of fortune to India during the reign of the emperor Muhammad Shah rose to the mansab of five thousands. His chief beloved was, Mir Abdul Hai Taban, (a Yusuf of his times in beauty) a poet. This Taban used to send beautiful and tender aged boys, well-dressed in female garments and ornaments to the residence of Qazalbash Khan.

Qutb-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan was a debauchee and very much attached to female company and sensual pleasures. He had collected innumerable ladies in his harem. Khafi Khan writes: "Saiyad Abdullah

1. Hodges Travel, pp. 21-22.

2. Kulliyat-i-Mir, p. 496; For the luxurious life of the nobles see: Shah Wali Ullah ke Siyasi Maktubat, p. 43; Shah Wali Ullah Hujjal-ullah al-Balicha (Urdu Trans), p. 136. Siyar-ul-Mutakhi (Text), II, p. 660. Such references may be multiplied.

3. Majma-i-Negzh, I, pp. 132-133. For further details regarding Qazalbash Khan, see: Mir Taqi Mir's Nikat-ush-Shuara, p. 7; Mir Hasan's Tazkira Shura-i-Urdu, p. 46; Qaim Chandpuri's Majmez i-Nikat, p. 31; Karim-ud-din's Tazkira-i-Tabaqat-ush-Shuara p. 167. For the luxurious life of Azam Khan, son of Fidvi Khan, a nephew of Khan Jahan Bahadur, a noble of Aurangzeb See: Muraqqai-i-Dehli, p. 27.
Khan had collected innumerable ladies and courtesans. When at
the height of his political power, he had brought some beautiful
ladies from the royal harem to his own. Khafi Khan remarks:
"Because Saiyad Abdullah Khan was very much attached to the
ladies and a debanchee, he had brought to his harem two or three
beautiful ladies of the royal harem. He had collected 70 or 80
most beautiful ladies with whom he passed his times in gratifying
his animal desires." Regarding Zulfiqar Khan, a noble of Jahandar
Shah, he remarks: He remained all the time deep plunged in
dissipation.

Abdul Ghaffur, a noble of Muhammad Shah was exceedingly
dissolute. He would dress up as a loose woman with his hands
and feet henna-dyed and wearing many gold ornaments. Dancers
were called to dance at his gate while he sat there wine-cup in
hand. He would cover his head with a shawl and join in the dance
...Litters carrying the wives of poor men were stopped; the women
were brought before him and those he approved were appropriated.

The Majlis of Yezdhum of Wazir-ul-Ahmalik presents a vivid
picture of the luxurious life of the nobles. The said Amir was
much addicted to wine and much attached to the beautiful boys.
Regarding his residence, Dargah Quli Khan remarks: "His house
resembles to Gulshanabad due to the gatherings of the youths.
His castles, due to the moon like faces, is an abode of fairies,

2. ibid, II, pp. 821-822, also see: Sivar-ul-Mutakhirin, (Text),
   II, pp. 596,407,447.
wherever there is a flower-faced boy, he is dragged for his company, and whosoever is proud of his beauty, is charmed by his magical majlis. He is a jovial sodomist. The sons of Kalawant attend his majlis in crowds; beautiful boys of Hindus and Muslims come to his majlis like troops. He celebrated 11th of every month and the dancing girls and musicians and mimics were invited to make their performances." The wazir, Qamar-ud-din, of Muhammad Shah, led a life of luxury and was a great drunkard. Regarding the luxurious dissipated life of Shuja-ud-daula, writes Forster, "He was equally rapacious in acquiring as sordid in preserving wealth. His excess in venery, which know no control, led him to commit actions derogatory for his station, as well as pernicious to his health; and even when his order had produced an irrecoverable stage of disease, he continued to indulge in a promiscuous use of women. His harem was filled with wives and concubines, to the number, it is said, eight hundred, from whom were born to him fifty children."


2. Siyar-ul-lilakhrin (Text), III, 870; Tabatabai further remarks "The first Minister, who, wholly engrossed by his pleasures... spent his time in intemperance and in the company of the handsomest youths he could procure from all parts of the empire," Siyar-ul-lilakhrin (Eng-Trans), III, p. 234.

Writing about the causes of the downfall of Mir Qasim of Bengal, Tabatabai remarks: 'that when he unexpectedly came to the throne and got much wealth, he fell a prey to debauchery, which ultimately brought his ruin.' Safaraz Khan, the deputy governor of Dacca had collected fifteen hundred pretty females in his harem.

Hunting.

