
Tumultuous Times: Crisis, Culture and the City of Shahjahanabad in the Eighteenth Century

Author(s): Rohma Javed Rashid

Source: *Social Scientist*, July–August 2017, Vol. 45, No. 7/8 (July–August 2017), pp. 33–43

Published by: Social Scientist

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/26380415>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Social Scientist*

JSTOR

Tumultuous Times: Crisis, Culture and the City of Shahjahanabad in the Eighteenth Century

Rohma Javed Rashid

To say that the eighteenth century is one of the few periods of Indian history that continues to engender extensive polemics and valuable scholarship, is now somewhat of a cliché. Yet it continues to hold true. As if the almost complete transformation of the political map of Hindustan, rise of new political groups and foreign invasions were not enough to make the eighteenth century appear as immensely fascinating, this was also the period when the English East India Company emerged as a major player in the politics of Hindustan, laying as some scholars would argue, the foundation for the later colonisation of the country. In other words, what makes this period a center of a rather fascinating debate is that the eighteenth century brackets events that are seen as major turning points in Indian history.

That the eighteenth century was a period of rapid changes is a fact acknowledged by all historians. It is the causes, nature and consequences of these changes that divide historians into those who see this period as one of complete decline and desolation and those who see it as one of growth and prosperity. The former, essentially take an empire-centric view of the eighteenth century. In this scheme of things, the defining moment of our period was the decline of the highly centralised and omnipresent Mughal Empire which set in motion events that led to a universal political and economic decline in India. In other words, for the exponents of this position, the political and economic stability of Hindustan was deeply tied with that of the Mughal Empire, once the empire declined there could be nothing but decline and instability. An impressive counter-narrative to this view is provided by historians collectively referred to as the Revisionists, who criticise the adequacy of Mughal decline as the general theme to study the eighteenth century. For them the decline of the Mughal Empire was an inevitable outcome of its own policies that in the long run enabled regional and local potentates to accumulate enough economic and social power to overthrow the Mughal rule. These new political formations and social groups were the catalysts behind the new political, economic and social relations that were forged in the eighteenth century. Far from being a period of decline, the eighteenth century emerges in the Revisionist writings as a period of unprecedented opportunities and possibilities.

Amidst the bewildering number of theories and arguments advanced on the political and economic life in the eighteenth century in the form of books, articles and monographs packed with statistics and numbers, the

experiences of people who actually lived through this tumultuous time are often lost. Events of the eighteenth century did not merely affect the ruling classes or the higher echelons of society; they also significantly impacted the lives of the ordinary people. This is particularly true of the inhabitants of the imperial capital Shahjahanabad, who responded in myriad ways, making this period one of the most intriguing and paradoxical at the same time. An attempt is made here therefore, to revisit the eighteenth century from the perspective of the ordinary people of Shahjahanabad. How did the people, who experienced first hand the events of this period, react to them? How did these events affect their lives and perceptions? These are some of the questions this paper seeks to address.

An important problem that arises when attempting to study lives of the ordinary inhabitants of medieval India is that of sources. Unlike their social superiors the lives of the ordinary inhabitants of Shahjahanabad remain by and large undocumented in the sources. If we are to make a study of the ordinary existence in the city, we need to leave the confines of the court and step into the bazaars of the city. The bazaar as a socio-economic space has not received the attention it deserves from historians of medieval India. The bazaar in medieval cities was not merely a place where economic exchange took place instead it was the place where the city lived. The bazaar played host to a wide variety of people of different socio-economic backgrounds, who engaged with each other on a daily basis influencing, appropriating and even corrupting each other's culture. It was here that the people gathered to exchange ideas, stories, gossips and rumours, celebrate during festivals and riot during periods of distress. This is, in other words, the space to find the people's side of the story.

The reverberations of the decline of the Mughal Empire were not felt as strongly anywhere in Hindustan as they were in Shahjahanabad, which served as capital to the illustrious Shahjahan and after the death of Aurangzeb, continued throughout the eighteenth century as the scene for some of the most important political events. The city witnessed up close as the Mughal sovereign became increasingly powerless, his authority being challenged not only from outside the boundaries of the empire but also from within. It stood witness to the degradation of the emperor's persona, and to the transformation of the protectors of the empire into its biggest foes. The political volatility of the period manifested itself in the city in the factional strife among nobles leading to armed clashes in the vicinity of the capital, the violation of the sanctity of the emperor and his court and the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. These events which must have significantly disrupted the lives of the ordinary inhabitants gave them the impression the city was going through 'strange times'.