Almost all the nobles of the 18th century were keenly interested in hunting. It was a great source of diversion. During the reign of Muhammad Shah, when the news of the attack of the Marathas in Gujerat and Jalwa was received in the court, "The wazir sought relaxation by a visit to his country house on the canal about twelve miles from Dehli, where he would remain a month or longer. His time was taken up with fishing or hunting deer." Such Māhi Jafar of Bengal frequently went on hunting excursions. In these excursions he continued to enjoy the pleasures of a private life. The dancing and musical instrument player ladies accompanied him. All the time, singing and dancing continued. When Nawab Mirza Ali Khan Iftikhar-ud-daula Bahadur, Nawab Jalar Jang, Khan Khana Bahadur, Munawwar Khan and Nadar-ud-daula Bahadur etc. once marched on for hunting, from Unnao, at that time, there were 5,000 prostitutes, musical instrument players, mimics, and musicians etc. with them.

5. Shahar Gulzar-i-Shujai (MS), p. 409
Mir Taqi Mir has written many *maanawi* entitled *'sad-nama'* describing the hunting excursions of Asaf-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh. Ali Ibrahim Khan, the author of the book entitled, *Tazkira-i-Gulzar-i-Ibrahim*, informs us that Nawab Asaf-ud-daula was keenly interested in hunting. Twice, in a year, he used to go for hunting without fail.

**Extravagance.**

Before the British occupation, India was the wealthiest country. This fact is attested by the remark of Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlvi writing about the prosperity of Qamar-ud-din Khan, one of the wazirs of the emperor Muhammad Shah, he remarked thus:

"के भक्तानि तेजराने खान उरदङ गळाले, शिचर एक शिकारी दिखे।
नवं बेव सह रेशम, राय हरी दीक चालै, उरदङ गळे मिरन।"

It is said that so much gold was used in the decoration of the *palkia* (litter) and the elephant in which Raushan-ud-daula used to travel, that every day the *palki* carriers and beggars collected several *tolas* of gold. Every day food in large quantities were cooked and distributed among the poor. *Qutb-ud-Mulk* Abdullah Khan used to distribute twenty thousand rupees

1. *Kulliyat-i-Mir*, pp. 547-563
2. For details see: *Mirza Ali's Tazkira-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* (Lahore).
3. *Zafar-namah*-Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlvi, p. 110. When Abdul Shaffur, a favourite of the Emperor Muhammad Shah died, 2 crores of rupees in cash and other precious goods were discovered. *Tariikh-i-Shahri Khani*, pp. 36. From the house of Itmad-ud-daula Qamruddin Anan, one of the wazirs of Muhammad Shah, cash and goods worth of 12 crores were found. *Tariikh-i-Shahri Khani*, p. 81

Comparing the people of India with that of Rome and Asia, Shah Wali-Ullah writes that for generations they had been rulers, every one of them tried to surpass the other in their daily way of life. A time came that if a noble wore one lac of *garhum*, others used disgraceful words for him. It was a sign of great poverty and weakness if a noble did not possess a magnificent residential house, bath, gardens, and fine beds for rest, or slaves. They incurred much expenditures on food and garments. In the end, he remarks that similar was the conditi-
every month among the recluses. He used to pay two hundred rupees as fare from his residence to the fort which was very near to it."

Marriages were the occasions when the nobles to maintain their social status spent money like water. Kausshah-ud-daula spent sixty lacks of rupees in the celebrations of the marriage of his daughter, with the sone of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, at Aurangabad Deccan. Again, Raja Jugal Kishore spent about 40 lacks of rupees in the wedding celebration of his son, Kunwar Anand Kishore.

Mahabat Jang spent a lot of money on the marriage ceremony of his sons, Siraj-ud-daula and Ikram-ud-daula. In the marriage of Ikram-ud-daula one thousand khilats and in Siraj-ud-daula's two thousand khilats were given to relations and musicians etc. The cost of a khilat was between hundred to thousand rupees and some of them were more costly.

Kausshah-ud-daula celebrated the festival of Dowza-dahum Rabi-ul-Awwal, the death or birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad with great pomp and show. Grand illumination used to take place. From the old city to the shrine of Hazarat Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, the road was illuminated.

1. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi (MS), p. 228, f.93b.
2. For details see: Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari's Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS), ff 198a, 198b. For expenditure on Safdar Jang's son's marriage see: Imad-ud-Saadat (Text), p. 36; also see: Shamsul Shamsi(MS), pp. 393-394; Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (Text), III, p. 357. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, II, f.28b.
3. For details see: Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (Text), II, pp. 552-553.
It is said that he used to spend two lacs of rupees for light and food for Fateh. The said noble celebrated the death anniversary of his Piy in a similar way. Ghulam Husain Salim thus describes the mailia of dowah-dahum, organized by Mir Jafar Khan of Bengal. And from the 1st to the 12th of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal, which is the anniversary of the death of the Prophet Muhammad...daily he used to feed the excellent and the venerable Shaitans, the Ulama, the pious saints, and inviting them from the environs of Munsidabad, he used to receive them with great respect and his banquets, and till they finished their dinners, he used to stand before them in a respectful posture, and to serve them. And every night during that period, from Alibagar to Lalbagh, on the banks of the river, he used to arrange illuminations with chiragh, in an elegant fashion, so that from the brightness of the illumination, the altars of the mosques and the pulpits, with the inscriptions of the Quran engraved thereon, could be read from the other side of the river by the spectators...It is said that he employed more than one lac of labourers to light the chiragh...After the sunset, as soon as the gun was fired to signal that the illumination should commence, all the chiragh were simultaneously lit up in one instant."

1. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, I, p. 198n; for details see: Nurpur-i-Delhi, pp. 31-33; Maagit-ul-Umara (Text), II, p. 335. For Javid Khan's celebration of Yazdahum festival see: Ahwal Muhammed Shaikh-t-Aasa-ud-daula (RB), p. 5.

Literary Activities.

Almost all the great nobles of the 18th century were well educated. This century is conspicuous for its literary activities. A large number of the nobles of this period were great Persian and Urdu poets. Amir Khan Anjam, Zafar Khan, Ishaq Khan Mutamad ud-daula Asaf Jah occupied a very prominent place among the Persian poets. Asaf Jah has left a voluminous Persian diwan. They were a great patron of literature and scholars. They rewarded the poets lavishly. Amir-ul-Umara Husain Ali Khan presented three lacs of rupees and an elephant to Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil. Samsam-ud-daula rewarded a Kashmiri poet, with one thousand rupees.

Zulfiqar Khan, a noble of Jahanabad Shah, was famous for his generous attitude towards the poets. It is said that when, Nasir Ali, a poet, wrote an eulogy for him, he rewarded him with a large sum of money and an elephant. Safdar Jang, the wazir of Ahmad Shah patronised scholars, honoured them with titles, granted them suitable allowances and rewards. Safdar Jang patronised Shikku Muhammad Hasan of Persia, Jaiyad Zain-ul-Abidin Tabatabi of holy Mashhad, Jaiyad Muhammad Ali Aurangabadi, Mir Ghalam Nabi Bilgrami, Maliki-ul-Allama Maulvi Fazl-ullah Khan, Maulvi Hamdullah Khan, Mirza Ali Naqi, and several others.

1. Regarding the patronage of the poets by Umdat-ul-Mulk Nawab Amir Khan Anjam See: Diwan-Zada (11), pp. 262-263.
3. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, I, f. 230a.
5. Imad-us-Jaadat, p. 52; also see: The First Two Nawabs of Awadh, p. 240.
incident as recorded by Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari throws a very important light on Safdar Jang's bountifulness towards poets and his love and appreciation of poetry. The story runs that one day, the Nawab wazir was going to pay his respect to the emperor. He stopped at the Nahar-i-Faiz, which was running inside the fort, to enjoy the sight. The sight was very pleasing and captivating. Safdar Jang asked his companion, the poet, Mirza Azam Asfahani, to recite a verse suitable for the occasion. The Mirza, in response recited the following verse:


Safdar Jang was so much pleased to hear the verse that he rewarded the poet with a Turki horse decked with gilded trappings in addition to 5,000 rupees in cash. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh was himself a Urdu poet and a great patron of poets. All the uprooted poets of Delhi found refuge in his court. Nawab Muhammad Yar Khan Amir, son of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Tanda, was a lover of poetry and procured allowances for the poets and a large number of poets had assembled in his court. Fidvi Lahori, Mir Muhammad Reim, Farwana Ali Shab 'Farwana', Mian Ishrat, Makh Makbir and Muhammad Qaim and others were patronised by him. Later Mushafi also reached there. The Nawab had invited Mir Soz and Muhammad Rafi Sauda. Maharban Khan Rind, the ruler of Farrukhabad had given refuge to Mir Soz and Sauda.

1. Tarikh-i-Muzaferri, II, f. 29a.
2. Asaf-ud-daula's poetic surname was 'Asaf'. He was a pupil of Mir Soz in poetry. He had patronised, Sauda, Mir Insha, Soz, Jurfat and Mushafi.-Muhammad Abu Lais Siddiqi, Lucknow Ka Dabistan-i-Sha'ari, p. 58.
3. Aag-i-Suriva (Introduction), p. 7
4. ibid, p. 7.
The great nobles of the period arranged poetic assemblies. During the month of Ramzan, in the poetic assemblies of Mirza Anda, Muslim poets were supplied with sumptuous food while the Hindu poets were entertained with sweet-meats.