The literature produced during our period resonates with themes of an '*Ajab Daur*', where the world as it was known to the city's inhabitants had been entirely altered. Political power was no longer the preserve of the

Mughals, it instead came to reside with a group of people hitherto considered 'unfit' to rule. Those earlier considered 'Mufsid', could now bargain with the Mughals on equal footing. The creators and sustainers of what was for the citizens of Shahjahanabad an invincible empire now stood by helplessly as their authority shrank to the capital city alone. Once the seat of opulence and grandeur, of a highly sophisticated, urbane culture, Shahjahanabad had been transformed into a hotbed of violence and chaos. Times were indeed strange in Shahjahanabad.

From contemporary sources we get two images of life in the city. In the first we are introduced to a citizenry utterly exasperated and disillusioned with the political turmoil and consequent economic hardships. Fear, violence and rebellion appear to have become a part of everyday life in the city and rumors played their part in instigating violence on more than one occasion. In the second image, life in Shahjahanabad appears to be constant entertainment. Festivities, celebrations and joyous revelry happening in the bazaars of the city would give the impression that life not only continued as before but also that the sub culture of the city that thrived in the lanes and bylanes of Shahjahanabad - that often acted as a counter culture to its elite, chaste cultural traditions - seems to have found greater acceptance in the elite circles.

I

When the news of emperor Aurangzeb's death reached Shahjahanabad on February 18th 1707, a commotion spread throughout Shahjahanabad. The anonymous author of *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* says:

....such a noise arose on the west as might be taken as a sample of the noise there will be at the day of judgment. If hundreds of thousands of men were to collect together and simultaneously raise the most dreadful shouts, there would be no resemblance to that noise....forty years have passed up to this time, but that strange noise is still in my ears, and whoever heard it must certainly remember it.¹

The death of an emperor was a time of immense anxiety and uncertainty. Apart from the inexplicable/mysterious occurrences, such as the one described above, there were many more worldly disturbances like fluctuating prices of commodities. Fear of armed clashes often forced shopkeepers to shut their shops for several days often leading to shortages.² In the course of the eighteenth century, events that would attract similar reactions were many in Shahjahanabad. Emperors did not die natural deaths, they were tortured and executed, foreigners invaded the city and massacred its people and the nobles clashed with each other to retain offices in the vicinity of the capital.

The change was reflected in the almost complete redefinition of the relationship between the palace-fortress (the *Qila-i-Mualla*), its inhabitants and the city proper. The *Qila-i-Mualla*, constructed to materially and met-

aphorically convey an image of power and dominance over the city, and its ruler who had been entrusted with a semi-divine status were no longer revered. The fact that the emperor was no longer powerful enough to protect his realm from outsiders had emboldened the general public. As the myth of the infallibility of the emperor exploded, reactions ranged between utter shock and horror and a sense of emboldened audacity vis a vis members of the elite classes, including the emperor.

Let us look at how the politics of the period impacted everyday life in the city. First and foremost this was a time of great economic distress for a significant section of the city's population. Those who earned their living by catering to the Mughal nobility were the worst affected. From the 1720s onwards, the Mughal centre saw very little of the revenue collected in the provinces, leading to acute financial crisis at the Mughal court. Things took a turn for the worst when Nadir Shah attacked in 1739. He stayed in Shah-jahanabad for two months and thoroughly plundered the riches of the city. Every resident was required to make contributions to the Shah's treasury after registering his assets and those who failed to meet these demands were brutally tortured. When the Shah departed, the citizens of Delhi had made a contribution of rupees four crore.³

As the century progressed, the imperial coffers were empty and employees could not be paid. This was particularly true of the soldiers who were often found rioting in the city. The *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* reports two instances of royal employees rebelling to get their pay. In the first, a number of soldiers, whose salaries had been in arrears for months assembled outside the house of Javid Khan, Wazir to emperor Ahmad Shah and demanded their pay. When he tried to escape, he was mobbed and his 'clothes were torn to pieces'. In the second employees of the harem blocked the supply of grains and water into the fortress until their salaries were paid.⁴

Violence and rioting appears to have become part of everyday life. In these situations rumour was rife. There are two instances of mob violence initiated by rumours in our period. The first incident occurred when following the rupturing of ties between the emperor Farrukh Siyar and the Sayid brothers, Hussain Ali Khan entered the capital in February 1719 with a large Maratha force, took possession of the city and the fort. Early the next day, a rumour spread in the city that the wazir Abdullah Khan had been assassinated. Hearing this, the people of Delhi fell upon the Maratha soldiers killing fifteen hundred of them.⁵ In reality however, the ill fated Farrukh Siyar had been imprisoned, blinded and later assassinated at the orders of the Sayid brothers. When the funeral bier of the emperor made its way from the palace to the graveyard, a crowd including mendicants joined the bier. People accompanying the bier tried to distribute money but the people refused to accept it calling it money of the oppressors. After the burial the *faqirs* pooled their money and prepared and distributed food in memory of the deceased monarch.⁶

Later a similar incident ended with disastrous consequences for the people of the city. After defeating the imperial forces at Karnal, the Persian emperor Nadir Shah entered Delhi and took residence in the imperial chambers. The next day the granaries at Pahar Gunj were opened and the price of corn was settled at 10 seers a rupee, a price unacceptable to the proprietors. Soon they gathered a mob and assassinated the imperial and Persian soldiers sent out to do the job. The violence took a turn for the worse when a rumour spread in the city that the Shah had been assassinated. A mob fell on Persian soldiers wherever they could find them and large numbers were assassinated in the process. Violence intensified as the rumour spread to all quarters of the city. In the end close to three thousand soldiers had been killed. The next day, Nadir Shah himself marched out to Chandni Chowk and ordered his men to retaliate. This angered the crowd even more and as Nadir Shah walked into the nearby Roshan-ud-Daulah mosque, a number of people climbed onto their terraces and started hurling stones at him. The Shah retaliated with ordering a general massacre of the city's population, in which close to twenty thousand were killed.⁷ Thousands of bodies lay rotting in the streets, and as the air became infected, the Kotwal was ordered to make arrangements for a burial. He instead gathered the corpses and burned them all. We can only imagine the horror of the people at this spectacle of death.

Urban mob violence has been the subject of many historical studies and most conclude that this form of violence was more often than not economic in origin. Ira M. Lapidus notes that mob violence in Mamluk Syria was the crowd's reactions to the inability of the state's representatives to safeguard their economic interests and the state could easily quell this violence by addressing the grievances of the people. It was not directed at and posed no danger to the Mamluk establishment and instead targeted specific aspects of their rule. Lapidus also notes that the actions of the crowd were guided by short term monetary gains.⁸ The incidents of violence reported from Shah-jahanabad however do not fit the description offered by Lapidus. Tempting as it might be to write off the crowds attacking Maratha soldiers as an example of popular opportunism and the violence unleashed on Persian soldiers and Nadir Shah himself as being triggered only by economic causes alone, these assessments are incorrect. These incidents need to be viewed in the larger context of the volatile political situation in the city. There was already immense fear and anxiety in the air. To exacerbate matters, those responsible for this situation went about the city unperturbed. We can sense in the actions of the crowds a deep resentment for these 'outsiders', who threatened their well being. An inept government failed to provide relief to the anguished people and they had no other option but to resort to violence. Even when it was discovered that Nadir Shah was alive, violence continued and he was himself subjected to it. Fear, angst and hatred combined to instigate the crowds to violence. Their feelings ran much deeper than mere greed.

Be that as it may, the invasion of Nadir Shah must have undermined the sense of security of the people. In fact the episode had inspired universal alarm. As far south as Pondicherry, there was immense panic at the sack of the imperial capital. Anand Ranga Pillai, Dubash to Dupleix, remarked in his diary:

If such, indeed be the fate of the emperor of Delhi, need we wonder at the calamities that overtake ordinary men? Of what avail is the power of kings, on this earth? These are perishable. The heaven of All-Merciful God is the only thing that endures. All others perish.⁹

If this was the reaction of a man situated far away from Delhi, one can only imagine the horror of the people of Delhi. The most eloquent expressions of the distress at the fall of the city come from the poets of Shahjahanabad, for whom the events of the period were nothing short of catastrophic. In a world where poetry was regarded as one of the most important of intellectual pursuits, it was unthinkable for a poet of renown to wander seeking patronage. From the early eighteenth century on, the poets of Shahjahanabad started pouring out their discontent in their poetry that came to be known as *Shahr Ashob*. It expressed the deep sorrow the poets felt at the passing of Mughal glory and the 'ruin' of their beloved city Shahjahanabad, which symbolised for them a cultural world they held dear. Consider Mir's highly poignant rendering:

*Kya bood o Bash poocho o purab ke sakino
Humko ghareeb jaan ke has has pukar ke
Dilli jo ek shahr tha alam mein intekhab
Rehte the Jahan muntakhab hi Jahan-i- rozgar ke
Usko falak ne loot kar wiraan kar diya
Hum rehne wale hain ussi ujde dayar ke*

Why do you ask me about my home and origin, oh easterners?
Considering me a stranger, calling out to me with laughter?
Delhi, which was a city, choicest in the world,
Where the choicest ones of the world lived
The heavens looted it and laid it desolate
I am a dweller of that ruined land.¹⁰

The satire, malaise and nostalgia reflected in the compositions of these poets speaks of a society utterly exasperated at the course of events and a general anxiety that marked life in Shahjahanabad in our period. By the mid eighteenth century, a large number of the city's inhabitants had decided to bid farewell to it but memories of Shahjahanabad continued to haunt them.

II

Dargah Quli Khan, a noble from the Deccan, accompanied Nizam-ul-Mulk, the viceroy of Deccan, to Delhi in the immediate aftermath of the

invasion of Nadir Shah. In his personal diary he recorded the sights he saw while in the city. When we visit the bazaars and Dargahs of the city with Dargah Quli Khan, we get an image of a city unscathed by the misfortunes inflicted on it. Describing the Chowk Sadullah Khan, he writes:

....there are beautiful lads wrecking havoc with their dance and everywhere the noise of storytellers is creating a racket. At several places, fortune tellers, sitting on wooden chairs that resemble pulpits, like imams preach to the people on the importance of all days and months,....¹¹

Dargah Quli Khan introduces us to a cast of typical characters to be found in the bazaar, catamites like Sultana, Naqqals like Bari Naqqal and the famous courtesans of Shahjahanabad like Asa Pura and Behnai Feel Sawar who appear to have been going about their lives as usual. The shops in Chandni Chowk were still brimming with expensive goods procured from all over the world and its Qahwa Khanas (coffee houses) were still full of poets reciting their verses and eliciting praise from their audiences.¹²

People still gathered in large numbers to celebrate on every occasion. The festivities of Basant lasted for seven days with singers and musicians visiting the Dargahs of saints where musical gatherings were organised with huge crowds following them. The crowd of artists was so immense at the Dargah of Hazrat Rasul Numa that it would become impossible for pilgrims to pass through.¹³

Urs of famous saints and the birth of the prophet Muhammad, also became occasions for celebrations. On the 12th day of *Rabi ul Awwal*, the city was lighted with candles and chandeliers and Mehfil of Sama were organised. One of Muhammad Shah's nobles Khan-e-Zaman Bahadur organised a Majlis in his courtyard where he displayed in a trunk the belongings of the Prophet. People came in huge numbers to pay their respect and then headed to the Mehfil of *Sama* which were held in every corner of the city. Even in the late eighteenth century, 12th *Rabi ul Awwal* continued to be observed with similar diligence. Rai Chaturman, describes the celebration on this day at the Qadam Sharif, where varieties of foods were distributed to the needy and thousands came for *ziyarat*.¹⁴

The area around Delhi was dotted with innumerable Dargahs. Religiosity and leisure combined here as most of these pilgrimages ended with leisurely strolls in the nearby gardens.¹⁵ The Dargah Shah Mardan, which housed the footprints of Ali attracted innumerable crowds during Muharram. After the prescribed rites of mourning had been observed, a show of fireworks was carried out by the manufacturers of Delhi, who displayed their latest creations here.¹⁶

Among the popular festivals celebrated in the bazaars was the festival of Holi. Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qateel the author of *Haft Tamasha*, a late eighteenth century text documenting popular culture, describes the celebration of Holi in great detail. Although his account moves freely be-

tween Shahjahanabad, the Braj country and the Deccan, there is no reason to believe that the atmosphere was not the same in all cities of Hindustan.