Jahabat Jung, the governor of Bengal, patronised a number of Ulama, nắmāni, and scholars. He gave stipends and jāhān for their maintenance. Some of them were Maulvi Safir, Sir Chulm Muhammad Bahari, Saud Ali Khan etc.

The Ulama and Scholars.

There were many nobles who had great respect for Ulama, divines and great scholars. They patronised such persons and passed their time in their society. Khan Bazar Khan, a noble of Farrukhaibad, patronised a number of theologians and literate. In his literary assemblies, the book entitled, Resa-ud-din, was read. Ahmad-ul-Mulk Asaf Jahan was very liberal towards the Ulama, mãni, and divines. Hearing of his generosity a large number of such persons flocked to his court in the Deccan, Iran, Arabia, Karran Sair, Khurasan, Iraq, Ajam and other parts of India.

1. For the poetic assemblies organised by the Nawabs of Tanjir and of Farrukhabad, see Jānāg-i-Ilkhāz, I, pp. 72, 74.
2. For details see: Jānāg-i-Ilkhāz, I, p. 72.
3. For details see: Sīyās-ud-Dīnār (Text), II, pp. 611-620.
4. Mirz-ud-Dīnār (Text), III. Regarding Iwaz Khan Basudur

5. Resa-ud-din


Nahzāna-i-Adil, Sul-i-Adil, p. 22
Similarly Rukn-ud-daula Saiyad Lushkar Khan Bahadur Musrat Jang (died 1170 A.H.) patronised many sufis and ulama.

In the court of Ibrahim Khan alias Mirza Khairati, besides Har Charan das, there were many ulama and literati. Diwan Naziri was read in the gathering. Prose and poetry was read in the literary gatherings of Khan Jahan Bahadur Zulfiqar Jang Kozaltash, and Mughal Magnavi in the assemblies of Diyaat Khan. Nawab Jauhar Jang used to attend a literary assembly every day after his afternoon prayers. He had many ulama in his court and among them like Nulla Ghulam Yahya, Sufi Aliasulah, Mir Wahid, Maulvi Lal, Muhammad, Shaiikh Hidayat Ullah and Sajydd Abdul Hadi took part in discussions. The author of Siyar-al-Mutakhirin had received many favours from him.

Majib-ud-daula had patronised one hundred ulama, the lowest of whom was paid five rupees monthly whereas the others, rupees hundred each. During his governorship in Bengal, Mahabat Jang had patronised a number of scholars and divines. Regarding the

4. ibid, p. 62.
5. For details see: Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (Text), p. 600.
7. For details see: Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, (Text), pp. 611-614.
patronisation of Ulama, Saiyad and Shaikhs and other scholars by Nawab Jafar Khan of Bengal, writes Ghulam Husain Jallal: "The Nawab had in his employ 2,500 reciters of the Quran, who completely recited the Quran daily; and their meals were supplied twice daily from the Nawab's own kitchen. He shewed a great predilection for the company of Saiyads, Shaikhs, the scholarly and the pious, and he deemed it meritorious to serve them."

Generosity.

Husain Ali Khan was eminent for many excellent qualities, and was unique for his humanity. None of his soldiers was without silver and gold. Abundance of good and its ample distribution in his establishments were well known. He established bulghur khana (a Turki word meaning brusied barley or wheat) i.e. barley houses, for raw and cooked grain, and held assemblies on the 11th and 12th of the month in the greatest cities of the Deccan and these were continued when he became north. In these assemblies, he, with all humility and reverence, personally served shaikhs and faqirs. It is said that whenever any poor man came to Diwanat Khan (d. 1141 A.H.) he used to give him two fulus to have a bath. Consequently he was to be known as hamami. Saifur Jang's liberality to the poor and needy was great. Whenever a poor

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2. Tarikh-i-Misri (MS), p. 446.
3. ibid, p. 446; also see: Masir-ul-Umara (Mn. Trans), I, p. 6
person begged him for help, the Nawab gave him 50 asharfia (gold coins). He followed this practice throughout his life. Asaf Jah gave a lot of money in charity to the poor and needy. In addition to royal presents, and rewards, three lacs of rupees were distributed as monthly and daily allowances to needy in the Deccan. He gave one lac of rupees as help to pilgrims. Shujaat Khan Bahadur (d. 1150 A.H.) spent a lot of money for kitchen expenses. Every day sumptuous food on trays was supplied to Jamadarara. Besides them there were two hundred men of his own native land, who lived with him, and were fed. Asaf-ud-daula was known as hatim of his age due to his generosity. It was due to this liberal behaviour that Lucknow had become the centre of attraction for the people of all classes, uprooted from other cities of northern India, and it became a centre of Muslim culture in the later part of the 18th century. He used to send a lac of rupees to Mecca. Every day eight hundred rupees were spent for kitchen expenditure. There was always a shortage of water in Najaf Ashraf.

1. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 31; also see: Hadigat-ul-Aqalim, p. 386
2. Gul-i-Ajaib, pp. 21-22; Khazana-i-Amira, p. 33.
4. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, II, f. 34 (a) Tazkira-i-Gulshan-i-Hind, p. 113; Majmu-i-Neghez, I, p. 41; Ghulam Ali Naqvi writes:
5. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 126.
7. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 158.
Asaf-ud-daula donated 5 lacs according to some and 2 lacs according to others through Haji Muhammad Tahir, a merchant for the construction of a canal. Mir Jafar of Bengal used those every year offerings and gifts, through the headmen of the pilgrims and other caravans bound for pilgrimage, to Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Karbala, Baghdad, Khurasan, Jiddah, Basrah, and other holy places like Ajmer, Pannu, etc. For each of these places, he allotted votive offerings, endowments, and reciters of the Quran.

The nobles were greatly interested in constructing works of public utility. Husain Ali Khan, Amir-ul-Umara, began the construction of a reservoir in Aurangabad which was afterwards enlarged by Iwaz Khan. He also built a Sarai, a bridge and other works for public utility in the Barha country.


Nawab Shuja-ud-daula made Faizabad his capital and many beautiful buildings were constructed. Mir Hasan Dehlvi, who visited that city during the period of its glory, praises its buildings and gardens in the following verse:

١١١٢٣١٥٨٢٠١٢١٤١٧٣٧٠٨١٣٠٧٠٩٤١٩١٣٢٨١٦

1. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 153
2. Riyazu-s-Salatim (Eng. Trans.) p. 279
Har Charan Das remarks thus: "Shuja-ud-daula is busy in founding gardens and constructing buildings, mahal sarais, diwan khanas. These buildings were decorated with variegated colours. Inside the palace he has founded Angoori Bagh, Gulabi Bagh, Lal Bagh and Moti Bagh. Outside the palace, gardens of various kinds are founded."

When Asaf-ud-daula shifted his capital from Faizabad to Lucknow, he spent crores of rupees for the new buildings there. He built an Imam Bara, the like of which was not to be found in other parts of the world. In the same town a bawali was constructed. Najib-ud-daula founded the town of Najibabad and constructed these beautiful buildings. Besides he constructed forts and towns. Iwaz Khan Bahadur Qiswar Jang (d. 1143 A.H.) constructed a mosque in Aurangabad, in Shah Ganj.

3. A large well.
4. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 158; Asaf-ud-daula had constructed a bridge between Faizabad and Amani Ganj; Imad-us-Saadat- p. 120.
5. Tarikh-i-Balada-i-Najibabad pp. 5-6.
7. For further information see: Mawsir-ul-Umara (Text) II, p. 834.
Masters of Instrumental and Vocal music:

Many of the nobles of this period were keenly interested in instrumental and vocal music and they themselves sung and played on musical instruments. Saif Khan was a great singer. Samsam-ud-daula writes:

"..."1 Mubarak-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Kham was a consummate master of this art. He had studied under the guidance of Yari Quwwal, Lala Bengali and others. He was a matchless harp player and proficient in singing khayal and dhiran. He wrote a book called da
dad Tarana wa Khayal Taza and dedicated it to the emperor Muhammad Shah. Firoz Khan, a nephew of Mubarak-ul-Mulk Sar
buland Kham was a master player on the harp.

Chauper, Pigeon-fencing and Cocking fighting and use of intoxicants.

The nobles in general, and of Oudh, in particular, were keenly interested in chauper playing, pigeon-fencing and cock-fighting. When Shuja-ud-daula had gone to give battle to the English, even in that critical moment, he plunged in chauper playing and pigeon-fencing.

2. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, I, F 254b.
4. Imad-us-Saadat, F 99b.
5. Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shah pp 49b, 52a.
Regarding Asaf-ud-daula, the author of *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* observes thus:

"...Wazir Ahmed, the prime minister, was addicted to intoxicants like wine, bhang etc. The author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shah* sums up the prevalent conditions of his times in the following lines:

Ghulam Qadir, the Rohilla chief, was drunk day and night. He was very fond of bhang, ganja and charas.

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1. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* P. 78 a.
2. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shah* (MS) P 201 b, also see: pp 184b-188 a. Regarding the condition of the nobles in general, Ghulam Ali Naqvi writes:

Ghulam Ali Naqvi writes: "...In the days of the nobles, all ranks of nobles were given a high status. The nobles were very fond of ganja and bhang, and they also used to drink wine and bhang at night."

*Imad-us- Sardar* P 52 a.
Mukhtar-ud-daula was very much addicted to wine. Jalalo, the dancing girl was the favourite page. Regarding Abdul Ghaffur writes Ashob, that the dancers were called to dance at his gate while he sat there with the wine-cup in hand.

Ashob informs us that the nobles of Muhammad Shah's reign delighted in nothing but childish stories such as that of Hemz the Arab, who fought in seventy-two battles although he had become a martyr in the first of them — or the rubbish of the Shahname and Mahabharat.

Economic Effects:

In spite of the reckless display of wealth and extravagant waste on the pursuits of pleasure there was considerable unemployment and poverty among the masses. William Hedges remarks thus:

"The private luxury and vices of the Musalm-an princes too frequently reduce them to a state of real poverty, even with large revenues; and too often they delegate to artful, designing and avaricious characters, the management and concerns of the State, and become virtually the plunderers instead of the parents of their subjects. These men eager after their own private gain, and knowing well that their conduct will not bear the blaze of day, connive at any villainy that may be acted by those of inferior degree; many of whom are, indeed, their actual agents. Thus it is that the people at large have no real regard for their governors, and the natural consequence is, that the Princes are frequently left in the hour of distress, quite destitute of support and an easy prey of any invader." 4.

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1. Wajiyat-i-Shah Alam F 52b
4. Hodge's Travel, p. 103.
During the reign of the emperor Ahmad Shah, the insolvency of the imperial government made it impossible for it to pay the soldiers, whose salary fell into arrears. Shakir Khan, thus describes the tragic situation:

"After Ahmad Shah's accession, in the course of time matters came to such a pass that a descriptive list of all articles in the imperial stores, - the arms, carpets, cooking utensils and dinner plates, books and band-instruments, and of every other kar-khana, - was prepared and these articles were sold to the shop-keepers and most of the money thus realised was spent in paying the troops. This opened the door to the most unseemly and unspeakable mockery and insult by the public... Opulence was turned into distress. The central Asian (wilayat) soldiers and the emperor's household troops forcibly carried off the valuable articles of all kinds from the houses of the wazirs, amirs, sahus, traders and artisan, to the shops (and sold them), thus reducing the nobles to disgrace. The amirs had no help but to wear only the clothes they stood in and to eat off earthen plate... When the emperor ordered an inquiry, it was found that the

1. Hodge's Travel, p. 103.

2. Sauda describes the poverty of the soldiers in these verses:

Kulliyat-i-Sauda, p. 151.

Nazir Akbarabadi gives the following picture of the poverty of the soldiers of Agra:

Kulliyat-i-Nazir, p. 104.
the soldiers' salary was three years in arrears.”¹

Nazir Akbarabadi gives a picture of deplorable condition of the people of Agra from the nobles downward to the common people due to the unemployment in his Shahr Ashob.

The heavy taxation had ruined the peasants, artisans and merchants. The kings and nobles had no other source of income except land revenue and octroi duties, and their mounting expenses and extravagant living led to taxes ruthlessly exaction.

Social effect.

The kings and nobles set the standard of life for the commonality. Assessing the importance of the institutions of monarchy and nobility, Dr. Abdul Aziz remarks: "The standard of life was set by the court and its entourage. It constituted the style. The habits and customs of life were often unconsciously fashioned on this mode. The peerage

1. Tarikh-i-Shahir Khani (MS), p. 36.
Shah Wali Ullah gives the picture of poverty in the following lines:

"Now the condition of the Muslim infantry and cavalry of state numbering more than a lac men is this. Some of them were Jagir holders and some of them paid in cash. Due to the indifference and negligence of the rulers the matter has reached to such a pass that the Jagirdars have lost their control over the Jagirs and nobody ponders over the reasons of such things - that is due to the weakness of the administrative machinery. As the treasury of the state became bankrupt, the cash payment was also stopped. In short, all state servants have been reduced to share pauperism and beg and except the name of the state there was left nothing. When the condition of the state servants is such from this, the condition of the general people, stipend receivers, artisans and merchants may be gauged. They are suffering from many kinds of economic troubles."-Shah Waliullah Ke Jivasi Maktubat, p. 51

2. For details see: Kulliyat-Nazir, pp. 98-104. For others accounts see: The Shaher ashob and mukhamsus Shaher ashob of Sauda Kulliyat-i-Sauda, pp. 150-153; 475-479; Shaher ashob of Mir Kulliyat-i-Mir, pp. 494-500; Qaim Chandpuri's mukhamsus diwan-i-Qaim, ff. 188a-191b; shaher ashob of Hatim Diwan Zadeh (MS), pp. 342-347; Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi (MS), ff. 159a-183a.

acted as the conduit-pipe for this stream of influence. The patronage of art and culture followed the same lines; and even where the interest was not genuine, the enlightened pursuits were followed and encouraged as a dogma dictated by fashion. The current of public opinion and social convention was set by the practice followed at the court by the nobility.'