The atmosphere of the bazaars during the time of festivities appears similar to that in early modern Europe during the Carnival. The category of Carnival has been adopted and applied in a number of historical studies. Peter Burke sees the Carnival in early Modern Europe as resonating with themes of the world turned upside down. For Bakhtin, the Carnival was associated with the suspension of a hierarchical structure and the forms of fear, reverence and etiquette connected with it, a collapse of distance between people, leading to their free and familiar contact, obscenities and the ritual mock crowning and uncrowning of a carnival king.¹⁷

If obscenities, suspension of hierarchy and riotous revelry are what describe the Carnival, it can be safely stated that the festival of Holi fits this description. Qateel tells us that on Holi, children and young people filled their pichkaris with colour and stood in the streets. When they saw a Hindu approaching they coloured his clothes and yelled '*Bhadva hai, Bhadva hai*' (he is a pimp), the person subjected to this, no matter how respectable, did not mind.¹⁸ In the Deccan, says Qateel, soldiers went rioting in the cities on Holi. They reached houses of nobles and demanded to be let in, the only thing that a noble could do was to pay them and convince them to just throw colour on him.

Festivities of Holi and for that matter all popular festivals involve a suspension of what is 'allowed' and 'forbidden' behavior in a civilised society. It may as well be a period of licensed misrule, where the constraints of civilised society no longer apply. We see in the festivities of Holi, a clear suspension of hierarchy. The audacious conduct of the people in the streets, of soldiers vis-à-vis their superiors had to be overlooked. The boundaries restricting social intercourse with the opposite sex were also brought down.

In Shahjahanabad, an unprecedented incident occurred on the occasion of Holi in the reign of Shah Alam II. Fakir Khairuddin Muhammad reports that a Maratha soldier Anand Rao dressed a person as emperor Shah Alam. Placed on a bedstead with a young boy in his lap (representing the beloved daughter of the emperor), this person was carried around in a mock procession along with all insignia of royalty. This great insolence however 'excited no indignation in His Majesty's noble mind, but on the contrary he ordered a reward of five hundred rupees to be given to those persons.'¹⁹

This incident along with some very humorous and bitter critiques of the royalty by the poets of Shahjahanabad, reflect the highly impudent spirit that pervaded the world of the bazaar in the eighteenth century.

The bazaar of Shahjahanabad therefore comes across in our sources as a place seething with discontent and rumour and alive with celebration and conviviality. This paradox defines ordinary existence in the capital in our period. On the one hand we have the image of a people broken by the

calamities unleashed on the city- fear, lament and pathos appear to have overtaken the lives of the people- on the other they seem to have found a means to escape this darker side of life by celebrating, merry making and even rioting.

III

Although the elite-centric historical narratives of the Mughal court relegate the people of Shahjahanabad to the margins of society with no voice and no role to play in shaping the history or culture of the city, the image we get is quite different. The people voiced their discontent on more than one occasion and also influenced the course of events in the city. As far their contribution to the cultural world of Shahjahanabad is concerned, we are well aware of the fact that although the court and lay society were located in different physical spaces, the actual difference between the cultural traditions of the two could not have been as stark as we would like to believe. Georges Duby has argued that cultural transmission in medieval Europe did not follow the simplistic pattern of a percolation of the elite trends to the laity, he instead discovers a reverse trend where cultural traditions from the lower end also travelled upwards and became part of the elite culture.²⁰

Such an exchange could be found occurring in the bazaar of Shahjahanabad. It was here that the two cultures collided, interacted, influenced and even corrupted each other.

Let us take the case of the courtesan. The courtesan seems to have emerged out of an exclusive elite patronage in the eighteenth century and came into the open bazaar. The *Muraqqa* speaks of a courtesan Kamal Bai who earlier offered her services exclusively to emperor Muhammad Shah but now opened her doors to anyone with the resources to purchase her services. With this trend that only intensified in the later years, an important part of the Sharif culture came to inhabit Razeel (socially low) surroundings of the bazaar and the ordinary inhabitants of the city now gained access to an important part of elite lifestyle.

Mehfils appear to have become the preferred form of entertainment for the city's elite. While the city's poets complained of the low attendance at the *Mushairas* in this period, *Mehfils* are said to have been bustling with audiences and performers. The *Mehfil* stands in sharp contrast to the *Mushaira*, which was an extremely formal affair attended by renowned poets. The *Mehfils* on the other hand were invaded by the people of the bazaar. *Naqqals*, dancers and *Qawwals* were found at these gatherings in large numbers where jokes were exchanged and repartee took place.²¹

Bawdy lyrics that celebrate the carnivalesque freedom of festivities, were now being composed at the royal court and by no less a person than the emperor Shah Alam himself. His *Nadirat-i-Shahi* is replete with colourful verses composed for a large number of festive occasions.²²

In sum one could say that although there remained a marked distinc-

tion in the cultural activities of the elite and laity in Shahjahanabad, the variegated space in between these two apparently distinct cultural poles which had shades of both ends of the spectrum always existed and expanded substantially in our period.