Consequently the life in the 18th century was the replica of the life of the rulers and the nobles. After giving a picture of the immoral life of Jahandar Shah, Khafi Khan sums up its disastrous repercussions on the general life of the people as follows:

"وَدْرَعِيْدُ تَابِيِّدَارْجَهانَدَارْشَاهُ كَهَ بَنَى ظَلَمٍ وَفَسَقٍ رَا أَسْتَحْكَامَ عَامَ خَلَقَ خِلَاطَ وَزَنَّتْ وَذَا-الْقُلْبِ لَغْمٌ كَرْدَكَ كَ نَذِيْكَ بَوْرٍ كَ فَاضِ لِلْلَّهِ كَ وَقْتٍ يَبَالِهِ نُوْسَ كَرْدَد" 2

The cities of India, particularly Delhi exhibited life of vice on one hand and piety and religiosity on the other. There were khanqahs, taverns, madrasahs and gambling centres in all the cities. The people flocked to the khanqahs and shrines of the great saints in a spirit of reverence and humility, again with the same enthusiasm and zeal they visited the prostitutes. Their religiosity and wine-drinking went

1. The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, p. 158.
2. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab (Text), p. 639; For the general social life of the reign of Alamgir Sani see: Kulliyat-i-Sauda, p. 110. Shah Waliullah remarks that the contagious disease of luxury and debauchery of the rulers and nobles found scope of attacking every class of society. There was no one, neither among the peasantry class, nor in the upper-class, who was not indulgent. Hujjat-ullah-al-Baligha (Urdu Trans), p. 136.
on side by side. It is in this critical condition that Shah Waliullah wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali, that if these conditions were not checked and changed, then the Muslims, in near future would not be able to differentiate Islam from *kufr* (heresy). Every class of Muslim Society was affected by vice and immoral. The Muslim saints and mashaikh, who had so far been the main channel through which true teachings of Islam reached the common people, had fallen into a life of listless ease. The author of *Nala-i-Dard* gives us a picture of a degenerate and lustful saint Shah Bagola in the following lines:

Shakir Khan remarks: "Praise be to God, the awe and fear of the rulers and the regard of the etiquette had almost disappeared from the hearts of the people."

During the governorship of Mir Jumla in Patna, the soldiers, with a goblet in hand, wandered through the streets

1. Shah Wali-Ullah Ke Jiyaasi Maktubat, p. 52
and bazaars in a drunken state. One day a soldier entered, in a house, with cup and wine with him. There was no male member at that time present in the house. The girl, in the house out of fear, began to show all courtesy to the guest and seated him on a bed. She began to serve him as a page. When he was completely intoxicated, the cunning lady to save her chastity and honour stabbed the soldier to death. A soldier persuaded a wine-seller, who had a beautiful daughter, to give her in marriage to him and when he failed in the persuasion one day he forcibly took her away and the family members sought redress but no help was available.

A close and careful study of Muraqqa-i-Dehli leads us to the conclusion that fairs and anniversary ceremonies of great Muslim saints were the occasions for sensual indulgences. A few examples may be cited:

A picture of the Urs of Khuld Manzil is given as thus:

"The participants pitch the tents there. The lovers with their beloveds, having their hands under the arms of their beloved are to be seen seeking pleasures in every nook and corner and they are seen dancing in every bazaar and streets; the drunkards, having no fear of mohatab, wander in search of more wine." 4

About the khanqah of Majnu Nank Shahi, which was located on the bank of Yamuna, Dargah Quli Khan observes that every day people in great numbers want there. Numberless voluptuous ladies, in covered litters came there to meet their lovers in the open air and satisfied their sexual desires fearlessly.

1. Tarikh-i-Farrukhsiyar (M3), p. 11
2. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Nama (M3), f. 81b.
3. ibid, f. 82a.
4. Muraqqa-i-Dehli, p. 12
5. ibid, p. 24; For general life during the Mela of Basant and Mela of Nagal, see: Muraqqa-i-Dehli, pp. 30-31; 39; and Mela of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki see: Dariya-i-Latafat (Text), p. 56. For fairs of Lucknow see: Kulliyat-i-Insha, pp. 201, 207.
Kasal Singh, a noble of the emperor Muhammad Shah, had established a prostitute called kasalpura. The suhtasib dared not step in that quarter.

**The Bazars:**

The bazars of Dehli reflected the general life, Mir writes:

Two bazars, the chauk Sa'ad Ullah Khan and Chandani Chaup, were the centre of life in the city. Mir Hasan Dehlvi writes about the Chauk thus:

The Chauk Sa'ad Ullah Khan was so attractive that even the birds fell down in it.

In one corner one would come across a dancing boy and in the other corner, there would be a dais for the preachers to deliver sermons. In one quarter, the astrologers and astronomers were seen; while in other quarter the seller of medicines for venereal disease would be having roaring business.

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2. *Kulliyat-i-Mir*, p. 82
5. ibid, p. 26.
Regarding the city of Amawala, Murtaza Hasan remarks:

"They married beautiful boys. In this way the practices of the followers of the Prophet Lot have been revived."

Tabatabai remarks about the city of Murshidabad:

"It must be observed that in those days Murshidabad were very much the appearance of one of Luth's towns; and it is still pretty much the same today, few people caring to look at their honour, or at that of others. Nay, the wealthy and powerful having set apart sums of money for these sorts of amours, used to show the way, and to entrap and reduce the unwary, the poor, and the feeble; and as the proverb says; so is the king, so becomes his people, these amours got into fashion."

When the centre of Muslim culture shifted to Lucknow, the opulence of Oudh, accelerated the social and moral degeneration. The people passed their time in merry-making, convivial parties, kite-flying and cock-fighting. Sodomy was the common vice of the social life of Lucknow. Saiyad Ghulam Ali Naqvi remarks thus:

1. Lot was a Prophet like Nuh, Hud, Salih, Ibrahim and Musa, a predecessor of Prophet Muhammad. The followers of Lot were the first to practice sodomy. The people were punished by God. See for details, Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, pp. 290b-291a-b.


During the days of Muharram, the women and men in large numbers used to assemble at the Imam Baras. The occasion was utilised for the satisfaction of baser appetites. After the destruction of Dehli, the centre of literary activities had shifted to Lucknow. But the poetic production of Lucknow was of low standard. This reflects the tastes of the people of a degenerate society. Special reference may be made about the kulliyat of Insha.

Fiazabad was the capital of Oudh, previous to its transfer to Lucknow, during the reign of Asaf-ud-daula. Mir Hasan Dehlvi who visited that town gives us a vivid description of the social life of that town. Its prosperity and opulence reflected itself in its bazaar. People of all professions were to be seen engaged in their works - the jewellers, brokers, cloth-sellers, melon-sellers, confectioners, fruit-sellers, coffee-sellers, gold and silver smiths but in every public place one could see the idlers in search of victims for their pleasures. He further describes the bazaar atmosphere in these verses:

Faiz Bakhsh, the author of Tarikh-i-Farah Bakhsh gives the following eye-witnesses account of Fiazabad. He writes:

2. For detailed description see: Marnawiyat-i-Mir Hasan, pp. 148-151.
"I left my home for the first time and reached Muntaznagar. This place was situated at a distance of 4 miles from the western gate of the city. Here I found a bazar, where the trade was brisk; foods and drinks of various kinds like, sweet-meats, sherbat, faluda, Kabab, parathas, pankhatais were being sold. The buyers, of whom, there were a big crowd, were keenly competing with one another to buy the various things which were on sale. This sight made me feel that I was already in the city, but was soon informed that I had not even entered the gates of the city. Every where I beheld bands of musicians and dancers; it was an astonishing sight for me. From dawn to dusk and from dusk to dawn, military bands could be heard. The frequent chiming of the bells made one almost deaf. Endless steams of horses, elephants, hunting-dogs, mules, oxen, bullock carts and gun carriages were passing by. The relatives of the nobles of Dehli, hakims, the gawwals, bhandas and singing girls of every place were to be seen in every street and lane. The pockets of every low and high were filled with gold and jewels. Indeed, the very idea of poverty was unknown to them. The Nawab Wazir was so desirous to see the city populated and decorated that it appeared that Faizabad would rival the city of Shahjahanabad."

Tabatabai gives the following picture of the popularity of wine. He writes: "Not only the markets and thoroughfares are thronged with disorderly people, and disorderly houses, but every street and every corner is infected with drinking shops and lippings-houses, with here and there groups of drunken servants, butlers, harcarras and sipahis...a set of disorderly people...sometimes half-naked and half drunk, and quarrelling without an antagonist. So that gentlemen accustomed to decency and respect, are at a loss how to go from their

1. See; Faiz Buksh, Tarikh-i-Parah Baksh. For further description of the bazars see: Maganawiyat-i-Mir Hasan (Mawal Kishore, 1945), pp. 152-160.
homes, upon urgent business, through a market, or along a street, and how to come back again, without being entangled within some mischance or other, in consequence of the words or actions of those insolent people; nor it is uncommon to see them recommend themselves to God Almighty's safeguard on their going out, and to wish they may come back without being forced into some mischance."

...