Conclusion

The emergence of numerous new political formations and new centers of power in the eighteenth century should ideally have pushed Shahjahanabad into a political oblivion but it not only continued to be at the helm of affairs, but also became the key centre for political developments. In the absence of any other authority that could validate the cross-cutting ambitions of the different players involved in the power struggle, the mystique surrounding the Mughal emperor and his court became an important resource to be monopolised, leading to unprecedented occurrences in the city. No wonder then to the inhabitants of the city the period appeared 'strange'.

Strange indeed were the winds that blew through Shahjahanabad in the eighteenth century, they brought untold devastation and gloom, the vestiges of Mughal authority were swept away, the sense of security of its inhabitants was swept away, a world held dear for hundreds of years was swept away, what remained was a city that although battered by the afflictions of time managed to celebrate life.

Notes and References

- 1 Anonymous, *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, in H.M Elliot and J. Dawson, *The History of India As Told by its Own Historians*, Allahbad, 1964, Vol. 7, pp. 555-556.
- 2 Manucci reports that when it was rumored that emperor Shah Jahan had passed away, shops remained closed in Delhi for three days leading to a shortage of supplies. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, tr. William Irvine, Delhi, reprint 2005 Vol. 1 pp. 240-242.
- 3 This information comes from the letters of Mirza Zuman, secretary to Surbuland Khan, who was one of the five *umara*, entrusted with the task of collecting contributions. These have been translated in James Fraser, *The History of Nadir Shah formerly called Thamas Quli Khan, The Present Emperor of Persia*, London, 1742, pp. 201-202
- 4 Anonymous, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah*, in H.M Elliot and J. Dawson, *The History of India As Told by its Own Historians*, Allahbad, 1964, vol. 8, p. 115
- 5 Seid Gholam Hussein, *Seir Mutaqherin of A Review of Modern Times*, tr. Nota Manus, Delhi, reprint 1990, Vol. I, pp. 132-133
- 6 Shiv Das Lakhnawi, *Shahnama Munawwar Kalam*, English translation by S.H. Askari, Patna, 1980, p. 53
- 7 Mirza Zuman, in James Fraser, *History of Nadir Shah*, p.183
- 8 Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 92-159
- 9 Anand Ranga Pillai, *The Private Diary of Anand Ranga Pillai, A Record of Matters Political, Historical, Social and Personal, From 1736-1761*, translated from Tamil by Sir J. Frederick Price and K. Rangachari, New Delhi, 1985, p.94
- 10 Muhammad Hussain Azad, *Ab-e-Hayat*, English translation by Frances Pritchett

- and Shamsur Rehman Faruqi, Delhi, 2001, p. 194
- 11 Dargah Quli Khan, *Muraqqa-i-Dehli*, edited by Khaliq Anjum, New Delhi, 1993, p. 60
 - 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62
 - 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73
 - 14 Rai Chaturman Saksena Kayasth, *Akhbar un Nawadar also known as Chahar Gulshan*, ed., Chander Shekhar, New Delhi: 2011, p. 40
 - 15 *Muraqqa*, pp. 53-55
 - 16 *Chahar Gulshan*, p. 41
 - 17 Craig Brandist, *The Bakhtin Circle*, Philosophy, Culture and Politics, London: 2002, p. 139
 - 18 Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qateel, *Haft Tamasha*, ed. And tr., Muhammad Umar, Delhi: 1968, pp. 89-90
 - 19 Fakir Khairuddin Muhammad, *Ibratnamah*, in H.M Elliot and J. Dawson, *The History of India As Told by its Own Historians*, Allahbad: 1964, Vol. 8, pp. 243-244
 - 20 Georges Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural patterns in Feudal Society', in *Past and Present*, No. 39, April 1968, pp. 3-10
 - 21 *Muraqqa*, p. 70-71
 - 22 Shah Alam II, *Nadirat-i-Shahi*, ed., Imtiaz Ali Khan Arshi, Rampur, reprint, 2006.

Rohma Javed Rashid is Assistant Professor, Department of History and Culture, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi.